

**Ideology in Editorials: A Comparison of Selected  
Editorials in English-Medium Newspapers After  
September 11**

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By

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## Abstract

September 11, 2001 presented the world with events that challenged its conception of reality and called into question current ideologies. In order to make sense of the attacks, people turned to the media for information and interpretation. My interest lies in the media's role in shaping ideologies as a result of the events of September 11, 2001. I focus on the newspaper editorial because it, in particular, functions not only to report the news but also to interpret the news for the reader.

My analysis is centred on the first reaction to the events in five 'core' editorials drawn, respectively, from an American, British, South African, Zimbabwean and Kenyan newspaper. The specific focus, in each case, is the representation and evaluation of social actors, the events themselves and the schematic structure of the editorial. I adopt a critical perspective through the use of Critical Discourse Analysis, supported by Systemic Functional Grammar and APPRAISAL. This perspective involves three inter-connected stages of analysis: a *Description* of the formal discourse properties of each editorial; an *Interpretation* of the prevailing situational context; and an *Explanation* of the socio-historical context in each case. Language, being a form of social practice, is a means by which power relations in society are reproduced or contested (Janks 1997). By analysing the editorials' discourse I identify whose interests are being served and how each text positions a reader's attitudes and opinions.

My analysis reveals the fact that the editorials distinguish between "us" and "them" groups for the purposes of advancing and confirming in-group ideologies and agendas. This is achieved in each case through comparing the paper's ideology with the opposing ideology, which is presented as deviant and unsupportive of the in-group. My analysis of the African editorials, in particular, further reveals the exploitation of this division for the purposes of promoting and interpreting local political and social issues. Examination of the processes and conditions surrounding the production of the editorials shows how they are significantly influenced and constrained by the ideologies of both the writer and newspaper owner as well as by the situational context within which they were written. My analysis of the schematic structure of the editorials, in line with Bolivar (1994), reveals consistent use of three-part structures by which editorial opinions are evaluated. In concluding I provide suggestions, based on my research, for how critical language

awareness can inform media education at high school level in South Africa. I argue that students should be equipped with tools, such as those I employed, to critically analyse and uncover how language is used to promote ideologies in the editorial of newspapers.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to provide a brief overview of my research topic and a guide to the layout of my thesis. In what follows I provide the background to my research; my research questions and objectives; the methodology employed in my study and an overview of how each chapter is structured in my thesis.

## 1.1 Background to Research

*Common sense tells us that one text can change the world. Theoretically speaking, every text does. We need to ask how and why?*

(Martin 2004:342)

September 11, 2001 is a date in the history of the modern world that few will forget. It is the day that two hijacked aeroplanes crashed into the World Trade Centre Towers in New York City; another crashed into the Pentagon in Washington D.C. and a fourth crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. The day after the attacks the world's newspapers reported on the events, events that significantly affected the world in many ways. The events have not only been seen to lead to the military invasion of Afghanistan, the involvement in Israel and the attack on Iraq, but they have also been seen as an attack on ideology, beliefs, values and a sense of national and international security. The attacks caused untold death and destruction in America and called into question existing ideologies and highlighted the need for re-evaluation of these ideologies.

Language is both a major medium for communication and a social phenomenon, a means, according to Hodge and Kress (1993), by which reality is socially constructed. An important area of analysis in relation to September 11, 2001 (from here on referred to as September 11) and the focus of my thesis, is the editorial genre, as the editorial aims to go beyond merely reporting the news. It allows the newspaper to address its readers directly by commenting on the news (Reah 2002). It also interprets it for the reader, according to MacDougall (1973) and Hulteng (1973), because modern-day readers are inundated with information and are, consequently, at times unable to come to conclusions. As a result, readers often assume a submissive reading position and are simply happy to accept the "undoubted superior knowledge of the writer" (Wallace 1992:60). In essence, therefore, editorials have the potential to shape opinion, create reality and convey ideologies.

Van Dijk (1996a) and Le (2002) explain that the editorial has so far been largely ignored by scholars and is only now slowly being considered in need of critical analysis. They explain that, to date, editorials have been mainly studied in terms of their journalistic role or by psychologists concerned with the effect of the editorial on the readers. This genre needs to be analysed in terms of its discourse properties and whether these are uniformly represented in editorials from different parts of the world. My analysis of the generic structure of the editorial seeks to do this and is compared with a study done by Bolivar (1994). Her analysis of the structure of the editorial is the most in-depth study to date and part of my interest lies in investigating to what extent editorials from different parts of the world follow the basic structure that she describes.

Another reason for concentrating on editorials is because of their ideological significance. Newspapers rely on 'expert' voices that comment on and analyse the news from a supposedly objective 'expert' viewpoint. However, as Le (2002:643) points out, "the 'expert view' is an inherent part of the coverage and the world view, or 'lived ideology' proposed by the paper". Such "world views" or "lived ideologies" are often implicit in the language choice and language strategies used by the writers of editorials and are often less 'expert' than they are investments of particular, often very powerful, interest groups. Equally interesting is to see how editorials from different countries compare in their linguistic choices, strategies and, ultimately, underlying ideologies - specifically how they construct "a particular version of reality, a version which is ideologically compatible with the dominant ideologies subscribed to by the newspapers" (Jaworski and Galasinski 2002: 644).

By studying the ideologies in editorials the strategies used to legitimate the beliefs of the dominant group can be exposed. Thompson (1990:60) identifies five Modes each with their own strategies used in discourse to promote ideology, which I shall be drawing on in the analysis of my editorial sample in chapter 4. These five modes are *legitimation; dissimulation; unification; fragmentation; and reification* (cf. 3.3.2). It is only by exposing the ideologies hidden in texts that readers can be empowered to challenge existing power relations in society. This will be my point of departure in the account provided in section 5.3, where I suggest ways in which scholars and learners doing media studies can uncover the ideological power often hidden in media discourse.

## 1.2 Research Questions

My research aims to answer the following three questions:

1. *What does the analysis of linguistic choices of the chosen texts reveal about the ideologies of each editorial and how they compare and contrast with each other?*

This research question entails identifying and comparing ideologies and ideological strategies in the selected editorials. In the manner of Critical Discourse Analysis, it is the deconstruction of the linguistic choices made in these editorials that reveal what is foregrounded and what is hidden. “Awareness of this prepares the reader to ask critical questions: why did the writer or speaker make these choices? Whose interests do they serve? Who is empowered or disempowered by the language used?” (Janks 1993:iii).

2. *What are the discourse properties of the editorial as a genre and how uniformly are they represented across selected editorials in English-medium newspapers drawn from the USA, UK, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Kenya?*

This research question involves an investigation into the degree to which there is flexibility and hybridity within the discourse structure of these editorials. This is established on the strength of analysing the editorials, using the tools of Systemic Functional Grammar. It is also achieved by comparing my findings with those of Bolivar’s (1994) structural analysis of the editorial and seeing to what extent the selected editorials conform to or depart from her analysis.

3. *What general directions can media education in South Africa take, bearing in mind the findings that emerge from questions 1 and 2?*

A considerably lesser concern of my thesis is to explore, in the most general terms, what my findings have to offer to high school-level media studies in South Africa. I argue that students should be equipped with tools that allow them to analyse critically and uncover how language is used in the promotion of ideologies. Hence, in chapter 5, I provide suggestions for how students can deconstruct editorials and investigate how language is used to promote and support dominant ideological interests.

By answering these three research questions my objective, in summary, is to provide further insight into the editorial as a genre, the ideological power of media discourse and how critical language awareness can inform media education.

### 1.3 Methods of Research

The focus of my analysis is the first editorial response to the attacks from America, Britain and Africa. The data collection for my research consisted of retrieving all the editorial, opinion-editorial, comment and analysis articles from two American newspapers, two British newspapers, two Zimbabwean newspapers, five South African newspapers and one Kenyan newspaper (the identity and justification for the selection of these newspapers is outlined in chapter 3). From a total of 44 articles I selected five ‘core’ editorials (one from each country) for a close critical analysis (see Table 1. below).

**Table 1. Editorials used in my research**

Country	Number of Editorials Collected	Number of Editorials Analysed	Newspaper selected For Analysis
America	18	1	<i>The Washington Post</i>
Britain	8	1	<i>The Times</i>
South Africa	12	1	<i>The Cape Times</i>
Zimbabwe	3	1	<i>The Daily News</i>
Kenya	3	1	<i>The Daily Nation</i>
<b>Total</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>

The tools I use for revealing the features of these editorials and their ideological assumptions are Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), including the resources of APPRAISAL. CDA sees language as part of social practice and it aims to uncover power relations and associated ideologies in texts and how these are reflected by the socio-historical context of the text (Janks 1997, Van Dijk 1998 & Lemke 1995). According to Fairclough (1989), seeing language as social practice entails recognising that there are three dimensions to any discursive instance, such as a specific editorial. These are the *text*, the *interaction* and the *context*. Associated with these are three stages in any CDA; *Description* of the discourses as *text*; *Interpretation* of the discourses as *interaction*, that is, between text and human subjects; and *Explanation* of the discourse as social action (Fairclough 1989, Janks 1997, Luckett & Chick 1998). This means that the analysis of a text, firstly, involves analysing the structure of the text and the linguistic choices made by the writer. Secondly, the analysis includes examining the process of production of the text by the writer and the process of interpretation whereby the reader makes sense of what the text is about. Thirdly, the analysis considers the social conditions that possibly influence and possibly are influenced by the processes of

production and interpretation of each of the editorials I have chosen for my analysis (see Appendices for copies of these editorials).

SFG, based centrally on the work of Halliday and others like Matthiessen and Martin, is concerned with how language choices enable one to convey meanings of different kinds (Bloor & Bloor 1995). SFG sees texts as expressing three metafunctions concurrently: *the Ideational function*: concerned with how language is used to represent the world, for example the world after September 11; *the Interpersonal function*: concerned with how language reflects the attitude and opinion of the writer, in this case towards America, the rest of the world and those responsible for the attacks; and *the Textual function*: which is concerned with how words and sentences are organised to make the text and to steer reader's interpretations of events and people (Fairclough 1995b, Bloor & Bloor 1995). Exploration of all three of these metafunctions is central to my analysis.

APPRAISAL is a semantic system that expands Halliday's Interpersonal meta-function by representing in greater detail the ways in which writers seek to negotiate attitudes and opinions with their readers. The tools of APPRAISAL that I use in my research are based on the work of Martin. In his words, the resources of APPRAISAL are used for "negotiating our social relationships, by telling our listeners or readers how we feel about things and people (in a word, what our attitudes are)" (Martin & Rose 2003:22). Through the negotiation of attitudes and opinions the writer seeks to align the reader with a particular ideological perspective. Not surprisingly, immediately after September 11 a distinction between "us" and "them" was exploited by many editorial writers in order to reinforce group identity, for example the American identity. The emotions and behaviour of social actors belonging to both "us" and "them" groups is evaluated either positively or negatively to create solidarity with the reader as also are the intertextual references included to compare and interpret the events for the reader.

Through the tools of SFG and CDA, coupled with Thompson's ideological strategies (1990), I examine how language is used to construct reality after September 11. In chapter 5 I make general suggestions, based on the methods of analysis I relied on in my research, to equip media students, at high school-level, with the same tools for deconstructing texts. This is necessary so learners can become aware of how linguistic choices, made by editorial writers, work to position readers and to naturalise an ideological viewpoint

supported by the newspaper as an institution which in turn supports a dominant force in society.

### **1.4 Structure of My Thesis**

The body of my thesis is structured into three chapters, the essential functions of which I briefly outline in what follows:

In chapter 2 I survey the literature in three main areas that have significantly influenced the analysis of my data (cf. 2.2, 2.3 & 2.4). These include a discussion on *the Newspaper, the Editorial* and *Opinion, Ideology and Discourse*. An exploration of the newspaper and the editorial derives from their origins in history up to modern day as well as considering the role of the writer, reader and owner of the newspaper and the editorial. Such insights are useful in that they alert me to the contextual and other factors and interests that affect the ideological stance taken in any editorial. Also in this chapter (cf. 2.4) I include a discussion of opinion and ideology in discourse, particularly media discourse. This is because my first research question deals with how the editorial, as opinion discourse, seeks to position the reader into accepting a particular ideological perspective on September 11. The definition of *ideology* has had a range of interpretations since the term was first coined and in this chapter I reflect on these definitions and relate them to my study. In the last section of this chapter I concentrate on the research literature concerning September 11 that has quickly sprung up. The most central article to my study is an article by Achugar (2004). She analyses Uruguayan editorials after September 11 and focuses on the representation and evaluation/appraisal of the social actors involved and the events themselves. Her account of the linguistic choices made in these representations reveals how the reader is positioned towards viewing the various social actors as “us” or “them”. As is evident from my analysis, hers is a key source of influence on my study.

Chapter 3, Research Methodology, comprises a detailed account of the data collection procedure I followed, the data that I chose for analysis (reported on in chapter 4) and the methodological tools I used in my analysis. As mentioned earlier in 1.3, this includes an account of CDA, SFG and APPRAISAL and how they figure in the ‘grid’ of the features that are central to the analysis of the data that are at the heart of my study.

Analysis and comparison of the five editorials (Chapter 4) is the most important chapter of my thesis since it is here that I report on the outcome of my analyses and I respond to the first two of my research questions. In terms of organisation, I present the analysis and findings of each editorial individually (cf. 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, & 4.6) and then provide a comparison of all five (cf. 4.7).

As my study is a Critical Discourse Analysis, the results and findings of each editorial are organised according to Fairclough's three stages: *Description*, *Interpretation*, and *Explanation*. Within the Description stage, I present my results according to the features in my 'grid', outlined in chapter 3. The second and third stages of my CDA analysis, Interpretation and Explanation, are reported on together, and each section ends with a summary of the discourse properties of the editorial. Section 4.7 draws on each analysis to compare and contrast the generic structure and ideological stance of each editorial ending in a comparison of the overall generic properties of the editorial. An example is the account provided in 4.2. It is organised as follows:

#### 4.2. America: *The Washington Post*

##### 4.2.1. Introduction

##### 4.2.2. Description

###### 4.2.2.1 Representation of Social Actors

###### 4.2.2.2 Appraisal of Social Actors

###### 4.2.2.3 Representation of the Events

###### 4.2.2.4 Appraisal of the Events

###### 4.2.2.5 Theme and Rheme

###### 4.2.2.6 Editorial Structure

##### 4.2.3. Interpretation and Explanation

##### 4.2.4. Conclusion

In chapter 5 I summarise the main findings from my study, show how my results and conclusions relate to my research questions, reflect on the limitations of my study and suggest fruitful lines for further research. It is here that I answer my third research question by focussing on general recommendations for media education, in light of the results from chapter 4 and in light of aspects of the process I followed in analysing the editorials. By including critical language awareness in schools, students, I argue, can be encouraged to engage in critically deconstructing texts, like the newspaper editorial, thereby being sensitised to the hidden power of language and making social emancipation possible.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I provide an overview of the literature that informs my research and that has implications for my findings in chapter 4. The chapter is divided into three main sections where I consider the literature surrounding, respectively, *The Newspaper; the Editorial* and *Opinion, Ideology and Discourse*. As the focus of my research is the editorial, a discourse genre found in the newspaper, I firstly provide an overview of the newspaper (cf. 2.2) to reveal how and why the newspaper developed and what its role in society is and has been. This, then, allows for a clearer understanding of the editorial, discussed in section 2.3, and how and why it became included in the newspaper and how its role differs from other news articles in the newspaper. The historical overview of the development of the editorial has implications for chapter 4 where I respond to my second research question, namely, what the generic structure is of the editorial (cf. 1.2). In the last section of this chapter I consider the concepts of opinion and ideology (cf. 2.4) and how they are manifested in discourse, specifically media discourse. The discussion on ideology (cf. 2.4.3) is particularly relevant for answering my first research question in chapter 4 (i.e. the investigation and comparison of ideologies in the selected editorials) and it consists of an overview of various definitions from key theorists. This is necessary to gain an understanding of the various contrasting theories, how they have changed since the term was first defined and to indicate what view of ideology I will be adopting in my thesis. An important part of the discussion on ideology is the summary account I provide of recent publications on September 11 and media discourse (cf. 2.4.6) and the relevance of this work for my study.

### **2.2 The Newspaper**

#### **2.2.1 Introduction**

In this section of my review of the literature, I begin by defining what news is and its social and individual functions (cf. 2.2.2). Then I provide an overview of the historical impetus for the rise of the newspaper (cf. 2.2.3), particularly in America, Britain and Africa from where my 'core' editorial sample is drawn. An historical overview of this kind is necessary if one is to understand how the newspaper has, since its emergence, played a powerful role in bringing social, economic and political change to societies because of its ability to send the same ideological message to many people at one time. This account leads into my discussion on the owner and reader of the newspaper (cf.

2.2.4). I show how the role of the owner has always potentially had, and still has today, great influence over the ideological perspective of the reader. Similarly the identity of the reader has changed and as a result has altered the style of writing since the first appearance of the newspaper. Readers today are seen as more active and critical than those of the past and consequently this has an effect on whether or not the reader accepts the generally implicit ideological assumptions in texts like the editorial. Understanding the role the writer has in the production and the role the reader has in the reception of a text has implications for stages two and three of my Critical Discourse Analysis, which I report on in chapter 4.

### 2.2.2 Defining the News

News is defined by Reah as “information about recent events that are of interest to a sufficiently large group, or that may affect the lives of a sufficiently large group” (2002:4). Before the appearance of any kind of media, news was delivered by word of mouth as people travelled and traded. People saw this movement of people and goods as the same process as the movement of information - that is, both were seen as “communication” (Briggs & Burke 2002, Carey 1989, Grossberg et al. 1998). Accessing recent news has always been important even before the advent of the mass media because, according to Smith (1979:18), it has an “important bearing on the possibilities of trade, on the rise and fall of dynasties, on the recruiting and demobilisation of armies”. A definition of news requires a look at its social and individual functions as well as what factors are considered important when deciding if news is newsworthy. A look at these functions is the next area of my discussion.

The newspaper is considered to be the first form of mass media able to disseminate news to many people at one time. However, today news can reach receivers via many types of medium, such as the Internet. Despite this, all news delivered by the mass media has five social and four individual functions as outlined by Grossberg et al. (1998:247; see (also Budd et al. 1979, Burton 2002, Hodgson 1992, McQuail 1987). Looking at the social functions:

1. The media provides *information* about events and important issues, which allows for progress in societies and emphasises the relations of power in the world.
2. The media provides the function of *correlation*, that is, it often, implicitly, interprets and explains the news for the receiver. This inevitably tells receivers what they should think of the information presented to them and is characteristic of genres such as the

newspaper editorial (cf. 2.3). This socialises people into their roles by providing them with the norms and values considered to underlie proper behaviour.

3. The news functions to provide *continuity* in society by promoting the dominant culture.
4. The news provides *entertainment* to its receivers, which, allows for relaxation and enjoyment.
5. Lastly, the news functions in the *mobilisation* of people in order to bring about change in society in such areas as politics, war and economics.

Clearly in the case of September 11, and evident from the analysis of my editorials in chapter 4, the news fulfils all of these functions except *entertainment*. In other words, the editorial provides *information* regarding the attacks. In addition, one of the main functions of the editorial is to interpret the news; thus the social function of *correlation* applies specifically to this genre where writers aim to make sense of the attacks for the reader. The function of *continuity* also applies here as the news, despite aiming for objectivity, promotes various dominant interests. This is an issue that I develop later in section 2.4.4. Lastly, in the case of September 11, the news played an important role in trying to *mobilise* people towards some kind of action.

Apart from its social functions the media provides four individual functions (Grossberg et al. 1998:249). These individual functions include:

1. *Information* that satisfies curiosity, education and general interest.
2. *Personal identity*, which allows the receiver to find models for behaviour and values that allow one to create an identity.
3. *Integration and social interaction*, which enables one to identify and interact with others while gaining an understanding into the circumstances of others, making one more empathetic to other societies and cultures.
4. *Entertainment*, which provides escape, relaxation, enjoyment and emotional release for the individual (see also Burton 2002, McQuail 1987).

In the case of September 11, the news would, again, have provided all of these individual functions except *entertainment*.

In defining the news it is also important to ask what makes something newsworthy. A number of contributing factors are outlined by theorists Bell 1991, Grossberg et al. 1998, McQuail 1987 & Nel 1998. They include:

1. *Impact*, i.e. the greater the impact news has on people the more newsworthy it is.
2. The *timeliness* of news is important because old news is not as valuable.
3. The *perishability* of news,
4. The *bizarreness* or *unusualness* of the news,
5. The *negativity* of news as this interests and attracts receivers.
6. Increasing *proximity* to the reader.

7. The *prominence* of famous figures increases the newsworthiness of news.
8. The profile of the *audience* and what news interests them also guides news producers in their deciding what is newsworthy.

Clearly September 11 satisfies the *timeliness* of news as the most significant factor after the events as audiences wanted the most recent news as it was happening.

Producers of the news are responsible for selecting what news they feel is newsworthy and constructing it from their perspective. Fowler (1991:4) points out that this means that the news is not a value-free representation of the facts because it “imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin, on whatever is represented” via the language used to represent the world. In my study this is particularly evident as opinions of the September 11 attacks represent the worldview of the editorial writer and the institutions they support. Discourse, as I explain further in section 2.4.4, is therefore, an extremely powerful instrument used by those in dominant positions to disseminate their ideologies. As the function of ideology in media discourse is central to my thesis, I explore these issues in greater length in section 2.4.4.

To understand the role of the newspaper today, I feel it is important to understand how and why the newspaper came into existence and how its role has changed over time. Therefore, the next section in my discussion, on the newspaper, provides an overview of its origins.

### **2.2.3 An Historical Overview of the Newspaper**

Before the introduction of the newspaper the transmission of news followed trade and postal routes. McQuail (1987), Picard & Brody (1997), and Smith (1979) agree that a precursor to the newspaper was the hand-written letter as this was used to send information along postal routes. Before the formal newspaper there was always a demand for printed matter as it allowed the ordinary citizen the chance to hear about news from other parts of the world (Smith 1979). These printed pieces came in the form of ballads, which were aimed at the lower social classes and contained matters about the state as well as entertainment in the form of the latest scandal and gossip. Newsheets and pamphlets were targeted at the upper classes because they contained more economic news and were more expensive as a result. Conboy (2002:26) says that these printed materials were important, as they were “influential in allowing a more liberal commercial attitude towards the reproduction of all kinds of information to percolate through Europe”. The

postal system eventually became separated from the news when formal newspapers began to appear. Smith (1979) says that the religious wars in Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> century provided the climate necessary for the increased demand for news from around the world. Such news was important in determining any effects the wars were to have on economies and politics and thus was the impetus for the rise of the newspaper. As a result, McQuail (1987:203) says that the newspaper is the “archetype” and “prototype” of all mass media.

Central to my thesis are newspaper editorials from America, England and Africa and their reactions to the September 11 attacks. Further exploration of the origins and functions of the newspaper in each of these areas of the world is necessary in order to understand their role today and their perspective on the attacks on America.

### **2.2.3.1 Britain**

The forerunner to the newspaper, generally, appeared in Britain in 1621 in the form of the coranto, which was an irregular publication that was heavily regulated by the government (protecting the image of the government). This started a struggle for press freedom characteristic in the early stages of the press around the world and continues today. This struggle occurred during a time when the “older feudal monarchies were beginning to decline and new concepts of political democracy were on the rise” (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach 1989:50). This means that the newspaper, as I will show in relation to America and Africa, was instrumental during times of political and social change in giving a voice to the people. The newspaper’s social function thus was primarily concerned with the *mobilisation* of the people (cf. 2.2.2). The American and French Revolutions also had a great impact on the press in Britain as they sought to give the people more involvement in parliament and the running of the country (Conboy 2002). The first newspaper called *The London Gazette* appeared in 1665 and the second wave of newspapers like *The Times*, on which I draw on for my study (see chapter 4), started in 1788, were spurred into existence because of the revolutions occurring in Europe. The press in Britain, compared with its counterparts in America, has always been clearly divided on partisan lines and very politically motivated. They have always contained more foreign news than simply local news and been more analytical in their reporting (Jucker 1992).

The historical development of the press in Britain can be divided into three stages according to Curran (1978:51):

1. Firstly, the press came under strict state censorship and functioned primarily to support the state.
2. Secondly, the press became slightly more independent and accountable rather to the public.
3. Thirdly, dating from the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the press became “less partisan and more socially responsible due to the growing commitment amongst publishers and journalists to the professional goals of objectivity, balance and accuracy”.

These phases of the newspaper in Britain are very similar to the development of the American newspaper and in particular the editorial as outlined by Rystrom (1983) and explored in section 2.3.2.

In Britain today the press comes in two major types, the broadsheets and the tabloids (or the qualities and the populars) (Jucker 1992). Bagnall (1993:24) explains that the broadsheets or “serious” press aim to provide their readers with recent news to stimulate and surprise them with ideas. The tabloids, on the other hand, are less devoted to serious ideas but more inclined towards shock. As a result, the language of tabloids is limited in vocabulary and relies heavily on clichés and exaggerations. Jucker (1992) points out that the two newspapers target different audiences. The broadsheets, like *The Times*, observe a high standard in their reporting and target readers of a high socio-economic status and as a result have a much smaller readership as compared to the tabloids, for example *The Sun*. Broadsheets also contain slightly more news, including foreign news, than the tabloids (Reah 2002). Tabloids have been criticised for their sensational stories and are often not held as reputable sources of information as compared to the broadsheets. Therefore it is due to the broadsheets’ perceived seriousness and objectivity that I focus on them in my study. However it is important to note, as my findings in chapter 4 reveal, that the broadsheets also promote certain interests.

#### **2.2.3.2 America**

In the American colonies, the newspaper was slow to start up and appeared only in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a century later than in Europe (see Conboy 2002, DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach 1989, Grossberg et al. 1998, Picard & Brody 1997). The reason for this was that there was no great need for newspapers. People tended to live in small communities where news was delivered verbally and there were no established newspapers when the colonists first arrived. The American postal system, like in Europe, was initially used to carry news. By the 18<sup>th</sup> century, however, there was economic and population growth, which meant that commercial activity increased. This led to debates on the future of the continent and a

demand for information in the commercial and political spheres of the new society. Picard & Brody (1997:62) explain that the newspaper became very important during this time as it was used as a tool to “challenge the control of the puritan clergy and question the effectiveness of the colonial government in dealing with emerging problems and issues”. This means that the social function of the newspaper at this time was not only to provide *information* but also to *mobilise* people into bringing change to the continent (cf. 2.2.2).

The newspaper in America started out with its target audience as the elite, unlike in Britain, and was used by the publishers and owners for their own political and social purposes. These newspapers were important because they helped bring about necessary changes in government through revolution because they were accusatory and created debate. It was in the 1830s that the newspaper geared towards the common person first appeared, known as the Penny Press (so cheap that it only cost a penny). Previously news had been of a serious nature but this newspaper was filled with interesting, often shocking, stories that appealed to the general public. This became known as the popular press, which still survives today, much like the tabloids in Britain (Conboy 2002).

With the Civil War newspapers took on a more serious nature of reporting the news and assumed the role of opposing authority from Britain (Conboy 2002). It was a time of great change, as America became an industrial society. The high point for the American newspaper was just following World War I where every household bought a newspaper. Since then the newspaper has been on the decline, partly due to the arrival of other mass media such as the television. However, the September 11 attacks also brought on a sudden time of change, and people turned to newspapers not only for information but also for opinion as the events unfolded.

### **2.2.3.3 Africa**

The history of the press in Africa is somewhat different to that of the rest of the world. This lies in the fact that Africa was divided up rather crudely by colonial powers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and it was only after 1960 that most countries gained independence. Ainslie (1966) states that it was only after independence that there was any attempt to develop mass communications. Ainslie argues that communication was extremely important at this time despite Africa’s seemingly other needs because it meant that foreign powers could keep control. She explains that there was little attention devoted to national

geographical borders. Borders were established by foreign powers, divided up tribal groupings, and there was no attempt to create a national identity among the people. This served to suppress any opposition to colonial rule. Africa became rife with internal tensions over border disputes and needed a way of building unity and a national identity. This spurred the need for a system of communication “without which a state is like a body without a nervous system, unable to transmit the instructions of the brain to the members or the needs of the members to the brain” (Ainslie 1966:10).

During the colonial era, newspapers reported on news from overseas and on local news in Africa that only affected the white population (Hawk 1992). This is because “the major newspapers which existed in Africa were wholly or largely owned by expatriates: they were primarily concerned with defending special interests often linked to the perpetuation of colonial rule” (Legum 1971:29). Inevitably, any news about Africa that was printed in foreign countries was only from the perspective of the colonial powers and generally portrayed Africa and black people as hostile. As a result, they were perceived as the Other. Bias in the press also came from internal power relations, as newspapers were expensive to produce and often had to be subsidised by government or political parties. Consequently, newspapers would support their policies and could be censored by government, which meant the perpetuation of dominant ideologies imposed on the people and the suppression of opposition (Ainslie 1966, Hawk 1992, Legum 1971). Colonialists did not want Africans to have their own newspapers because they felt this was an extremely powerful tool against white rule.

The start of African newspapers was initiated through the “cultural interaction of Europeans and Africans” as this created an interest in politics amongst the indigenous people (Hatchen 1971:6). Hatchen (1971:6) says that “African newspapers were invariably published by aspiring political leaders who used their ephemeral newsheets to build and cement a political organisation”. These newspapers, therefore, played an important role in anti-colonial movements and aided in de-colonising the continent.

With the democratisation of most African countries by the 1990s, independent newspapers that were not controlled by government started to appear. Today, however, African newspapers still face threats from those authoritarian governments still in control, and economic constraints that force them to be government controlled (Nwanko 2000, M’Bayo

2000). For example, one of my ‘core’ editorials for analysis in chapter 4 is chosen from *The Daily News* (Zimbabwe) which is an independent newspaper that has faced many threats and difficulties from the authoritarian Zimbabwean government of recent years (cf. 4.5.3).

Clearly, since its beginnings the newspaper has faced influence from various dominant interests, such as authoritarian governments in Africa. In the section to follow, I expand my discussion of the newspaper by, specifically, examining the role and influence of the newspaper owner and the identity of the reader.

#### **2.2.4 The Owner and the Reader of the Newspaper**

Today, the newspaper has become a global business, meaning that there has been a move away from individual to corporate ownership (which I outline in more detail in section 2.3.3). It started at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in America, when powerful individual owners like Hearst and Pulitzer began to establish newspaper groups (Picard & Brody 1997). Media seem to be coming under control of fewer large institutions partly because, as Burton (2002:78) says, “capitalist forces now operate a global market in which smaller companies are taken over or put out of business by competition”. Reah (2002) shows this by pointing out that in Britain newspapers have come under fewer and fewer groups. In 1965 there were 11 owning companies who owned 19 national titles. In 1995 there were only 7 companies who owned 21 national newspaper titles. Reah believes that this shift in concentration of newspapers into fewer hands of larger corporations will have a result on press freedom and that fewer institutions will define for the reader what media is available (Burton 2002). The significance of this lies in the fact that fewer institutions will therefore hold ideological dominance over the newspaper audience.

Despite the newspaper coming under control of large corporations, powerful individuals, for example Rupert Murdoch (the owner of *The Times* newspaper, which I draw on for my study; cf. 4.3) and Robert Maxwell sometimes head them (Duncan & Seleane 1998, McQuail 1987, Seymour-Ure 1991). Control over the media is always connected with power and there is a constant struggle amongst such “media mongers” because rather than seeking economic gain, these owners want to obtain positions of power and domination that far exceed their opponents so as to have the greatest influence in society (Sorlin 1994:110). Newspaper owners of such standing have a wide range of political and

commercial interests and it is clear that they would not allow anything to be published in their newspaper that was detrimental to their interests. This means “the owner of a newspaper has the power to influence the content of the paper, its political stance and its editorial perspective” (Reah 2002:8, see also Fowler 1991). For example, the owner of *The Daily Telegraph*, Conrad Black, does not hide the fact that he has power to influence the content in his paper saying, “What is the point in running a newspaper if you have absolutely no say?” (Burton 2002:78). This means that, in my study, editorials may deliver ideologies about September 11 that originate from the individual who owns the newspaper and who ultimately has editorial control and power.

In order to stay in power, owners need to increase sales and profits. One important factor in this process is in understanding and identifying the reader. Chomsky (Mitchell & Schoeffel 2002; see also Chomsky 1989) explains that this is because the audience is seen as a commodity that must be sold to advertisers in order for the economic survival of the newspaper. Thus, newspapers, Chomsky explains, are not sold to people, but to other businesses. Newspapers, like *The Washington Post*, selected for the purpose of my study (cf. 3.2), sell “very privileged, elite audiences to other businesses – overwhelmingly their readers are members of the so-called “political class,” which is the class that makes decisions in our society” (Mitchell & Schoeffel 2002:14). As a result, the audience is one of the most researched and debated aspects of mass communication today, according to Bell (1991) and Abercrombie & Longhurst (1998). Research done on the audience has shown that it does not really exist except as an “idealisation” (Grossberg et al. 1998:208, see also Moores 1993). Thus, newspapers do research to find out what the profile of their reader is and often label their readers. For example, *Guardian* readers in Britain are expected to be middle-class, left wing, Labour supporters (Reah 2002). This profile is not clear cut but “papers may identify and address their implied readership by selecting and reporting stories in a way that is designed to evoke one particular response, thus establishing a set of shared values, usually in opposition to another group who do not share, or who attack these values” (Reah 2002:40). This indicates that news is always a construction, written with specific interests in mind.

McQuail (1997 & 2000) explains that history has shown that the audience is created either by the media responding to what the audience’s demands are, or by what the media decides to provide the audience, the latter as indicated by Chomsky (in my discussion

above). Herman (1995:213) calls this the difference between “consumer sovereignty” and “freedom of consumer choice”. A similar view of the audience, according to Grossberg et al. (1998:209, see also Hodgson 1992, McQuail 1987, 1997, 2000), is that it is seen to function within two markets:

1. Firstly, newspapers most commonly view the audience as *consumers* who will buy their product, meaning newspapers often spend lots of money and time in finding out what news appeals to their target audience in order to sell more newspapers. Making people see themselves as consumers has been one of the major effects of the media in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly through the use of advertising. “The ideological message is that what we buy says more about who we are than other facts, including where we get the money” (Grossberg et al. 1998:212). Newspapers, therefore, have great ideological power over their readers to potentially create the identities of their readers.
2. Secondly, newspapers see the audience as a *commodity* that can be sold. Since newspapers receive most of their revenue from advertising, they need to “sell” their audience to advertisers who do not only want to know the quantity of the audience, but what type of audience will be receiving their messages.

Viewing the audience in these two markets would seem to characterise the audience as passive participants. Yet readers are active in their decision to select a specific newspaper as well as what sections of the newspaper to read. According to Wallace (1992), this means readers can either take up a submissive or an assertive position in their interaction with texts. She argues that the assertive reader is actively more critical and can “challenge ideological assumptions” in texts (1992:60). Making readers aware of the common sense assumptions in media texts, like the editorial, is the focus of my third research question (cf. 1.2), which I report on in chapter 5. The analysis of my chosen editorials in chapter 4 will illuminate how the reader is positioned to accept ideologies that are *naturalised* (cf. 3.3.2) and presented as common sense assumptions.

### **2.2.5 Conclusion**

At this point in my review of the literature it is evident that the newspaper fulfils various social and individual functions (cf. 2.2.2) and has a powerful hand in disseminating the ideologies of dominant groups and individuals. The historical development of the newspaper in America, Britain and Africa reveals that those in powerful positions (politicians, the government and newspaper owners) were initially able to use the newspaper to print only what was in their interests and suppress any opposition. This changed when the newspaper became an instrument to bring about change during the Civil War in America, independence in Africa and the rise of democracy in Britain (cf. 2.2.3). The newspaper functioned not only to bring *information* to the people but also to *mobilise*

its readers to bring about change. The literature concerning the owner and the reader of the newspaper (cf. 2.2.4) shows that an owner has considerable influence over what news the reader will receive. However, today, with large corporations owning multiple newspapers, this means the reader is exposed to fewer perspectives on the news. The reader is, thus, positioned to accept (or reject) a particular view of the world in the interests of the dominant group. In the next section (cf. 2.3) I focus on the editorial, specifically.

## **2.3 The Editorial**

### **2.3.1 Introduction**

Research literature on the history of the editorial, its discourse properties and its function is extremely limited. As a result, Rystrom's (1983) *"The Why, Who and How of the Editorial Page"* and Bolivar's (1994) *"The Structure of Newspaper Editorials"* are a significant focus in this section, being the most in-depth and relevant studies. Following on from a discussion on the newspaper and its role in society (cf. 2.2), I show how at the micro-level of the editorial genre there are similar processes at work, their underlying purpose being to deliver the dominant ideologies to the public, as is evident from the analysis of my 'core' editorial sample in chapter 4. The editorial of the past and the editorial today (cf. 2.3.2 & 2.3.3) are discussed and an historical development of the editorial is traced in order to highlight the changes in style and role that it has undergone since its beginnings. The writers and the audience of the editorial (cf. 2.3.4 & 2.3.5) are also analysed according to historical developments. I explore these issues in order to indicate the changes that have taken place in the role of the writer and the type of audience, and how this affects the production and reception of certain ideologies. I end section 2.3 with a definition and a review of studies done of the generic structure of the editorial (cf. 2.3.6), focussing particularly on the work of Bolivar (1994).

### **2.3.2 The Editorial of the Past**

"Editorial writing is not what it used to be" (Rystrom 1983:9). The roles of the editorial, the editorial writer and the reader of the editorial have changed over the years. Although the editorial column has been in existence for more than a century now, it has only been since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that the press has fully accepted the concept of objective reporting and could then properly separate news from opinion (Hutleng 1973, Rystrom 1983).

Before the establishment of the editorial column, opinion was mass communicated in a variety of different ways, starting in Britain. For example, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century there were publications like newsletters, ballads and pamphlets, which could not separate fact from opinion (Hutleng 1973, Stonecipher 1979). In America, opinion was expressed in similar publications. Change in the editorial page came in five phases. The most extensive literature covering these phases concerns the American editorial page, as outlined by Rystrom (1983):

1. The first phase coincided with the introduction of the first newspapers during the colonial era. The opinion function had a slow start because the new American government and politics were based on the British system that did not tolerate criticism (Rystrom 1983). For example, Benjamin Franklin's *New England Courant* contained mostly commentary and little news and, as a result, came under fire from religious leaders who called the paper "the work of the devil" (Rystrom 1983:13). This tension between church and newspaper, mentioned in section 2.2.3, was an important part of the changes that were occurring in the new America, creating debate and criticism of the existing systems. With the approach of the American Revolution, editorial comment increased significantly and newspapers were divided along political lines. This saw the start of the second phase.
2. The second phase of the editorial began with American independence. Each newspaper was devoted to one of the two political parties, the Federalists or the Democratic-Republicans, who used the editorial function to attack the other's policies. It was also the era in which a new type of editor and editorial column emerged and the start of expression of "a less responsible nature" (Stonecipher 1979:21). In other words, competition between newspapers was high and attacks on opposition newspapers included name-calling such as, "snivelling sophisticated hound" (Stonecipher 1979:21). The significance of this era, however, is the creation of the modern editorial because of the separation of news from editorials (Rystrom 1983, Stonecipher 1979).
3. The era of the populist press (cf. 2.2.3) was the third phase of the changing editorial. This period is referred to by some as the "golden era of personal journalism" (MacDougall 1973:265, Rystrom 1983). Newspapers (like the Penny Press) moved away from reporting just on politics, because of the need to reach a greater readership,

and focused on topics involving scandals and crime and editorial comment that was more in the form of sensationalism than serious opinion. Editors, like Horace Greeley, became national figures and household names (Hutleng 1973). Along with advocating political and moral causes, they became known for their competitiveness and powerful personal opinions (MacDougall 1973, Hutleng 1973). Editors often used first person “I” and even when they did use “we” they often meant “I” (Rystrom 1983:9). Another characteristic of the writing of this period involved the target audience. Some editors, like Pulitzer, wrote for all of the potential audience using simple and short language because, he said, “I want to address a nation, not a select committee” (Hutleng 1973:42). Others, like Godkin, aimed their opinions at the elite of society because they argued that the leaders of society would pass the message to the people. As a result, writing was more complex and “ornate” (Hutleng 1973:43). This period in the phase of the editorial clearly illustrates the power of the press. Individuals, who owned newspapers, used the editorial function to publicise their opinions and prejudices, just as newspaper owners did in the early stages of the development of the newspaper (cf. 2.2.4). Today newspapers are, however, usually corporately owned and the editorial function is used to publicise the policies and opinions of the newspaper as an institution (cf. 2.2.5). Nevertheless, the editorial is also used to criticise and stir up emotions potentially to bring about change, evident from the analysis of my ‘core’ editorials in chapter 4.

4. The fourth phase of the editorial, the corporate phase, came about after the Civil War in America and the era of the prominent editors slowly came to an end. Newspapers were moving away from being individually owned to being corporately owned, meaning that one individual could no longer use the editorial function for his own purposes. Rystrom (1983) explains that newspapers began to become more capitalistic as they became more dependent on advertising and on increasing their readership numbers to ensure incoming revenue. Editorial writers were now becoming anonymous and their writing more serious and unexciting. This stage was a predecessor of the final phase of the editorial that leads us up until today.

In summary, it can be seen that from the very start, the role of the editorial or opinion column in newspapers has undergone serious changes. It started out being, often, indistinguishable from news itself and then moved on to becoming a tool for several

individuals to voice highly subjective opinions of the news to the mass population. It was used as a voice for political parties and presidents themselves, until eventually personal journalism took a backseat to more serious editors who were subjected to more conservatively, corporately owned newspapers. The fifth phase of the editorial, which began in the 1960s, and leads up until today, is the focus of my next section on the editorial.

### **2.3.3 The Editorial Today**

Readers of today are more literate, educated and sophisticated than readers of the past and they are able to access information about news events from a variety of sources and do not have to rely on the newspaper. This means the reader “has a far better chance of finding out whether editorial writers know what they are talking about than did readers of a century ago” (Rystrom 1983:10). Editorial writers are also becoming more sensitive to the variety of opinions and beliefs that readers might bring with them and as a result they cannot adopt the strategies of the era of personal journalism (as discussed in the previous section 2.3.2) in case they offend their readers (Le 2002, Rystrom 1983, Van Dijk 1996a).

Mass-communication consumers today are faced with an overwhelming amount of information and findings have shown that they do not often come to any conclusions because of the amount of information they are exposed to. They, therefore, have to turn to the opinions of those who are constantly involved in the production of news (Hulteng 1973, Stonecipher 1979). The purpose of the editorial is also often to stimulate readers into action, but it is implicitly expressed, unlike the explicit writing during the era of personal journalism (cf. 2.3.2) (Hulteng 1973, Stonecipher 1979). Today newspapers use their “expert voices” to interpret the news but at the same time implicitly construct reality from a particular worldview for the reader (Jaworski & Galasinski 2002:643). Another function of the editorial, for readers, is to provide “benchmarks” in order to test thinking against and shape conclusions about events and what they mean (Hutleng 1973:13).

Editorial writers cannot be as bold as those writers of the past because the newspaper must not appear to be forcing its opinion on the reader (Rystrom 1983). Van Dijk (1996a) says that the most significant feature of the opinion discourse is that the opinions are expressed as a series of arguments. The reason behind this is that editorial opinions need to be backed-up by the writer, unlike in the early days of the editorial where the main aim of

writers was to shock, even if this meant delivering falsities (in section 2.4.2 I discuss the editorial as a type of opinion discourse).

The future of the editorial's influence remains to be seen because, according to Seymour-Ure (1998), the editorial as a single voice is on the decline. Compared to the editorial of the past, which was "the definitive corporate statement of a paper's opinions, anonymous and, through the editorial 'we', magisterial" (Seymour-Ure 1998:43), the editorial today is not as special because of the increasing personalisation of the press meaning that editorials are often signed. This has turned some authors into public figures and it is who they are rather than what they write that has become important (Hutleng 1973). On top of this, newspapers are filtering analysis into more sections of their newspapers so the editorial pages are competing with typically news sections. This means that one single editorial voice, as I will explore further in the next section, is slowly becoming less powerful than when the opinion article first appeared in newspapers.

#### **2.3.4 The Editorial Writer**

The editorial function in a newspaper has a very important and powerful role in shaping public opinion and this power lies solely with the writer or those who sit on editorial boards. This is because these editorial writers decide what events and issues are important and how they should be interpreted (cf. 2.2.2 for a discussion on what makes news newsworthy) (Hutleng 1973, Le 2002). This discussion on the editorial writer is highly significant for the second and third stages of my CDA (i.e. the Interpretation and Explanation) that I present in chapter 4. This is because my analysis of the selected editorials needs to take into consideration all the possible contextual factors that could influence the ideological viewpoint of the writer. This viewpoint is ultimately reflected in the editorial written and influences the opinions of the reader.

The editorial writer does not have complete freedom in what he/she chooses to write on and is, to a certain extent, under pressure to follow the newspaper's policy. The larger the newspaper, the more editorial writers it will have and every day these writers meet to discuss possible editorial topics. Here editorial boards decide what the newspaper's stance will be on certain issues (Hutleng 1973). This process is viewed by some as a major problem as topics become so revised that they "sound as if they had been written by a committee" (Stonecipher 1979:236) and often lose the "edge" they started out with

because of overscrutinising and adjusting them (Hutleng 1973:28). This revision has implications for the ideological stance as “it is here that the paper’s ideology is clarified and re-established, reasserted in relation to troublesome events” (Hodge & Kress 1993:17).

The editorial writer’s position at a newspaper is seen as prestigious and they earn more money than other journalists do (Rystrom 1983). This is because they must have good educational qualifications and be able to write on a number of different topics, even if they are specialised in one area. This is because a newspaper cannot afford an editorial writing staff large enough to cover all the various fields of interest to readers of today (Hutleng 1973, MacDougall 1973, Rystrom 1983). As a result, editorial writers spend much time researching and making sure their opinions are backed up by factual evidence. Hutleng (1973:17) describes the role of editorial writers as “a combination of *philosopher, historian, advocate and educator*”.

Many editorial writers today still leave their columns unsigned and use the pronoun “we”, signalling the opinion of the newspaper as an institution. It does not mean, however, that editorial writers are under the same kinds of influences of the past and “we” still usually means “I”. The editorial in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was primarily and openly an instrument for political parties and Presidents (cf. 2.3.2) but today this is mostly absent from developed countries like America and Britain. Underdeveloped areas of the world, like Africa, still grappling with democracy, come under greater influence from those in power. Nevertheless, as discussed in section 2.2, and evident from my analysis presented in chapter 4, newspapers are still influenced to some degree by governments, political parties and owners, although not as explicitly as in the past. This influence is primarily in the form of ideological control, which is the focus of section 2.4 where the role of ideology in discourse, particularly media discourse is reviewed.

### **2.3.5 The Editorial Audience**

Today’s audience is very “active” and looks to the editorial to make sense out of the vast amount of news it receives (Stonecipher 1979:178). Editorial writers must be aware that they may have to address a reader who is highly educated and well informed as well as a reader who may not be. They must also be aware that some readers may have great interest in the messages relayed, for example, opinion regarding the September 11 attacks,

while some readers will pay little attention to the editorial's opinions. Therefore, the better editorial writers understand the interests of their readers, the more successful their ability to bring about change (Stonecipher 1979).

The profile of the editorial reader has long been under debate and has influenced styles of writing during the phases of the changing editorial. Hutleng (1973) relates this debate to two schools of thought that originated during the era of personal journalism (cf. 2.3.2). The first school of thought maintained that editorial writers should aim their persuasion towards the masses and not to a specific group of society. The second school of thought was that editorials should be aimed at the elite and educated of society in order for them to pass any messages on to the masses. It was presumed that the intellectuals, leaders and influential members of society would be most likely to read the editorials and writers, therefore, used highly complex language, reflecting their target audience.

However, findings, according to Hutleng (1973:43), have shown that the influential are not the elite of society as once presumed but "tended to be persons within the close circle of acquaintances of those being influenced - in the home, at the shop, or at the plant". This means that the passing on of messages is not a downward movement, but on a plane. This would seem to support the first school of thought that editorial writers should write to a potential audience and write simply enough for everyone to understand. September 11 was a series of events that, undoubtedly, led people to turn to newspapers and specifically to editorials to make sense of the attacks. Since most people, not just the upper classes, read newspapers today, writers aim to reach a wide audience.

There is also another distinction made, by Hutleng, within the editorial readership. This is that some readers, usually people of influence who disseminate the messages and are avid opinion followers, are more likely to be sceptical of the opinions being raised. Those members of society who receive these messages from the more influential ones are more likely to follow opinions than disagree with them, as their interest is not as high as that of the influential ones. Hence it would seem that some readers are indeed easy to influence and convince but many are critical, wary and not easily influenced. This allows the editorial function to arouse public debate and opinion. As Stonecipher (1979) points out, readers today are more educated and aware of world events than ever before and are more critical and less likely to accept one opinion. They may consult several newspapers and

their editorial sections before forming an opinion on an event, which is very likely in, for example, a case such as September 11 that has had worldwide repercussions.

### 2.3.6 The Structural Defining Features of the Editorial

At this point in my discussion of the editorial, I feel it is necessary to summarise the various structural features of the editorial. The editorial opinion column in newspapers has been described as a type of “journalistic essay” (Stonecipher 1979:40) where the reader will find the newspaper’s opinions and attitudes on what it considers to be an important topic of the day (Bell 1991, Hodgson 1992, Oktar 2001, Reah 2002, Stonecipher 1979). It has also been described as the “soul of journalism” by Hutleng 1973:35 and Van Dijk (2002:4) defines editorial articles as “personal opinion texts about recent events”.

The editorial is today usually located in the same position every day, clearly identified from other sections of the newspaper (Fowler 1991, Nel 1998, Van Dijk 1996a). This distinction is also made by the textual layout as the column is usually printed in a larger font and enclosed inside panels so that it stands out from the rest of the stories on the page (Fowler 1991, Hodgson 1992, Hutleng 1973, Nel 1994, Seymour-Ure 1998). This is seen by Fowler (1991:208) to have “an important symbolic function” indicating that the opinion section of the newspaper is, in contrast to other news stories, not merely fact.

As there has been a lack of studies on the editorial (Le 2002, Van Dijk 1996a), the structure of editorials, according to Van Dijk (1996a), has not been conventionalised in any great detail. Stonecipher (1979:40) says that an editorial is like an essay because it consists of: an *introduction*, *body* and *conclusion* where these parts do not necessarily have to appear in the same order every time like an essay. MacDougall (1973:60) describes the three-part structure as: *the subject* or *news peg*, *the reaction* and *the reasons*. Today it is, according to Van Dijk (1996a), characterised by the categories: *summary*, *evaluation* and *pragmatic conclusion*. He explains that, firstly, a brief summary must be given in order to remind the reader of the issue at hand. Secondly, the editorial must give an evaluation of the events. Lastly, the editorial must attempt to answer the questions “what next?” and “what are we going to do about this?”. Here the editorial aims to provide answers for these questions and is “action-oriented” in terms of what the newspaper thinks should be done (Van Dijk 1996a). A summary of these various

structures of the editorial, as suggested by MacDougall, Stonecipher, and Van Dijk, is found in Table 2. below.

**Table 2. Structural theories of the editorial**

MacDOUGALL 1973	STONECIPHER 1979	VAN DIJK 1996a
Subject/News Peg	Introduction	Summary
The Reaction	Body	Evaluation
The Reasons	Conclusion	Pragmatic Conclusion

Probably the most detailed study thus far concerning the structure of newspaper editorials is that undertaken by Bolivar (1994). She maintains that the editorial is made up of three-part structures of different sizes. These three-part structures include:

1. The basic unit called the *Triad*.
2. A *Movement*, which consists of a combination of Triads.
3. And an *Artefact*, which consists of a combination of Movements (see Figure 1. below) (1994:276).

Looking at these structures individually, Bolivar firstly explains that the *Triad* is the basic structure in the editorial, which contains three elements. These are:

1. The *Lead* (L), which functions to introduce the topic of the triad.
2. The *Follow* (F), which continues on this same topic providing an evaluation of the content.
3. And the *Valuate* (V), which evaluates both previous elements of the triad and closes the triad. (1994:279).

The Valuate is the most important turn in the triad and is obligatory because it evaluates the content of the entire triad. The function of the Valuate can be classified into three groups; *concluders*, *prophecies* and *directives*. Concluders signal that a conclusion has been reached and are further categorised as: *logical conclusion or result*, *temporal result* and *informative comments*. The first two are identified through signals like *Therefore*, *Thus*, *Now...*etc. The last concluder simply signals (in the past or present tense) information that evaluates the preceding two turns (1994:291). Prophecies function to predict future events and directives function to suggest further action.

The change of turn is recognisable particularly through changes in *tense*, *mood* and *modality*. Bolivar refers to this minimal unit in the structure of the editorial as a *content triad* “because its function as a whole is to refer to and evaluate an event or state of affairs” (1994:280). The content triad is relatively flexible in the sense that it can have more than three turns, so long as it always follows the LFV sequence and always has the

Valuate in final position, for example the structure LFLFLFV. Although deviant forms like LV are noted, these are uncommon. Content triads can be classified as either *informing* or *eliciting* depending on the Lead turn. Informing triads are usually realised by a Lead that appears in the declarative and eliciting triads realised by Leads in the interrogative.

Secondly, as the content triad is the basic unit of structure in the editorial, it combines with other triads to form larger units known as *Movements*. Content triads are positioned within three types of movements according to their position and function in the text. Bolivar points out that unlike the content triad's obligatory third element, the third movement is optional in an editorial. These movements are:

1. The *Situation* (S), which includes triads occurring at the start of a text that function to present a topic and evaluate it.
2. The *Development* (D), which occurs after the S triads and includes triads that further develop the content and evaluation of that in the preceding movement.
3. And the *Recommendation* (R), which occupies final position where it functions to evaluate S and D movements, provide a recommendation and close the movement (1994:281).

Bolivar (1994:282) indicates that “the triads that make up a movement cannot be shuffled at will (nor the turns within a triad, for example LVF) because if this is done the result is another text and not the one intended by the writer for the reader he has in mind” (1994:282). In other words, if the ordering was changed “we might still get a coherent movement, but the meaning and the interaction between writer and reader would be different”.

Thirdly, at the highest rank, is a structure known as the *Artefact*. An artefact may consist of one or multiple movements. These movements that make up an artefact are either *Type A*, *Type B* or *Type C* movements. This classification depends upon triads that make up a movement “that relate the text to the world of events within the same modal perspective” (1994:283). Here again Bolivar points out that, unlike the content triad, the third type of movement is optional in an editorial. These are:

1. *Type A* “refers to the actual world, a world *that is or was*”.
2. *Type B* “refers to the world of possibilities or the world *that might be*”.
3. *Type C* “refers to the world *that should be* and, in fact, constitutes a major evaluation that refers back to movements B and A” (1994:283).



are a significant aspect of my analysis, reflected in the second and third stages of my Critical Discourse Analysis in chapter 4 (i.e. Interpretation and Explanation). Media discourse, like that of the editorial, is a fundamental means of producing and perpetuating the ideologies of those in power, as in the case of September 11. Ideology in media discourse is thus the focus of the next part of my literature review.

## **2.4 Opinion, Ideology and Discourse**

### **2.4.1 Introduction**

In this last part of the literature review I report on my examination of ideas surrounding the concepts of *opinion* and *ideology* and how these relate to *discourse*, specifically to *media discourse*, since this is the focus of my study. In section 2.4.2 I begin by exploring the literature concerning the concept of opinion because opinion is viewed by theorists, like Van Dijk (1996b), to be a feature of ideology and for the purposes of my thesis it is relevant because the editorial, as a genre, is considered to be a type of opinion discourse. In section 2.4.3 I consider the notion of ideology, how it can be defined and I give a brief overview of the history of its origins. This I consider necessary in order to illustrate the controversial nature of the concept and to indicate the conception of ideology that I have opted for in my study. Section 2.4.4 consists of an examination of the close relationship between ideology and discourse and the way, in particular, that media discourse, for example, the editorial, naturalises ideologies, so allowing dominant groups to exercise their power through consent and not coercion. In section 2.4.5 I review the most recent studies concerning September 11 and ideology in media discourse, including the editorial.

### **2.4.2 Opinion**

Today discourse is one of the most important means of expressing opinions and ideologies on a massive scale. The editorial as a genre is considered a type of opinion discourse (Van Dijk 1996a). An understanding of *opinion* and what function it serves is important, because it is “by way of” opinions that the relation between ideology and discourse can be understood (Van Dijk 1996b:8). In this section, therefore, I discuss how opinion, as a type of belief, is distinct from knowledge, and is subjective and evaluative. I then reflect on the argumentative nature of opinions and the kinds of discourse strategies used in language to persuade recipients to accept new opinions. This section is a significant precursor to my section on *ideology* (cf. 2.4.3) because it is opinion that expresses social ideologies and is found particularly in media discourse, like the editorial.

Van Dijk (1996a&b) believes that an analysis of opinion must incorporate relating society, discourse and cognition. He explains that opinions are located in our minds and are a type of *belief*. Beliefs are held to be about what we know to be true or false and what we like or dislike. He maintains that beliefs or evaluative opinions must be clearly distinguished from *knowledge* in order to understand the workings of ideology properly (see also Oskamp 1977, Van Dijk 1998 & 2002). Van Dijk (1996a&b) explains that opinions are usually regarded as subjective evaluations by which someone thinks something to be true yet might be regarded as false by someone else. Knowledge is the commonsense information that is taken to be true and is not contested. Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) (which I report on in Chapter 3), by means of which I analyse my data, offers a set of methodological tools by which to identify how knowledge and opinions are constructed in the language. The fine line between opinions and knowledge is that “the meaning of an *opinion* is dependent upon the opinions which it is countering” (Billig 1991:17). It is thus that opinion discourse is argumentative as recipients expect opinions to be defended and made plausible (Van Dijk 1996a&b). Defending and arguing an opinion can be regarded as an ideological strategy of *legitimation* (cf. 3.3.2) to persuade recipients to accept the opinion.

It is obvious then that arguing for an opinion would involve persuasive strategies. According to Sornig (1989), persuasive communication requires a change in the style of language (whether lexical choice, syntactic or discursal arrangement etc) used in order to encourage behavioural and opinion change in the recipients. Sornig points out that it is how things are said to persuade an audience rather than the truth-value of what is said that is important in persuasive communication. This is why persuasive communication is seen as a stylistic process and why SFG is particularly helpful in uncovering how language is used in such a case. Van Dijk (1996a&b) indicates that opinions can be recognised by the specific grammatical, lexical and stylistic choices, for example opinion markers such as “my opinion is”, or “according to me”. These choices for expressing opinion are regarded as attitudes used “for negotiating our social relationships, by telling our listeners or readers how we feel about things and people (in a word, what our attitudes are)” (Martin & Rose 2003:22). To analyse and evaluate these attitudes an APPRAISAL analysis is necessary (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). Both Sornig (1989) and Van Dijk (1996a&b) agree that opinions are linked closely with emotions and expressing one’s opinion may well be accompanied by strong emotional language, hence the value of an APPRAISAL analysis to reveal these

opinions and attitudes. Sornig (1989:109) explains this by saying “persuasive use of language does not so much appeal to reason but to the recipient’s expectations and emotions. As its purpose is not so much to inform as to make people believe, and in the end to act upon their beliefs, he or she who sounds like one of us is the one we most easily trust”.

The editorial as a type of opinion discourse thus aims to persuade the reader to accept new opinions. According to Oskamp (1977:133) “mass communication is particularly likely to be effective in creating opinions and attitudes on new issues where there are no existing predispositions to be changed”. Along with the opinions, there is also factual knowledge, that is, “presupposed knowledge we have called public knowledge about specific events” and readers need to be familiar with this knowledge in order to understand the text (Van Dijk 2002:4). Producers of discourse formulate presupposed knowledge carefully so that it is taken as commonsense or *universalised* (cf. 3.3.2). Although the editorial is considered to be the personal opinion of the writer, these opinions or beliefs, as well as presupposed knowledge, are often, however, based on social opinions. These socially shared beliefs or opinions of a group become shared knowledge when they are no longer contested (Van Dijk 1998). In the case of September 11, societies began to question, analyse and re-evaluate their presupposed-shared knowledge and social ideologies, through discourse like the editorial. In the section to follow I shall examine the concept of *ideology* and the role it plays in discourse.

### **2.4.3 Ideology**

After September 11, existing ideologies, both explicit and implicit, were questioned and led to the formulation of new opinions and ideologies concerning the state of world affairs. It is therefore necessary to understand exactly what the term *ideology* means and what its effects potentially are on society, particularly in regard to events like September 11. In this section I give a brief overview of the historical origins of the concept and highlight some definitions and ideas of key theorists. I feel this is necessary in order to show that the definition of ideology has changed constantly and been contested ever since the term was coined. This term and others such as *knowledge*, *society*, *power* and so on have what Van Dijk (1998:1) calls a “fuzzy life” which scholars and philosophers enjoy debating over. Most theorists therefore agree, as the account to follow will show, that there is no single definition of ideology as the term encompasses many different meanings

and functions. I nevertheless feel that it is necessary to be explicit about the view of ideology that I will be subscribing to in this thesis, and so end the chapter on this note.

The most prominent view of ideology has its roots with Marx and Engels whose conception links ideology to power, dominance and class conflict. Marx wanted to understand how minority groups could maintain power and why the majority of people accepted a system that appeared to be in contrast to their own interests (Grossberg et al. 1998). Their theory views ideology as “false consciousness” whereby individuals in society are presented with an illusory view of reality, presented as common sense so that systems of power can be maintained (Billig 1991:4 see also Eagleton 1991, Larrain 1979, Plamenatz 1970, Therborn 1980, Van Dijk 1998). This view has come under debate for many years as it implies a correct way of seeing the world, which only certain people, for example intellectuals, are able to recognise. It is these intellectuals who are supposed to enlighten the ordinary person of the deception of ideology (Eagleton 1991, Billig 1991). Marx and Engels’ theory is intended to expose this illusion and bring down the ruling class. As part of the analysis of my ‘core’ editorials, in chapter 4, I show how ideologies are presented as commonsense (or *naturalised*, according to Thompson cf. 3.3.2) and how these ideologies support dominant group interests.

Gramsci, a famous Marxist follower, conceived of the concept of “hegemony”, which Abercrombie (1980:115) defines as “an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society”. In contrast to Marx, Gramsci’s theory means that instead of seeing the ruling class as imposing its ideologies on the masses through *coercion*, this control is subtly exercised through *consent* by using strategies like persuasion that control the mind (Abercrombie et al. 1980:12, Van Dijk 1998). He does, however, believe that there is usually a balance between coercion and consent and that the working class is not completely subordinate to the ruling class, as Marx claims. He further believes that every person is an intellectual in some sense as they figure out their way in the world, but maintains there are specialised intellectuals whose profession it is to articulate “the view of the social world appropriate to ‘their’ social class” (Abercrombie et al. 1980:13). Editorial writers, I suppose, could be classed as “specialised intellectuals” since they sought to make sense of the attacks in America for their readers.

Like Gramsci, Habermas and Althusser are Marxist followers. Habermas believes in the concept of “legitimation” of ideologies. He claims that this is not only done by planting ideologies into the minds of people. Other ways, for example material gain, can be used. It is the “participation” of people in the system or the degree of *consent* that leads to the legitimation of that system (Abercrombie et al. 1980:16). Althusser sees ideology as functioning to mould individuals into the role of subject “while at the same time concealing from them their role as agents of the structure. As such, ideology is necessarily an illusory representation of the world” (Abercrombie et al. 1980:22), which can be shattered by events such as September 11 as ideologies are exposed and questioned and new ideologies are formulated. Althusser also rejects the Marxist idea that only one class is responsible for the ideological control in a society. He explains that institutions like the “Repressive State Apparatus (RSA)”, for example government, army, police; as well as the “Ideological State Apparatus (ISA)”, for example religion, education, mass media and so on play a role. He says that there is usually one RSA and multiple ISA’s. The ISA’s are subject to the ideologies of the RSA, which use the ISA’s to provide a dominant ideology. In every society there will be a different dominant ISA, for example the media, and the RSA, for example the government, will use it to spread its ideologies and maintain control even if repression is necessary, for example in the case of media censorship (Abercrombie et al. 1980:23, see also Abercrombie 1980, Dant 1991).

A non-Marxist theorist, Durkheim, relates religion and ideology whereby religions, like other institutions including the media, contain rules as to how to think and behave which ultimately become common sense and suppress people into obedience (Abercrombie et al. 1980). In other words, Durkheim sees compliance of the working class people as a result more of the routine and practice of established rules, like those in religion, than any consent or coercion into a dominant ideology. The attacks on America were viewed by those in the western world as attacks on established rules, which had dictated how people were supposed to think and act. Ideology is seen by Durkheim to become important in times of crisis where ideologies that are usually not contested are the focus of debate and reflection (as is the case with editorials surrounding the September 11 attacks).

The last key theorist I will mention is Foucault, whose theory specifically relates to discourse and ideology. Foucault believes that it is through discourse that power is enacted in society, and in contrast to Marxist theorists, “who see the media as pawns in the

hands of the powerful, Foucault argues that in all spheres of influence in a society a jockeying for power takes place between different discourses” (Macdonald 1995:46). In other words, he believes that ideological power does not only lie with the elite but with all members of society. In contrast to Marxist theory, Foucault’s work suggests that we think carefully about power as productive and not simply as a negative force of domination (Couzens Hoy 1986). Foucault believes that it is through discourse, like the media, that new ideologies are constructed and contested over in producing our view and way of life (Macdonald 1995).

Modern theories of ideology draw from the early theorists but there is still debate surrounding the nature of the concept and its effects. Nevertheless, it is a highly important concept because as Rossi-Landi (1990) points out, ideology is almost everywhere in every human action. As my outline of some of the definitions from key theorists has shown, a single, adequate definition of ideology is difficult to find so I have selected three modern definitions of ideology useful for the purposes of my research.

Firstly, Van Dijk (1996a) explains that the opinions found in editorials often express ideologies that play an important role *“in the formation and change of public opinion, in setting the political agenda, and influencing social debate, decision making and other forms of social and political action”*. This definition is useful as it directly links the opinions in editorials to their role in changing and sustaining existing ideologies, which is a focus of the analysis I report on in chapter 4.

Secondly, Otkar (2001:314) defines ideology as *“presentations of who we are, what we stand for, what our values are and what our relationships with others are”*. This is particularly useful for my research as it focuses on the role ideology plays in the formation of “us” and “them” groups in society. My analysis in chapter 4 pays particular attention to how language is used to exploit this division and make people belong. Lastly, Fairclough’s (1995a:12) definition is similar to Otkar’s, although he focuses specifically on how media discourse represents the world, individuals and groups of people in a particular way. He says,

*The ideological work of media language includes particular ways of representing the world (e.g. particular representations of Arabs, or of the economy), particular constructions of social identities (e.g. the construction in particular ways of scientific experts who feature on radio or television programmes), and particular constructions of social*

*relations (e.g. the construction of relations between politicians and public as simulated relations between people in a shared lifeworld).*

I draw on all three definitions of ideology throughout my thesis, particularly in chapter 4, but I find that Fairclough's definition is the most suitable for my research as it encompasses both the role of media discourse in ideological work and the effects this has on the representation of people and social relations, which is central to my analysis. In the following section, I discuss the role of ideology in discourse, particularly media discourse, given its relevance to my study.

#### **2.4.4 Discourse, Ideology and the Media**

Since language forms the basis of human communication, dominant groups need discourses in order to manipulate, conceal and persuade their way into power (Oktar 2001). According to McLellan (1995:60), language used to be "taken for granted, like a window through which we look at the world outside", but today language is being studied more critically and "instead of simply looking through the glass, we look at it, since the shape of the window or the arrangement of the panes may determine what we see through them". Hence the social functions of ideologies, through discourse, are now being analysed and criticised more than ever before.

The reason why discourse, in particular media discourse, plays such an important role in the reproduction of ideologies is explained by Fairclough (1989) in his discussion on commonsense and ideology. He believes that ideology is most effective in sustaining those in dominant positions, if it is hidden or seen as commonsense. The reason for this is because "if one becomes aware that a particular aspect of commonsense is sustaining power inequalities at one's own expense, it ceases to *be* commonsense, and may cease to have the capacity to sustain power inequalities, i.e. to function ideologically" (1989:85). In discourse this commonsense is achieved by presenting ideologies as background assumptions or presupposed knowledge (cf. 2.4.2) and not explicitly foregrounding them as new information. Fairclough's view of ideology can thus be tied to his predecessor, Gramsci (cf. 2.4.3), who also relates power with commonsense. As I discussed in section 2.4.3, Gramsci believes that ideologies that become commonsense are in effect hegemonic.

Fairclough (1989:43-68) also argues that there is “power *behind* discourse” and “power *in* discourse”. The power *behind* discourse relates to those who have control over (re) production of discourse types and who are able to control access to discourse. In this case powerful institutions, such as government or the press, are able to control access to discourse (like the editorial) and what types of discourse are produced. Power *in* discourse relates to how those in dominant positions in society can constrain the discourse types in their interest in order to maintain power. For example, the newspaper owner and the editorial writer (cf. 2.3) have this power to control what the reader is exposed to. Those who hold dominant positions constantly have to reassert their position of power because those who are not in power may attempt to seize power. Fairclough sees this as the social struggle that is found in discourse. Chomsky (1989:8) points out that “furthermore, those who occupy managerial positions in the media or gain status within them as commentators, belong to the same privileged elites, and might be expected to share the perceptions, aspirations, and attitudes of their associates, reflecting their own class interests as well”. In other words, as discussed in section 2.2.4, those in dominant positions within the media industry, like newspaper owners, often belong to the same group of elite who have similar corporate and state interests as, for example, those in government. Therefore, the media, according to Chomsky (1989), will naturally reflect the ideological interests and perspectives of those in powerful positions, i.e. the elite.

In today’s world, groups are able to keep power not by force or economic control but through the implicit use of persuasion in discourse that leads to consent (Van Dijk 1998). The dominant ideologies are linked to the struggle of one group over another and this emphasises group identification, in the selection of in-group members and out-group members (Van Dijk 1998). This extends to concepts such as national identities, discussed by De Cillia et al. (1999), which are constructed through discourses by politicians, intellectuals, in the media and through education. This reinforcement of group identification is obviously a significant issue at stake in the editorial, after September 11.

Thompson (1990:60) identifies five modes used in discourse to promote ideology. These form an important part of the analysis of my editorial sample that I report on in the latter part of chapter 4. The five modes are *legitimation*; *dissimulation*; *unification*; *fragmentation*; and *reification* (explained in greater detail in section 3.3.2). The modes, through which ideology can operate, function to persuade the receiver to accept and adopt

the dominant ideology. This positively benefits those in power by solidifying their position, while it negatively affects those being dominated by suppressing them. An important purpose of chapter 4 is to report on the ideological strategies used in my selected editorials, and to show how these strategies convey the meaning of September 11 and how, in turn, this meaning serves to sustain relations of power.

In the last section of my literature review to follow, I turn to a discussion of the most recent publications regarding the portrayal of September 11 in media discourse, and their relevance for my study.

#### **2.4.5 The Portrayal of September 11 in the Media**

In this section, I look at the most recent scholarly studies concerning the media and September 11 that sprung up fairly quickly after the events. Recent journal publications concerning September 11 and media discourse address two central issues of my own study, namely the division between “us” and “them”; and APPRAISAL resources and how these help to align and create solidarity between writer and reader. For the purposes of my study I have found three articles from an edition of *Discourse and Society* (2004 Vol. 15:2-3) most relevant. These are written by: Achugar; Martin; and Edwards. Another publication relevant to my study is that edited by Zelizer & Allan (2002). It deals with the state of journalism after the attacks in comparison with before. In what follows I shall review each of these publications and indicate their relevance to my research.

Achugar’s article, *“The events and actors of 11 September 2001 as seen from Uruguay: analysis of daily newspaper editorials”* (2004), is especially relevant to my own research because not only does it concern the study of newspaper editorials but also focuses on a non-American perspective of the attacks. This perspective is important for my research, as my corpus not only includes an American editorial but also British and African editorials. She examines how two Uruguayan newspapers (one progressive, one conservative):

1. Construct and evaluate the identities of “us” versus “them”, including construction of the Muslim Other.
2. Represent and evaluate the events themselves and the effects of nominalisation and intertextuality in this process.
3. Use discourse to construct an ideological perspective of reality to suit their local interests.

As in the case of my study, Achugar relies on Critical Discourse Analysis, Systemic Functional Grammar and APPRAISAL, although it must be noted that Achugar does not examine textual structure in her analysis, which I include in my research.

Achugar reveals that both newspapers identify social actors as belonging to either the “us” or “them” (Other) group with the aim of promoting the ideologies of the in-group by comparing them to those of the out-group. The more conservative newspaper, *El Pais*, constructs an identity of “us” by associating itself with the Western, American view of civilisation and the Other is “embodied in the ‘non-Western’, by geographical, ethnic, religious or moral characteristics” (2004:295). For example, Osama bin Laden is identified as a member of the out-group. In contrast the liberal newspaper, *La Republica*, constructs an identity of “us” that includes all people who are victims of the Other. The Other are represented as all those who partake in any form of terrorist activity. In both instances each newspaper represents “us” in positive terms and the Other in negative terms. Likewise, the evaluation of these in-group and out-group members is based on moral and ethical qualities with the Other considered deviant and immoral.

This representation and evaluation/appraisal of the social actors becomes a means for each newspaper to draw parallels with the political situation in Uruguay, namely the “resolution of human rights violations committed during the last military dictatorship and the role of the Left as the new strong political actor to contend with” (2004:315). For example, *El Pais* includes voices of various political actors to “support the construction of a narrative that establishes a parallelism between the actions of the armed guerrilla in the 1960s to the events that occurred in the U.S. on 9/11” (2004:314). What this does, essentially, is associate those responsible for the guerrilla group in Uruguay with those responsible for the attacks on America (a similar strategy adopted in the selected Zimbabwean editorial; cf. 4.5). In Achugar’s words (2004:316) “The Left is then demonised and transformed into the same category as the new Other, the ‘new terrorists’”. This interpretation of the events at the local level created a political debate between Right and Left in Uruguay with the progressive newspaper, *La Republica*, denouncing the comparison made by *El Pais* as a political manoeuvre to gain more public support.

Achugar’s analysis shows that when making meaning of the events that took place in America, editorial writers used the events to highlight, compare and contrast with local

political issues. As one moves further away from the location of the attacks, it is highly likely that countries like Uruguay and, in my study, countries in Africa, will include intertextuality in their editorials to not only help the reader make meaning but to advance their own interests and to resolve local issues. Achugar's article, due to the relevance it has for my research, has significantly informed my own 'grid' of features (cf. 3.4) that I have drawn up for my analysis of the selected editorials.

The article by Martin "*Mourning: how we get aligned*" (2004) explores how readers can become aligned in an editorial from *HK Magazine* in Hong Kong published 10 days after September 11. The varied readership of the magazine is one without a definite identity, as it is aimed at Australian and British expatriates working in Hong Kong as well as returning Chinese, coming back from America or other Western countries. The editorial focuses on four stories of discrimination towards dark-skinned people that took place in Macau, Singapore and Hong Kong after the attacks in America. The issue of discrimination is significant to my study as it is likely to feature in my selected editorials, most particularly I feel in the South African editorial where the local problem of discrimination is deep-rooted in the nation's history (cf. 4.4). Martin's article discusses discrimination that occurred after September 11 whereby those responsible for the attacks were immediately identified as Arabs, which led to prejudice against anyone who looked slightly Arabic.

Martin shows how *one* editorial can potentially be written differently by the writer to get a particular response from the reader, revealing how ideologically powerful the choice of language can be in an editorial. Using APPRAISAL, Martin analyses various different accounts of the same editorial to show how language, in each version of the editorial, is used to negotiate solidarity with the reader towards establishing group identity. In other words in the first account, for example, the writer draws attention to what happened to the victims so as to evoke sympathy and pity from the reader. In the second account the negative behaviour of those responsible for the discrimination is the focus, making the reader judge their actions negatively. From his analysis Martin concludes that the editorial aims to position readers to belong to certain social groups. This can be complex and multidimensional, as in the case of *HK Magazine's* varied readership, whereby readers become "positioned to sympathise as people, and castigate as thinking internationals, and mock as outsiders and hope as insiders" (2004:341). With regard to my study Martin's

paper has offered me very useful guidelines in analysing my sample of editorials, using APPRAISAL, to illuminate how discourse is used to share feelings and opinions and create solidarity between the writer and reader.

Edwards' article, "*After the fall*" (2004), focuses on the psychological and linguistic perspective of the events of September 11 and particularly on "perception and image and, therefore, the importance of message, manipulation and positive self-presentation" (2004:155). He looks at America and the psychological effects created by images. The creation of these images has been expressed through the media but also in the speeches given by American politicians.

Edwards explains that one of the first perceptions to come out of the attacks was that life was never going to be the same again and there was a need to rally American and international support against the culprits (as is evident in the American editorial chosen for analysis; cf. 4.2). This perception, if analysed according to Thompson's five modes of ideology (cf. 3.3.2), *legitimated* America's need to go to war. This legitimation was achieved by *unifying* those considered part of the "us" group and *fragmenting* those who belonged to "them". This "us" versus "them" distinction was done by *universalising* the American way of life as a symbol. Edwards (2004:157) explains that "to say that by attacking the United States the terrorists attacked the world is to suggest that America *is* the world – or, at least, is what the rest of the world aspires to become". This ideological view enhanced America's superiority status but, undoubtedly, was and is not agreed upon by all non-Americans.

No critical debates were welcome in the media and Edwards says the great failure here lies in the fact that America did not take the opportunity for self-examination and to question why this attack took place (2004). The media magnified the attack on America as unique and greater than any other event in recent history. This served to *legitimate* retaliatory war and it indicates the ideological power behind the media.

This article by Edwards is relevant to my research in a number of ways as it discusses how, in particular, the American media used ideological strategies to position receivers in accepting a particular representation of September 11. Using Thompson's five modes of

ideology (cf. 3.3.2) I similarly analyse my chosen editorials, in chapter 4, as to what ideological strategies the writers employ to present a convincing argument.

The second recent publication, relevant to my research, is *“Journalism After September 11”* edited by Zelizer & Allan (2002). This collection of articles focuses on questioning and criticising the nature of media coverage, particularly in America, and discussing if and how journalism has been changed by September 11. McChesney (2002) argues, in his chapter, that the response to the attacks by the American press is what was to be expected if one examines the history of the press in this country. He explains that despite the appearance of the American press as independent and free, it has throughout history been used as a propaganda tool by governments to aid the legitimization of hundreds of wars around the world and the attendant interests of those in power (my earlier account in section 2.2.3 bears this out). This is evident in the case of September 11 in the fact that the “very debate over whether to go to war, or how best to respond, did not even exist” (McChesney 2002:93). The American press did not question the reasons behind the attack but focused all their energy on declaring war as the only option (relevant evidence in section 4.2). Critical perspectives were absent from the immediate media coverage. The media also only relied on official sources that supported the American government with which to give confirmation to their proclamations of war. McChesney (2002:95) explains that the media’s dependence on these “official sources” protected the interests of the powerful and “where the elite and official sources are unified on ‘core’ issues, the nature of our press coverage is uncomfortably close to that found in authoritarian societies with limited formal press freedom”. By using the power of discourse, these sources and elite could control how people saw America in the crisis and more importantly, separate them from the Other.

As a result the press became a propaganda tool for supporting the war against the perpetrators of the attacks. According to Zelizer & Allan (2002), this turned into a debate in America between journalists advocating patriotism and critics who claimed that this undermined the independence of the press, which is supposed to be critical and objective in its reporting and editorialising. As a consequence, “the task of reproducing Pentagon propaganda became a patriotic duty, at least in the eyes of those fearful that critical reporting would undermine public interest” (Zelizer & Allan 2002:12).

Zelizer & Allan (2002:11) add that due to the lack of coverage of international news in the media in America, the American public could not understand any possible logical reason for the attacks and the question of “why” was left mostly unanswered by the media. The enormity of the ideological power held by the media is clearly illustrated in the fact that CNN had to broadcast two separate versions on the resultant war in Afghanistan. The reason for this was that on the one hand CNN’s international audience would respond negatively to the pro-America perspective delivered to the American people and on the other hand CNN could not broadcast a critical, apparently anti-American, view to the American public, as this would be seen as unpatriotic. The President of CNN, Walter Isaacson, made certain that any story that could appear to “undermine support for the US war” was counteracted with the message that the war against terrorism was a vital and good thing (McChesney 2002:94). The result was “two different versions of the war: a critical one for global audiences and a sugar-coated one for Americans” (McChesney 2002:94). This shows how powerful the press can be in controlling a nation’s perception of reality and in promoting preferred ideologies.

Long absent from American media coverage was any kind of “historical context in news accounts, leaving audiences to make sense of events without the benefit of reporting concerned with the cultural, economic and political factors underpinning them” (Zelizer & Allan 2002:12). In striking contrast, the British news, according to Zelizer & Allan, supplied its audience with a deeper, critical perspective on the war. As a result more and more Americans turned to British news, like the BBC, to understand how the rest of the world views America and for more objective, less sugar-coated news (Zelizer & Allan 2002). I feel it is to be expected, in my analysis in chapter 4, that the British evaluation of the attacks, in particular, will be highly critical and analytical in comparison to the American evaluation.

In the recent studies reviewed above, it is evident that the media is a powerful contributing force behind the creation of group identities. In an effort to understand the attacks the media has enhanced the division between “us” and “them” and, in the case of America, the media has used patriotism to further this divide. As in these studies discussed in this section, the analysis of my ‘core’ editorials, presented in chapter 4, will reveal the extent to which this division is exploited and how this differs between the countries chosen for analysis.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

To sum up my review of the relevant literature, it is firstly evident that the newspaper (cf. 2.2), since its origin, has always, through the social and individual functions it performs, been a powerful disseminator of dominant ideological interests. The role of the owner, in particular, is highly significant in determining what ideological perspective the reader is exposed to (cf. 2.2.4). Secondly, the editorial as a genre has a unique role within the newspaper as it consists of providing opinions and evaluations on news events (cf. 2.3). Its production is influenced by the ideological interests and perspective of the writer and, depending on how critically active the reader is, the editorial has the potential to spread dominant ideologies. Thirdly, the editorial is considered to be a type of opinion discourse (cf. 2.4.2), and this is significant because it is through opinions that ideologies can be expressed. The ideologies in media discourse, like the editorial, are particularly powerful as such discourse is able to reach large populations at one time (cf. 2.4.4). After September 11 the media became a vital source of information and opinion and as my research focuses on the role of the editorial after the attacks, section 2.4.5 includes a discussion of the most recent scholarly studies concerning the portrayal of September 11 by the media. These are influential, in regard to my research, as they highlight the workings of ideological strategies in the media's representation of September 11, particularly in the exploitation of "us" and "them".

In the chapter to follow, I outline the methodologies I employed when selecting, collecting and analysing the ideological underpinnings of the editorials that constitute the data on which my thesis is based.

### **3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The focus of the analysis in my thesis (chapter 4) is the discursual properties of the first editorial response to September 11, published in the chosen newspapers, as well as the workings of ideology in those editorials. This chapter, which is anticipative of that one, deals, firstly, with the data selected for analysis and, secondly, with the methods I used to undertake the Critical Discourse Analysis on which I report in chapter 4. The editorials are selected from America, Britain and Africa (cf. 3.2) so as to allow me to compare and contrast immediate reactions and opinions to the attacks in continents that are far-flung. Copies of the ‘core’ editorials chosen for the analysis can be found in the Appendices.

The methods I chose in order to carry out the critical analysis are: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) based on Fairclough’s theory, which I outline in section 3.3.2, and, working in conjunction with it, Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), which I deal with in section 3.3.3. For further insight into the negotiation of attitudes and opinions in the editorials I draw on APPRAISAL theory, in particular, the work by Martin, which I explain in section 3.3.3.1. I conclude by outlining the ‘grid’ of features, which I use in my analysis to illuminate the discursual features of the editorial and the ideologies that are conveyed in each editorial. This ‘grid’ is provided in section 3.4.

#### **3.2 Data Collection and Corpus**

The editorials chosen for close analysis come from a larger corpus of 44 editorials that I assembled. These were the first editorials, published in the selected newspapers, which were available to me after the attacks. I selected five editorials for analysis that, to me, seem representative of the genre and ideological stance of my corpus. These I refer to as my ‘core’ editorials. The five editorials are drawn from two American newspapers, two British newspapers, five South African newspapers, two Zimbabwean newspapers and one Kenyan newspaper (see Table 3.). I feel it is important to stress that, in each case, these newspapers and their editorials represent only one perspective on the attacks and the chosen editorials, therefore, cannot be treated as typical of each country’s viewpoint on the events (see 5.3 for a discussion on the limitations of my study). The choice of country and newspaper is based on several criteria:

- **The American editorial:** I chose an American view, specifically, because America was the site of the attacks and they would, therefore, have had great impact on those directly affected by the attacks. I selected *The Washington Post* because not only is it located in a city where one of the attacks occurred, but also it is ranked as having one of the highest readership figures in the country, thereby allowing for far-reaching influence by this newspaper.
- **The British editorial:** I decided to include a British view on the attacks because Britain is a strong ally of America (particularly in foreign policy) and is also considered a first-world country. Nevertheless, its geographical distance from the immediacy of the attacks would presumably promote a different perspective on the attacks. I selected *The Times*, because it is a broadsheet and enjoys high readership figures in the U.K. I decided on broadsheets purely because of their perceived seriousness and influence in contrast with the lesser standing of tabloids.
- **The South African editorial:** South Africa was chosen because of its status within Africa. In other words, it is considered to be one of the most influential countries in Africa. I selected *The Cape Times*, located in Cape Town, because it is an English-medium newspaper with one of the highest readership figures in the country. In addition, I felt that the fact that Cape Town has a large Muslim population would be ideologically significant.
- **The Zimbabwean editorial:** Zimbabwe was chosen to represent those African countries experiencing social conflict and economic decline and who do not perceive the Western world, particularly America and Britain, in a particularly positive light. The fact that I was born and grew up in Zimbabwe also influenced this selection. I chose *The Daily News* purely because it was one of only two newspapers, in the country, to publish editorial comment on the attacks.
- **The Kenyan editorial:** Kenya was chosen because it is the location of a similar terrorist attack on U.S. interests in 1998, linked to Osama bin Laden, and the country also has a fairly large Muslim population. This comparison with America would perhaps provide a different perspective from the other African countries as it has first hand experience of the same crisis in America. I selected *The Daily Nation*, as it was the only English-medium, daily newspaper available to me.

**Table 3. Five ‘core’ editorials selected for analysis**

Country	Selected Newspaper	Number of Editorials chosen for close analysis
America	<i>The Washington Post</i>	1
Britain	<i>The Times</i>	1
South Africa	<i>The Cape Times</i>	1
Zimbabwe	<i>The Daily News</i>	1
Kenya	<i>The Daily Nation</i>	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>5</b>

### 3.3 Methods of Analysis

#### 3.3.1 Introduction

In order to investigate the generic structure of the editorial (my second research question; cf. 1.2) as well as to illuminate the ideologies of the chosen editorials (my first research question), I have selected CDA and SFG as the tools of my analysis. The primary reason is that these tools allow me systematically to analyse the linguistic choices and structure of the texts in order for me to explain how these choices influence the ideological strategies in the editorials. In the account that follows I first give an outline of Critical Discourse Analysis and how it relates to my study (cf. 3.3.2). Then I give an account of Systemic Functional Grammar and how meaning is made in texts following Halliday's three metafunctions: *Ideational*, *Interpersonal* and *Textual* (cf. 3.3.3). Then, in section 3.3.3.3.1, I provide a fuller account of the interpersonal function of the editorial, achieved by means of APPRAISAL, in terms of which attitudes and opinions are analysed. In section 3.3.3.2.1, I provide an account of Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic categories for the representation of social actors, since one focus of my analysis is the representation of social actors (as is similarly the case in Achugar's study 2004; cf. 2.4.5). In section 3.3.3.3.2, I deal with the important role of Nominalisation in the editorial. In the last section of the chapter (cf. 3.4) I outline a 'grid' of the features of analysis that is central to my analysis of each editorial.

#### 3.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

To understand how language affects and is affected by social life, CDA is a necessary tool for researchers because, as Fairclough (2003) explains, without a critical analysis one cannot simply theorise about the effects of language. Fairclough (1989:24) points out that "a text is a product rather than a process – a product of the process of text production". The production of a text involves a combination of the processes of production and interpretation and thus a text analysis must account for the role of these two processes. In addition a text analysis must consider the social conditions of production and interpretation that is the non-linguistic aspects of society that will affect the writer and reader. Both the writer and reader draw on member's resources (MR) to produce and interpret texts in relation to their experience of the social world around them. Fairclough (1989:24) defines MR as what "people have in their heads and draw upon when they produce or interpret texts – including their knowledge of language, representations of the natural and social worlds they inhabit, values, beliefs, assumptions and so on".

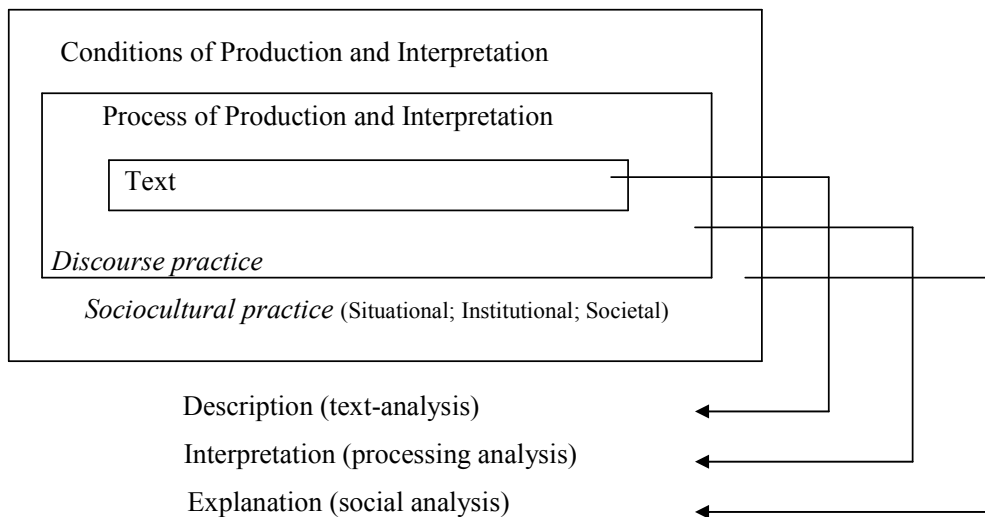
Fairclough's (1989) model for CDA (see Figure 2.) recognises three dimensions of discourse, which, conveniently, correspond to three stages of analysis (see also Janks 1997). The three dimensions of any discourse are:

1. The *text* (whether spoken or written).
2. The *processes of production and interpretation* of the text.
3. The *social conditions* surrounding these processes.

These three dimensions of discourse correlate with three stages of analysis (see Figure 2.), which, as Janks (1997) points out, are interdependent. Analysis can start with any stage as long as they are all ultimately included to fully understand the meaning of a text. The stages are:

1. *Description*- of the formal properties of the text.
2. *Interpretation*- of the processes of production and interpretation or interaction with the text by producers and interpreters.
3. *Explanation*- of the interaction and the social context as well as their social effects (Fairclough 1989).

**Figure 2. Fairclough's (1989) model of Critical Discourse Analysis as illustrated by Janks (1997)**



In what follows, I report more fully on Fairclough's three Dimensions of Discourse and Discourse Analysis:

### **1. Description of the Text:**

Fairclough's first dimension of discourse is the text, spoken or written. This dimension correlates with the *Descriptive* stage of analysis where the formal discourse choices of the

text are analysed to uncover the lexical and structural trends in the text. Fairclough (1989) divides this analysis up into three sections: *vocabulary*, *grammar* and *textual structures*. These sections are constructed around ten questions that aid the researcher at this stage in the CDA, which I list shortly (Table 4.). It is at this stage of analysis that Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar is a useful tool for teasing out the intricate lexical and textual choices. Fairclough's three sections of analysis correspond to Halliday's three components of register, namely: the *Field* of discourse, the *Tenor* of Discourse and the *Mode* of discourse (Luckett & Chick 1998). These three components correlate to Halliday's three metafunctions: *Ideational*, *Interpersonal* and *Textual* (discussed in detail in section 3.3.3 to follow). Within Fairclough's three sections there is also correlation with Halliday's metafunctions. This correlation between CDA and SFG is illustrated in Figure 3. below.

**Figure 3. Correlation between Fairclough's CDA and Halliday's SFG**

Fairclough	Halliday
A. Vocabulary →	Field of Discourse: Ideational
B. Grammar →	Tenor of Discourse: Interpersonal
C. Textual Structures →	Mode of Discourse: Textual

Fairclough	Halliday
A. Vocabulary: 1. Experiential Values →	Ideational
2. Relational Values →	Interpersonal
3. Expressive Values →	Textual

Martin (2000a) explains that the three metafunctions contribute to describing a text. For the purposes of my research not all of Fairclough's questions, or their sub-questions, at this stage of analysis, are useful. Consequently I have produced my own 'grid' of features, which I outline in section 3.4. This stage of the analysis is where SFG is most useful in highlighting trends and inconsistencies in the linguistic choices made by the writer. Fairclough's (1989:110) ten questions are outlined in Table 4 below.

**Table 4. Fairclough's ten questions for the Descriptive analysis (1989)**

<p><b>A. Vocabulary</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>1. What experiential values do words have?</b>            What classification schemes are drawn upon?            Are there words, which are ideologically contested?            Is there rewording or overwording?            What ideologically significant meaning relations (synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy) are there between words?</li> <li><b>2. What relational values do words have?</b>            Are there euphemistic expressions?            Are there markedly formal or informal words?</li> <li><b>3. What expressive values do words have?</b></li> <li><b>4. What metaphors are used?</b></li> </ol> <p><b>B. Grammar</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>5. What experiential values do grammatical features have?</b>            What types of process and participant predominate?            Is agency unclear?            Are processes what they seem?            Are nominalisations used?            Are sentences active or passive?            Are sentences positive or negative?</li> <li><b>6. What relational values do grammatical features have?</b>            What modes (declarative, grammatical question, imperative) are used?            Are there important features of relational modality?            Are the pronouns <i>we</i> and <i>you</i> used, and if so, how?</li> <li><b>7. What expressive values do grammatical features have?</b>            Are there important features of expressive modality?</li> <li><b>8. How are (simple) sentences linked together?</b>            What logical connectors are used?            Are complex sentences characterised by coordination/subordination?            What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?</li> </ol> <p><b>C. Textual structures</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>9. What interactional conventions are used?</b>            Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?</li> <li><b>10. What larger-scale structures does the text have?</b></li> </ol>
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**2. Interpretation of the Text:**

The Descriptive stage of analysis, according to Fairclough, cannot stand alone in a Critical Discourse Analysis. An analysis of the social structures and context surrounding the production and interpretation of the text is necessary to grasp the reasons behind the linguistic choices in the text. Fairclough (1989:140) explains that the relationship between text and social context “is mediated first of all by the discourse which the text is a part of, because the values of textual features only become real, socially operative, if they are embedded in social interaction, where texts are produced and interpreted against a

background of common sense assumptions (part of MR) which give textual features their value". This next stage is the second stage of analysis, the *Interpretation*.

At this stage the *situational context* and the *intertextual context* are analysed (Fairclough 1989). In other words, the conditions surrounding the writer, the intended reader, the reason the text was written and the intertextual influences on the production and interpretation of the text are analysed. The role of those involved in the production and reception of the text, as reviewed in section 2.2.4, is important in interpreting the relationship between the formal textual choices and the social context, which is why I included it in my literature review. The intertextual context refers to the ways in which other discourses are brought into a text, to explain the meaning of events (like September 11), as is evident in my analyses in chapter 4. In my study, I focus on two forms of intertextuality: i.e. *comparative* and *reported speech* (Fairclough 1992). In other words, writers may compare other events in history with September 11 or include alternative voices for the purposes of interpreting the attacks. The ways in which the use of alternative voices, in particular, position a reader's view of events is further explored through the *Engagement* dimension of an APPRAISAL analysis (cf. 3.3.3.3.1).

An analysis of the situational and intertextual contexts, thus, involves asking several questions (adapted from Fairclough 1989:146):

1. When and where was the text written; what is it about and what is its purpose?
2. Who are the sender and receiver of the text and what are the power relations between them?
3. What assumptions can be made about the background knowledge (MR) of the sender and the receiver that may have influenced the production and interpretation of the text?
4. What do the intertextual references reveal about the intended receiver?
5. What is the role of the language and how does it determine the genre or discourse type?

This stage in a Critical Discourse Analysis "makes explicit what for participants is generally implicit: the dependence of discourse practice on the unexplicated common-sense assumptions of MR and discourse type" (Fairclough 1989:162). Interpreting the situational context and intertextual references aims at illuminating power relations between the sender and receiver and what MR both participants draw upon in the production and reception of a text.

### **3. Explanation of Text:**

The third stage of analysis, the *Explanation* stage, is closely linked with the Interpretation stage, and hence both will be dealt with together in chapter 4. This is because at the

Interpretation stage, the MR of both the sender and receiver are analysed to reveal what background assumptions both participants bring to the processes of production and reception. The Explanation stage is concerned with analysing how these MR are reproduced in the production of discourse and how they either maintain or change existing power relations and ideologies in society (Fairclough 1989). Fairclough further explains that the objective of the Explanation stage is to uncover to what degree discourse is determined by social structures and to what degree it supports or changes the existing structures. In his words,

The stage of explanation involves a specific perspective on MR: they are seen specifically as ideologies. That is, the assumptions about culture, social relationships, and social identities which are incorporated in MR, are seen as determined by particular power relations in the society or institution, and in terms of their contribution to struggles to sustain or change these power relations – they are seen ideologically (Fairclough 1989:166).

The discourse, at this stage, is either seen as part of social struggle or as a result of uncontested power relations in society. The aim is to reveal the “social, political and ideological effects” of the text (Luckett & Chick 1998:84). Several questions can be asked to illuminate the ideologies in a text (adapted from Fairclough 1989 and Luckett & Chick 1998):

1. What is the socio-historical context of the text?
2. What are the power relations at the social, institutional, and situational levels and how do they shape the discourse?
3. What aspects of the MR are ideological and to what degree are they taken as common sense or natural?
4. What are the effects of the overt or covert ideologies in the text in sustaining or changing power relations at the social, institutional and situational levels of society?

In order to understand the ideological effects of the discourse chosen for analysis in my study I refer to Thompson’s (1990) five ideological modes by which ideology is operational in discourse. These are, *legitimation*; *dissimulation*; *unification*; *fragmentation*; and *reification*. Table 5. lists these modes and also includes the strategies within each type of mode that can be used in discourse. In my analysis of the selected editorials, in chapter 4, I rely on Thompson’s five modes to tease out the dominant ideological strategies and their role in each of the editorials.

**Table 5. Thompson's five modes of operation of ideology (1990:60-67)**

<b>MODES</b>	<b>STRATEGIES OF SYMBOLIC CONSTRUCTION</b>	
<b>LEGITIMATION</b> Representing something as legitimate to gain support for it.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Rationalisation</li> <li>2. Universalisation</li> <li>3. Narrativisation</li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Chain of reasoning to defend/ legitimate a set of social rules</li> <li>- Institutional arrangements that serve individual interests but represented as serving interests of all.</li> <li>- Claims in stories that treat the present as part of tradition.</li> </ul>
<b>DISSIMULATION</b> Hiding, denying or obscuring relations of domination to sustain them.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Displacement</li> <li>2. Euphemism</li> <li>3. Trope (e.g. metaphor)</li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- One symbol displaced to symbol similar to it.</li> <li>- Positive re-evaluation to shift sense.</li> <li>- Use of figurative language e.g. metaphor.</li> </ul>
<b>UNIFICATION</b> Embracing all individuals into a collective despite differences.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Standardisation</li> <li>2. Symbolisation of unity</li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Symbolic form adapted to a standard framework.</li> <li>- A collective identity that overrides differences and divisions.</li> </ul>
<b>FRAGMENTATION</b> Fragmenting individuals & groups that may challenge those in power.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Differentiation</li> <li>2. Expurgation of of the Other</li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Emphasising differences making unity more difficult.</li> <li>- Construction of an enemy that must collectively be expurgated.</li> </ul>
<b>REIFICATION</b> Representing the socio-historical state of affairs as natural and permanent.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Naturalisation</li> <li>2. Externalisation</li> <li>3. Nominalisation/ Passivisation</li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Social historical state of affairs presented as natural.</li> <li>- Social historical state of affairs presented as permanent and unchanging.</li> <li>- Processes as things/events, obscure actors and agency.</li> </ul>

Thompson does point out that he is not suggesting these are the only ways in which ideology operates in discourse or that these modes are necessarily used singly, but “he gives us a useful way of thinking about the relation between symbolic forms, including those that are linguistic, and social effect” (Janks 1998:199). For an example of how Thompson’s model is applied to my analysis of the selected editorials, see Appendix F for an analysis of *The Washington Post* editorial.

Fairclough’s three stages of discourse analysis are seen as three inter-related stages. As Figure 2. shows, Fairclough’s model embeds the three stages in boxes, which “emphasise the interdependence of these dimensions and the intricate moving backwards and forwards

between the different types of analysis” (Janks 1997:330). This, says Janks, allows the researcher to begin analysis at any stage or work with all three stages simultaneously. In order to undertake the Descriptive stage of a Critical Discourse Analysis, i.e. the first, I rely on Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar, which I outline in the section to follow, believing that readers may not be familiar with SFG and, in particular, with APPRAISAL theory.

### 3.3.3 Systemic Functional Grammar

#### 3.3.3.1 Introduction

The account which follows draws largely on Halliday’s *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985, 1994) and is supported by other theorists such as: Butt et al. (1995); Eggins (1994); Martin (1997 & 2001); Martin et al. (1997); Matthiessen & Bateman (1991); Thompson (1996) and others. This account is necessary as it describes the tools I use in my descriptive analysis needed to supply answers to the set of questions in my ‘grid’ of features (cf. 3.4).

According to Halliday (1985,1994:xvii) a language is a “system for making meanings”. People use language to express meaning and therefore it is in understanding the theory behind the assembling of words to form a grammar that meaning can be interpreted correctly (Bloor & Bloor 1995, Halliday 1985,1994, Teo 2000). In other words, Halliday sees language as made up of semantic units and not grammatical units and that a functional grammar is needed to bring out the meaning in wordings.

Halliday (1985,1994) says that this kind of analysis is *functional* because it is about analysing language in use with regard to context (see also Matthiessen & Bateman 1991, Martin 2001). Language serves the functional needs of people in different contexts. Every form in a language can be explained according to its role within the language and therefore every word, clause, phrase and so on has its function that serves the purpose of the language as a whole. Halliday goes on to explain that language has three main uses or *metafunctions*: the *Ideational*, the *Interpersonal* and the *Textual*. Texts are analysed at the clausal level according to these three metafunctions (Martin et al. 1997). The *Ideational* metafunction involves looking at the processes in a text to understand the predominant events or relationships between participants involved in the processes, and how this representation contributes to the reader’s experience of the world. The *Interpersonal*

metafunction involves communication between people, the roles they assume as they express themselves and the attitudes they express towards one another and towards their subject matter. Lastly the *Textual* metafunction involves the actual organisation of the text itself (Bloor & Bloor 1995, Butt et al. 1995, Halliday 1985,1994, Martin et al. 1997, Matthiessen & Bateman 1991, Martin 2001, Thetela 2001).

Halliday indicates that in any language there are a variety of options open to a language user, hence the use of the term *systemic*. Bloor & Bloor (1995:2) give an example where a language user wanting to know the time may use a number of different options:

1. *What's the time?*
2. *Tell me the time, please.*
3. *I'd like to know the time.*

Systemicists, therefore, place emphasis on choice but also on how this relates to context because language cannot be understood properly unless the context is known. This relation between the choices made in a text and context is referred to as *context of situation* (Martin 2001, Butt et al. 1995). The context of situation, also referred to as the *register* of a text, consists of three categories: *Field*, *Tenor* and *Mode*. These (mentioned briefly in 3.3.2) coincide with Halliday's metafunctions whereby *Field* refers to "what is going on", that is the *Ideational* metafunction (or the Transitivity system); *Tenor* refers to "the way you relate to other people when doing what you do", in other words the *Interpersonal* metafunction; *Mode* refers to "the channel you select to communicate" or the *Textual* metafunction (Martin 2001:152). Martin (2001) explains further that context of situation is not sufficient when examining a text. The relationship between language and culture is also important to understand because if one is not socialised into a particular culture or sub-culture understanding meaning is difficult and incomplete.

Halliday's approach to analysing language, therefore, entails a microanalysis of the choices made in the grammar of language to interpret the meaning of a text and what functions these choices serve for the language user. In the sub-sections to follow, I look at how meaning is realised in texts through Halliday's metafunctions. I feel it is necessary to point out at this stage that, in addition to my discussion of Halliday's three metafunctions, I shall be providing information on: Van Leeuwen's (1996) categorisation of social actors in my account of Field (cf. 3.3.3.2.1); Nominalisation (cf. 3.3.3.3.2); and APPRAISAL (cf. 3.3.3.3.1) in my account of Tenor, as these resources feature prominently in my analysis in

chapter 4. Examples used to illustrate each metafunction are drawn, where possible, from three of the selected editorials (*The Washington Post*, *The Times* and *The Daily News*) (referred as Appendices A, B and D respectively).

### 3.3.3.2 Field

Field reflects the *Ideational* metafunction. Halliday sees the Ideational function of the clause to mean “representation” (1985:101). In this respect the clause functions to represent our experience of the world as language users. This is because “a fundamental property of language is that it enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them” (Halliday 1994:106). This is pertinent in the case of September 11 where language, like that found in newspapers, allowed people to understand the events happening around them and how to place themselves and their emotions within that reality.

This system allows the clause to be broken down into three general components: the *process*, the *participant* and the *circumstance* (Bloor & Bloor 1995, Butt et al. 1995, Halliday 1985,1994, Martin 2000, Simpson 1993, Teo 2000, Thompson 1996). Thompson (1996) says that in representing our experience of the world we as language users select from a number of different processes, participants and circumstances to get the message across. In a clause there is only one process, which “can be classified according to whether it represents actions, speech, states of mind or simply states of being” (Simpson 1993:88). The process is always presented in the form of a verb and will include negative markers and auxiliaries (Ravelli 2000). It is important to note at this stage that due to the fact that very often a clause can contain more than one verb, I shall, for the sake of simplicity and uniformity, be analysing the last verbal group as the process type, in line with Martin et al. (1997). For example in the sentence *Words may try to explain such events* (B, 1.9), there are two verbal groups, *may try* and *to explain*. In a Transitivity analysis the second verbal group would be the relevant process type i.e.

*Words + may try + to explain + such events*  
 Process

The *participants* of the events bring about the *process* or goings-on and the *circumstances* give added detail as to how the world is represented for the language user (Ravelli 2000). For example, *No government can guarantee the full safety of its citizens either abroad or at home* (A, 1.19) where *No government* is the participant or actor, *can guarantee* is the

process and *abroad or at home* is the circumstance. These three components are, however, very general and, as a result, Halliday has outlined six specific processes and their participants, used by analysts today, to highlight the functions of wording in language. These were formulated by Halliday and are drawn upon by other theorists such as Martin et al. (1997), Thompson (1996) and others. They are as follows:

**1. Material processes** involve happenings or events that people do. Thompson (1996:79) says that this process usually signals physical actions like “running, throwing, scratching, cooking, sitting down, and so on”. Halliday (1985,1994) names the participant(s) associated with material process as the *actor* and in some cases the *goal*. In some cases this actor is not simply doing something to or for themselves, but is extending this action towards someone or something else. This other participant is referred to as the *goal*. For example (A, 1.30):

<i>U.S. authorities</i>	<i>actively hunt</i>	<i>those responsible for past terrorist acts</i>
<b>ACTOR</b>	<b>MATERIAL</b>	<b>GOAL</b>

Martin et al. (1997) add that the goal is sometimes also referred to as the *beneficiary* if, as a participant, it is the one receiving something or done something for by the actor. For example (A, 1.62):

<i>...only to forfeit</i>	<i>our victory</i>	<i>to anonymous extremists in this war</i>
<b>MATERIAL</b>	<b>GOAL</b>	<b>BENEFICIARY</b>

My analysis, in chapter 4, reveals a majority of material processes in all the editorials, particularly the American editorial, indicating the focus on explaining the actions of those responsible for the attacks and the proposed reaction by America and the rest of the world.

**2. Mental Processes** involve psychological rather than physical actions. Bloor & Bloor (1995:116) say that this process is usually “realised through the use of verbs like *think, know, feel, smell, hear, see, want, like, hate, please, repel, admire, enjoy, fear, frighten*”. In this case the participant of the clause who is involved in “conscious processing” is called the *senser* (Martin et al. 1997:105). This participant is typically always human, because of its ability to sense but can be “human-like” when “nominal groups serving as senser which denote non-conscious entities have to be construed metaphorically as

‘personified’” (Martin et al. 1997:105). This means that in some cases non-human entities, for example animals, and even non-animate entities, are given a consciousness by personifying them, for example *America* in *America must above all know Thomas Paine’s plea...*(B, 1.89). The clause may also involve another participant, the *phenomenon*, which is what is being sensed (Halliday 1985). For example (A, 1.38):

<i>Americans</i>	<i>must now think</i>	<i>the unthinkable</i>
<b>SENER</b>	<b>MENTAL</b>	<b>PHENOMENON</b>

**3. Relational Processes** involve recognising the existence of an entity (Thompson 1996) or “that something is” (Halliday 1985:112). This process is realised by the copula verbs like ‘be’, ‘seem’, ‘become’, and ‘appear’ (Bloor & Bloor 1995:120). Halliday (1985) says that there are two different clause types involved in this process: *attributive* and *identifying*. If the clause is attributive, “an attribute is ascribed to some entity; either as a quality (intensive), as a circumstance – of time, place etc. (circumstantial) or as a possession (possessive)” (Halliday 1985:113). In this case the participants become the *carrier* and the *attribute*. For example:

<b>Attribute of:</b> <b>quality</b> (A, 1.5)	<i>As a free society, America</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>particularly vulnerable</i>
<b>circumstance</b> (A, 1.140)	<i>(opponents who are working...)</i>	<i>to become,</i>	<i>in W.H. Auden’s words...(ANGLE)</i>
<b>possession</b> (A, 1.39)	<i>the next terrorist attack</i>	<i>could well involve</i>	<i>a contagious biological agent</i>
	<b>CARRIER</b>	<b>RELATIONAL</b>	<b>ATTRIBUTE</b>

If the clause is identifying, “one entity is used to identify another; the relationship between them is one of token and value (intensive), of phenomenon and circumstance of time, place etc. (circumstantial), or of owner and possession (possessive)” (Halliday 1985:113). For example:

<b>Identification by:</b> <b>Token-value</b> (B, 1.3)	<i>New York</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>a city I love</i>
<b>Circumstance</b> (B, 1.21)	<i>It</i>	<i>lies</i>	<i>in the aftermath</i>
<b>Possession</b> (D, 1.20)	<i>...who</i>	<i>had</i>	<i>his own warped and evil motives...</i>
	<b>IDENTIFIED</b>	<b>RELATIONAL</b>	<b>IDENTIFIER</b>

**4. Verbal Processes** involve processes of speaking. There is usually only one participant in this process who has verbalised something, that is the *sayer*. The words actually spoken

are known as *quoted*, in the case of direct speech, or *reported*, in the case of indirect speech (Bloor & Bloor 1995). For example (D, 1.14):

<i>...as what its enemies</i>	<i>have called</i>	<i>“the world policeman”</i>
<b>SAYER</b>	<b>VERBAL</b>	<b>QUOTED</b>

Sometimes, however, the sayer is directly saying something to someone. This participant is identified as the *receiver* (Thompson 1996). For example, *They would plead with America not to intervene everywhere...*(B, 1.57). If the verbal process is not directly addressing the receiver, this participant becomes known as the *target*, as in the example, *Those who question America’s frequent global interventions in the cause of democracy do so always from a position of respect* (B, 1.6). The name for the actual content of the verbalisation, i.e. the *verbiage*, may feature alongside the verbal process, for example (A, 1.47):

<i>(There is a natural tendency among political figures...)</i>	<i>to compete to claim</i>	<i>this issue...</i>
<b>(SAYER)</b>	<b>VERBAL</b>	<b>VERBIAGE</b>

The verbal process links with a category of APPRAISAL called *Engagement* (to be discussed in section 3.3.3.3.1) where the attitudes of persons other than the writer are introduced into a text in the form of quotations or reported speech. This confirms, challenges or simply provides varying views and attitudes on an issue the writer is presenting. It seems reasonable to expect that editorials written outside of America after the September 11 attacks will contain a greater variety of contrary opinions and comments from persons other than the writer as American editorials, looking inward at their grief are likely to deny the ‘enemy’ any say in the matter, suggesting that the voice of the Other is unimportant (relevant evidence is supplied in section 4.2). This phenomenon, where Americans deny the enemy, is noted by Butt et al. (2004:273) in an analysis of a speech made by President Bush immediately after the attacks. They write that “not surprisingly, the ‘enemy’ is denied the role of Sayer; what they have actually said is neither quoted nor reported”. This lack of an opinion from anyone considered a part of the Other or the ‘enemy’ would add to a one-sided, negative representation of the out-group and would present only the American perspective and ideology. How widespread this is in my data is of concern in chapter 4.

**5. Existential Processes** involve representing something that exists. This process is similar to the relational process, as the copula ‘to be’ predominates in the clause but it can be distinguished from the relational process because there is only one participant (Martin et al. 1997, Ravelli 2000). This participant is called the *existent* as it is involved in the process of existing and Halliday (1994) says that the existent may be any kind of event or phenomenon. Bloor & Bloor (1995:125) explain that this process is realised in two ways. Firstly, it is realised with a copula verb along with the “empty *there* as subject” (D, 1.44):

<i>There</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>similarities with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor</i>	<i>in 1941</i>
	<b>EXISTENTIAL</b>	<b>EXISTENT</b>	<b>CIRCUMSTANCE</b>

Secondly Bloor & Bloor, say that this process of existing can be realised with the existent as subject, the copula verb and the addition of a circumstantial adjunct.

**6. Behavioural Processes** involve the fuzzy area between the material and mental processes (Bloor & Bloor 1995). Similar to the existential process, there is usually only one participant, the *behave*. In this instance the human activities of speaking and thinking are considered to be behaviours that cannot be construed as material processes because of their mixed attributes (Martin et al. 1997). In other words, thinking and saying are seen “as activity; for example: *chat, gossip, ponder, watch, listen, smile, grin*” (Martin et al. 1997:109). For example (D, 1.38):

<i>Hard-core advocates of violence</i>	<i>will scoff</i>	<i>at the efficacy of the United Nations as the world's peace-maker</i>
<b>BEHAVER</b>	<b>BEHAVIOURAL</b>	<b>(PHENOMENON)</b>

The first three of Halliday’s Ideational processes (i.e. material, mental and relational) are considered to be the major clausal processes. The last three (i.e. verbal, existential and behavioural) are the minor processes that do not feature as often. These processes give the analyst evidence as to the major processes occurring in any text.

The third component of the clause that needs mentioning, that is in addition to the process and participant, is the *Circumstance*. This component usually appears in the form of an adverb or prepositional phrase and “in some respects, circumstances, as the name suggests, are more peripheral than participants, being concerned with matters such as the

settings, temporal and physical, the manner in which the process is implemented, the people or other entities accompanying the process rather than directly engaged in it” (Bloor & Bloor 1995:126). According to Martin et al. (1997:104) there are nine different circumstance types: *extent, location, manner, cause, contingency, accompaniment, role, matter* and *angle*. An example of location of place is: *in Afghanistan and Sudan* (A, 1.29). In respect of my study, circumstances of *time* and *place* play a significant role in channeling the interpretation of the events, as the reader is given other events in history to compare and contrast with September 11.

The investigation of how the Ideational metafunction is realised in my selected editorials has implications for the features of analysis I have decided on and outlined in a ‘grid’ in section 3.4. It is these tools of SFG (outlined above) that will inform my analysis on the types of processes, participants and circumstances that dominate in the selected editorials. Patterns within the Ideational metafunction will indicate the intention of the writer i.e. what ideological message the writer is trying to send to the reader. In order to analyse not only who is represented in the selected editorials, it is important to realise how these social actors/participants are inscribed in them. To do so I employ Van Leeuwen’s (1996) methodology, briefly outlined in the section to follow.

### 3.3.3.2.1 Van Leeuwen’s Categorisation of Social Actors

Coupled with the resources from Halliday’s SFG, outlined above, I employ Van Leeuwen’s (1996) socio-semantic categorisation methods for the representation of social actors. As used by Achugar (2004), in her analysis of Uruguayan editorials after September 11 (cf. 2.4.5), this will allow me to tease out, not only who is represented, but how the social actors appear in the editorials and thus how the reader is positioned to view the social actors. Van Leeuwen identifies 10 categories, as follows:

1. **Exclusion:** In this case social actors are either completely left out of a text or become de-emphasised by backgrounding. Suppressing social actors may either be done purposely or taken as assumed knowledge.
2. **Role Allocation:** Here social actors are represented through the roles they play. In other words, who is the agent and who is the goal. This is important, as “there need not be congruence between the roles that social actors actually play in social practices and the grammatical roles they are given in texts” (1996:43).
3. **Genericisation and Specification:** Here social actors are either represented as generalised classes of people or as specific individuals.

4. **Assimilation:** In this case social actors are either represented as collectives or as individuals. Two kinds of assimilation are *collectivisation* and *aggregation*. The difference here is where aggregation represents social actors as statistics and collectivisation does not.
5. **Association and Dissociation:** Here different collective groups are associated with each other due to one common interest. These groups may associate and dissociate themselves within the same text.
6. **Indetermination and Differentiation:** Indetermination is the representation of social actors as unspecified groups or individuals. The identity of the social actor or group remains anonymous. Differentiation directly differentiates a social actor or a group from another social actor or group highlighting the differences between “us” and “them”.
7. **Nomination and Categorisation:** Nomination identifies individuals “in terms of their unique identity” (1996:52) and categorisation identifies individuals “in terms of identities and functions they share with others”.
8. **Functionalisation and Identification:** Categorisation differentiates between the functions social actors perform e.g. occupation and through identification of what social actors are. The latter is further divided up into: *classification*, *relational identification* and *physical identification*. Classification divides social actors in terms of major classes, e.g. ethnicity, age. Relational identification identifies social actors in terms of their relations with other people, e.g. aunt, friend. Physical identification focuses on the physical attributes of social actors as a means of identification.
9. **Personalisation and Impersonalisation:** Social actors can be personalised as humans or can be impersonalised through abstraction or objectivation.
10. **Overdetermination:** Here social actors are represented as participants in more than one social practice at the same time.

In the next section, I outline Halliday’s Interpersonal metafunction, which is concerned with the interaction between writer and reader and how attitudes are expressed through the lexical choices made by the writer.

### 3.3.3.3 Tenor

Understanding how reality is experienced is expressed, as I explained in section 3.3.3.2, through the processes of the Ideational metafunction. Understanding more about the exchange of information and the attitudes and opinions of those involved in this interaction is expressed through Halliday’s *Interpersonal* metafunction. Martin (2001:160) says that there are two aspects of tenor to consider: “status” and “contact”. These two aspects are referred to as *Mood* and *Modality*. In my research I have chosen to focus, particularly, on *modality* because of its strong links to the third dimension of

APPRAISAL i.e. *Engagement* (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). This aspect involves examining the attitudes of the writer.

According to Ravelli (2000) the attitudes and opinions of the writer are realised through modality. Modality is realised through modal auxiliaries such as “*can, should, must, may, ought*, and so on – which indicate whether the writer is presenting a straight fact or something which is opinionated” (Ravelli 2000:48, see also Halliday 1985,1994). There are five types of modality discussed by Halliday (1994) (see also Martin & Rose 2003) by which writers negotiate information. These are:

1. **Usuality:** e.g. *He and his friends would visit regularly* (Martin & Rose 2003:50).
2. **Probability:** e.g. *America will doubtless redouble its efforts to penetrate and contain the groups responsible* (B, 1.22).
3. **Obligation:** e.g. *those attacked must either fight or fold* (A, 1.59).
4. **Inclination:** e.g. *I would have done the same had I been denied* (Martin & Rose 2003:50).
5. **Ability:** e.g. *Of course, it can only be as effective as its member-states want it to be* (D, 1.42).

The degree of strength of the opinions is evident from the modals used. For example *must* and *should* are considered high modality while *may* and *could* are considered low modality (Ravelli 2000). Modals, therefore, allow the writer to grade his/her opinion and to acknowledge the possibility of other voices and opinions. The analysis of my selection of editorials in chapter 4 reveals that they contain a mix of both strong and weak modals (cf. 4.7.2.4). The uncertainty as to who is responsible and what kind of attacks the future may hold is evident in the use of weak modals. The strong recommendations by the writers either to go to war or to act with restraint are evident in the use of strong modals. A more in-depth analysis of the attitudes and opinions of the writer of a text is possible through an analysis of how APPRAISAL resources are deployed. I examine APPRAISAL thoroughly in the next section.

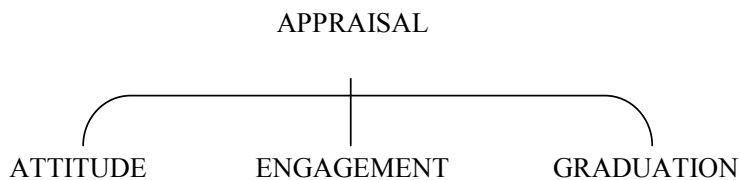
### 3.3.3.3.1 APPRAISAL

The editorial is concerned with opinion and evaluation (cf. 2.3) and the Interpersonal metafunction (as discussed in section 3.3.3.3) is concerned with understanding the relationships between and attitudes of the writer and audience. Hence, it is necessary to expand on a Tenor analysis, as described in section 3.3.3.3, by considering APPRAISAL in order to analyse the attitudes expressed in a text in greater depth. As a semantic system, APPRAISAL is fairly new and originates with work done by Martin. Therefore, I rely on

the works of Martin (1997, 2000b, 2004); Martin & Rose (2003); and those whose work he has influenced e.g. Coffin (1997); and Droga & Humphrey (2002). This discussion outlines the resources of APPRAISAL needed to inform the features of analysis set out in my ‘grid’ in section 3.4. Examples in this section are again taken, only where possible, from *The Washington Post*, *The Times* and *The Daily News* (see Appendices A, B and D).

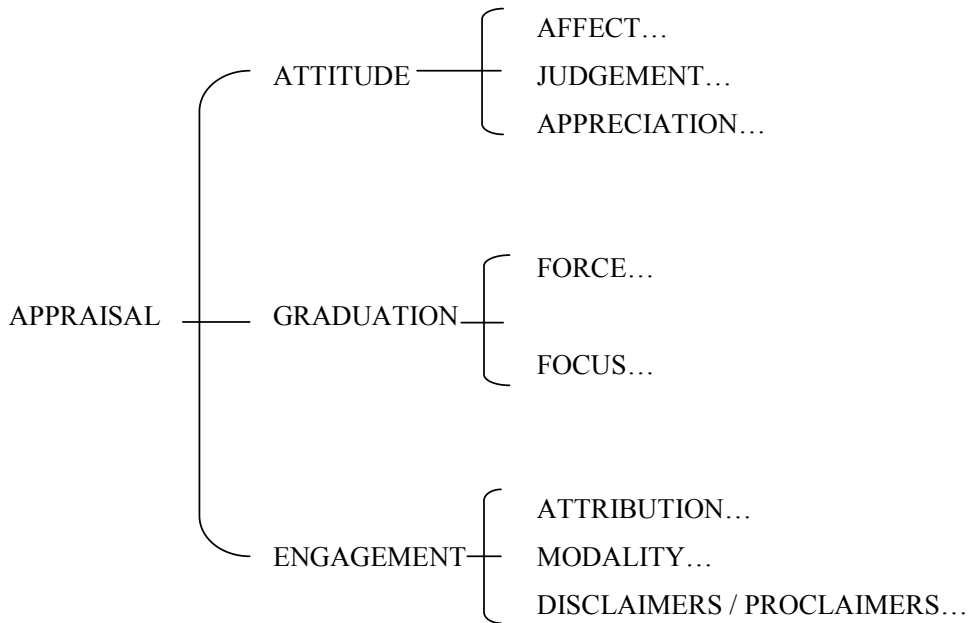
The resources of APPRAISAL involve three aspects of analysis, which are “concerned with evaluating: the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned” (Martin & Rose 2003:22). There are three dimensions to an APPRAISAL analysis: *Attitude*, *Graduation* and *Engagement*, each with their own sub-systems. Figures 4. and 5. illustrate APPRAISAL based on Martin’s work.

**Figure 4. The basic system of APPRAISAL**



The resources for analysing *Attitude*, as illustrated in Figure 5, consist of three sub-categories: *affect*, *judgement*, and *appreciation*. *Affect* refers to expressing emotions and feelings, which can be either positive or negative as well as directly or indirectly implied (Martin & Rose 2003). A direct expression of emotion is, for example, *happy* and an indirect or token expression is *laugh*, which gives the same sense of emotion as the direct expression (Droga & Humphrey 2002:75). In realising affect, further sub-divisions can be made into: *(un)happiness*; *(in)security*; *(dis)satisfaction*. These, as indicated, also signal positive or negative feelings and specify what kinds of feelings dominate in a text.

Table 6. lists the resources of affect, with examples adapted from Droga & Humphrey (2002:77). In addition, in a text, these feelings are realised through various linguistic features such as those outlined by Martin (2000b:14) in Table 7.

**Figure 5. The main sub-systems of APPRAISAL**

- The terms “Attribution, Modality, Disclaimers / Proclaimers” taken from Droga & Humphrey (2002) replace Martin’s terms “Monogloss” and “Heterogloss”.

**Table 6. Options for analysing affect**

Affective Category		Examples
Happiness	(positive)	happy, laugh, love
Unhappiness	(negative)	sadly, misery, dislike
Security	(positive)	reassure, trusting, together
Insecurity	(negative)	frighten, tremble, fearful
Satisfaction	(positive)	engaged, attentive, impressed
Dissatisfaction	(negative)	to bore, empty, to enrage

**Table 7. Realisations of affect**

<b>affect as ‘quality’</b>		
describing participants	a <b>happy</b> boy	Epithet
attributed to participants	the boy was <b>happy</b>	Attribute
manner of processes	the boy played <b>happily</b>	Circumstance
<b>affect as ‘process’</b>		
affective mental	the present <b>pleased</b> the boy	Process (effective)
affective behavioural	the boy <b>smiled</b>	Process (middle)
<b>affect as ‘comment’</b>		
desiderative	<b>happily</b> , he had a long nap	Modal Adjunct

All these linguistic resources reflect the kinds of attitudes that prevail in a text and the writer's ideology. That is, the writer can encourage the reader to feel various emotions by choosing discourse with specific affective qualities. By doing this the writer can control the emotional attitudes of the reader, which channels the reader's ideological perspective. For instance, in the case of September 11 a writer is able to direct the reader's affective attitudes regarding identity, where in-group members, Westerners, for example, are viewed positively and out-group members, the Arab world, for example, are viewed negatively.

*Judgement*, the second sub-category of Attitude, is used to evaluate "what people do, say or believe according to institutionalised values" (Droga & Humphrey 2002:79). Like affect, judgement can also be positive or negative. Unlike affect, however, judgement is attributed to the person being appraised rather than towards the appraiser (Droga & Humphrey 2002). In the case of September 11, editorial writers will judge the actions of social actors, like America and the terrorists, either positively or negatively for the reader. Countries, like Zimbabwe, which are far from the site of the attacks, are likely to use the attacks to judge the actions of local social actors to bring awareness to local issues (cf. 4.5). The evaluation/appraisal of social actors is an important focus in my analysis, as outlined in my 'grid' of features (cf. 3.4), as it will reveal the extent to which the division of "us" and "them" is exploited by the writer. Judgements may be divided into personal and moral judgements i.e. *social esteem* and *social sanction* respectively (Martin & Rose 2003), as outlined in Table 8 (with examples adapted from Droga & Humphrey 2002:80). *Social esteem* judgements are concerned with three variables: *normality*, which indicates how unusual someone is; *capacity*, which indicates how capable a person is; and *tenacity*, which indicates how reliable someone is (Martin 2000b). *Social sanction* judgements include two variables: *veracity*, which indicates how truthful someone is; and *propriety*, which indicates how ethical someone is (Martin 2000b, see also 1997).

**Table 8. Options for analysing judgement**

Judgement	Positive	Negative
<b>Social Esteem:</b>		
Normality	lucky	unfortunate
Capacity	powerful	weak
Tenacity	resolute	cowardly
<b>Social Sanction:</b>		
Veracity	genuine	deceitful
Propriety	moral	corrupt

The third sub-category of Attitude is *appreciation*. This sub-category reveals feelings towards “objects, processes and states of affairs” (Droga & Humphrey 2002:82). Like affect and judgement, appreciation can also be either positive or negative. In my analysis of the selected editorials, appreciation would most likely feature in the evaluation/appraisal of the events themselves (one of the questions outlined in my ‘grid’ in section 3.4), including the emotional impact they had on the world. Appreciation can be analysed according to three variables: *reaction*, *composition* and *valuation* (see Table 9. for examples taken from Droga & Humphrey 2002:83). *Reaction* relates to the degree to which our attention is captured and how this affects us emotionally; *composition* is concerned with our assessment of the balance of the text; *valuation* relates to the degree of value or worth attributed to the events and objects discussed in the text (Droga & Humphrey 2002, Martin 1997).

**Table 9. Options for analysing appreciation**

<b>Appreciation</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>
<b>Reaction</b>	arresting	boring
<b>Composition</b>	unified	contorted
<b>Valuation</b>	profound	shallow

The second category of APPRAISAL is *Graduation*. This extends the analysis of attitudinal expressions by *grading* the feelings, judgements and assessments made (Droga & Humphrey 2002). This allows the writer, as in the case of September 11, to intensify attitudes on a gradable scale. As outlined in my ‘grid’ in section 3.4, my analysis includes examining how and to what degree the editorial writer uses Graduation resources both in the representation and appraisal of social actors and the events to create solidarity with the reader. There are two resources in this analysis by which expressions are graded. These are: *force* and *focus*.

Martin & Rose (2003:38) explain that force involves “turning the volume up or down” with a variety of words that create intensity. As a result, these words are referred to as intensifiers. Force can be explicitly or implicitly graded and is realised through a variety of resources, and implicit grading occurs on a continuum. Table 10. below includes examples of force adapted from Appendices A, B and D, as well as from Droga & Humphrey (2002:87) and Martin & Rose (2003:41).

**Table 10. Options for analysing the Graduation resource of force**

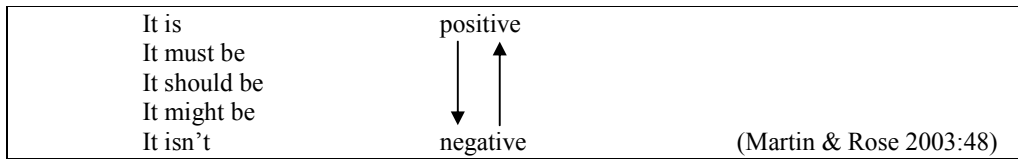
<b>Graduation: Force Explicit Graders:</b>	Adverbials Adjectivals Measures of: time distance quantity manner modality  Repetitions Swearing	America is <b>particularly</b> vulnerable (A, 16) The <b>wealthiest</b> country (D, 1.22) ...in such a <b>short</b> period (D, 1.21) He was a <b>long way</b> off (Droga & Humphrey) <b>many</b> enemies of America (B, 1.59) Here we tread <b>warily</b> (B, 1.67) Those attacked <b>must</b> either fight or fold (A, 1.58) It was <b>awful</b> , just <b>awful</b> (Droga & Humphrey) It was <b>bloody</b> awful! (Droga & Humphrey)
<b>Implicit Graders:</b>	Intensifiers along a continuum Metaphors	very/really/extremely (Martin & Rose)  dull <b>like the dead</b> (Martin & Rose)

The second resource for amplification, focus, signals the softening or sharpening of meanings. Droga & Humphrey (2002) explain that this resource enables words that cannot be graded to become gradable. An example is *The true policeman* (B, 1.75) where *true* grades the meaning of the word *policeman* by sharpening its meaning to a specific type of policeman.

The last category of APPRAISAL is *Engagement*. This category is concerned with identifying the *source* of the attitudes, i.e. who is responsible for making the evaluations. Resources for realising this category are *attribution*, *modality* and *disclaimers and proclaimers* (Martin & Rose 2003 and Droga & Humphrey 2002). *Attribution* means the writer is using the words or thoughts of an outside source to validate or challenge attitudes including those of the writer. These outside sources are realised through either directly quoting the source or reporting their words. In discourse, attribution is realised through projections of verbal and mental processes such as *say* and *think* as well as through nominalisations like *saying* and *thought* (Droga & Humphrey 2002). Another way of attributing to an outside source is through the use of names for ‘speech acts’ for example; *It has been difficult to get sustained, thoughtful, broadbased dialogue on this delicate topic...*(A, 1.54).

Another way of including outside sources is through the use of *modality* (as discussed in 3.3.3.3). This is because modality allows the introduction of other voices primarily because it “functions to indicate that speakers or writers are aware that what they are proposing could be seen as contentious or likely to be challenged by a potential reader or

listener” (Droga & Humphrey 2002:95). Modality indicates the degree of obligation (positive or negative) involved in a given statement, for example:



Modality therefore allows for alternative attitudes because “arguing that something must be the case, for example, sounds assertive but in fact allows an element of doubt; it’s stronger than saying something would be true, but not as strong as avoiding modality completely and arguing it is the case” (Martin & Rose 2003:50).

Lastly *Engagement* can be realised through *disclaimers* and *proclaimers* or what Martin & Rose (2003:51) call “counterexpectancy”. *Disclaimers* are those outside sources included in a text with the intention of rejecting them whereas *proclaimers* are those sources included, which are difficult to challenge and are considered the given in a text (Droga & Humphrey 2002). Disclaimers counter what the reader may be expecting by introducing outside attitudes as well as the attitude of the writer. The main grammatical resources for counterexpectancy are:

1. *Concessive conjunctions*: e.g. *But no government can permit its citizens to be attacked with impunity...*(A, l.19).
2. *Comment adjuncts*: e.g. *Amazingly some people still argue for the death penalty* (Droga & Humphrey 2002:98).
3. *Prepositional phrases*: e.g. *Despite the result, the cost is too great* (Droga & Humphrey 2002:98).
4. *Mood adjuncts*: e.g. *Just as those who pursue terror have been relentless in their efforts, so must we be in ours* (A, l.17).

These signal that there is a counter opinion or attitude to be expected. Proclaimers, on the other hand, indicate, firstly, that an attitude is given and should simply be accepted by the reader and, secondly, that the writer is taking direct responsibility for the attitude. These are realised through *comment adjuncts* e.g. *Of course, it can only be as effective as its member-states want it to be* (D, l.42) and *direct pronouncements* by the writer, like but *I do not believe it to be cynical* (B, l.78) and through *mood adjuncts* like *really* (Droga &

Humphrey 2002:98). The resources of Engagement therefore indicate whether there is only one voice in the text, i.e. that of the writer, or outside sources.

APPRAISAL is extremely relevant for my thesis as attitudes and opinions are the central feature of the editorial genre and by examining attitudes, ideologies become more apparent and unequal power relations revealed. This is not only important for making people aware of pervasive ideologies but for the initiation of change to redress the inequalities through media education (the focus of my third research question; cf. 1.2). The resources of APPRAISAL are an important tool for the features of analysis in my ‘grid’ (cf. 3.4) that enable me to investigate the kinds of emotions, attitudes and attribution the writer uses in order to create solidarity with the reader.

### 3.3.3.2 Nominalisation

Before moving on to a discussion of Mode, it must be pointed out that an Ideational and Tenor analysis is not always straightforward and there is sometimes difficulty, for the analyst, in decoding the parts of a clause. The main reason for this difficulty lies in the use of *grammatical metaphor*. Halliday (1994:342) explains that a metaphor is the process whereby a word or selection of words expressing a “congruent” meaning i.e. a literal or typical meaning, is changed into a metaphorical expression. Halliday calls this a *Grammatical Metaphor* because, as Fairclough explains (2003:143), it “extends the concept of ‘metaphor’ from its conventional application to the meanings of words to grammar”. This transference is mainly the result of a process called *Nominalisation* (Fairclough 2003, Gerot & Wignell 1995). The usual transformation is where “nominalisation allows a process, more obviously realised as a verb to be realised as a noun and hence to become a participant in a further process” (Bloor & Bloor 1995:222).

According to Halliday (1994:343) there are two main types of grammatical metaphor: *metaphors of Transitivity* and *metaphors of Mood and Modality*. However, as mentioned in section 3.3.3.3, in my Tenor analysis I focus only on modality. Hence, I focus only on metaphors of modality. Firstly, in a Transitivity analysis the loss of certain parts of a clause may result in difficulty identifying the participants, processes and circumstances. In such cases it is usually due to nominalisation where meaning is now being expressed metaphorically. For example:

*Many people have criticised these ideas*  
may become

*These ideas have been subject to widespread criticism* (Thompson 1996:168).

In this example, the verbal process *have criticised* is transformed into the noun *criticism* and the subject/participant *many people* has disappeared. The original participants get “displaced” by the metaphoric expressions and are used to modify them (Halliday 1994:353).

The effect of nominalising processes is the creation of an abstract ‘thing’ whereby the human agent is obscured and tense is removed. This allows discourse to be very abstract, general and formal and allows the writer to distance himself/herself from an argument (Martin et al. 1997). This also gives the sense that the writer’s statements are true, as they have been generalised (Thompson 1996). Nominalisation is a common feature in written rather than spoken discourse and is more common in formal discourse including academic discourse, bureaucratic discourse and any technical discourse (Gerot & Wignell 1995, Coffin 1997). One of the main reasons nominalisation is so prevalent in formal discourse is because “such generalisation and abstraction, for instance in the genres of governance, can erase or even suppress difference. It can also obfuscate agency, and therefore responsibility, and social divisions” (Fairclough 2003:144). In other words, human responsibility can be removed and general conclusions made by the writer. Another important reason nominalisation is so prevalent is because it is a very economical technique for writing texts as long clauses can be condensed into short clauses. It also allows for the creation of new words, which add to the formality of the discourse.

Despite the fact that nominalisation condenses clauses by removing certain parts, these types of clauses are often more difficult to decode than the typical or congruent expression (Gerot & Wignell 1995). The writer of the discourse would appear to be an expert with an understanding of the technical language used which the reader needs to decode (Thompson 1996). For example, in the case of editorials regarding September 11, the use of complex language would help to create the impression that the writer is an expert, thus giving credibility to the ideologies the reader is presented with. The condensation of clauses is also very economical for newspaper articles where space is limited.

Secondly, in the case of metaphors of modality, nominalisation has a significant effect. It is highly prevalent in persuasive discourse (like the editorial) where “one common technique is to objectify opinion by nominalising it, so as to make it more difficult for the

reader or hearer to disagree with it” (Thompson 1996:172). Martin et al. (1997:68-69) explain that the form of “first person, present tense ‘mental’ processes of cognition” (e.g. I think, I reckon etc) is a metaphor of modality. The reason this is recognised as a metaphor is that it functions as “a proposition in its own right” making the writer personally responsible for what is written, for example, *New York is a city I love* (B, 1.3). This kind of modality metaphor is likely to appear in the study of editorials after September 11 because editorials are intended to be typically more subjective in nature than the straightforward news article; therefore these metaphors will emphasise the writer’s opinion.

Therefore, one useful means of explaining how editorial writers persuade their readers to align with their beliefs and ideologies would be to examine the use of nominalisation because of the manner in which the writer can, for example, make generalised statements, obscure agency and make the text appear objective and formal.

#### **3.3.3.4 Mode**

Thus far I have outlined the first two categories of register: Field and Tenor. I now turn to the final category called *Mode*. “Mode refers to the medium of communication, in particular whether it is spoken or written” and also to the internal structuring of a text (Painter 2001:175). The way information is organised within a clause contributes to the organisation of the entire text (Martin et al. 1997). A well-structured text not only allows the reader to interpret meanings easily, but allows the writer the ability to structure a text in such a way that foregrounds or backgrounds topics and arguments that the writer feels are significant or unimportant, so channelling (or not) the reader’s experience of the text. Understanding the structural composition of a text, or the Mode, is achieved through the *Textual* metafunction. Textual patterns can reveal whether a text belongs to a particular genre because of the structure it follows. Hence the particular relevance of a textual analysis for the purpose of answering my second research question (cf. 1.2).

Martin et al. (1997:21) explain that “every clause is organised as a message related to an unfolding text”. In other words, texts consist of the organisation of information or more specifically they are made up of various themes, at the clausal level. These themes run through the text, which combine to produce the general message of the text. The development of themes within a text is a system known as *Thematic Structure*. Bloor &

Bloor (1995) explain that almost every clause has thematic structure and this means that clauses are divided up into two components: *Theme* and *Rheme*. The *theme* of the clause is typically the information regarding what the clause is about. Eggins (1994) adds that the theme is usually identified by order. In other words, the theme comes first in the clause and “since we typically depart from places with which we are familiar, the theme typically contains familiar, or “given”, information, i.e. information which has already been mentioned somewhere in the text, or is familiar with the context” (Eggins 1994:275). The *rheme* is whatever is left in the clause and contains new information from which the theme arises (Eggins 1994, see also Bloor & Bloor 1995, Fries 1994, Halliday 1994, Martin 2000a, Ravelli 2000). The theme and rheme together make up the message of the clause (Halliday 1994). Examining the thematic structure of a text is important because it allows analysts to come up with reasons as to why the text is structured in a particular way and what ideological consequences this has (Teo 2000). The analysis of theme and rheme in conjunction with Bolivar’s model (1994; outlined in section 2.3.6) will reveal the thematic characteristics of the editorial and how uniform these are across the selected editorials (see chapter 4).

The identification of theme and rheme is an important and sometimes difficult part of analysis. Part of this analysis is in knowing where to draw the boundary between the two constituents. The theme can be identified in terms of the three metafunctions – Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual. The reason for this is because the theme typically introduces some information, which can either be in the form of a representation (i.e. Ideational), an opinion of the writer (i.e. Interpersonal) or give extra prominence to a previous theme by linking (i.e. Textual). What this means is that the theme can optionally include all three of these metafunctions at one time, but it must consist of one constituent from the Ideational metafunction. This constituent is referred to as the *topical* theme and marks the boundary between theme and rheme.

Before starting a thematic analysis the first step is to identify clause boundaries because sentences are usually made up of more than one clause (Martin et al. 1997). As every clause must have a verb in it, besides any other groups, identifying verbs helps to draw clause boundaries e.g. (B, 1.40): *That is surely why* || *the World Trade Centre was targeted for a second time.*

The *topical* theme is identified by the first part of a clause that takes a Transitivity function. In other words it may be a participant, a process or a circumstance. For example: (D, 1.22)

<i>They</i>	<i>have developed</i>	<i>the wealthiest country</i>	<i>in the world</i>
<i>Actor</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Circumstance: Place</i>
<b>THEME</b>	<b>RHEME</b>		

The topical theme is usually made up of the subject of the clause, which makes the theme chosen neutral or *unmarked*. However if the topical theme is not the subject then it becomes a *marked* theme (Bloor & Bloor 1995). For example, *In 1993 the World Trade Centre was the victim of a massive car bomb* (B, 1.46). By doing this, a writer is signaling that the theme is somehow significant and it becomes prominent.

The interpersonal theme is assigned to those components at the beginning of a clause that belong to the Tenor of discourse. This means that interpersonal themes can consist of, according to Martin et al. (1997:25, see also Eggins 1994, Halliday 1994):

1. An *auxiliary verb* appearing in thematic position which signals that the writer wants to interact with the reader and wants some kind of response.
2. A *WH- question* which also signals an interpersonal action where the writer wants a response.
3. A *Vocative* where the writer uses a name or term of address to create an interaction.
4. An *Adjunct* that gives the writer's opinion.
5. Clauses with *mental processes* appearing first which relate to the opinion of the writer or requests to know the opinion of the reader e.g. "*I should think...*" or "*Do you think...*".

Lastly, textual themes, which usually come first in the theme of the clause, consist of those elements whose purpose in the text is to make the text a cohesive whole. These themes can consist of *continuity adjuncts* that signal continuity with what was previously mentioned. For example: (B, 1.59)

<i>Since</i>	<i>many enemies of America</i>	<i>will cite it</i>
<b>TEXTUAL</b>	<b>TOPICAL</b>	<b>RHEME</b>

Or themes can consist of *conjunctive adjuncts*, which are used to join sentences together appearing either at the beginning of a sentence or elsewhere. For example: (B, 1.23)

<i>But</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>will not be defeated by main force</i>
<b>TEXTUAL</b>	<b>TOPICAL</b>	<b>RHEME</b>

In summary, all three of Halliday's metafunctions can appear in a clausal theme but there must always be a topical theme. These clausal themes combine together to deliver the

general message of the text and, like in my analysis of the selected editorials, can reveal the textual characteristics of the genre being analysed. Unlike in Achugar's study (2004), I include, in my 'grid' of features (cf. 3.4), analysis of the textual features of the editorial in response to my second research question (cf. 1.2).

By identifying the thematic structure of a text, an analyst can also reveal the *Thematic Progression* (Bloor & Bloor 1995:89). These various patterns are identified by Bloor & Bloor (1995:9) as: the *Constant Theme Pattern*, where each clause contains the same theme throughout; the *Linear Theme Pattern*, where the rheme of one clause becomes the theme of the next; the *Split Rheme Pattern*, where the rheme has two separate ideas within it and the following themes each present one of the components; and lastly the *Derived Theme Pattern*, where a text may have multiple themes occurring throughout making it more complex.

An analysis of the themes and thematic progression within a text is important because it exposes the choices made in the structure of a text. Certain kinds of texts tend to follow similar structural patterns that signal their inclusion in a particular genre type. For example, narratives typically follow the constant thematic pattern. The value of an analysis of theme and rheme lies in that a goal of my research (research question two; cf. 1.2) is to identify whether editorials, as a genre, also follow a particular structural pattern of their own and whether this formula, including that suggested by Bolivar (1994) (cf. 2.3.6), is the same in different areas of the world.

### **3.4 Features of Analysis**

The choice of literature I have reviewed (presented in chapter 2) and the methodological tools I have chosen for my analysis (explained in this chapter) have informed my own 'grid' of features that I outline below. I have structured my 'grid' under three sections according to Halliday's three metafunctions: Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual. Within each section are a series of features of analysis I have decided to focus on for my research. Achugar's paper, in particular, (2004; cf. 2.4.5) has informed my 'grid', with features of analysis that I have adapted for my purposes due to their relevance. The methodological tools of SFG, APPRAISAL and Bolivar's model of analysis (1994), as well as Van Leeuwen's categorisation of social actors (1996) and nominalisation, also inform the features of analysis in my 'grid' that follows. The results of my descriptive analysis,

in chapter 4, are presented in line with the features of my ‘grid’ and, along with the Interpretation and Explanation stages of my CDA, illuminate the answers to my three research questions (cf. 1.2). My ‘grid’ is as follows:

### **1. Ideational Patterns**

Representation of Social Actors:

- Who is represented and who is not?
- What identities are constructed and represented along lines of difference, especially concerning the exploitation of “us” versus “them”?
- Using Van Leeuwen’s categorisation methods for the representation of social actors (1996), how do social actors appear in the texts?
- How are the social actors linked to the dominant processes in each text?

Representation of the Events:

- How does the use, in particular, of nominalisation and APPRAISAL resources help the writer to “establish a relationship of detachment or affective involvement with the events and their participants” (Achugar 2004:309)? That is, how does the writer construct an opinion of the events through the choices made by the writer?
- How does the choice of processes help the writer in the representation of the events?
- What forms of intertextuality are employed?
  - 1- Intertextuality that relies on selection and comparison with other events in history?
  - 2- Intertextuality that relies on selection of reported speech from authorised voices, which support the interpretation, made by the editorial?
- In what way(s) does the use of intertextuality function in explaining the meaning of September 11?
- What are the choices of circumstance types and how do they contribute to the writer’s channeling of the/an interpretation of the events?
- In what way(s) do time and place references involve intertextual links?

### **2. Interpersonal Patterns & APPRAISAL**

Appraisal of Social Actors and the Events:

- What resources does the writer draw on in order to align and manage the reader’s emotions to the representation of the actors and the events?
- To what extent do these affective attitudes help construct a division between “us” and “them”? i.e. what kinds of emotions are linked to the different actors to align the reader with the writer’s representation of them?
- How do the options for analysing judgement and appreciation position the reader to appraise the social actors and the events?
- How, and to what effect, does the writer use the resources of Graduation in both the representation and evaluation of the participants and the events to create solidarity with the reader?
- To what degree does the writer include outside voices to negotiate or validate the writer’s position? What effect does this have on the representation and appraisal of the actors and the events?

### **3. Textual Patterns**

- What is the structure of theme and rheme in the text? What distinguishes or characterises the textual structure i.e. thematic patterns in each editorial?

- Does Bolivar's (1994) structural analysis of the editorial apply to the editorials under consideration? If yes, to what extent? If no, how do the chosen editorials depart from her analysis?

### 3.5 Conclusion

The texts chosen for my study consist of five newspaper editorials from America, Britain, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Kenya representing the first reaction to the September 11 attacks in America. The methodologies I have chosen allow me, firstly, to investigate the ideologies in the chosen texts and, secondly, to analyse the generic structure of the editorial, and see whether there is uniformity. Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar enables analysts, like myself, to reveal how the grammar functions to create an experience of the world and present the writer's point of view or ideology. Critical discourse analysts rely on the tools of SFG to "systematically uncover and interpret the underlying motivations, intents and purposes of text-producers as well as the attitudes, perceptions and prejudices that drive them" (Teo 2000:24).

An SFG analysis includes Halliday's three metafunctions. The Ideational metafunction (cf. 3.3.3.2) is concerned with uncovering what kinds of participants, processes and circumstances are evident in the text and the reasons behind the choices. The Interpersonal metafunction (cf. 3.3.3.3) is concerned with modality, or in other words the opinions and attitudes of the writer. An in-depth examination of modality is possible through an APPRAISAL analysis (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). APPRAISAL enables the analyst to explore the nature of the attitudes and judgements of the writer and how these can be used to persuade the reader to align himself/herself with the writer's beliefs. Lastly the Textual metafunction (cf. 3.3.3.4) is concerned with how thematic choices within clauses bring together the message of the whole text. These three metafunctions, along with APPRAISAL, interrelate and provide Critical Discourse Analysts with the tools with which to relate texts to their contexts and to suggest how and why these choices contribute to perpetuating ideologies. The tools of my analysis, discussed in this chapter, along with the literature reviewed in chapter 2, have culminated in my own 'grid' of features (cf. 3.4), which I have drawn up specifically tailored to answer my research questions (cf. 1.2). In chapter 4, to follow, I present the results of my analysis of the selected editorials in accordance with the structure of my 'grid'.

## 4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### 4.1 Introduction

Bearing in mind the relevant literature covered in chapter 2 and the methodologies chosen for my research, outlined in chapter 3, I now present my findings from the analysis of my five ‘core’ editorials. In line with the format of my own ‘grid’ of features (cf. 3.4), constructed specifically to tease out the ideological perspectives surrounding the representation and evaluation of the social actors and event on September 11, I present my results according to Fairclough’s (1989) three stages of analysis: *Description*, *Interpretation* and *Explanation*. Within the Description stage I further present my findings according to the features outlined in my ‘grid’ (cf. 3.4). The second and third of Fairclough’s stages are joined together to get an overall understanding of the contextual and situational influences on the production, reception and social influences of the texts. Each editorial is individually presented in this chapter (cf. 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6) and in the last section of this chapter (cf. 4.7) I provide a comparative analysis of all five editorials. This comparison is necessary to show how different interpretations of the same event are constructed through language choices and how this potentially influences the reader’s ideological position. I now turn to the findings from my first selected editorial, *The Washington Post*.

### 4.2 America: *The Washington Post*

“American holy war” by William S. Cohen

#### 4.2.1 Introduction

In this section I present the findings of my analysis of the editorial from the American newspaper, *The Washington Post* (a copy of which can be found in Appendix A). I focus firstly on the descriptive analysis and then draw these results into an interpretation and explanation of the processes and conditions of production and reception of the editorial.

#### 4.2.2 Description

##### 4.2.2.1 Representation of Social Actors

In the representation of social actors the division between “us” and “them” is strongly exploited as a means to unite those affected by the attack against those who attacked America. Therefore, the “us” group is predominantly made up of Americans whose identity is focused on their social justice principles as an identifying characteristic e.g.

*a free society; our openness; our ideals; our freedom; justice; civil liberties; courage, faith, unity and determination.*

Marginal members of the “us” group are those countries who are regarded as *friendly but not always helpful capitals* l.36. America is set apart *from a troubled world* l.9 by highlighting its positive characteristics. Interestingly, the victims of the attack are, themselves, not mentioned in the editorial at all where one would expect them to feature as members of the in-group. The representation of the Other group is minimal in comparison, and the writer constructs a group that is unknown, deviant and intolerant of the American values of justice and freedom. This group includes terrorists, terrorist groups as well as *those who support or harbor terrorists* l.26.

Having identified which social actors are present or absent it is helpful to examine *how* these actors are represented, according to Van Leeuwen’s method of categorisation (1996) (discussed in section 3.3.3.2.1). The “us” group, firstly, is mainly represented through collective terms that enhance the inclusive identity of this group and assimilate the members into a community that share similar values, e.g. *our people* l.60, through the use of generic pronouns like *we*, *us*, and *our*, as well as through categories that impersonally classify all Americans as one community e.g. *American people* l.3, *America* l.6. Secondly, social actors are represented in terms of their functionalisation, specifically regarding America’s military successes e.g. *U.S. authorities* l.23, *federal, state and local authorities* l.45, *political figures* l.46, *elected officials* l.53. Members of the “us” group, who actively work to uphold the moral and social justice principles, are not only the American officials or specific actors such as *the president and his administration* l.48, but also the American people e.g. *Our people, not just our government, stood up to the fascist and then the communist threat to freedom* l.60. Thirdly the representation of actors in this group excludes the victims of the attacks. The writer, rather, uses the events to highlight the general victimisation of America from members of the Other group who do not support the same values. See Table 11. for features used in the representation of “us”.

Representation of the Other contributes towards a negative appraisal of this group because they are represented as those responsible for the attacks on America. Their identity is constructed as impersonal and indeterminate, which means there is no direct identification of any particular social actor or suggestion as to who or which group in particular could be

responsible. This serves to impersonalise and hide the identity of the attackers so the reader is not encouraged to align with the group e.g. *anonymous extremists* l.62.

Representation of the Other is largely portrayed through implication. In other words, by highlighting the positive attributes of the in-group the implication is that the Other group does not support these characteristics. The Other does not support American values and want America to isolate itself from the world. It is the American beliefs and values that the Other is targeting.

Despite the identity of the terrorists being unknown at this point, there is also an indication that the group is differentiated from “us” by its religious characteristics as the attack is referred to as a *holy war* l.15, implying that followers of Islam could be responsible. This holy war does not so much target America because of its religion but because the Other hates what it stands for i.e. its value system. The Other is, therefore, represented as America’s *opponents* l.40 who aim to *exploit our openness* l.7, *to cause America to cower – withdraw from the world and to abandon our ideals* l.7 and *to feed on any display of fear or weakness* l.59. These functions of the Other group are presented as negative and deviant from the ideology of the “us” group. See Table 12. for features used in the representation of “them”.

**Table 11. Features used in the representation of “us”**

<b>Generic Terms</b>	<b>Categories</b>	<b>Functional Terms</b>	<b>Exclusion</b>
<i>Us</i>	<i>Americans</i>	<i>U.S. authorities</i>	<i>(the victims)</i>
<i>We</i>	<i>the American people</i>	<i>elected officials</i>	
<i>Our</i>	<i>the United States</i>	<i>federal, state and</i>	
<i>The people</i>		<i>local authorities</i>	
<i>Our people</i>		<i>Congress</i>	

In an analysis of the predominant Transitivity processes (cf. 3.3.3) it can be seen that there are significantly more material processes overall in the text and in comparison to the other selected editorials (75,5%) (see Table 13.). The Other is represented as the actor or agent directly responsible for the events and other similar terrorist attacks.

**Table 12. Features used in the representation of “them”****Impersonal and Indeterminate Terms**

*Terrorists*  
*Those responsible*  
*Key terrorists and portions of terrorist networks*  
*Those who support or harbor terrorists*  
*Opponents*  
*Anonymous extremists*

Material processes emphasise this attack on America as the Other aim, for example, to:

*Exploit our openness l.7*  
*To cause America to cower – to withdraw from the world and to abandon our ideals l.7*  
*Those lashing out over perceived grievances would still aim their wrath at the United States l.11*  
*Those who pursue terror l.17*

The majority of the material processes are, however, linked to the representation of the in-group i.e. America. America is represented as a country with many foreign interests that it cannot withdraw from as well as a country that has actively fought for its beliefs and will continue to do so. The writer discusses America’s previous victories in preventing and stopping terrorist plans and tells the reader that America must fight *this war l.63* e.g.

*The American people will not succumb to terrorists l.3*  
*Too many generations have paid the ultimate price defending our freedom for us to retreat from the world l.13*  
*America must embark on its own holy war l.14*  
*U.S. authorities actively hunt those responsible for past terrorist acts l.30*  
*But much more remains to be done l.46*  
*Those attacked must either fight or fold l.59*

There is great emphasis on the actions of both groups and less focus on understanding the meaning of the events through relational verbs (cf. 3.3.3.2), which emphasises the writer’s assertive argument for action and not understanding.

**Table 13. Transitivity processes in the American editorial**

<i>Material</i>	<i>Relational</i>	<i>Mental</i>	<i>Verbal</i>	<i>Behavioural</i>	<i>Existential</i>
75,5%	17,3%	2,47%	0,8%	1,65%	2,47%

**4.2.2.2 Appraisal of Social Actors**

As mentioned in the section above and evident from Table 13, there are significantly few mental processes (2,47%) in this editorial by which to highlight the emotions of the actors

(cf. 3.3.3.2). As a result, there are very few instances of affect in this editorial. The feelings of the “us” and “them” groups are generally implied through the description of their actions.

The members of the in-group are evaluated as having both positive and negative emotions (see Table 14.). American feelings of satisfaction are implied through the description of previous successes against terrorists e.g. *there have been many silent victories...l.22*. Feelings of insecurity are also predicted because America is *vulnerable l.6* to such attacks, as it is an open society and the objective of the attackers is to make America feel insecure and to *cower l.7*. The in-group also experiences feelings of dissatisfaction at America’s lack of preparation for this attack. In other words, despite the previous successes, there is dissatisfaction as not enough was done to prevent September 11 i.e. *But much more remains to be done l.46*. The writer acknowledges the need for an international alliance, but views other governments with dissatisfaction i.e. *friendly but not always helpful capitals l.36*.

The feelings of the Other are also evaluated as both positive and negative (see Table 14.). The writer implies that the Other feels satisfaction in attacking America i.e. *Those who engage in terror feed on any display of fear or weakness l.59*. In other words, it is the unhappiness of those Americans attacked that satisfies the attackers. The reason for this satisfaction is attributed to the Other having strong negative feelings towards American values and beliefs and as a result having embarked on a holy war *driven by hatred and fuelled by blood l.15*. The Other hates America because of what it symbolises in terms of its moral and social justice values, which it does not support. These negative feelings felt by the Other are amplified through the selection of material processes used to describe the actions of the Other e.g. *lashing out; aim their wrath; driven by hatred and fuelled by blood*.

In a similar way, by evaluating the behaviour of the social actors, according to social esteem and social sanction characteristics, the reader is aligned to view the “us” and “them” groups either positively or negatively (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). In this editorial the social actors from both groups are mostly judged according to how socially capable and how ethical/moral they are (capacity and propriety) (see Table 14.).

The behaviour of the “us” group is judged positively and any negative judgements downplayed. Firstly, the writer highlights America’s capabilities by drawing attention to America’s incapability in preventing September 11. This is, however, done by aligning all in-group members in the same way, suggesting that America’s incapability is not so much its own fault as it is virtually impossible to prevent every terrorist attack e.g. *No government can guarantee the full safety of its citizens either abroad or at home l.19*. The writer does, however, positively evaluate, using intensifiers, some of America’s successes in discovering and preventing terrorist plans to attack the country e.g. *In recent years, tremendous efforts have been made by federal, state and local authorities to prevent and prepare for such a threat, and thereby deter it l.44*. Although the writer does point out that America did not do enough, hence the attack on September 11, this negative judgement is downplayed by focussing on how successful America has been in past attacks on terrorists. Intensifiers and amplification resources of quantity (cf. 3.3.3.3.1) are used to emphasise the positive evaluation of America’s capabilities, e.g. *There have been many silent victories l.22*. Other members of the in-group are not judged quite so positively. America seeks to form an international alliance even with countries evaluated as *not always helpful l.36*. This emphasises America as the most capable member of the in-group. America is also appraised as *such a potent symbol l.11* in contrast to the *troubled world l.9*.

Secondly, the behaviour of the actors in this group is positively judged in terms of moral and ethical characteristics (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). The recommendation by the writer is that America must go to war but it will be a war that is morally and ethically acceptable because it is in defence of the threat to America’s ideologies i.e. *America itself must embark on its own holy war – not one driven by hatred or fuelled by blood but grounded in our commitment to freedom, tolerance and the rule of law...l.14*.

These positive evaluations of America contrast with those of the Other (see Table 14.). The actions of this group are evaluated as immoral and unethical as their hatred of America is the suggested reason for the attack. The evaluation of the Other is reinforced through grading (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). Their actions are presented as uncontrollable e.g. *those lashing out over perceived grievances would still aim their wrath at the United States l.11*. The fact that America has had to bring many terrorists to *justice l.31* implies that the actions of this group are deviant morally and ethically. Despite the negative image of the

Other group, the writer recognises the tremendous capability of this group e.g. *those who pursue terror have been relentless in their efforts* l.17. Nevertheless the success of the Americans in disrupting previous terrorist plans implies the capabilities of the Other are limited due to those of the in-group.

**Table 14. Evaluation of social actors using Martin’s categories of affect and judgement**

Us	Affect	Them
<b>Satisfaction (+)</b> <i>Tremendous efforts have been made</i> l.44 <i>There have been many silent victories</i> l.22 <b>Insecurity (-)</b> <i>America is particularly vulnerable</i> l.6		<b>Satisfaction (+)</b> <i>Those who engage in terror feed on any display of fear or weakness</i> l.59 <b>Dissatisfaction (-)</b> <i>...those lashing out over perceived grievances</i> l.11
	<b>Judgement</b> <b>Social Esteem</b>	
<b>Normality (+)</b> <i>Such a potent symbol</i> l.11 <b>Capacity (+)</b> <i>Brought many to justice</i> l.30 <b>Capacity (-)</b> <i>Much more remains to be done</i> l.46		<b>Normality (-)</b> <i>a troubled world</i> l.9 <b>Capacity (+)</b> <i>opponents who work diligently</i> l.40
	<b>Social Sanction</b>	
<b>Propriety (+)</b> <i>...grounded in our commitment to freedom, tolerance and the rule of law...</i> l.15		<b>Propriety (-)</b> <i>...not one driven by hatred or fuelled by blood...</i> l.15

#### 4.2.2.3 Representation of the Events

The focus of the editorial concerns the social actors and judging their behaviour and as a result there is little representation of the events themselves (unlike the other selected editorials). In the instances where the events are referred to directly, the lexical choices are objective and detached. This is achieved through the process of nominalisation (cf. 3.3.3.3.2), which obscures the agent responsible e.g. *yesterday’s terrorist attacks* l.2. There is one reference to the attacks, which appeals to the reader’s emotions, i.e. *as horrific as yesterday’s attacks were...* l.37. This grades the significance of the events in affective terms. The events are also represented in terms of the kind of attacks they were

i.e. a *holy war* l.15. Therefore, the agents of the events, due to the use of nominalisation, are not clearly identified, enhancing the representation of the Other as unknown.

The circumstances of time and place play an important role in the representation of the events. The circumstances of time refer to past, present and future time. The writer explains that at present much is yet to be understood regarding the attacks that took place the day before e.g. *this morning* l.2. To understand how America will react in the present the writer refers to past events in time, e.g. *as demonstrated three years ago by our strikes in Afghanistan and Sudan* l.29, where America successfully stopped similar plans of attack. This helps the writer to persuade the reader that America is capable of finding those responsible for September 11. The reference to future time e.g. *for the indefinite future* l.65 emphasises that it is uncertain how long this new war will last. Circumstances of place highlight the fact that America is highly involved abroad, not only in matters concerning *global economic, political and security interests* l.9 but also in actively fighting terrorism. The victories *both abroad and at home* l.22 emphasise America's global power.

#### 4.2.2.4 Appraisal of the Events

As the focus of this editorial is on the appraisal of the social actors, there is very little appreciation of the events themselves, notably less than in the other editorials. The reaction to the events, in affective terms, features only once, e.g. *as horrific as yesterday's attacks were...* l.37, and is referred to as a means of pointing out that this event could be insignificant in terms of how much worse the next attack could be if America does not fight to stop terrorists now. The importance of these events is expressed in terms of its threat to American values i.e. *Viewed as merely the stuff of fiction a decade ago, such a scenario is now widely acknowledged as a genuine threat* l.43. The absence of any real appreciation of the events indicates that the aim of the writer is not to understand the meaning of what happened in terms of its reaction on others and value on global power structures and future events. This distances the reader from any discussion of the meaning of the events.

It is rather, through the use of intertextuality (cf. 3.3.2), that the writer explains the meaning of the events. The writer uses various events in history to compare with September 11 as a way of using what the reader has in his/her background knowledge or

MR (cf. 3.3.2). Here the attacks are compared to previous ‘threats’ to the American way of life in which America was successful in suppressing, for example, *communism* and *fascism* l.61.

In order to legitimate the cause of retaliation, the writer refers to military successes abroad that have defeated terrorist groups, although these remain specifically unidentified except in the case of the 1998 bombings in Kenya and Tanzania. These promote a positive image of American military history and its capability in these new attacks e.g.

*The United States is not limited to passive defense but is prepared to take active measures to disrupt terrorist activities, as demonstrated three years ago by our strikes in Afghanistan and Sudan* l.27.

The other strategy used in explaining the meaning of the events is through the use of Engagement resources that open up the text to various alternative voices (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). As a means of expanding and contracting the various voices in the editorial, there is a significant use of modality (cf. 3.3.3.3 & 3.3.3.3.1). Here the majority of modals are those concerning *probability* and *obligation*. The writer indicates the high probability that America will go to war and that they are strongly obliged to fight and prepare for even worse attacks. This is achieved through the use of strong, positive modals e.g. *those attacked must either fight or fold* l.59 (obligation). Strong modals are also a resource for amplification as they add extra force to the attitudes and opinions expressed. Weaker modals are used to reflect the fairly certain expectation of continued attacks from the Other e.g. *the next terrorist attack could well involve...*l.39. This emphasises the uncertainty of what the future holds regarding terrorist attacks. Strong modals predominate, which effectively contract the space for negotiation and assert the writer’s opinion that going to war is the only option.

The attitudes and opinions in this editorial can be largely attributed to the writer, as there are few instances of explicit projection of sources. The only explicit projection resource is attributed to the poet, *W.H. Auden* l.41. By directly quoting a famous poet the attitudes presented in the text are confirmed and given credibility. Various other alternative voices are not directly identified e.g.

*...political figures compete to claim...*l.46 (projection of verbal process).

or even omitted e.g.

*Viewed as merely the stuff of fiction a decade ago...*l.43 (projecting mental process).

*such a scenario is now widely acknowledged as a genuine threat* l.43 (projecting verbal process).

*This will raise difficult questions regarding government intrusion l.56* (verbal process nominalised).

These voices are recoverable and can be attributed generally to members of the in-group. This has the effect of contracting the opinion to present one point of view, accepted by all members of the group. The absence of many explicitly identified alternative voices leaves little space for negotiation of the attitudes and opinions presented by the writer. Along with the absence of many alternative voices and the use of contracting resources, is the use of disclaimers in the form of negation and concession (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). Negation is used to counter (or disclaim) any alternative voices before they can arise and thus deny outside opinions any prominence. This is employed by the writer to counter any view surrounding how America will react and to present this one point of view as accepted by all as the only alternative. The writer counters any idea that America will give in to the terrorists and withdraw from the world by negating the possibility of these views e.g.

*...the American people will not succumb to terrorists l.3.  
As with the last, this struggle will not be won with a single military response l.63.*

The message of the text is that America will not give in to the terrorists; it is not an option. Similarly concession is used for countering or disclaiming the expectations of the reader (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). Here the concessive conjunction *But* predominates and counters any views that America will succumb or is incapable of fighting e.g. *the United States is not limited to passive defence but is prepared to take active measures to disrupt terrorist activities l.27.*

The editorial reveals a range of Engagement resources for the negotiation of meaning and in this case reveals the emphasis on contracting alternative voices so as to legitimate and assert the writer's point of view. In the next two sections I discuss how the editorial structure works to position the reader towards accepting the writer's argument.

#### **4.2.2.5 Theme and Rheme**

The structure of this text can be divided into 3 thematic sections that build on each other and develop the general theme of the text, i.e. that America must go to war. There is no actual summary of the events at the start of the text (cf. 2.3.6) and the writer, rather, moves straight into an evaluation. These sections are:

1. Lines 1-21 begin with explaining the objectives of the terrorists and why America cannot give in to them. The topical themes in this section alternate between America and the terrorists with significantly more focus on America e.g.

*the American people will not succumb to terrorists l.3*  
*those lashing out over perceived grievances l.11.*

The alternation of these two themes, therefore, predominantly follows a constant thematic pattern (cf. 3.3.3.4), which asserts the writer's focus on America.

2. This focus on America and the terrorists continues into the next section (lines 22-44) where the writer develops the argument for American retaliation. Attention is drawn to America's capabilities in stopping previous terrorist plots on America. Here topical themes alternate again between America and the terrorists with the details of American successes found in the rhemes e.g.

*We have used military force to strike at terrorist camps and capabilities...l.25*  
*Those who support or harbour terrorists should know...l.26.*

Minimal reference to support needed from American allies is included as part of the writer's suggestion for retaliation, although this is downplayed in relation to America and put in topical position only twice e.g.

*That America's fundamental posture towards friendly but not always helpful capitals should increasingly depend on their cooperation in fighting terrorism l.35.*

3. The third section, lines 44-65, is identified with the use of a marked theme i.e. *In recent years* l.44, whereby the alternation between America and the terrorists becomes less central as various themes are introduced by the writer to develop a recommendation for measures to be taken to prevent this kind of *threat* l.45 e.g.

*a disciplined approach is needed l.48*  
*information is power l.52*

The justification for these suggestions is provided at the end of the editorial where the focus, once again, returns to the American people e.g.

*Our people, not just our government, stood up to the fascist and communist threat to freedom l.60*  
*Americans did not triumph in the long twilight struggle of the Cold War only to forfeit...l.61.*

To link these topical themes as well as to counter them there are textual themes consistently throughout the text. These include concessive conjunctions (cf. 3.3.3.3.1) like *but* e.g. lines 8,19,56, as well as continuatives like *and* e.g. lines 25,30,59, to link the stages of the argument together. There is no significant use of interpersonal themes and

only 7 marked topical themes, lines 1,5,10,14,44,50,63, that focus the reader on the main topical theme, i.e. America e.g. *Even if we did retreat, America would remain such a potent symbol l.11.*

Overall, the effect of the theme and rheme structure and the mostly constant thematic progression, is to focus the reader's attention on America. This focus highlights America's dominant position in the "us" group (cf. 4.2.2.1) and seeks to channel the reader towards a positive evaluation of America and a recommendation for war. The fact that there are few instances of interpersonal themes and significant use of textual themes allows the writer to assert one viewpoint on the attacks and deny negotiation on the opinions expressed (cf. 4.2.2.4).

#### 4.2.2.6 Editorial Structure

An analysis of this text, in line with Bolivar's (1994) structural analysis of the editorial (cf. 2.3.6), reveals that it does employ three-part structures to introduce and evaluate information. In total there are 11 basic *content* triads that are combined into 3 complete *movements* and, at the highest rank, these are combined into a complete *artefact* (cf. 2.3.6) (see Appendix G). The first and fourth triads, lines 1-4 and lines 19-21, are unusual as the F (Follow) is omitted, leaving the structure with a L (Lead) and V (Valuate). This is a deviant form of the triad used by the writer, in this case, to strongly pre-empt the recommendation at the end without any medial evaluation e.g.

- L As the smoke clears from the skies of New York, Washington and western Pennsylvania, much remains unknown this morning regarding yesterday's terrorist attacks.
- V But what is certain is that the American people will not succumb to terrorists – and will not rest until justice is done to those responsible l.2.

Apart from the first deviant triad, the second triad, lines 5-12, and sixth triad, lines 33-42, in the text contain more than three turns (i.e. LFLFV) as the writer includes extra negotiation and information at both the beginning and end of the editorial concerning the course of action required by Americans.

All of the content triads are informing as the Leads are declaratives that introduce new information and assert the writer's opinion e.g.

*In recent years, tremendous efforts have been made by federal, state and local authorities to prevent and prepare for such a threat, and thereby deter it l.44.*

The Valuates are a mixture of *prophecies, concluders* (that contain informative comments) and *directives*, which indicate the recommended course of action. The beginning of the text (the first 2 triads) contains prophecies e.g. *the American people will not succumb to terrorists l.3*. As the argument develops, the next 6 triads contain concluders e.g. *America's memory is long and her reach even longer l.31*, and the last 2 triads consist of directives e.g. *Victory will require the American people to display courage, faith, unity and determination to carry on for the indefinite future l.64*. Hence the editorial ends with directives that inform the reader as to the recommended course of action, after an evaluation of the events.

Grouping the content triads together, it can be seen that there are 3 *movements* made up of situation, development and recommendation i.e. SDR (see Appendix G). The first movement, lines 1-21, evaluates America's role in the world and the threats it inevitably faces and comes to the recommendation that America will have to retaliate to defend its values. The second movement, lines 22-42, develops this argument by focusing on previous military successes and concludes that America must prepare for the possibility of further attacks. The last movement, lines 43-65, discusses the various actions America must take and concludes the editorial with the final recommendation for retaliation. At the highest rank the editorial consists of an *artefact* with all 3 turns, as in the British editorial, i.e. Type A, B and C (cf. 2.3.6). Each turn of the artefact is made up of one movement. In other words, the turns of movement one combine to form type A of the artefact and consist of an evaluation of America's *present* dominance in the world and what it must now do in reaction to the attacks. The second movement combines to form type B of the artefact where the writer first points to past military successes by America in defeating terrorists and concludes that America must be prepared for the *possibility* of more attacks. The last movement makes up type C of the artefact as the writer explains what *should* be done and how the world *should* be after the attacks e.g. *Those who engage in terror feed on any display of fear or weakness, and those attacked must either fight or fold l.59*.

The above account reveals that this editorial, from *The Washington Post*, does consist of three-part structures that each contribute to building the writer's evaluation and recommendation at the end. This account also concludes my descriptive analysis of the American editorial. I turn next to an interpretation and explanation of the conditions

surrounding the production and reception of this editorial that may have influenced these formal discourse properties.

#### **4.2.2 Interpretation and Explanation**

Evident from my analysis of the formal discursive properties in the preceding section, *The Washington Post* expresses a retaliatory reaction to the attacks on September 11, 2001. The reasons behind this can, firstly, be drawn from examining the situational context and socio-historical context at the time of the attacks and, secondly, from examining what ideological strategies (Thompson 1990; cf. 3.3.2) are employed by the writer.

*The Washington Post* is owned by The Washington Post Company which is a diverse media company owning a variety of newspapers, magazines, radio stations and so on ([url:1](#)). The ownership of this company originated with Eugene Meyer in 1933 who then passed it down to his daughter Katharine Graham ([url:2](#)). This family, and hence the company, have, through the years, had a close relationship with Republican governments and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The newspaper has always promoted the CIA and backed the foreign and economic policies of the government (the ruling elite) and supported the Republican Party (Hasty 2004). What this means is that *The Washington Post* is potentially a propaganda mouthpiece for the government's policies and this editorial expresses this support in the form of advocating war. The late Katharine Graham (who took over presidency in 1963 from her husband) defended the newspaper's support for the government during a speech she made at the CIA headquarters in 1988 when she said, "We live in a dirty and dangerous world. There are some things the general public does not need to know and shouldn't. I believe democracy flourishes when the government can take legitimate steps to keep its secrets and when the press can decide whether to print what it knows" (Hasky 2004).

Not only does the newspaper support the Republican Party but it has always supported the Bush Presidents (Hasky 2004). This is thought to be because of a relationship forged between Republican supporter, Eugene Meyer (first President of the World Bank) and George H.W. Bush when Bush received an investment from Meyer for his first oil company (Hasky 2004). Approval and support for the Bush governments positions the reader, as in the case of this editorial, towards a positive evaluation of the government and its policies. In order to achieve this support the editorial writer, in this case, was probably

chosen because of his ties to the Republican government. William S. Cohen, considered a moderate Republican, was actively involved in the government since the 1970s and became the Secretary of Defence in 1997 to January 2001 ([url:3,4,5](#)). This immediately suggests that his opinions would be supportive of the government rather than critical of any foreign policies that may have caused the attacks (unlike the criticism found in the British and Zimbabwean editorials, see Appendices B and D respectively). As reported by McChesney (2002) (cf. 2.4.5), the media after September 11 mostly relied on official sources that supported government and its core message of retaliation. In his editorial, Cohen points out that terrorism has always been a potential threat and prior to the attacks he had cautioned (on leaving his position as Secretary of Defence) that terrorist issues were likely to arise during Bush's upcoming administration ([url:3](#)). *The Washington Post's* support for retaliation, therefore, reflected the interests of those in government and this serves to illustrate that, according to Chomsky (1989:10), "the media serve the interests of state and corporate power, which are closely interlinked, framing their reporting and analysis in a manner supportive of established privilege and limiting debate and discussion accordingly" (cf. 2.4.4).

Acknowledging the newspaper's and Cohen's support for President Bush and his policies perhaps allows for an understanding of the strategies used by Cohen to present a particular ideological opinion on the events in line with that of the government. Cohen relies on 4 of the modes of ideology, identified by Thompson (1990) (cf. 3.3.2), in this editorial to support an American retaliation, i.e. *legitimation, unification, fragmentation* and *reification*.

Firstly, Cohen's argument focuses heavily on *legitimation* strategies in order to persuade the reader that war is the only option. The reason for the attack is attributed to those who hate America for its values. The call to go to war is legitimated by a need to defend these values and America's global foreign interventions. America's extensive foreign policies since 1945, when it emerged as a superpower from World War II (Coker 1989), have been undertaken with the intention of spreading democracy and liberalism on a global scale (Dumbrell 1990, see also Crockatt 2003). Cohen *rationalises* America's need to retaliate with the reasoning that America is needed by the world and therefore cannot give in and isolate itself. America's values of freedom and democracy are *universalised* as in the best interests of the global community and this is because, according to Dumbrell (1990:6),

Americans have “a strong sense of national mission and American exceptionalism: the belief that American democratic history provides a model for the world”. Those who hate America are not explicitly identified but the title of the editorial, “*American holy war*”, and the call for America *to embark on its own holy war* l.15, suggest reference to Islam and the Middle East as the origin of the attackers. America’s “driving ideology” in its foreign policy is the spread of liberalism i.e. the spread of liberal capitalist ideals (Dumbrell 1990:5). This ideology has been resented in areas around the world where American foreign policies have intervened in the cause of globalisation (Revel 2000). This resentment of American involvement is also felt in the Middle East where the “existence of Israel” is blamed on America (Revel 2000:61).

Cohen omits any reference to foreign resentment or American responsibility for its part in causing the attacks (cf. 2.4.5) (criticisms evident in the British and Zimbabwean editorials, see Appendices B and D) and rather presents a positive evaluation of American foreign policies, particularly in defeating terrorist groups. These positive evaluations provide another *rationalisation* (cf. 3.3.2) for America to find those responsible for these attacks and defeat them as has been done before e.g. *There have been many successful victories...l.22*. America’s success in the Cold War enhances this rationale for war because “the Cold War represented a precise embodiment of the identity of ‘interests’ and ‘morality’: capitalism and the spreading of liberty” (Dumbrell 1990:22). In other words, American success in the Cold War meant success in spreading liberalism and stopping the communist threat on the West. The attacks on September 11 posed a similar threat to the American way of life and the writer suggests that similar action must be taken to preserve American interests.

Cohen, therefore, claims that this war will be in the cause of protecting American values, which makes it legitimate, unlike any war by those who do not support the Western system. The biblical tradition of good triumphing over evil echoes in the text and is used as a legitimate reason for the necessity of going to war i.e. *In a very real sense, America itself must embark on its own holy war – not one driven by hatred or fuelled by blood but grounded in our commitment to freedom, tolerance and the rule of law...l.14*. The very idea of “Americanism”, according to Dumbrell (1990:21) embodies “a notion of deliverance from evil: the idea that justice and liberty may be achieved if only the correct dragon is slain”. Cohen appeals to the reader’s sense of “Americanism” to legitimate the

recommendation for war e.g. *Too many generations have paid the ultimate price defending our freedom for us to retreat from the world or retrench from our values l.13.*

Secondly, to further legitimate war Cohen appeals to the reader's sense of Americanism through *unification* and *fragmentation* strategies (the next 2 of Thompson's modes of ideology evident in this editorial, cf. 3.3.2). Extensive use of personal pronouns, such as *we* and *our*, seek to unify the American people into a collective against the unknown attackers but omits any reference to the victims of the attacks (cf. 4.2.2.1). The "us" group consists mostly of Americans and their allies are referred to as *friendly but not always unhelpful capitals l.36, in a troubled world l.9*. By presenting America as the dominant member in the "us" group, Cohen points to the superiority of America over the rest of the world. This is consistent with Prestowitz's (2003:39) perception that Americans see themselves "as the only world that matters". American values of freedom and democracy are *standardised* by Cohen as the ideal and the envy of other countries, and other political systems are ignored. The Other is identified as those who hate America for her values and who are a threat to the powerful "us" group. *Expurgation of the Other* is necessary to defend the American way of life, presented as the ideal, and to prevent any further attacks. The unity of America is not only essential in defending their values but also in making sure that their foreign policies carry on as their dominance is presented as a vital need in the world e.g. *we have global economic, political and security interests that require our active involvement abroad l.9*. Once the Other has been identified, Cohen explains that expurgation, by bringing those responsible to justice, is the only means of action and no other options are explored.

Finally, to support the legitimation for war Cohen relies heavily on *reification* strategies (the 4th mode of ideology evident in this editorial; cf. 3.3.2). In other words, much is *naturalised* in this text to support Cohen's argument, i.e. terrorism is a threat which the world must prepare for; America cannot isolate herself as she is so vital to world interests; America has been successful in bringing many terrorists to justice; America's way of life is envied by *a troubled world l.9* and thus the cause of the attacks; and those responsible for September 11 must be brought to justice through retaliation. The attacks are, in addition, blamed on an *external* issue. In other words, Cohen fails to acknowledge that America's foreign policies may be a direct cause of the attacks (as indicated in the British and Zimbabwean editorials; cf. 4.3 & 4.5) but blames the envy of America's way of life as

the cause. By presenting these issues as natural and without including varying views, Cohen reifies his argument.

The text does not employ significant strategies of *dissimulation*, indicating that it is to be taken literally and the dominant strategies are in support of the legitimation of war. American values are positively evaluated and legitimated, as is its role in the world. By doing so Cohen confirms the status quo i.e. the existing ideologies surrounding America are maintained and supported.

### **4.2.3 Conclusion**

The construction of “us” and “them” groups is exploited by the writer in this editorial for the purpose of emphasising America’s dominance as the most powerful member of the in-group and discourages any alliance with the out-group (cf. 4.2.2.1). The blame for the attacks is externalised to those who hate America and any responsibility on America’s part is ignored. By doing so, America’s position of eminence is confirmed and presented as the status quo. The writer’s and owner of the newspaper’s support for war reflect their support for the Republican government and for President Bush, whose initial reaction was to retaliate. Increased expressions of patriotism immediately after the attacks inhibited any negative criticism from the media as this was viewed as unpatriotic (cf. 4.2.3). Insignificant representation and evaluation of the events themselves omits any reflection on why the attacks took place (cf. 4.2.2.3 & 4.2.2.4). The meaning of the events is explained through comparison with American involvement in defeating other terrorist groups and in various other threats to the American way of life e.g. communism. These comparisons present a positive image of American military successes. Although there are a range of Engagement resources in the editorial, these are used to contract the inclusion of alternative opinions so as to present the writer’s viewpoint as dominant and accepted. The structuring of the argument consists of three-part structures (as according to Bolivar 1994), which develop the evaluation of America’s reaction, and a thematic progression that predominantly focuses on America, to support the idea of American dominance (cf. 4.2.2.5 & 4.2.2.6). No summary of the events is made explicit at the start of the editorial (as is evident in the other selected texts, see Appendices B-E), which suggests it is given information the reader will already know, due to the enormity of the events in media coverage. In the section to follow, I present my findings from the analysis of the selected British editorial from *The Times*.

### 4.3 Britain: *The Times*

#### “Democrats should not fight fire with fire” by Simon Jenkins

##### 4.3.1 Introduction

In this section I present the findings of my analysis of the editorial from *The Times*, a broadsheet newspaper in Britain (a copy of which can be found in Appendix B). I focus firstly on the descriptive analysis and then draw these results into an interpretation and explanation of the processes and conditions of production and reception of the editorial.

##### 4.3.2 Description

###### 4.3.2.1 Representation of Social Actors

Social actors in this text are divided into two groups, “us” and “them”. The construction of the “us” group serves to align Britain with America and the West. That is, countries that support democracy and the cause of spreading it to the rest of the world. The Other group is portrayed as those who are unknown, deviant, immoral, and who do not support liberal democracies. The distinction between these two groups is further enhanced by ethnic, economic and geographical differences. Interestingly, both groups are portrayed as victims of each other, i.e. the “us” group is vulnerable to attacks like September 11 from the Other, whereas the out-group has in the past been victim of civilian bombings by America and its allies in the cause of spreading democracy.

Here again I turn to Van Leeuwen’s categories for the representation of social actors to examine how group identity is characterised (cf. 3.3.3.2.1). It can be seen that in-group representations contain a range of identities from the collective to the specific but mostly with a positive appraisal of the group (see Table 16.). Britain is aligned with America and the West and the close ties between itself and America are immediately foregrounded as the writer explains how similar the two countries are i.e. *It is a bond-brother of London* l.4. America, and particularly New York, is attributed with positive characteristics, which highlight its importance and dominance e.g. New York is referred to as *the cultural capital of a nation that has entered the new millennium as master of the world* l.4. By emphasising the similarities between the two countries the writer aligns his readers with the view that Britain is part of the “us” group because it shares similar positive characteristics and through association is an ally, although the status and power of America exceeds that of Britain. This power difference is also evident in the African editorials (cf. 4.4, 4.5, 4.6). It is also important to note that there is no excessive use of

generic pronouns like *us* or *we* (terms prominent in the American and South African editorials) making the text appear more objective and detached.

The power and status of America and New York is emphasised by the writer and is one of the central differences between “us” and “them” in the editorial. Members of the “us” group are constructed through association, as having power and status which differentiates them from the Other group, as seen in Table 15. below.

**Table 15. Terms used to differentiate between “us” and “them”**

Us	Them
<i>developed states</i>	<i>destitute peoples with primitive political economies</i>
<i>the strong</i>	<i>the weak</i>
<i>the rich</i>	<i>the poor</i>
<i>a sophisticated political community</i>	
<i>America and its allies</i>	

Members of the in-group are identified as victims of the Other and collectivised through generic terms into groups that share this fate e.g. *people, a community, the world, we, and blood-stained bodies and sobbing women* l.42. This collective is emphasised by the geographical division between the two groups. That is, “us” are characterised as those belonging to *the West, America, New York, London* as opposed to countries in *the Middle East* like *Syria, Libya, Iran, Iraq* and *Sudan*.

Despite the positive appraisal of America and its allies, there is criticism of American foreign policies and here social actors are constructed according to their functionalisation e.g. *U.S. generals* l.63 and *Nato* l.62. The only specific identification of actors in this group is *I* l.24 (the writer) and reference to two great literary figures, *Thomas Paine* l.89 and *Kipling* l.81 (the inclusion of these alternative voices add force to the writer’s belief in the West’s desire to spread democracy, as discussed later in section 4.3.2.4). See Table 16. for features used in the representation of the “us” group.

The Other is identified as the agent responsible for the attacks on America and is constructed as the unknown, the immoral, the deviant and the abnormal (see Table 17.). As mentioned above, the writer also suggests that the attackers might have originated from the Middle East because the first bombing of the World Trade Centre in 1993 was blamed on Arab fundamentalists. Therefore, members of this group are represented as, not only

geographically different to the “us” group but also classified as ethnically different. Specific members are identified as those dictatorial leaders who support anti-Americanism e.g. *Saddam Hussein of Iraq* l.55.

**Table 16. Features used in the representation of “us”**

Generic Terms	Nomination	Functional Terms	Impersonal Terms (Geographical)
<i>People</i>	<i>I (the writer)</i>	<i>U.S. generals</i>	<i>the West</i>
<i>We</i>	<i>Thomas Paine</i>	<i>Nato</i>	<i>America</i>
<i>A community</i>	<i>Kipling</i>	<i>the government</i>	<i>New York</i>
<i>The world</i>			<i>London</i>

**Table 17. Features used in the representation of “them”**

Indeterminate Terms	Socially Deviant	Immoral/Unethical
<i>shadowy groups</i>	<i>madmen</i>	<i>self-appointed champions of the poor</i>
<i>enemies of America</i>	<i>rogue state</i>	<i>suicide hijacker</i>
<i>terrorist groups</i>		
<i>the perpetrators</i>		
<i>those who question...</i>		
<i>the groups responsible...</i>		
<i>enemies of America</i>		

Geographical Terms	Ethnic Classifications	Nominations
<i>The Middle East</i>	<i>Arab fundamentalists</i>	<i>Assad of Syria</i>
<i>Syria</i>		<i>Saddam Hussein of Iraq</i>
<i>Iraq</i>		<i>Gaddafi of Libya</i>
<i>Iran</i>		<i>Osama bin Laden</i>

It is important to note that members of the Other group are also represented as victims of America (in contrast to America being the victims of the Other) e.g. *civilian victims of American bombing* l.61. This has led to increased anti-Americanism in parts of the world where America has intervened and, as will be discussed in section 4.3.2.4, this anti-Americanism is suggested as a possible cause of the attacks e.g. *The continuance of the Kuwaiti policing operation into weekly bombing of Iraq has made Saddam a regional hero and America an object of regional hatred* l.73.

Looking at the types of processes associated with the representation of social actors, the two predominant processes are material and relational. Like the American editorial (cf.

4.2.2.1) the majority are material processes (60%), which reflect the actions of the social actors, but in this editorial there is a higher number of relational processes (24,5%) connected to the discussion on the evaluation of the events (cf. 4.3.2.4). The editorial consists of describing the actions of the terrorists; the inability of American actions to stop such attacks; the actions of America in foreign attacks; and the proposed reaction of America as recommended by the writer e.g.

*The objective is to publicise a cause, humiliate America and goad her into a violent response l.16; America will doubtless to redouble its efforts to penetrate and contain the groups responsible. But they will not be defeated by main force l.22;*

*Trade sanctions were imposed on destitute peoples with primitive political economies l.52;*

*Maturity lies in learning to live, and sometimes die, with the madmen l.105.*

The relational processes feature in the discussion on the meaning of the events and what the best response would be e.g.

*It is not an act of war l.103;*

*revenge is not the response of a sophisticated political community l.88.*

The other processes do not feature significantly. However, it can be seen that there are more mental and verbal processes in this text, compared with the American editorial (cf. 4.2.2.1) (see Tables 13. & 18.), as there is a greater focus on the emotional impact of the events and a wider range of alternative voices to support and contest the argument (cf. 4.3.2.4).

**Table 18. Transitivity processes in the British editorial**

<i>Material</i>	<i>Relational</i>	<i>Mental</i>	<i>Verbal</i>	<i>Behavioural</i>	<i>Existential</i>
60%	24,5%	5,7%	6,8%	1,1%	1,7%

#### **4.3.2.2 Appraisal of Social Actors**

The resources of APPRAISAL (cf. 3.3.3.3.1) expose how the writer evaluates the emotional state and the behaviour of the social actors. Firstly the social actors belonging to “us” and “them” are divided in their emotional reaction to the attacks. It is clear that this editorial does not contain many instances of affect, making it appear more objective. Members of the in-group are predominantly evaluated as having feelings of unhappiness at what has happened and insecurity due to the fact that the attackers are unknown and can possibly strike again. Those who attacked America are presented as having feelings of satisfaction and other members of the out-group are presented as having feelings of dissatisfaction

towards American foreign policies before September 11 (see Table 19.). These negative feelings are presented as a possible reason why America was attacked.

The evaluation of the moral behaviour (see Table 19.) of the social actors reveals that America is initially presented as having positive social esteem qualities which are admired by other members of the “us” group and envied by members of the out-group e.g.

*it is bond-brother of London and cultural capital of a nation that has entered the new millennium as master of the world l.4.*

Despite this power America is judged as incapable of preventing terrorist attacks like that of September 11. This is ironic because it has the technology and money to produce *anti-missile defence systems* l.31. The American involvement overseas is given as the most likely cause of the attacks as it is judged as ethically and morally wrong and has resulted in anti-American feelings. The writer amplifies how many civilians America has deliberately or mistakenly killed in the cause of peace e.g. *hundreds of civilian deaths* l.63. Despite the fact that the American policies *were not wise* l.75, they were undertaken *with honest intent* l.81 and are not an excuse for the attacks on September 11 i.e. *The wrong turns of Western policy in the Middle East may help to explain yesterday’s slaughter. They in no way excuse it* l.82.

The behaviour of the Other group is judged as socially and morally negative (see Table 19.), as is the case in all the other editorials, except *The Cape Times* (cf. 4.4.2.2). In contrast to the strength of America, members of the out-group are *weak* l.27. Nevertheless they are capable of attacking strong countries like America without using advanced weapons e.g. *a boy with a suitcase or a suicide hijacker can walk through any shield* l.32. The resultant behaviour is evaluated as ethically wrong and the social actors as deviant e.g. *rogue state* l.31, *suicide hijacker* l.33, *madman* l.36.

Thus, the writer judges the behaviour of both groups as socially negative to a certain degree but provides reasons as to why this happened and downplays any negative evaluation of American behaviour e.g. *America and its allies have “taken up the white man’s burden” with honest intent* l.80.

**Table 19. Evaluation of social actors using Martin' categories of affect and judgement**

Us	Affect	Them
<b>Unhappiness (-)</b> <i>a horrified world l.2</i> <i>Americans deserve every sympathy l.9</i> <i>sobbing women l.42</i> <b>Insecurity (-)</b> <i>terrifying their hosts l.46</i> <i>America terrorised into isolationism l.84</i>		<b>Satisfaction (+)</b> <i>it awards him the attention he craves l.38</i> <b>Dissatisfaction (-)</b> <i>its government has offended abroad l.58</i> <i>America an object of regional hatred l.74</i> <i>a natural target of envy and hatred l.5</i>
<b>Judgement</b>		
<b>Social Esteem</b>		
<b>Normality (+)</b> <i>as master of the world l.5</i> <i>developed states l.26</i> <b>Capacity (+)</b> <i>the strong l.27</i> <b>Capacity (-)</b> <i>'anti-missile' defence systems</i> <i>seem suddenly obsolete l.31</i> <i>to protect every American</i> <i>building is clearly impossible l.36</i>		<b>Normality (-)</b> <i>no rogue state l.31</i> <i>a madman l.36</i> <b>Capacity (+)</b> <i>...devastating means of forcing their</i> <i>attention on the world l.30</i> <b>Capacity (-)</b> <i>the weak l.27</i>
<b>Social Sanction</b>		
<b>Propriety (-)</b> <i>these were not wise policies l.75</i> <i>the wrong turns of Western policy...l.82</i> <b>Propriety (+)</b> <i>...undertaken in the cause of peace l.79</i> <i>...with honest intent l.81</i>		<b>Propriety (-)</b> <i>a suicide hijacker l.33</i> <i>self-appointed champions of the poor</i> <i>l.29</i>

#### 4.3.2.3 Representation of the Events

The lexical choices used to represent the events are all in the form of nominalisations with no clear marking of who the agent is in each case. This presents the writer's view of the events more objectively as "the demotion of agent allows the construction of an argument based on the judgement of events per se without considering where they are coming from" (Achugar 2004:310). These nominalisations are either simply objective facts or evaluative terms that appeal to the emotions of the reader, as can be seen in Table 20.

The affective terms, as listed below in Table 20, are intensifiers of force that amplify the emotional reaction to the attacks in order for the writer to create solidarity with the reader. The inclusion of both objective and affective nominalisations coincides with the writer's

personal emotional reaction as well as with his critical evaluation of the events. The writer also includes an intertextual representation of the events drawn from Conrad's "Heart of Darkness" i.e. *The heart of darkness had come to the heart of light* l.2. This represents the events as a negative occurrence and the possible clash of two different groups i.e. the Other represents *the heart of darkness* who have attacked *the heart of light* which represents the "us" group. Such polar opposites of light versus dark imply good versus evil. This allusion divides "us" from "them".

**Table 20. Terms used in the representation of the events**

Objective Terms	Affective Terms
<i>The attacks</i>	<i>the horror</i>
<i>Attacks such as these</i>	<i>the tragedy</i>
<i>Yesterday's acts</i>	<i>the outrage</i>
<i>Incidents such as these</i>	<i>the terror</i>
<i>Yesterday's events</i>	<i>yesterday's outrage</i>
<i>Yesterday's incident</i>	<i>yesterday's slaughter</i>
	<i>an atrocity</i>

#### 4.3.2.4 Appraisal of the Events

The events can be evaluated in terms of their emotional reaction and their social significance (in line with Martin's theory of appreciation; cf. 3.3.3.3.1). As already discussed earlier (cf. 4.3.2.3), the events are represented to a certain degree in terms of affect. Nominalisations such as *the horror* l.1 and *the terror* l.41 appeal to the emotions and the writer expresses his own reaction i.e. *...the most vivid display of terror that I can recall* l.2 (a metaphor of modality; cf. 3.3.3.3.2). However, in order for the reader to interpret the causes of the events, the writer includes objective nominalisations e.g. *yesterday's incident* l.99. These present the events as objective facts but are followed by relational processes to explain the significance of the events in terms of why they took place and how they will affect future global power structures e.g. *The message of yesterday's incident is that, for all its horror, it does not and must not be allowed to matter* l.99.

Intertextuality (cf. 3.3.2), in the form of comparison with other historical texts, forms a significant aspect of this evaluation of the events in America, more detailed than in the other editorials (cf. 4.7.2.4). The central focus is on American relations with the Middle East as a result of American foreign policies. The controversy over American foreign policies is highlighted from the very start, e.g. *those who question America's frequent*

*global interventions in the cause of democracy do so always from a position of respect* l.6. Although the writer does not attribute this statement to himself explicitly, it functions to soften the criticism of American foreign policies, later in the editorial (from line 48 onwards), and to indicate the writer's own, implicit, stance, as a supporter of America.

The first important intertextual reference is in the comparison between September 11 and *Pearl Harbour* l.15. This is used to explain the objectives of the attackers and to point out their dissimilarity. Unlike the attack on Pearl Harbour, those responsible for September 11 are unknown, indicating the futility of American retaliation. The writer adds that it is not how many people were killed that makes these events important but how the world will react. Although the writer recognises that the events are socially and morally negative in value he points out that it *is not politically significant* l.102. The fact that it is not politically significant means that it will not change the global power balance and America is not being drawn into war. The evaluation of the attacks, therefore, is that they are only significant in terms of the reaction of terror they hoped to create. The recommendation of the writer is that America does not go to war. This is reflected in the title of the editorial, "*Democrats should not fight fire with fire*".

To understand the possible reasons for the attacks, intertextual references to American foreign policies are the predominant argument provided by the writer. Some of these include e.g.

*American bombing in Yugoslavia and Iraq which claimed civilian victims* l.61

*American bombing in Belgrade and Baghdad of civilian targets* l.64

*Support of Israel, which aroused hostility from the Palestinians* l.67

*Financial support for anti-Soviet warlords in the 1980s led to support for terrorist groups, particularly Osama bin Laden* l.68

These references to American attacks on foreign countries provide possible causes for anti-American feelings and thus help the reader to make some sense of why certain groups may have had reason to attack America. The writer points out that America's foreign policies may have resulted in the attacks on September 11 but *they in no way excuse it* l.83. The writer's evaluation and recommendation is that revenge is not the best reaction. To support this opinion reference to the revenge taken after the 1998 bombing of two US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania is evaluated as *illegal and militarily indefensible* l.88. In comparison with the American editorial, which positively appraises American foreign interventions and externalises the cause of the attacks to the envy and hatred of the Other (cf. 4.2.2.4), the writer here is critical and specific in identifying some of the possible

causes of anti-Americanism. However, at the same time, the writer points out positive aspects of this intervention, thus serving to legitimate the spreading of democracy by America and its allies.

In the evaluation of the events the writer also includes a wider variety of alternative voices to support or contest the argument (cf. 3.3.3.3.1), more so than those in the American editorial (cf. 4.2.2.4). In this editorial explicit projections include the voice of the writer, *lines 2,4,78*; quotations from two famous literary figures known for their involvement in politics, *Kipling* and *Paine l.81,89*; and a direct quote from *U.S. generals l.63*.

The writer's personal support for America (and the West) is stated right at the start of the text. By doing so, the writer personally condemns the attacks and confirms the positive appraisal of America. The use of the personal pronoun "I" is only evident in the British editorial. By using the first person, mental process, the writer makes a personal statement, which is difficult to disagree with. As explained in section 3.3.3.3.2, this is an example of a metaphor of modality as it functions as a statement in its own right e.g.

*The attacks on the World Trade Centre and Washington yesterday before a horrified world were the most vivid display of terror that I can recall l.1.* (projecting mental process).

*New York is a city I love l.4* (projecting mental process).

Nevertheless, the writer critically analyses American involvement in foreign casualties and includes a direct projection from *U.S. generals* who:

*openly demanded* (projecting verbal process) *the bombing of civilian targets in Belgrade and Baghdad, to "break the will"* (direct quotation) *of the local people l.63.*

The inclusion of a quotation by Kipling softens this criticism and supports the writer's argument that despite some of America's mistakes it has with its allies "*taken up the white man's burden*" *with honest intent l.80*. This is because Kipling was known as a strong supporter of the British Empire and believed in its duty to civilise the whole world (Gilmour 2002). Thomas Paine was a poet and writer who also firmly believed in the spread of democracy and republicanism (like America and its allies) and "was a driving force in the 'Atlantic-Democratic revolution' of the late 18th century, personifying the political currents that linked American independence, the French Revolution and British radicalism" (Belchem 2002).

Other sources used in the editorial are not individually identified but rather represent the voice of various groups of people. The writer gives voice to those in the out-group, a feature absent from the American and South African editorials (cf. 4.2.2.4, 4.4.2.4). These groups include: *the ardent non-interventionist* l.56, and *enemies of America* l.59. The likely justification for the events, attributed to the attackers and the enemies of America in general, is that American foreign intervention has resulted in similar civilian casualties. The voice of the non-interventionist supports the view that the only solution is for America not to intervene e.g.

***The ardent non-interventionist*** might argue that incidents such as these can be avoided. ***They would plead*** with America not to intervene everywhere and thus render its territory a target to all whom its government has offended abroad. ***This argument*** (verbal process nominalised) must be met since ***many enemies of America*** will cite it l.56. (projecting verbal processes).

Various other projections are implicit but recoverable e.g.

***Words*** (from the writer or media: name for speech act) may try to explain such events. ***None can justify*** them l.9. (verbal processes).

*The wrong turns of Western policy in the Middle East may help* (the writer/the media) to explain yesterday's slaughter. *They in no way excuse* it l.82. (verbal processes).

***The message*** (from the attackers: name for speech act) *of yesterday's incident is that...l.99.*

These projections indicate the writer's attempt to be slightly more objective than in the other selected editorials by projecting voices from both the in and out-groups. Voices are mostly attributed to groups of people, not individually identified e.g. *enemies of America* and *U.S. generals*, which allows the writer to cautiously criticise both "us" and "them" groups without being explicit, particularly as it is only the day after the attacks and actual facts are still unknown.

Along with the range of alternative voices included in the text there is also a significant use of modality to open the argument up to possible negotiation over the opinions and attitudes presented (cf. 3.3.3.3 & 3.3.3.3.1). The editorial clearly focuses on modals of *probability*, *obligation* and *ability*. The beginning section of the editorial (lines 1-35) consists mainly of modals of ability where the writer discusses the power the modern terrorist has over countries like America. The majority of these modals are strong modals, which grade the ability of the attackers as highly able e.g. *the weak can wield weapons more potent than ever before* l.27. The central argument of the editorial (lines 36-76), focussing on America's involvement in foreign attacks, features modals of probability,

which indicate the strong probability that *enemies of America will cite l.59* the many unwelcomed interventions that have killed innocent civilians. The editorial ends (lines 77-105) with a recommendation as to what America should do. This is seen in the strong modals of probability and obligation e.g.

*To seek revenge would be senseless l.85* (probability).

*They should be replaced with policies of engagement, trade, friendship and contact l.97* (obligation).

Weak modals are used by the writer to cautiously confirm what the enemies of America would say in justification for the attacks e.g. *Is that not what the perpetrators of yesterday's outrage might say? l.66*.

The strong modals add intensity to the writer's argument and in a sense contract the opinions so the reader is persuaded to accept one particular point of view, namely that American foreign policies are to blame and revenge is not the solution. This contraction is also achieved through the use of disclaimers, mainly by using concession in the form of negation (22 instances in total) and concessive conjunctions, which both work to deny any negotiation from alternative voices (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). The most important use of negation in the discussion concerns the evaluation of the events i.e. *It is not to defeat America, to undermine its economic power or military strength, nor even to damage its political stability l.13* and *It is not an act of war l.103*. Conjunctions, particularly *but*, are employed to adjust reader's expectations and deny alternative opinions e.g. *But it is not politically significant l.102*.

In summary, the editorial consists of a wide variety of alternative voices, including that of the Other, as well as a range of resources, like negation, to channel the reader's opinions and to support the writer's argument. In sections 4.3.2.5 and 4.3.2.6 to follow, I examine how the editorial is structured to influence the reader's perspective on the attacks.

#### **4.3.2.5 Theme and Rheme**

The structuring of the writer's argument here, unlike in the American editorial (cf. 4.2.2.5), is rather more complex and does not follow a constant thematic progression. Topical, unmarked themes, as in the other editorials, predominate but their progression is complex and varied. This complexity could suggest a typical structure of a British editorial (particularly from a broadsheet newspaper) in their attempt to be critical and objective (cf. 2.2.3.1). As a result, the text employs a variety of thematic patterns,

including constant, linear and derived themes (cf. 3.3.3.4). These patterns are evident within the 6 thematic sections that the text can be divided up into, which build on each other and develop the general theme of the text, i.e. that America should not go to war but change its foreign policies. As in all the other editorials, the editorial begins without any summary of what actually happened in America (cf. 2.3.6). The introduction of the topic is reduced to one short sentence i.e. *First the horror l.1*. The 6 thematic sections are:

1. Lines 1-10 begin the text with themes that focus on the writer's personal reaction to the attacks and evaluation of America e.g. *I can recall...l.2*; *I love l.4*; *It is bond-brother of London...l.4*.

2. Lines 10-27 develop an evaluation of the objectives of the terrorists, as is done in the American editorial (see Appendix A), and what can be done in response e.g. *the objective here cannot be the traditional one...l.12*.  
*The objective is to publicise a cause...l.15*.  
*Indeed there is no defence at all l.22*.

This section is signalled by the marked topical theme, *After the horror comes the response l.10*.

3. Lines 27-46 further develop the argument, that there is no real defence in attacks like these, by focussing themes on the ability of terrorists and the inability to stop them e.g. *No rogue state needs...l.31*; *when a boy with a suitcase or a suicide hijacker can...l.32*; *To protect every American building is clearly impossible l.36*. Once again, a marked theme introduces this section i.e. *In the war of the weak against the strong...l.27*.

4. Lines 46-76 focus on the central theme of the text, i.e. the American foreign policies that have resulted in anti-Americanism and which are therefore a possible cause of the attacks. Once again a marked topical theme initiates this thematic section i.e. *In 1993...l.46*. The voice of the Other and the various American policies are topical themes in this section e.g.

*The ardent non-interventionist might argue that incidents such as these can be avoided l.56*.  
*Trade sanctions were imposed on destitute peoples with primitive political economies l.52*.

5. Lines 77-98 follow the previous criticism by downplaying and legitimating American responsibility, rationalised as its honest intent to spread democracy e.g. *The bombing of the Serbs and Iraqis was undertaken in the cause of peace l.79*. The writer also

reiterates a theme from lines 10-27 which is that revenge is not the answer i.e. *Revenge is not the response of a sophisticated political community l.88.*

6. Lines 99-105 draw to a conclusion the overall message of the editorial through a final evaluation of the events and its significance. Here a constant theme predominates which allows the writer to assert and reinforce the meaning of the events e.g.

*But it is not politically significant. It does not tilt the balance of the world power one inch. It is not an act of war l.102.*

Therefore, the themes are predominantly topical and unmarked with marked themes only used to signal a thematic change in the discussion. As in the American editorial (cf. 4.2.2.5) there is a consistent use of textual themes in the form of concessive conjunctions (9), like *but* and continuatives (16) like *and*. The concessive conjunctions work to bar any alternative opinions and present the information as natural and the continuatives link the multiple evaluative turns as the writer negotiates meaning e.g.

*People can be protected individually but not in the mass l.25.  
Sanctions entrenched and often enriched those already in power l.53.*

The absence of many interpersonal themes (as is evident in the other editorials) allows the writer to remain detached from the reader and assertive in his claims. Overall the patterning of theme and rheme is significantly more complex and varied than the other editorials, as the writer, in this case, presents a range of points to develop and support his argument for reflection and a change of American policies rather than retaliation.

#### **4.3.2.6 Editorial Structure**

As mentioned above (cf. 4.3.2.5), this editorial is longer and structurally more complex to analyse than the other selected editorials (see Appendix H). However, I am confident that, as in the other editorials, three-part structures are evident in this text. The complex negotiation and evaluation of meaning result in multiple turns per triad and can possibly be attributed to the serious, in-depth nature of Britain's broadsheets (cf. 2.2.3.1).

This text has the highest number of *content* triads (18) out of all the selected editorials, with 5 of these triads containing more than three turns, one of which, lines 55-76, is as long as 7 turns i.e. LFLFLFV. In addition, some F (Follow) and V (Valuate) turns, especially the V, consist of more than one sentence as the writer develops and then closes the triad with an extensive evaluation e.g.

- L To achieve this goal requires more than a big bang.
- F It requires that bang to be publicised and for the reaction to it to be equally violent.
- V Its effectiveness lies not in the death toll – a toll repeated daily on the roads – but in the loudness of the echo through the world’s media. It lies in the action replay, the humanising of the tragedy, the publicity for those responsible. It lies in the aftermath l.16-21.

All the Lead turns are *informative*, made up of declarative sentences that initiate a new topic and allow the writer to assert his opinion as fact (cf. 2.3.6). The Valuates are predominately *informative concluders* with the exception of those towards the end of the editorial (lines 58,75,97,102) where *directives* inform the reader of what action must be taken e.g.

- L To extend further America’s Middle East economic sanctions, isolation and military aggression offers succour to the terrorist (Informative).
- F These policies have not hastened the spread of democracy or stability through the region. They have if anything done the reverse.
- V They should be replaced with policies of engagement, trade, friendship and contact (Directive) l.94-98.

In comparison with the American editorial, there are fewer directives, perhaps because the writer aims to explain and interpret rather than simply direct future actions so soon after the events.

These content triads can be grouped into larger three-part structures i.e. *movements* and *artefacts* (cf. 2.3.6). There are 4 large movements with the basic SDR structure i.e.

1. Lines 1-10: Discuss the reaction of the world and writer to the attacks.
2. Lines 1-26: Discuss the objectives of the attackers and concludes that there is no realistic way to defend a country from such attacks.
3. Lines 26-46: Discuss the potential of weak versus strong states and that reaction requires an identified agent, which is absent in this form of attack.
4. Lines 46-84: Discuss the various criticisms of American foreign policies, suggested to be the cause of the attacks. Nevertheless, by concluding that these foreign policies have been undertaken with good intentions, these criticisms are downplayed.
5. Lines 85-105: Discuss the futility of revenge as is evident from past actions e.g. *The bombing of Afghanistan was ineffective l.87*. A change of policy is recommended rather than retaliation as, according to the writer, the status quo has not been altered by the attacks e.g. *America’s leadership of the West is not diminished by it l.103*.

At the highest rank this editorial, like the American editorial, contains all three turns of the *artefact* i.e. Type A, B and C. Type A, lines 1-26, evaluates the present state of America’s dominance and the inability to prevent such attacks as September 11. Type B, lines 26-84, consists of the main body of the text where, firstly, the extent of terrorist means is evaluated (i.e. the way the world *might* be; cf. 2.3.6) and, secondly, the possibilities for preventing such events is discussed i.e. through an examination of America’s foreign

policies. Type C closes the text with suggestions for the way the world *should* be i.e. a change in America's foreign policies rather than retaliation as the status quo has not been damaged. This analysis therefore reveals the negotiation of information through the use of three-part structures that channel the reader's interpretation of the events.

### 4.3.3 Interpretation and Explanation

Having presented the findings from my analysis of the formal discursive features of this editorial, I now turn to examine how conditions surrounding the production and reception of this text, from *The Times* in Britain, may have influenced the formal choices made by the writer (cf. 4.3.2) and what ideological strategies (as identified by Thompson 1990; cf. 3.3.2) the writer relies on to support his claims against retaliation. Despite presenting an alliance with America and Western values, this editorial does not advocate retaliatory war like the American and Kenyan editorials (see Appendices A and E). Reasons behind this can be ascertained from examining the newspaper's ownership, the editorial writer and the socio-historical context at the time when this editorial was written.

Being a broadsheet, *The Times* is considered a serious newspaper that targets readers of a high socio-economic status (as discussed in section 2.2.3.1). Traditionally newspapers in Britain have had strong political alliances, with each newspaper supporting a political party of choice (Riddell 1999) (cf. 2.2.3.1). Notably, the owner of the newspaper influences the support for a particular political party, as in the case of *The Times*. In 1981, Rupert Murdoch, the primary shareholder of The News Corporation Ltd, took over *The Times* and became an influential force behind the newspaper's ideology ([url:6](#)). Murdoch controls more of the world's media than any one person, which ultimately allows him power to "shape the business, social and political realities of most of the nations of this planet" (Terton 2004) (cf. 2.2.4). He has bought a variety of media institutions across the world: including a vast share in the Australian newspaper industry and about one third of the newspapers in Britain and has a variety of different interests in America, Asia and Italy ([url:6](#), Shawcross 1999). Murdoch achieves his political influence in Britain through the use of newspapers, particularly *The Times* and *The Sun*. In the 1980s and early 1990s Murdoch was a supporter of the Conservative Party and his newspapers promoted Thatcher and Major (Barone 2004, [url:8](#)). However, he switched to Blair's New Labour before the 1997 elections for economic reasons, as under further Conservative rule, tighter laws on media ownership would have prevented him from expanding his television

interests (Terton 2004, Barone 2004). Support for the American Republican Party and President Bush is also part of Murdoch's strategy to further his commercial interests, as Bush is similarly not in favour of media regulation in America ([url:7](#)).

Due to Murdoch's powerful influence, the news from his media institutions reflects his views to a certain degree. For example, in the build up to the war in Iraq, all of Murdoch's 175 newspapers around the world editorialised in favour of the war ([url:7](#)). The obvious disapproval of a war in this particular editorial, however, can be attributed to influence from the writer (cf. 2.3.4). Simon Jenkins, a former editor of *The Times*, is known as one of the most influential anti-intervention journalists in Britain (Goldstein 2001) and this possibly is reflected in his recommendation, in this editorial, for a change of foreign policy rather than war. His positive evaluation and support of America e.g. *New York is a city I love 1.3*, is due to his apparent favour of President Bush (Goldstein 2001) but despite his admiration for America, Jenkins critically analyses America's responsibility in the attacks in the form of its foreign policies.

Having identified Jenkins' support for Bush and his non-interventionist views allows for an understanding of the various ideological strategies he employs to support his own opinions despite the influence from the owner of *The Times*. As in the American editorial (cf. 4.2.3), Jenkins relies on 4 of Thompson's modes of ideology (1990) (cf. 3.3.2) to contest an American retaliation and advocate a change of policy instead, i.e. *legitimation; unification; fragmentation; and reification*.

Firstly, Jenkins's recommendation is *legitimated* through *rationalisation* strategies that rely on cause and effect. In other words, he reasons that despite the causes of the attacks, retaliation would not be the best reaction. Reasons for the attacks are attributed to: America's global dominance as *master of the world 1.5*, which has resulted in envy and hatred from other countries; and its foreign policies, which have stirred up anti-Americanism. By examining the possible causes, Jenkins legitimates the reasons for the attacks in light of the perspective of the Other and their strong feelings of anti-Americanism. Nevertheless, he explains that retaliation will not solve the problem of terrorism, as its agents are unknown and can strike at any time in any place. Most importantly, however, is the fact that America's dominance and the status quo have not been damaged and thus retaliation is not necessary. Jenkins criticises American policies

as the main cause of the attacks but at the same time deems them necessary for the spread of democracy. This legitimates America's intervention and consequently Britain's involvement, as it has, like America, "*taken up the white man's burden*" l.80 and according to Sanders (1990:294), Britain has been an ally of America since 1945 "assisting American efforts to defend the West's long-term economic and security interests throughout the world". Hence his recommendation concerns a change of policy to combat the causes of the attack in order to reduce anti-American sentiments e.g. *These policies have not hastened the spread of democracy or stability through the region. They have, if anything, done the reverse. They should be replaced with policies of engagement, trade, friendship and contact* l.95.

Secondly, in order to legitimate America's powerful position, its role in spreading democracy and hence Britain's part as its ally, Jenkins relies on strategies of *unification* and *fragmentation* (the next 2 modes of ideology evident in this text). The collective identity the writer subscribes to unites Britain with America and her allies whose joint aim is to bring democracy and peace to the rest of the world. By legitimating America's dominance in the world Jenkins presents its value of democracy as the *standard* and something that must be spread around the world e.g. *the cause of democracy is not damaged, unless we choose to let it be damaged* l.104. America and her allies are differentiated from countries that do not have democracy or peace, like the Middle East. Those who are responsible for September 11 are not explicitly identified but are recognised as disapproving of American policies. The construction of this dangerous Other group establishes the need for action. Unlike the American and Kenyan editorials (see Appendices A and E), the writer here calls for a change of American foreign policy and not retaliation as the expurgation of the enemy will not be achieved this way, since it is impossible to retaliate against an unknown enemy.

Lastly, Jenkins employs strategies of reification (the 4<sup>th</sup> mode of ideology in this text) in order to legitimate his argument. Much is *naturalised* in this text i.e.: America is world leader; leadership of this kind inevitably leads to envy, hatred and attacks from its enemies; attacks like these cannot be dealt with through military retaliation; America's foreign policies have not spread democracy; this is not war; the cause of democracy and America's power has not been altered. By naturalising his argument American dominance is reified, despite some criticism. The text overall is quite explicit as to how America

should respond to the attack but the identity of the attackers is omitted through nominalising the representation of the events e.g. *the horror l.10*. By doing this, the face of terrorism is presented as unknown and those responsible for September 11 could easily come from any country that dislikes America whose foreign policies are so widespread. Unlike the American editorial (cf. 4.2.3), however, the attacks are not blamed on an external issue but attention is drawn to American responsibility.

*Dissimulation* does not feature in this editorial as it does not try and hide relations of domination. This is similarly the case in my other selected editorials (see Appendices A, C, D, E). The ideological strategies evident from this text serve to promote and support American involvement in foreign affairs. Despite being critical of American intervention Jenkins emphasises that the need is to change the policies rather than to eliminate the policies altogether. The spread of democracy is presented as the means to peace around the world and it is only through intervention from Western countries that this is deemed possible. This serves the interests of dominant western countries and legitimates their intervention around the world.

#### **4.3.4 Conclusion**

The construction of “us” and “them” groups confirms the similarities between Britain and America as powerful members of the in-group in contrast to the ideologies of those in the out-group who envy and hate Western values (cf. 4.3.2.1). Intertextuality and resources of Engagement play a significant role in the evaluation of the events, suggesting that unsuccessful American foreign policies are the possible causes of anti-Americanism (cf. 4.3.2.4). Despite being critical of American foreign policy, Jenkins rationalises that the need to spread democracy is a legitimate cause and does not warrant such terrorism. By doing so, Britain’s role as America’s ally is legitimated (cf. 4.3.3). Regarded as a serious, objective newspaper that targets readers of a high socio-economic status, the writer focuses on the possible causes of the attack rather than the emotional reaction. War is not recommended, however, which possibly can be attributed to Jenkins’ own personal belief in non-intervention. The structural properties of the text indicate no summary of the events (cf. 2.4.5) but rather an almost immediate evaluation leading up to the recommendation at the end. This is achieved through three-part structures, which in the case of this editorial include multiple turns as the writer negotiates the reasons for the

attack (cf. 4.4.2.5 & 4.4.2.6). In the section to follow, I present my findings from the analysis of the selected South African editorial from *The Cape Times*.

## 4.4 South Africa: *The Cape Times* “The day that shook the world”

### 4.4.1 Introduction

In this section I present the findings of my analysis of the editorial from the South African newspaper, *The Cape Times* (a copy of which can be found in Appendix C). I focus firstly on the descriptive analysis and then draw these results into an interpretation and explanation of the processes and conditions of production and reception surrounding the editorial.

### 4.4.2 Description

#### 4.4.2.1 Representation of Social Actors

The representation of social actors in this editorial, unlike the previous two, does not exploit the differences between “us” and “them”, as there are no social actors belonging to a “them” group at all (see Table 21.). The writer focuses rather on aligning South Africans and more specifically Capetonians with America. The absence of an Other group is significant as it emphasises the writer’s aim to unite people in sympathy and not to speculate on who the attackers are.

Using Van Leeuwen’s methods for the categorisation of social actors (1996) (cf. 3.3.3.2.1) I now turn to examine how these actors appear in this editorial. It is clear that the writer’s overriding focus is in using terms that emphasise the inclusiveness of social actors into a community (see Table 21.). In the first half of the editorial (lines 1-13), the social actors are collectivised through the use of generic terms, e.g. *the world* l.4 and portrayed as victims e.g. *the intentional targeting of civilians* l.9. America’s position in the group, however, is over-lexicalised i.e. represented through various terms, which emphasise the power distance between itself and other members of the “us” group who are only *ordinary people* l.12, e.g.

*The world’s most powerful country* l.6

*The superpower* l.7

*The most powerful people on earth* l.11

From lines 14-26 the editorial focuses on South Africa and Cape Town in particular. Here there is an increased use of generic pronouns like *we* and *our* as well as an assimilation of all members into this group (cf. 3.3.3.2.1) through the use of the impersonal collective, *Capetonians* l.14. This serves to create a sense of community within which people share the same values. Despite the diverse ethnic and religious population in Cape Town the

writer uses these generic terms as well as the metaphor *the fabric of our city* l.19, to override these differences and unite everyone. Representations of this group also appear in the form of the functionalisation of social actors (cf. 3.3.3.2.1) e.g. *the religious leaders of our city, the politicians, the business community, the ordinary working people... l.20*. This acknowledges the diversity within Cape Town, and portrays it as a positive attribute that must be maintained (see Table 21. below).

**Table 21. Features used in the representation of social actors**

	(Us)		(Them)
Generic Features	Categories	Functional Terms	
<i>The world</i>	<i>Capetonians</i>	<i>the religious leaders</i>	none
<i>Our x7</i>	<i>ordinary people</i>	<i>the politicians</i>	
<i>We x9</i>	<i>the superpower</i>	<i>the business community</i>	
	<i>the world's most powerful country</i>	<i>the ordinary working people</i>	
	<i>the most powerful people on earth.</i>		

Linked to the representation of the social actors are, as in the other editorials, predominantly material processes (see Table 22.) i.e. 55%. The first half of the editorial consists mainly of relational processes linked to the appraisal of the events (cf. 4.4.2.4) but there are material processes that indicate the future actions of the social actors e.g. *no one has any idea how the superpower will react* l.6. However the majority of the material processes fall into the representation of South Africa and what the writer recommends Capetonians must do e.g.

*We cannot directly influence what will happen in the coming days in Washington and the world, but we can shape reactions in our city* l.16.

*We have to try, in all our diversity, to ensure that the schisms now tearing global politics apart do not destroy the fabric of our city* l.18.

The writer says that despite the events taking place in America, South Africans should not act against each other but should remain calm. Relational, mental and behavioural processes are linked to this message of calm as the writer encourages people to *try to understand* l.22 what has happened (mental) and *watch* to see what happens (behavioural). Therefore, the intention of the writer is to persuade readers that what has happened in America must not evoke violent actions in South Africa but instead people must come together.

**Table 22. Transitivity processes in the South African editorial**

<i>Material</i>	<i>Relational</i>	<i>Mental</i>	<i>Verbal</i>	<i>Behavioural</i>	<i>Existential</i>
55,26%	18,42%	10,52%	-	10,52%	5,26%

#### 4.4.2.2 Appraisal of Social Actors

The only evaluation or appraisal of social actors (cf. 3.3.3.3.1) in this editorial is in judging their capability and affective reaction to the events. The emotional reaction to the attacks by Capetonians is aligned with those of the rest of the world. Both the world and Capetonians are shocked at the attacks i.e. *Capetonians wake up to join a shocked world this morning l.14*, which prevents any real emotional reaction to the attack so soon after it has taken place. Nevertheless, there is emotional insecurity (cf. 3.3.3.3.1) as the writer indicates that the future is uncertain e.g. *Ordinary people can only watch with fear l.12*, *We have to stand together as one community for a moment, and not succumb to hysteria l.22*. The editorial aims to create solidarity amongst Capetonians to resist insecurity and other negative emotions from tearing the city apart.

The behaviour of the social actors is positively appraised. For example, America's power is judged as a positive attribute, as it is *the world's most powerful country l.6* and contains *the most powerful people on earth l.11*. The force of the evaluation is intensified through the use of Graduation resources (cf. 3.3.3.3.1) in order to enhance the reader's solidarity with the writer's opinion i.e. *most powerful*. The writer, however, also points out the normality of the country as it contains *civilians l.9* and *ordinary people l.12*, which allows South Africans to relate to the events as it is also a country made up of *ordinary working people l.20*. South Africa is judged as incapable of directly affecting the outcome in America but capable of deciding what kind of reaction will result in Cape Town.

#### 4.4.2.3 Representation of the Events

The events are represented through the use of nominalisation (cf. 3.3.3.3.2) by which the agent is obscured, making it unclear who the actors responsible for these events are (as is evident in the other editorials). This allows the representation to seem objective and factual. For example, *the first concerted attack l.5*, *the intentional targeting of civilians l.9* and *the collapsing World Trade Centre towers l.15*. The majority of the representations are nominalisations that realise the events in terms of affect and judgement while omitting the agent. The writer represents the events "through epithets that point to

the grade of importance or uncommonness without pointing directly to the agents responsible for them” (Achugar 2004:310). For example, *the high-technology horror l.1* and *the unprecedented, unbridled, co-ordinated, brutal, targeted terror l.2*. This serves not only to represent the events in terms of their emotional impact but also in terms of judging the negative social significance of the attacks. The use of multiple epithets intensifies the force of the terms used to describe the events.

References to circumstances of time and place (cf. 3.3.3.2) also link to the representation of the events. The reader is kept in the present and the discussion is focused specifically on Cape Town. By doing so, the writer draws attention to the present crisis, as a unique event, and how it could affect South Africans, regardless of past histories. For example, *Capetonians wake up to a shocked world this morning l.14* and *Today we are called upon, simply, not to do any harm to our fellow citizens l.25*. The references to place locate the reader at the site of the attacks, i.e. America and then in the discussion on the local South African reaction to the events the focus is primarily Cape Town. This localises the reaction to the attacks and gives the reader a means of making sense of how the events will affect South Africa.

#### **4.4.2.4 Appraisal of the Events**

As the writer does not exploit the “us” and “them” division (cf. 4.4.2.1), the appraisal of the emotional impact of the events and their significance (using resources of appreciation; cf. 3.3.3.3.1) is only expressed from one perspective, resulting in a negative appraisal. Firstly, the events are evaluated or appraised, in some instances, in terms of their negative emotional impact on the world, e.g. *Even while shock still clouds our thoughts it is clear the world has never seen the like of this l.4*. The intensity of the writer’s evaluation is evident from the use of Graduation resources (cf. 3.3.3.3.1) that add force to the emotional reaction to the events. This intensity is achieved through the use of epithets that turn up the force of the emotions to align the reader, for example *the savage delivery of a message of terror l.8*. The events are also judged according to their significance (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). The writer recognises the skill and technology needed to undertake this attack e.g. *the high-technology horror l.1*, as well as how well it was organised by those responsible e.g. *this unprecedented, unbridled, co-ordinated, brutal, targeted terror l.2*. Nevertheless, the writer points out that it is difficult to describe the true meaning of the events as nothing like this has happened before. The events are presented and evaluated in terms of their

value to society and the potential negative repercussions in America, South Africa and the rest of the world. The writer emphasises the uniqueness of the events with the use of Graduation resources (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). For example, *It is not just that this is the first concerted attack on the US mainland in the history of the world's most powerful country l.6 and -even to the most powerful people on earth l.11*. The editorial begins with these strong emotional and judgemental evaluations of the events and this is picked up at the end of the editorial when the writer uses material processes to intensify his recommendation, that Capetonians must ensure the attacks do not affect Cape Town i.e. *the schisms now tearing global politics apart do not destroy the fabric of our city l.18*.

There are also a significant number of relational processes (18%) linked to this appraisal (as mentioned in section 4.4.2.1) (see Table 22.) as the writer tries to explain what has happened, such as *It is not just that this seems more like a declaration of war than the savage delivery of a message of terror l.7*.

Unlike the other editorials I have selected, there is no explicit comparative intertextuality (cf. 3.3.2) as a means to making sense of the events. From my analysis of the situational context within which the editorial was written (cf. 4.4.3), it can be seen that when writing the text, the editor, Chris Whitfield, was aware of the need for sensitivity towards ethnic tensions within Cape Town at the time (Whitfield: personal contact). This can explain the absence of references to the Middle East crisis, which feature as a possible origin of the attacks in the other selected editorials. Whitfield's sensitivity is clear in his recommendation for calm in Cape Town. He does not explicitly refer to the tensions that have been dividing the city and refrains from specifically identifying groups, like the Muslim community, which are involved, but implies that the attacks in America could worsen the local situation e.g. *If there has ever been a time when the religious leaders of our city, the politicians, the business community, the ordinary working people need to call for calm and stand together, it is now l.19*. Therefore, in this text, the absence of comparative intertextuality suggests sensitivity on the part of the writer, in addressing the local situation.

Throughout this editorial there are also very few explicit projections attributed to alternative voices (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). Those explicit sources acknowledged in the text are

drawn from collective groups, emphasising the notion of unity and collectivity. Processes linked to these explicit sources are mental or behavioural, not verbal e.g.

*Even while shock still clouds our thoughts it is clear that **the world** has never seen the like of this l.4 (projecting mental process).*

*Even here in South Africa, **we know** that we will not escape the reverberations of the World Trade Centre Towers l.14 (projecting mental process).*

*If there has ever been a time when **the religious leaders of our city, the politicians, the business community, the ordinary working people** need to call for calm and stand together, it is now l.19 (projecting behavioural process).*

Despite this expanding range of voices in the text, some of these projections work to contract the viewpoint (cf. 3.3.3.3.1) so that negotiation is limited to the fact that this event is something: *the world **has never seen**...l.4* and that *we **know** we will not escape the reverberations...l.15*. The contraction of voices is also achieved through the use of negation that disclaims alternative voices. Negation is used to contract and deny alternative voices surrounding the meaning of the attacks e.g.

*It is not just that this is...l.5*

*It is not just that this seems...l.7.*

The second half of the editorial focuses on Cape Town and negation plays a part in contracting the voices on how the events will affect Capetonians and what must be done e.g.

*We know that we will not escape the reverberations...l.15.*

*We cannot directly influence what will happen...l.16.*

*Today we are called upon, simply, not to do harm to our fellow citizens l.25.*

Along with negation, conjunctions and continuatives like, *Even while, even, if, and, but* work to adjust the reader's expectations by denying various opinions and by suggesting that there is more to a situation than expected (Martin & Rose 2003). e.g. *...even to the most powerful people on earth l.11*. This text, in contrast to the other selected editorials, contains fewer instances of the concessive conjunction *but*, which therefore potentially expands room for negotiation.

Implicit projections (cf. 3.3.3.3.1) expand the possibility of other voices in the text and in this editorial can be identified as representing the voice of the newspaper e.g.

*How to describe the high-technology horror...l.1 (projecting behavioural process).*

*New words will have to be found to capture the full meaning...l.2 (name for speech act).*

*Today we are called upon, simply, not to do any harm to our fellow citizens l.25 (projecting behavioural process).*

Modality (cf. 3.3.3.3 and 3.3.3.3.1) is another resource used to acknowledge alternative opinions. In this text, there are only strong modals of *ability* and *probability* that work

towards the writer's recommendation of what Capetonians can and cannot do in the aftermath of the attacks e.g.

*We cannot (ability: strong, negation) directly influence what will (probability: strong) happen in the coming days in Washington and the world, but we can (ability: strong) shape reactions in our own city l.16.*

The end of the editorial, from lines 18-26, contains only one modal verb i.e. *will* l.25, which has the effect of denying any opening for alternative opinions e.g.

*We have to try...l.18.*

*We have to wait...l.22.*

*We have to stand together...l.24.*

Strong modals e.g. *have to*, as opposed to weak modals, appear to limit an opposing view by emphasising the strength of the argument, although do not deny other voices as is the case with negation. Overall, the editorial reveals a range of Engagement resources for the negotiation of meaning and in this case reveals mainly implicit voices, as well as the use of strong modals and negation that contract the range of voices in the text.

#### 4.4.2.5 Theme and Rheme

This editorial is clearly divided into 2 main thematic sections for the purpose of highlighting the writer's main theme i.e. what Capetonians must do in the aftermath of the attacks. There is (as in the other editorials; see Appendices) no introductory summary (cf. 2.4.5) of what actually happened in America as that information is treated as given by the writer, who moves straight into an evaluation of the events. These sections are thematically different within themselves:

1. In the first half of the editorial (lines 1-13) the writer focuses on explaining the meaning of the attacks in general terms of their emotional impact worldwide. Topical themes in this first half of the text are mixed but focus on an explanation of the events. This is achieved by drawing focus to *It*, *This* and *the events* and using the rheme to provide some explanation e.g.

*It is not just that*

*This is the first concerted attack on the US mainland...l.5.*

THEME      RHEME

2. The second half of the editorial (lines 14-26) focuses on the South African response to the attacks. This new thematic section is initiated at the end of the previous section where the writer says that ordinary people must *try to influence terrifying events in*

*their own hometowns* l.12. The writer focuses on making suggestions to the reader as to what *we* as Capetonians should do in response to the attacks. One of the editorial's only 2 marked topical themes is in line 14 i.e. *Even here in South Africa...* where the writer signals the reader's attention to the upcoming focus on Cape Town and his recommendation. There is constant use of *we* in topical theme position, which makes this half of the editorial more personal as it aims to create solidarity between the writer and reader and to emphasise the writer's focus. Rhemes function to provide information on what the writer recommends Capetonians must do in the aftermath of the attacks e.g.

<u>We</u>	<i>have to resist speculation and blame-apportion</i> l.23.
<u>We</u>	<i>have to stand together as one community for a moment...</i> l.23.
THEME	RHEME

The writer uses textual themes to link all the topical themes but, as mentioned previously (cf. 4.4.2.4), there are few concessive conjunctions and rather mostly continuatives, like *and*, which expand the space for alternative opinions e.g. *We have to wait and watch and try to understand...*l.22. As is evident in the other selected editorials, there is very little use of interpersonal themes, allowing the writer to remain slightly more detached, emotionally, from the issue and reader. Marked topical themes occur only twice and are used to emphasise circumstances of place and time (cf. 3.3.3.2) in the writer's focus on Cape Town and recommendation for immediate calm in the city i.e.

*Even here in South Africa, we know...*l.14;  
*Today we are called upon, simply, not to do any harm to our fellow citizens* l.25.

Therefore, the structuring of theme and rheme in this editorial works, firstly, to present a general in-group reaction to the events and an evaluation of their future global significance, and, secondly, to focus on the Capetonian reaction. The use of a strong constant thematic progression in the second half of the editorial adds emphasis and assertiveness to the writer's focus and suggestions at the local level.

#### 4.4.2.6 Editorial Structure

Three-part structures are evident in this text in varying sizes. As already mentioned above in 4.4.2.5, the text is divided into 2 thematically different sections. The structure of the content triads also differs between these 2 sections. As this text is relatively short (26 lines) there are only 2 content triads in each section (see Appendix I) i.e.

1. Lines 1-13: LV; LFV
2. Lines 14-26: LFV; LFV

As in the American editorial (see Appendix G), the first content triad in this text is a deviant form with only 2 turns i.e. LV (Lead and Valuate; cf. 2.3.6). However, it is also initiated by an eliciting Lead (an interrogative) i.e. *How to describe the high-technology horror visited upon the United States yesterday? l.1*. Together this immediately opens up the discussion to alternative opinions and indicates the writer's sensitivity towards being overly assertive (unlike in the American editorial). All the other Leads are informing (declaratives) as the writer states his opinions e.g. *Even while shock still clouds our thoughts it is clear the world has never seen the like of this l.4*. Turns within the triads are generally only a sentence each, however the F (Follow) turns, from lines 5-8 and the V (Valuate) turns, from lines 9-13 and 22-26, consist of more than one sentence each as the writer expands and focuses on his evaluation and recommendation. The last V, lines 22-26, in particular, is focused on the final evaluation, in this case, the action that Capetonians must take. All except for the last V are *informing conclusers*, which evaluate the meaning of the attacks e.g. *Ordinary people can only watch with fear and - crucially - try to influence terrifying events in their own home towns l.12*. The last V functions as a *directive* to suggest a course of action e.g. *today we are called upon, simply, not to do any harm to our fellow citizens l.25*.

Combining the triads it can be seen that there are 2 *movements*, both of which are deviant forms with no third turn in the first movement, i.e. SD, and no medial evaluation in the second movement, i.e. SR. In other words, the first movement, lines 1-13, evaluates the meaning of the events and the world reaction. The second movement, lines 14-26, focuses on Cape Town's reaction and the writer immediately recommends calm in concluding the editorial without any medial discussion. At the highest structural rank, the editorial consists of an *artefact* with 2 turns, where the medial turn is also omitted, i.e. Type A and C. Type A, lines 1-13, is made up of the first movement where the writer focuses on evaluating the way the world *is* now after the attacks. The second movement makes up Type C where the writer points to how Capetonians *should* react and the way things *should* be.

Overall the editorial structure works here to inform and evaluate the attacks through the use of three-part structures, as outlined by Bolivar (1994). In the section to follow I turn to an interpretation and explanation of how these discourse choices were influenced and conditioned by the conditions of its production and the situational context.

#### 4.4.3 Interpretation and Explanation

As I revealed in the descriptive stage of my analysis (cf. 4.4.2), this editorial focuses strongly on a recommendation for Capetonians rather than how America should react. In order to understand the motivation and influences behind this recommendation I, firstly, examine the conditions in Cape Town, at the time, as well as the influences from writer and owner. Secondly, I outline the ideological strategies used by the writer to support his recommendation (in line with those proposed by Thompson 1990; cf. 3.3.2).

As the oldest English daily newspaper in South Africa (founded in 1876), *The Cape Times* faced harsh press restrictions during the apartheid regime (1948-early 1990s) and its relationship with the Afrikaans government was one of “antagonism” as it opposed many of the ruling National Party’s policies (Potter 1975:154). The government regulated the press by enforcing restrictions on what could be printed and at the height of the regime during the 1980s these regulations were tightened, preventing the press from reporting on any anti-apartheid activities ([url:9](#)) (cf. 2.2.3.3). *The Cape Times*, as part of the mainstream white press, was known for its strong position against human rights abuses in South Africa (Mannak 2004), and claimed “a proud tradition of muckraking, and independent, anti-apartheid journalism” (Williams 1998). Nevertheless, critics of the mainstream press claim, “they routinely portrayed the main liberation movements as terrorist organisations, focused on soft anti-apartheid stories, practiced self-censorship as a response to the apartheid government’s attempts to muzzle the media, and failed to deracialize their newsrooms” (Williams 1998).

With the end of apartheid in 1994 came freedom of expression in South Africa, introduced by the new constitution. Old laws like the Protection of Information Act (1982) fell away allowing for a freer press (Mannak 2004). In 1994 *The Cape Times*, formerly owned by the Argus Company, was bought by Irish businessman Tony O’Reilly’s *Independent Newspapers* and with it, in 1996, came the appointment of the first editor of colour in the mainstream press, Moegsien Williams (Shaw 1999). The choice of Williams “was a clear signal of the intentions of the O’Reilly proprietorship. The colonial era was over and its social attitudes would not be part of Independent’s operating style to appointments” (Shaw 1999:342). Williams aimed to widen the readership to non-white communities.

Williams aimed to adapt *The Cape Times* to the changing South Africa and serve a wider readership, not just the white middle class community. However, in the way of this new press freedom in Cape Town was the occurrence of the PAGAD Phenomenon (People Against Gangsterism and Drugs), which arose in 1995. “Pagad was formed by ordinary people who were concerned about the oppression and torture that gangsterism and drugs produced and decided to do something about it” ([url:10](#)). After followers of Pagad killed one of Cape Town’s biggest gang leaders, Rashaad Staggie in 1996, *The Cape Times* faced accusations from gangsters and anti-gang groups alike for any critical reporting concerning the issue (Fisher 1997; Williams 1998). Pagad members, made up mostly of Muslims, accused the press of bias and the group became known as a militant Muslim group (Fisher 1997). Ryland Fisher, deputy editor at the time said that “the danger of this is that the word militant becomes synonymous with Muslim, leading non-Muslims to suspect all Muslims as militant” (Fisher 1997). A newsroom that lacked diversity in itself could be blamed for not understanding the members of its own community and being sensitive to the different cultures and religions (Fisher 1997).

Both Fisher and Williams (Fisher 1997; Williams 1998) claim that the Pagad movement revealed how the newspaper needed to become more sensitive to their diverse readership without labelling groups. Williams says that, “the most important lesson we learned at *The Cape Times*, of which I was editor at the time, was the need to move away from stereotyping entire communities, and for a greater sensitivity to the sensibilities, cultures, languages and mores of people unlike ourselves” (Williams 1998). It is both the effects of apartheid and post-apartheid events that shape the influences on *The Cape Times* editorial, under consideration in my thesis, as the writer brings the events of September 11 down to the local level.

Although the editorial is left unsigned, I found out that the editor, Chris Whitfield, was the author. Via email, Mr Whitfield revealed that his overriding concern in writing the editorial was the potential divisive effect the events in America could have had on divisions and tensions between ethnic and religious groups in Cape Town at the time. He explained that tensions between the two largest religious groups in Cape Town, Muslim and Jewish, along with the Pagad movement, influenced his sensitivity towards these groups. The absence of an Other group in the editorial (as I suggested earlier; cf. 4.4.2.1) reflects this sensitivity and influences the writer’s recommendation for calm and his

attempt to unify all Capetonians. Although he aligns Capetonians with the rest of the world in sympathy for the attacks, Capetonians are not directly associated with America, which is presented as *the superpower* l.7 (cf. 4.4.2.1). This emphasises the power distance between the two countries and possibly accounts for Whitfield's extreme scepticism of American policies (Whitfield: personal contact). With the diverse community within Cape Town an ideal reader would be hard to identify. The newspaper's aim towards sensitivity for all ethnic groups, religions and so on, as mentioned above, indicates, rather, Whitfield's attempt to target all people of Cape Town (as discussed in section 4.4.2.1).

In order to support his argument, Whitfield relies, mostly, on 1 of Thompson's five modes of ideology (1990) (cf. 3.3.2) i.e. *unification*. He does, however, employ the use of *dissimulation* and *legitimation* strategies to a lesser degree. It is clear that the most significant strategies employed by Whitfield are those that rely on unifying the diverse community in Cape Town. He calls for unity worldwide but focuses particularly on Cape Town where ethnic divisions were prominent during apartheid and are still being overcome, as in the case of phenomena like Pagad. The pronoun *we* is included 9 times and Whitfield avoids any *fragmentation* (cf. 3.3.2) strategies that would create an "us" and "them". There is no reference to the identity of the attackers and *expurgation of the Other* (cf. 3.3.2) is not included as a call for calm is recommended. The absence of identifying the Other emphasises Whitfield's recommendation not to blame before understanding what has happened. Despite trying to unify all Capetonians Whitfield does acknowledge the diversity in the city but this is presented as a positive attribute rather than a dividing one. Whitfield uses, in particular, one instance of figurative language, which *dissimulates* any negative view of Cape Town's racially diverse population e.g. *the fabric of our city* l.19. Nevertheless, *dissimulation* (cf. 3.3.2) is not a strong mode in this text, as Whitfield does not appear to try and hide relations of domination. The message of the text is therefore that ideological power lies in unity and not in blaming the Other through speculation.

The final recommendation for calm, lines 18-26, is *legitimated* largely through *rationalisation* strategies (cf. 3.3.2) of cause and effect. In other words, these events, which the world has never seen before, could cause reactions that split communities like Cape Town. The events are used to remind the reader of the South African situation

during apartheid and that unity is the best option. This rationale is used to *legitimate* Whitfield's argument.

#### **4.4.4 Conclusion**

In contrast to the other selected editorials, there is no exploitation of “us” and “them” groups in this text, which is significant (cf. 4.4.2.1). The author seeks to align Capetonians in sympathy with America and the world and the representation of social actors predominantly focuses on the unity of all Capetonians. Aware of the tensions between the Muslim and Jewish communities in Cape Town at the time, the writer, Chris Whitfield, avoids any inclusion of an Other group in an attempt, further, to be sensitive and discourage further splits in the community. The use of nominalisations also allows the agent of the events to remain obscured (cf. 4.4.2.3 & 4.4.2.4). Avoidance of any identification of the origins of the attackers (i.e. the Middle East, as is evident in the other editorials) also indicates sensitivity to the two religious groups in Cape Town whose reactions to coverage of events in the Middle East were different and bitter, according to Chris Whitfield (cf. 4.4.3). These social conditions in Cape Town at the time of the attacks suggest the recommendation for calm and not war. The structural properties of the editorial reveal that three-part structures (Bolivar 1994) are evident (cf. 4.4.2.6). However, there is absence of any detailed summary, at the beginning of the text, of the events itself signaling that this is assumed knowledge on the reader's part. I turn, in the next section, to my findings from the analysis of the Zimbabwean editorial from *The Daily News*.

## 4.5 Zimbabwe: *The Daily News*

### “Terror, violence won’t end world’s conflicts”

#### 4.5.1 Introduction

In this section I present the findings of my analysis of the editorial from the Zimbabwean newspaper, *The Daily News*. I first provide a descriptive analysis and then draw the results of it into an interpretation and explanation of the processes and conditions of production and reception of the editorial (a copy of this text can be found in Appendix D).

#### 4.5.2 Description

##### 4.5.2.1 Representation of Social Actors

In this editorial an “us” and “them” division is clearly identified and exploited by the writer for the purposes of highlighting the representation of local social actors and of affirming a positive image of the in-group. The writer constructs “us” by associating *most Zimbabweans* 1.2 with America and the Western world supportive of the ideals of democracy, freedom and peace. This group includes peoples of the world who are victim of the Other. The Other is represented as a complex group made up of: those unknown, deviant, immoral actors responsible for the attacks on America; those like *the few Zimbabweans* 1.7 who do not support the Western values of democracy; and those portrayed as ethnically and geographically different. Through the construction of the Other group the writer is able to associate local Zimbabwean actors with those actors responsible for the attacks, and thus draw parallels between the Zimbabwean crisis and September 11 (as Achugar found in her analysis of Uruguayan editorials after September 11 (2004); cf. 2.4.5).

Both groups are characterised in a variety of different ways in the text, according to Van Leeuwen’s categorisations for the representation of social actors (1996) (cf. 3.3.3.2.1). Members of the “us” group are portrayed both impersonally and personally with the emphasis on presenting a positive appraisal of the group, its functions and stressing its communal aspects (see Table 23.). Through impersonal terms that classify and collectively assimilate in-group members, the writer associates *most Zimbabweans* with *Americans, the U.S., Britain and other Western countries* and stresses the inclusive identity of this group through generic terms like *the world*, and *we*. This inclusive identity contributes to affirming an association of in-group members who share similar values despite geographical distance. America is, however, represented collectively as the most

dominant member of the group (as is evident in all the other editorials) by stressing its powerful position and its achievements e.g. ...*the wealthiest country in the world...l.22.*

Members of the “us” group are, in addition, constructed as victims of the Other by using terms that categorise and collectivise social actors through appraisal, functionalisation and aggregation (Van Leeuwen 1996) (cf. 3.3.3.2.1). This functions to associate victims of the attacks in America e.g. *innocent civilians l.5* (appraisal), with ‘victims’ of violent treatment from the Zimbabwean government e.g. *political opponents, the Judiciary and the independent Press l.10* (functionalisation). Terms of aggregation stress the number of victims involved in the attacks on America and in the Oklahoma bombing e.g. *thousands of people l.32, the death of 168 people l.20.*

The writer, finally, includes a representation of the functionalisation of social actors (Van Leeuwen 1996; cf. 3.3.3.2.1), both impersonal and personal, specifically used in the evaluation of certain members of the in-group (see Table 23.). The writer both criticises and appraises the functionalisation of members of this group (cf. 4.5.2.2). Impersonal terms include e.g. *the United States administration l.5*. Personal nominations include e.g. *George W. Bush l.30.*

The Other is represented by those who do not support the values, i.e. democracy, peace and freedom, of America and the Western world. The construction of this group differs from the “us” group along ethnic, geographical and moral characteristics (see Table 24.). The Other can be divided up into two groups. The first group includes the actors who are directly responsible for the attacks. The identity of this group affirms a negative appraisal of its moral characteristics and is constructed mainly as indeterminate or unknown e.g. *the masters of the perpetrators l.4*. Suspects are, however, identified as embodying the non-Western through ethnic classification e.g. *Arab terrorists l.18*, as well as explicit nomination e.g. *Saudi dissident, Osama bin Laden l.16*. The difference between “us” and “them” is emphasised by the geographical divide between the West and the Middle East e.g. *Iraq and the West l.40.*

The second group consists of actors who are not directly involved in the attacks but support violence. Representations are mostly general or impersonal and categorise members as part of collectives who support violence e.g. *hard-core advocates of violence*

l.38. This serves to confirm a negative appraisal of the group and at the same time allows the writer to avoid explicitly identifying members of this group. By doing so, the writer assimilates, into a collective (cf. 3.3.3.2.1), those Zimbabweans who practice violence and who do not support the values of the West. In other words, the writer uses September 11 to highlight the crisis in Zimbabwe e.g.

*But the few Zimbabweans who blame the country's present political and economic disaster on the US, Britain and other Western countries may have found a perverse cause for celebration l.7.*

The writer, thus, inevitably, associates those Zimbabweans who support the local government with members of the out-group who do not share the same ideology as the in-group and rely on violence to support their beliefs. Interestingly, it must be noted that the division between Zimbabwean social actors is emphasised quantitatively i.e. *most Zimbabweans* versus *the few Zimbabweans*, stressing the deviance of the minority sector of the population.

The only two individual identifications of the Other group are *Slobodan Milosevic l.56* and *a clearly deranged American citizen l.19*, which serve to highlight the individual capabilities of members of this group and add to the negative appraisal of the group.

**Table 23. Features used in the representation of “us”**

<b>Generic Terms</b>	<b>Categories (Classification)</b>	<b>Positive Appraisal Terms</b>
<i>The world</i> <i>We</i> <i>Humankind</i>	<i>most Zimbabweans</i> <i>the Americans</i>	<i>a free and democratic country</i> <i>the most powerful nation in the world</i> <i>the wealthiest country in the world</i>
<b>Impersonal Terms</b>	<b>Categories (victims)</b>	<b>Functional Terms</b>
<i>Britain</i> <i>The United States</i> <i>Other Western countries</i> <i>The West</i>	<i>innocent civilians</i> <i>political opponents,</i> <i>the Judiciary and the independent Press</i>	<i>the United Nations</i> <i>the United States administration</i> <i>the U.S. government</i>
<b>Nomination</b>		
<i>George W. Bush</i> <i>Kofi Annan</i> <i>Uncle Sam</i> <i>a peanut farmer</i>		

**Table 24. Features used in the representation of “them”**

<b>Ethnic Classifications</b>	<b>Moral Terms</b>	<b>Geographical Terms</b>
<i>Arab terrorists</i>	<i>suicide pilots</i>	<i>In the Middle East</i>
<i>Arabs</i>	<i>hard-core advocates of</i>	<i>Jerusalem or the West Bank</i>
<i>The Arabs and the Jews</i>	<i>violence</i>	<i>Iraq</i>
<i>The few Zimbabweans</i>		
<b>Nomination</b>	<b>Indeterminate Terms</b>	
<i>Saudi dissident, Osama bin Laden</i>	<i>the masters of the perpetrators</i>	
<i>Slobodan Milosevic</i>	<i>the people who sent the</i>	
<i>A clearly deranged</i>	<i>suicide pilots</i>	
<i>American citizen (specific identity hidden)</i>	<i>enemies</i>	

The representation of social actors is linked to the dominant transitivity processes, namely, material (45,95%) and relational (25,67%) (see Table 25.). Firstly, the material processes highlight the actions of the social actors. America is represented according to its achievements within its borders and its actions in the Middle East to bring peace e.g.

*They have developed the wealthiest country in the world l.22.*

*In the Middle East, successive U.S. administrations have grappled in vain with differences between two combatants, the Arabs and the Jews...l.26.*

The construction of the Other is, likewise, represented according to its actions i.e. those actions against the in-group. This group includes those who actually attacked America on September 11 and those in Zimbabwe who use violence e.g.

*The people who sent the suicide pilots hurtling into the twin towers of the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon most certainly deserve severe punishment...l.49.*

*These are the same people who have encouraged the government to mete out savage treatment to...l.9.*

Secondly, relational processes link the social actors to their attributes. The writer uses relational verbs to highlight the positive attributes of the U.S. and U.N. and even where their failings are mentioned, they are de-emphasised by comparison with the actions of the Other e.g.

*The U.N. remains an effective tool for peace l.41.*

*Some of Washington's prescriptions have been so naïve.... Yet that is not a good reason to blow up buildings and kill thousands of people l.29.*

It can be seen, therefore, that the use of mostly material processes, as is the case in the other editorials, focuses the reader's attention on the actions of both groups. Through this

representation the reader is directed towards a particular appraisal of the behaviour of the social actors, as discussed in the next section (cf. 4.5.2.2).

**Table 25. Transitivity processes in the Zimbabwean editorial**

<i>Material</i>	<i>Relational</i>	<i>Mental</i>	<i>Verbal</i>	<i>Behavioural</i>	<i>Existential</i>
45,95%	25,67%	5,4%	4%	13,5%	2,7%

#### 4.2.2.2 Appraisal of Social Actors

In the analysis that follows the writer's attitudes and judgements of the social actors are examined to see how they attempt to align and convince the reader of the validity of the opinions being made in the text (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). Looking closely at the system of affect, the evaluation of feelings is divided along the lines of "us" and "them". The in-group's feelings are ones of satisfaction and unhappiness (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). The writer explains that America has the right to feel satisfaction at its achievements but recognises its unhappiness at what has happened e.g.

*Those who see the U.S. international policy as one guided by the values that created the nation in 1776, felt sorrow and sympathy for the families of the innocent civilians...l.12.*

The writer aligns *most Zimbabweans l.2* with America in expressing *a sense of genuine horror, outrage and a certain helplessness l.2*.

The happiness of the Other group is implied through their feelings of dissatisfaction (cf. 3.3.3.3.1) towards America's involvement in the Middle East. This dissatisfaction is equated with the crisis in Zimbabwe when the writer points out that some Zimbabweans *blame the country's present political and economic disaster on the U.S., Britain and other Western countries l.7*. As a result, the writer suggests that these Zimbabweans might feel happiness at the attack on America.

The evaluation or appraisal of the behaviour of the social actors reveals both positive and negative aspects to both groups (see Table 26.). In this text the "us" group is judged mainly in terms of capacity, both positively and negatively (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). The writer emphasises the positive capabilities of the "us" group e.g. America's success in building *the most powerful nation in the world l.25*. There are also negative judgements of America's and the U.N.'s failures in the Middle East. However, these negative judgements are de-emphasised by the writer's view of the Other's actions as well as through highlighting the positive aspects of the in-group.

The Other is judged as predominantly immoral and socially deviant. This behaviour is in contrast to the moral attributes of the *innocent civilians* l.13 and the normality of *the wealthiest country in the world* l.22. Included in the Other group is the representation of those Zimbabweans who are also likened to the Other by their encouragement of the Zimbabwean government to *mete out savage treatment to its political opponents* l.10. Their behaviour is viewed as immoral and does not support the view of the in-group. It is interesting to note the similarity between judgement of the U.S. attacks and those undertaken by the Zimbabwean government that is they are both judged as *savage*.

**Table 26. Evaluation of social actors using Martin’s category of judgement**

<b>Judgement</b>	
<b>Social Esteem and Social Sanction</b>	
<b>Us</b>	<b>Them</b>
<p><b>Normality (+)</b> <i>The wealthiest country in the world</i> l.22</p> <p><b>Capacity (+)</b> <i>The most powerful nation in the world</i> l.25</p> <p><b>Capacity (-)</b> <i>But George W. Bush’s ‘hands off’ policy has probably made peace yet more difficult to achieve</i> l.30</p> <p><b>Propriety (+)</b> <i>A free and democratic country</i> l.6</p>	<p><b>Normality (-)</b> <i>a clearly deranged American citizen</i> l.19</p> <p><b>Propriety (-)</b> <i>humankind’s own inhumanity to humankind</i> l.34</p> <p><i>a clearly deranged American citizen who had his own warped and evil motives</i> l.20</p>

#### 4.2.2.3 Representation of the Events

The lexical choices made by the writer to represent the events of September 11 “reflect options on how to establish a relationship of detachment or affective involvement with the events and their participants” (Achugar 2004:309). In this text, the writer makes use of nominalisations (cf. 3.3.3.3.2) to represent the events and uses predominantly affective terms that appeal to the emotions and moral values of the reader. The writer uses nominalisations that have affective value and nominalisations that include affective epithets to emphasise the emotional impact the events have had e.g. *Tuesday’s horror* l.43, *the cold-blooded murder* l.5

These nominalisations foreground the emotional impact of the events for the reader, while obscuring the agent responsible, and thus draw the reader into a closer emotional involvement with the events themselves. There are two instances of a causal perspective

where the writer presents the events as an objective fact. However the reaction to the events is still apparent in the emotional reaction they produced on people e.g.

*Those who see the US international policy as one guided by the values that created the nation in 1776, felt sorrow and sympathy for the families of the innocent civilians caught up in **the conflagration** l.11.*

#### 4.5.2.4 Appraisal of the Events

“Unlike affect and judgement, appreciation is not a dominant motif in the editorial, which is after all about people and their behaviour, not the value of things” (Martin 2004:328). This means there are few references to the events themselves. The representation of the events (cf. 4.5.2.3) reveals that they are constructed to appeal to the reader’s emotions. To do this, the writer uses nominalisations as well as affective epithets and affective terms (see Table 27.). The effect of using nominalisations is in the obscuring of the agent and it is the emotional reaction that becomes foregrounded rather than who is responsible.

**Table 27. Terms used in the appraisal of the events**

Nominalisations	Affective Terms	Nominalisation + Epithets
<i>Tuesday’s attacks l.1</i>	<i>Tuesday’s horror l.43</i>	<i>the savage attacks l.4</i>
<i>The conflagration l.13</i>	<i>Tuesday’s insanity l.58</i>	<i>the horror attack l.11</i>
	<i>This outrage l.33</i>	<i>the cold-blooded murder l.5</i>

To stress the emotional reaction to the attack the writer uses terms that are amplified and add force to the evaluation of the events (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). This seeks to engage the reader in sympathy for the Americans e.g. *...a sense of genuine horror, outrage and a certain helplessness l.2.*

In order further to interpret the meaning of September 11 for the reader, the writer employs various means of intertextuality (cf. 3.3.2), both through comparison and by including alternative voices to support and contest the argument for restraint. The most significant intertextual comparison is through the reference to the Zimbabwean political and economic crisis at the time of the attacks in America (cf. 4.5.3). The writer associates those in the Other group, who are responsible for September 11, with those Zimbabweans who *have encouraged the government to mete out savage treatment to its political opponents, the Judiciary and the independent Press l.9.* Here the writer compares the situation in Zimbabwe with the violence of the attacks on America. In essence, this

comparison is claiming that these Zimbabweans, along with their government, are committing terrorist acts similar in grandeur to those committed on September 11. These Zimbabweans blame the crisis in their country on foreign powers from the West rather than on local actors such as the Zimbabwean government. In order to explain to the Zimbabwean reader that violence may not necessarily be blamed on foreigners, the writer refers to the *Oklahoma bombing in 1995* l.18. In the case of this attack, Americans initially and incorrectly blamed foreigners (Arabs) when it was the work of an American citizen.

In order to promote the values of democracy and freedom, lacking in Zimbabwe, the writer refers to American achievements e.g. *They have developed the wealthiest country in the world and have tried to adhere to the tenets of freedom expounded by their founding Fathers...l.22*. These positive attributes are stressed so as, implicitly, to contrast them with the lack of such attributes in the Zimbabwean society and hence to try and persuade readers of the desirability of such attributes. Despite the positive appraisal of America, the writer does refer to the American and United Nations' foreign involvement in the Middle East as possible causes of the attacks on September 11 (as is the case in the British editorial; cf. 4.3.2.4) e.g.

*In the Middle East, successive U.S. administrations have grappled in vain with the differences between two combatants, the Arabs and the Jews...l.26.*

*Hard-core advocates of violence will scoff at the efficacy of the United Nations as the world's peacemaker. They will cite the U.N.'s failure to influence change in the Middle East l.38.*

Like the argument in the British editorial (see lines 56-84, Appendix B), any criticism of American foreign policies is subsequently downplayed through the use of disclaimers e.g.

*Yet that is still not a good reason to blow up buildings and kill thousands of people – if it is proved this outrage was spurred by Arabs incensed by the administration's perceived pro-Israeli bias l.32.*

Other comparisons made are with *Pearl Harbor* and the *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's set-to with Yugoslavia*. These comparisons are included to try and convey the scale and seriousness of the attack on September 11, and the potential for similar devastation as a result of retaliation e.g.

*Technology has advanced so much since Pearl Harbour the potential for mass destruction is awesome, witnessed during the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's set-to with Yugoslavia's Slobodan Milosevic l.54.*

These comparative uses of intertextuality highlight circumstances of time and place (cf. 3.3.3.2). The writer compares past historic events like *Pearl Harbor 1941* and *the Oklahoma bombing 1995* to what happened *on Tuesday*. The positive image of America is enhanced by the use of time where the writer praises the *values that created the nation in 1776* l.12 and the fact that *the Americans have good reason to feel proud of their achievements in such a short period* l.21. The writer also emphasises that after the dropping of the atomic bomb in 1945 the world entered *into an era of such awesome destructive potential, no nation has dared use the bomb again* l.47. The writer, to indicate that a similar transition is taking place, uses this comparison with September 11. Circumstances of place are also important in this text as they help to exploit the division of “us” versus “them”. “Us” is realised through references to *New York, Washington* and *the world* as opposed to the Other, realised through references to *the Middle East, Jerusalem* and *the West Bank*.

The editorial also displays various strategies for the inclusion of alternative voices in the evaluation of the events (cf. 3.3.3.1). The text presents projection resources, attributed to both in and out-group members (similarly evident only in the British editorial; cf. 4.3.2.4). Projections both explicit and implicit (but recoverable) from the in-group function to serve a variety of purposes, such as: to align its members in sympathy and support for America e.g.

*Those who see the U.S. international policy as one guided by the values that created the nation in 1776, felt sorrow and sympathy...l.11.* (projecting mental process).

To project wrongful blame on the part of the Americans e.g.

*The Oklahoma bombing in 1995 was initially blamed* (by the Americans) *on Arab terrorists...l.18* (projecting verbal process: implicit voice recoverable).

And to signal what kind of American reaction can be expected e.g.

*The reaction of the Bush administration to Tuesday's horror is likely to be justified by the government on grounds that there are similarities with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941* l.43 (projecting behavioural process).

The final implicit recommendation for restraint can be attributed to the ideology of the writer and the newspaper as an institution (cf. 2.3.4) e.g. *Restraint is called for...l.57.*

The writer also includes the voice of the Other in the form of explicit projections e.g.

*But the few Zimbabweans who blame the country's present political and economic disaster on...l.7.* (projecting behavioural process).

*Hard-core advocates of violence will scoff at the efficacy of the United Nations as the world's peacemaker l.38.* (projecting behavioural process).

*They will cite the UN's failure to influence change in the Middle East.l.39.* (projecting verbal process).

*The US government has not always acquitted itself well as what **its enemies** have called 'the world policeman' l.14.* (projecting verbal process & direct quotation).

These views emphasise the distinction between “us” and “them” as members of the out-group do not share the same view as the in-group. The writer does not attribute the voices to any specific person, which emphasises the hidden identity of the attackers. Despite including the opinions and ideologies of the Other, the writer uses disclaimers in the form of negation and conjunctions (*But* and *Yet*), throughout the text, to counter and deny these views. What this does is to downplay any criticism of America and the in-group e.g.

*Whatever political differences the masters of the perpetrators of the savage attacks had with the United States administration could never justify the cold-blooded murder of innocent civilians...l.4.*

*They will even ignore Kofi Annan's key role in the arms inspection crisis between Iraq and the West in the aftermath of the invasion of Kuwait. But the U.N. remains an effective tool for peace l.40.*

By doing this, the writer, on the one hand, expands the range of voices in the text (by giving voice to both in and out-groups) but, on the other hand, contracts these opinions so as to support the ideology of the in-group.

The use of modality throughout the text also opens the discourse up to alternative opinions as well as the degree of commitment the writer makes to the information presented (cf. 3.3.3.3 & 3.3.3.3.1). The writer mostly uses strong modals of *probability* in indicating the expected reaction of both groups. The beginning of the editorial focuses on the reaction of those in the in-group e.g. *Tuesday's attacks...must have induced in most Zimbabweans a sense of genuine horror, outrage and a certain helplessness l.2.* Strong modals are also consistently used in the development of the argument where the writer firstly evaluates America's future i.e. *The United States will survive Tuesday's horror l.37,* then secondly, to indicate the reaction of those in the out-group who support violence e.g. *hard-core advocates of violence will scoff...l.38.* At the end of the editorial the writer tries to persuade the reader that massive retaliation will not necessarily reap positive results. The use of a weak modal in the final recommendation i.e. *Restraint is called for as any excessive use of force might turn sympathy into the same outrage that greeted Tuesday's insanity l.57,* expands the negotiation of the final opinion rather than ending with a strong

modal, as in the other editorials. By doing so the writer provides one possible consequence of the attacks on America, which the reader may or may not agree with.

#### 4.5.2.5 Theme and Rheme

In this section, and that to follow, I examine how this editorial is structured to build up its argument. This editorial clearly has defined thematic groupings (as in the other editorials) within which, thematic structure does not follow a strict pattern. As with all the other chosen editorials, there is no summary of the events at the start (cf. 2.4.5) but rather an immediate evaluation. There are 4 sections, as follows:

1. Lines 1-13 begin by focussing on the various responses felt by Zimbabweans (positive and negative). These are compared alongside the worldwide response to emphasise the differences in the emotional reaction between “us” and “them” (cf. 4.5.2.2) e.g.

*The few Zimbabweans who blame the country's present political and economic disaster on the US, Britain and other Western countries (they) may have found a perverse cause for celebration l.7*

*Those who see the US international policy as one guided by the values that created the nation in 1776, (they) felt sorrow and sympathy for the families of the innocent civilians...l.11.*

2. Lines 14-25 elaborate on the theme from the previous section i.e. that everyone does not view America positively. Here topical themes draw attention to America and its enemies. The writer highlights the Oklahoma bombing to point out that it is not just foreigners who want to attack America. The writer counters this negative appraisal of America with some positive evaluations, which serves to legitimate American dominance and support from the writer e.g.

*The U.S. government has not always acquitted itself well l.14*

*Its enemies have called “the world policeman”*

*The Oklahoma bombing in 1995 was initially blamed...l.18*

*Yet the Americans have good reason to feel proud...l.21.*

3. The writer then introduces a discussion on U.S. and U.N. involvement in the Middle East, lines 26-42. This is clear from the use of the first marked topical theme i.e. *In the Middle East...l.26*. This section constitutes the body of the editorial and it is here that there is interplay between describing the various criticisms towards America and the U.N. The writer divides this discussion into two with the statement *The United States will survive Tuesday's horror l.37*. The first part (lines 26-36) highlights criticism of America's involvement in the Middle East and the second part (lines 38-42) draws attention to criticisms of the U.N. from those in the Other group e.g.

*Some of Washington's prescriptions have been so naïve they have not...l.29*  
*Hard-core advocates of violence will scoff at the U.N.'s failure to...l.38*  
*They will even ignore Kofi Annan's role in...l.40.*

4. The final thematic section of the editorial ends the editorial with the writer's recommendation, lines 43-58. The likely reaction of America initiates the first topical theme and a comparison is drawn with Pearl Harbour to emphasise the enormity of what has happened. The editorial closes with topical themes that highlight the need to punish those responsible but to do so with restraint e.g.

*The reaction of the Bush administration to Tuesday's horror is likely to be justified by the government on the grounds that there are similarities with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941 l.43*  
*That unprovoked invasion...l.45*  
*The people who sent the suicide pilots...l.49*  
*(they) most certainly deserve punishment...l.50*  
*But if the retaliation causes...l.52*  
*Restraint is called for...l.57.*

Although there is no strong constant patterning, as in the American editorial, thematic sections discussed above build on each other as the writer explores various criticisms of American policy (always, however, countered by some positive appraisals). In order to present both positive and negative appraisals of America, the writer relies on the use of textual themes like *but* and *yet* e.g. *But the U.N. remains an effective tool for peace l.41*, to counter readers' expectations and, overall, to present support for in-group ideology. Topical, unmarked themes predominate and there is no significant use of the interpersonal themes, as in the other selected editorials, allowing the writer to remain detached from the reader.

#### **4.5.2.6 Editorial Structure**

As with the other chosen editorials, the structural development of this editorial reveals the existence of three-part structures whereby the writer initiates, develops and evaluates each issue (see Appendix J). There are 6 basic *content* triads that can be combined into 2 large *movements* and at the highest rank, into 2 turns of an *artefact* (cf. 2.3.6). The third and last content triads (lines 14-25 and 43-58) in the text contain more than three turns as the writer negotiates meaning and delays the V (Valuate) i.e. LFLFV. Valuate turns in lines 21-25 and 32-37 contain multiple sentences in each case as the writer closes the turn with a lengthy evaluation. The V in the triad from lines 26-37 is particularly long (3 sentences) ending in a strong, assertive, concluding statement i.e. *The United States will survive*

*Tuesday's horror* l.37. This sentence stands out and, as mentioned in 4.5.2.5 above, appears to divide the discussion concerning criticism of American policies. The text contains one deviant content triad form in lines 11-12 where medial evaluation is omitted i.e. LV.

All the content triads begin with *informing* Leads, evident from the use of declarative sentences e.g. *The U.S. government has not always acquitted itself well as what its enemies have called "the world policeman" l.14*. The Valuates are all *informative concluders*, except for the final Valuate in the final triad, which is a *directive* where the writer recommends future action i.e.

- L The people who sent the suicide pilots hurtling into the twin towers of the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon most certainly deserve severe punishment, as do the countries which aided and abetted them.
- F But if the retaliation causes the same massive loss of life that was witnessed on Tuesday, then the world will not have learnt anything from the unbridled use of power. Technology has advanced so much since Pearl Harbour the potential for mass destruction is awesome, as we witnessed during the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's set-to with Yugoslavia's Slobodan Milosevic.
- V Restraint is called for as any excessive use of force might turn sympathy into the same outrage that greeted Tuesday's insanity l.49-58.

The triads are grouped into 2 *movements* within which the writer develops and evaluates the issue at hand. Each movement is made up of the three basic turns i.e. SDR (Situation Development Recommendation) (cf. 2.3.6). The first movement, lines 1-25, begins the text by evaluating the various reactions to the attacks and concluding that despite having enemies the American people can be proud of their achievements. The second movement, lines 26-58, consists of a new S focussing on the Middle East, and the various criticisms concerning America's and the U.N.'s involvement there. A recommendation for restraint concludes the movement and editorial, and is based on the entire preceding argument.

Within these 2 movements, the writer's discussion focuses on, firstly, evaluating the world that *is* or *was*, lines 1-25, in the immediate aftermath of the attacks, and secondly, lines 26-58, on the way the world *might* be if America undertakes to retaliate in the same manner it did after Pearl Harbour. Thus the 2 movements can be identified as Type A and B turns of the *artefact* (cf. 2.3.6). The third turn of this highest ranking three-part structure is absent.

This account, therefore, confirms the existence of three-part structures in *The Daily News* editorial, which function to develop and negotiate an evaluation of the attacks culminating in a recommendation for restraint at the end. In the next section I discuss how the discourse properties identified in this descriptive stage of my analysis are influenced by factors arising from the situational context and the identities of the writer and newspaper owner.

#### **4.5.3 Interpretation and Explanation**

My analysis thus far has revealed that the writer uses the events of September 11 to draw parallels between social actors responsible for the attacks and local Zimbabweans. It is in this section to follow that I examine how the social conditions and interests of those involved in the production of the editorial played a role in influencing the discursive choices in this text. In addition, I examine what ideological strategies (in accordance with Thompson 1990; cf. 3.3.2) are employed by the writer to support the argument for restraint.

The Zimbabwean *Daily News* was founded in 1999 by its now former editor-in-chief Geoffrey Nyarota. His ambition was to publish the first independent Zimbabwean newspaper that would compete with the government-owned and run newspapers, like *The Herald*, which have been dominating the news since independence in 1980 ([url:11](#)). *The Daily News* and *The Daily News on Sunday* are owned by the Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe (ANZ), which has been a strong critic of government policy, as is evident in the appraisal of local social actors in this text (cf. 4.5.2.2). Since its start the newspaper faced harassment from the Zimbabwean government and its supporters for its criticisms of President Mugabe's policies (cf. 2.2.3.3). These criticisms, centred on the economic crisis in the country at the time of the newspaper's founding, were brought on mainly due to: the military support for the war in the Congo, which was damaging an already weakened economy (Ferrett 1998); and the government's land reform program, which saw the confiscation of the majority of white-owned farms for re-distribution, where "since March 2000, ruling party militants led by veterans of the independence war that ended white rule in 1980 have occupied more than 1,700 farms. The often-violent occupations, which are backed by the government of President Robert Mugabe, have been ruled illegal by Zimbabwe's Supreme Court and criticised by many Western nations" ([url:13](#)). Any foreign involvement or criticism has increased dislike of the West (Standley 1998).

*The Daily News* faced victimisation as a result of its outspoken views. As the World Press Freedom Review stated in 2001 ([url:12](#)), “Indeed, regarding the media, it would appear that the government is involved in an aggressive policy designed to prevent the independent media from reporting on many of the country’s problems”. Nyarota, amongst many of the journalists who worked for the paper, was arrested six times and received two death threats during his control of the newspaper ([url:11](#)). The Zimbabwean government’s attempt to curtail any criticism from independent newspapers became strengthened in 2003 with the passing of a new media law, the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) ([url:12](#)). This required all media bodies to register with the government for a fee. *The Daily News* refused as a protest against the law and as a result faced numerous legal proceedings, closure on more than one occasion, bombing of its offices and fines (in an attempt by the government to cripple the newspaper financially) ([url:12](#)). In September 2003 the newspaper was finally shut down by the Supreme Court for being unregistered and has not been granted a licence since. Despite this, during its existence, *The Daily News* became the most influential independent newspaper ([url:11](#), Dawu 2003, Glaser 2003). Its aim was to expose corruption in the government and the various human rights abuses that arose against supporters of the opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), out of the land reform program as well as the government’s bid to stay in power through the 2000 elections.

It is clear that *The Daily News* editorial under consideration in my thesis does attempt to expose the violent, immoral actions of the local government through a comparison with those directly responsible for September 11 (see, e.g. lines 7-10; Appendix D). The editorial is left unsigned and I was unsuccessful in my attempts to find out who the author was, due to the fact that the newspaper is no longer running. Thus it can only be assumed that the writer’s views represent the ideology of the newspaper and the ANZ (cf. 2.2.4 and 2.3.4). The targeted reader is not only those who support this opposing view of the Zimbabwean government, but possibly also pro-government supporters, who the writer aims to convince.

To support the argument for restraint, the writer relies on 4 of the five modes of ideology identified by Thompson (1990) (cf. 3.3.2), as is also evident in the American, British and Kenyan editorials (cf. 4.2.3; 4.3.3 and 4.6.3) i.e. *legitimation*; *unification*; *fragmentation*; and *reification*.

Firstly, the writer uses chains of reasoning through cause and effect to *legitimate* the need for restraint. The writer argues that whatever grievances the attackers had with America cannot justify what they did. America's dominant global position is legitimated and supported by the writer who claims that despite America having committed some *mistakes* in its foreign policies, it can still feel proud of its achievements. Nevertheless this rationale concludes with the recommendation that America must not use force to retaliate or the same devastation will take place. The writer *rationalises* (cf. 3.3.2) this recommendation through the use of intertextual references to past events, like the dropping of the atomic bomb in World War II, which resulted in more victims. This chain of reasoning legitimates arguments for restraint not only in the aftermath of September 11 but also in Zimbabwe's government's violent treatment of its opposition and is initiated through the title of the editorial i.e. "*Terror, violence won't end world's conflicts*".

Secondly, one of the writer's aims in this editorial is to highlight and condemn the current Zimbabwe crisis. To do this, a division between "us" and "them" is created through *unification* and *fragmentation* strategies (the next 2 modes of ideology evident in this editorial). Zimbabweans are divided into those who sympathise with America and support democracy and those who support the Zimbabwean government and who probably celebrated the attacks on America. The democratic values in America are *standardised* (cf. 3.3.2) as the norm that *most Zimbabweans* align with, therefore maintaining America's ideological domination. Those Zimbabweans who belong in the out-group are equated with those who attacked America because of their hatred of the West and their support of violence. Having identified those in the out-group, the writer recommends restraint as the best option in dealing with "them" and not *expurgation* (as advocated in the American and Kenyan editorials). The writer refers to other events in history, like Pearl Harbor, to emphasise the fact that violent retaliation only produces more casualties. The reader, familiar with the Zimbabwean crisis, possibly would correlate this view with that of the opposition party in Zimbabwe whose policies for dealing with the Zimbabwe crisis promote anti-violence. Thus the differentiation between the two groups is purposely constructed to equate the Zimbabwean crisis with the attack on America.

Lastly, the writer also uses strategies of *reification* (the 4th mode of ideology evident in this editorial). The most significant uses include *naturalisation* and *nominalisation* (cf. 3.3.2). *Naturalisation* is used to present the writer's argument as permanent, that is: the

crisis in Zimbabwe is presented as a problem caused by the government and not the West; it is recognised that America has made mistakes in foreign affairs yet can be proud of its achievements and whatever grievances other countries have with it cannot justify the attacks; and retaliation is not the best option if compared to past events in history. *Nominalisation/passivisation* is frequent in this text in the representation of the events. Through nominalisation the agents responsible for the attacks have been obscured indicating that it is not clear exactly who members of the out-group are yet. When referring to the Zimbabwe crisis, the use of nominalisation hides the explicit identification of those in the out-group e.g. *But the few Zimbabweans who blame...l.7*. Nevertheless the text makes it clear that the perpetrators of September 11 must be punished, and will be, by America

The text does not appear to employ Thompson's 5<sup>th</sup> mode of ideology, i.e. strategies of *dissimulation* to hide relations of power (as is also the case in the other editorials). The focus of the editorial is in using the September 11 attacks to bring the Zimbabwe crisis to the attention of the reader in the hope, perhaps, of convincing *the few Zimbabweans* that violence is not the answer, as past events have shown.

#### **4.5.4 Conclusion**

In summary, it is clear that the representation and evaluation of social actors in this editorial indicates a clear distinction between "us" and "them" groups (cf. 4.5.2.1). The writer uses this distinction to align those Zimbabweans with Americans, who support the Western system of freedom and democracy, although acknowledging America's superior position in the in-group. Positive evaluations of this group and feelings of sympathy are distinguished from the Other who do not support American or Western ideals and are identified as having origins in the Middle East (cf. 4.5.2.2). As was found by Achugar (2004) in her analysis of Uruguayan editorials (cf. 2.4.5), the writer uses this representation and negative evaluation of social actors to draw attention to local political and economic issues, in this case, the crisis in Zimbabwe at the time of the attacks. Supporters of President Mugabe's policies and government are included in the Other group, which highlights the negative evaluation of these members. This has an influence on the writer's recommendation for restraint because the use of violence, as in the case in Zimbabwe, according to the writer, does not solve conflicts. The writer's opposition to the local government is attributed to the fact that *The Daily News* was Zimbabwe's leading

independent newspaper up until its shutdown in 2002 (cf. 4.5.3). The negotiation of evaluation is achieved through three-part structures (cf. 4.5.2.6) and, as is the case in the other editorials, there is no summary of the events at the start of the editorial (cf. 4.5.2.5), which is taken as assumed knowledge on the reader's part. In the next section I present my findings from the Kenyan editorial from *The Daily Nation*.

## 4.6 Kenya: *The Daily Nation*

“The world keens with the Americans” by Andrew Ngwiri

### 4.6.1 Introduction

In this section I report on the analysis of the fourth out of the five editorials I examine closely, namely that from the Kenyan newspaper, *The Daily Nation*. I first provide a descriptive analysis and then draw results of this into an interpretation and explanation of the processes and conditions of production and reception surrounding the editorial (a copy of this editorial can be found in Appendix E).

### 4.6.2 Description

#### 4.6.2.1 Representation of Social Actors

In this editorial the writer constructs two groups, “us” and “them”, as do the authors of the American, British and Zimbabwean editorials (cf. 4.2.2.1; 4.3.2.1; 4.5.2.1). The construction of the in-group is through associating Kenyans with Americans as regards to their similar experience with terrorism. The in-group is portrayed as the victim of the Other, and unlike the other editorials, this is the only feature that the writer uses to associate Kenyans with Americans as part of the “us” group. The representation of the Other, as is the case in the American, British and Zimbabwean editorials, is constructed as the unknown and the deviant and in contrast to the representation of the in-group members, identification is more specific as Osama bin Laden is immediately identified as the most likely leader of the Other group.

Looking at how these actors appear in the text, using insights from Van Leeuwen (1996) (cf. 3.3.3.2.1), we see that the in-group representations mainly depersonalise social actors and collectivise them e.g. *we*, *the world*, as victims of the Other (see Table 28.). The writer recognises the power distance between his country i.e. Kenya and America, evident also in the British, South African and Zimbabwean editorials. In this editorial the writer over-lexicalises (i.e. employs various different terms) the representation of America and highlights its power and uniqueness with positive appraisal e.g. *the world’s only superpower* l.17. This distance between members of the in-group is emphasised through the absence of any significant uses of the generic pronouns *us* and *we* and any common features, like moral similarities, that would indicate identification with the in-group. Categorising America as an impersonal collective again distances it geographically from Kenya e.g. *Americans*, *the United States*, *America*. As already mentioned above,

members of the in-group are represented as victims of the Other and this representation is portrayed in a variety of ways (see Table 28.): firstly through impersonal assimilation that collectivises and aggregates the number of victims of both Kenya and America e.g. *so many thousands killed* 1.53, secondly by categorisation through appraisal e.g. *the mainly innocent people* 1.38 and thirdly through categorisation that appraises the relations between the victims, personalising their identification e.g. *the grieving mothers, wives, children, sisters, brothers and husbands in America* 1.57 (Van Leeuwen 1996; cf. 3.3.3.2.1). Kenyans are associated with America through their victimisation and this representation is emphasised through the categorisation of Kenyan social actors that generalise the Kenyan response to the attacks. Kenyans are portrayed as familiar with this kind of attack and seemingly certain of who is responsible e.g. *some wags joked that arch-terrorist Osama bin Laden could at this very moment...1.1*. The only specific nomination is that of President George Bush (Table 28. below).

**Table 28. Features used in the representation of “us”**

<b>Generic Terms</b>	<b>Categories (over-lexicalised)</b>	<b>Nomination</b>
<i>The world</i> <i>We</i> <i>Mankind</i>	<i>the world's only superpower</i> <i>the giant</i> <i>this great country</i>	<i>President George W. Bush</i>
<b>Impersonal Terms (Geographical)</b>	<b>Categories and Assimilation (victims)</b>	<b>Categories (identity)</b>
<i>America</i> <i>The United States</i>	<i>so many thousands killed</i> <i>thousands of others will spring up their victims</i> <i>mainly innocent people</i> <i>the grieving mothers, wives...</i> <i>the deaths of more than 250</i> <i>Kenyans, Tanzanians and Americans</i>	<i>some wags</i> <i>those chaps</i> <i>another with a morbid sense of humour...</i> <i>Americans (classification)</i>

The Other group is portrayed through representations that are both personal and impersonal (see Table 29.). Osama bin Laden is specifically nominated as the likely suspect and is represented through names and actions that in an ironic way “revert the formality and respect they convey” (Achugar 2004:297) e.g. *the mastermind* 1.23. To emphasise the force of Osama’s actions the writer uses intertextuality (cf. 3.3.2) to compare him with and grade him to *Adolf Hitler* 1.21 and *Saddam Hussein* 1.31. In

instances where the Other is not nominated or identified directly e.g. *a deranged terrorist* l.48, the writer vilifies the group by attributing negative moral characteristics for those responsible for the events. As is also the case in the other editorials, there are representations that portray it as an indeterminate, unknown and mysterious group.

**Table 29. Features used in the representation of “them”**

<b>Nomination</b>	<b>Indeterminate Terms</b>	<b>Negative Moral Attributes</b>
<i>Osama bin Laden</i>	<i>terrorists</i>	<i>a deranged terrorist</i>
<i>The man</i>	<i>the perpetrators</i>	<i>a bunch of fanatical kamikaze fatalists</i>
<i>He, himself</i>	<i>those who harbour them</i>	<i>sneaking cowards</i>
<i>The mastermind</i>	<i>people wielding knives</i>	
<i>Adolf Hitler</i>	<i>some fool</i>	
<i>Saddam Hussein</i>		

Examining the transitivity processes that are used in the representation of social actors, it can be seen that the dominant process type is material, i.e. 48,59% (see Table 30.) linking the actors to their actions (similarly the case in all the editorials). The actions of the Other group are, however, the focus of this editorial. The Other is represented as causing the events to happen e.g.

*But if it is he, indeed, who choreographed the three almost simultaneous civilian plane crashes into the symbols of American industrial and military might killing possibly tens of thousands of people...l.12*

*After all, he had just struck into the heartland of the world's only superpower l.16*

*...the devastation that can be wrought by a deranged terrorist getting hold of a nuclear or biological weapon...l.46.*

Relational processes (32,7%) are also used in the representation of the Other, particularly in the identification of Osama e.g. *those chaps believe it couldn't be anyone but Osama* l.8.

The representation of the in-group is also linked to material processes highlighting: their victimisation from the Other; the failings of America in preventing the attacks and becoming the victim; and in the action America is likely to take e.g.

*Perish the thought, but if it turns out that tens of thousands of Americans have died in the terrorist attacks...l.33*

*They are mostly prepared for hi-tech terrorist attacks, not people wielding knives l.43*

*American might will not spare either the perpetrators of this grievous outrage or those who harbour them l.65.*

Interestingly, although material processes dominate, a unique aspect of this Kenyan editorial is the portrayal of the local Kenyan (lines 1-8) as representative, perhaps, of a united Kenyan response to the attacks e.g. *those chaps l.8*. Here mental processes feature, as the writer constructs a view of the local consciousness and perspective on the events e.g. *Those chaps believe...l.8; They feel they know him well l.8.*

**Table 30. Transitivity processes in the Kenyan editorial**

<i>Material</i>	<i>Relational</i>	<i>Mental</i>	<i>Verbal</i>	<i>Behavioural</i>	<i>Existential</i>
48,59%	32,7%	8,4%	3,7%	3,7%	2,8%

### 2.6.2.2 Appraisal of Social Actors

The resources of APPRAISAL reveal how the writer judges the emotions and behaviour of the social actors for the reader (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). Here the members of the in-group are represented as feeling emotions of unhappiness and insecurity in opposition to the out-group's feelings of happiness (see Table 31.). America feels unhappiness at the loss of innocent lives and insecurity at the prospect of possible future attacks. The writer says that this unhappiness is probably going to turn into dissatisfaction and anger at what happened and result in retaliation from America i.e. *America will mourn and lament, until anger sets in. And then there will be the consequences l.59*. Osama bin Laden, on the other hand, is represented as happy with *his triumph l.23*. It is interesting to note the emotional reaction of the Kenyan actors at the start of the editorial. They do not appear surprised or significantly emotional, indicating that Kenyans are experienced in this kind of attack and know who is responsible e.g. *some wags joked...l.1*.

Along with evaluating the emotions of the social actors, the writer also judges their behaviour along lines of social esteem and social sanction (cf. 3.3.3.3.1) (see Table 31.). The Other are evaluated as deviant and unethical in opposition to the moral behaviour of the in-group who are *innocent people l.38*. The writer, however, also criticises America's behaviour in not stopping this event from happening e.g. *Most people cannot understand either how the United States could be so careless as to allow terrorists to run riot brandishing knives and creating mayhem l.39*. Despite judging the attacks in negative terms, the writer highlights the impressiveness of Osama's actions, assumed to be

responsible for the attacks e.g *By doing so, the mastermind behind the plane atrocities has assured himself of a place in the history books...l.20*. Osama's actions are graded alongside those of Hitler's to emphasise the significance of his capabilities and amplified by referring to him as a *mastermind l.20* and a *genius l.37*. The expected retaliation by President Bush is evaluated with a warning: that his behaviour may be irrational if *someone does not put a gentle, restraining hand l.61* on him and his Congress. Nevertheless, the Americans must retaliate or their behaviour will be judged as cowardly.

**Table 31. Evaluation of social actors using Martin's categories of affect and judgement**

Us	Affect	Them
<p><b>Unhappiness (-)</b> <i>The story of the grieving mothers...l.57</i></p> <p><b>Insecurity (-)</b> <i>These are extremely fearsome thoughts...l.30</i></p> <p><b>Dissatisfaction (-)</b> <i>America will mourn and lament until anger sets in l.60</i></p>		<p><b>Happiness (+)</b> <i>...chuckling quietly to himself (Osama) l.3</i></p>
<b>Judgement Social Esteem</b>		
<p><b>Capacity (+)</b> <i>The world's only superpower l.16</i></p> <p><b>Capacity (-)</b> <i>...how the United States could be so careless...l.39</i></p>		<p><b>Normality (-)</b> <i>a deranged terrorist l.48</i> <i>fanatical kamikaze fatalists l.47</i></p> <p><b>Capacity (+)</b> <i>The works of genius l.37</i></p> <p><b>Tenacity (-)</b> <i>sneaking cowards l.71</i></p>
<b>Social Sanction</b>		
<p><b>Propriety (+)</b> <i>Innocent people l.38</i></p>		<p><b>Propriety (-)</b> <i>...a mindset that would plot the destruction of thousands of mainly innocent people at a go...l.37</i></p>

#### 4.6.2.3 Representation of the Events

The editorial begins by pointing to Osama bin Laden as the main suspect in the attacks e.g. *Those chaps believe it couldn't be anyone but Osama l.8*, and therefore representations of the events are initially linked to him. As was done in the representation of the Other, the writer uses certain terms in representing the events that ironically

downplay the formality and praise they convey. For example the events are represented as Osama's *triumph* l.23, *a job well-done* l.7 and as *the works of genius* l.36. As the editorial's discussion becomes more generally about terrorism so do the terms used to refer to the events. The terms used are nominalisations that obscure the agent responsible (cf. 3.3.3.3.2), for example *the terrorist attacks* l.34 and *Tuesday's attacks* l.35. Nevertheless, these terms are appreciated further by linking them through relational verbs to the significance of these attacks e.g.

*Tuesday's attacks* were *acts of great audacity, meticulous planning, cold-blooded precision and such elementary simplicity that they can only be regarded as the works of genius* l.35.

#### 4.6.2.4 Appraisal of the Events

The events, using insights from Martin's theory of APPRAISAL (cf. 3.3.3.3.1), can be appreciated mostly in terms of composition and valuation rather than their emotional impact. The writer recognises the capability of Osama in his success and this is emphasised through the comparison with Hitler. Osama's attack is evaluated as *acts of great audacity, meticulous planning, cold-blooded precision and such elementary simplicity that they can only be regarded as the works of genius* l.35. This evaluation recognises the abilities needed for carrying it out despite its negative repercussions. Osama's success is ironically referred to as *his triumph* l.23, *the works of genius* l.36 and *a job well-done* l.7. The writer downplays this success by indicating that the U.S. will retaliate, making Osama's attack *pyrrhic at best* l.24. The possibility of war is high and social significance of the events is that it *might, indeed, be the end of the world as we know it* l.34.

The events are also evaluated with strong epithets and repetition that intensify and grade (cf. 3.3.3.3.1) their significance and their emotional impact on those who are directly affected e.g. *the most heinous, most horrendous, most extraordinarily gruesome act of carnage of his bloody career* l.3. The feelings of insecurity over what the results of the attacks might be are a major focus in this editorial. The threat of war brings *extremely fearsome thoughts* l.30 because such a war might be worse than the Gulf War.

The social significance of the events is also emphasised through grading numbers of people killed in the attacks. This contrasts with the small group of people who caused the attack to happen i.e. *a bunch of fanatical kamikaze fatalists* l.48 e.g.

*He engineered the deaths of more than 250 Kenyans, Tanzanians and Americans in simultaneous bomb explosions in the two East African countries l.9.*

*...killing possibly tens of thousands of people in less than an hour l.13.*

The importance of this specific attack is also because of its having happened in America. America is supposed to be the *world's only superpower l.16* and the *giant l.17* which immediately sets it apart from the rest of the “us” group. The very fact that the terrorists succeeded in attacking America is presented as a *triumph*.

Explaining the meaning of the events is achieved through the use of relational verbs e.g. *Tuesday's attacks were acts of great audacity, meticulous planning, cold-blooded precision and such elementary simplicity...l.35*. The success of the attacks is attributed to the fact that America has not prepared for this type of warfare but the result of the events will be some kind of retaliation i.e. *And yet that is the way it must be, for it would be lethal for the US to show any sign of hesitation...l.69.*

To further explain the meaning of the events the writer uses comparative intertextuality (cf. 3.3.2). The reference to the 1998 bombing of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania features as the dominant comparison used by the writer to explain for the reader what has happened in America. The inclusion of this event helps to explain the representation of Osama bin Laden as potentially responsible for the events in America. Kenyans fell victim to Osama in 1998 and he is thus the main suspect in these attacks on America. To emphasise the consequences of these events i.e. *there will be retaliation, which may even escalate into war l.27*, the writer refers to *the Gulf War l.31*. This compares the importance and magnitude of such a war for the reader with one that happened in the past. By using similes to compare the Gulf War to a *Sunday school picnic l.31* and Saddam Hussein to *Father Christmas l.32*, the writer grades the intensity and significance of the potential war for the reader. By referring to these past events in history the writer is able to present to the reader a comparison with the attacks on America. The writer does this through circumstances of time and place e.g.

*In 1998 (Time: past) he engineered the deaths of more than 250 Kenyans, Tanzanians and Americans in simultaneous bomb explosions in the U.S. embassies of the two East African countries (Place: Africa) l.9.*

*His initial reaction might be, even at this moment of grief (Time: present), to strike back swiftly, in blind rage, throwing caution and precision to the wind l.63.*

Aiding the evaluation or appraisal of the events is the inclusion of alternative voices to support or counter the writer's opinions (cf. 3.3.3.3.1). In this editorial the writer does not include any direct quotations from alternative voices, as is evident only in the British and Zimbabwean editorials (cf. 4.3.2.4 and 4.5.2.4), but there are several projections of reported speech. These sources are not made explicit and thus suggest a general Kenyan and in-group response e.g.

*some wags joked* l.1. (projecting verbal process).

*they feel they know him well* l.8. (projecting mental processes).

*Most people cannot fathom...*l.37 (projecting mental process).

*Most people cannot understand...*l.39 (projecting mental process).

Implicit projections are included but are recoverable e.g.

*Tuesday's attacks were acts of great audacity, meticulous planning, cold-blooded precision and such elementary simplicity that they can only be regarded (by both in and out groups) as the works of genius* l.35.

*It is downright puzzling (to the in-group) how terror can become the most lethal weapon mankind has ever devised...*l.49.

*The story (by the media) of the grieving mothers, wives, children, sisters, brothers and husbands in American has not been told yet (by the media)* l.57.

*...while a fourth plane is said (by the media) to have crashed on its way to...*l.18 (projecting verbal process).

Although these explicit and implicit alternative voices potentially expand the range of alternative voices, some voices contract the opinions to present one point of view e.g.

*they feel they know him well* l.8 (projecting mental process).

*those chaps believe it couldn't be anyone but Osama* l.8 (verbal process + negation).

*they can only be regarded as the works of genius* l.35 (proclaimer).

This contraction is enhanced through the use of negation and concessive conjunctions like *but*, used to deny/disclaim any contesting views that the attacks were not the work of Osama bin Laden e.g. *Those chaps believe it couldn't be anyone but Osama* l.8, *But then it was inevitable that the Americans would be taken unawares...*l.42.

Although the editorial projects a variety of explicit and implicit voices, that of the Other is not evident (as is only the case in the British and Zimbabwean editorials). Despite this, the text includes extensive use of modality to allow the possibility for alternative views (cf. 3.3.3.3 & 3.3.3.3.1). Weak modals foreground *probability* concerning the uncertainty as to what the future holds e.g. *this might, indeed, be the end of the world as we know it*

l.34. Strong modals of *probability* and *obligation* support the belief in retaliation e.g. *for inevitably, there will be retaliation* l.27. The reader's evaluation of the events and who is responsible is thus shaped by the voices made available by the writer.

#### 4.6.2.5 Theme and Rheme

The structuring of theme and rheme in this editorial, as in the other selected texts, follows noticeable thematic sections within which the writer builds up his argument until his recommendation at the end. Topical, unmarked themes predominate and, within each section, there is no strict progression of themes, as the writer alternates between topics in his evaluation. Although there is no summary of the events at the start of the editorial (cf. 2.4.5), further into the text from, lines 12-19, the writer does briefly outline the chain of events to aid in his evaluation of Osama's *triumph*. There are 4 sections, as follows:

1. Lines 1-26 focus on topical themes alternating between Osama bin Laden and those Kenyans who identify him as the man responsible for September 11. This section begins with a marked topical theme i.e. *On Tuesday night...l.1*, drawing the reader's attention to the immediate reaction after the events. Rhemes develop how Osama might be celebrating and evaluate the significance of his actions e.g.

*arch-terrorist Osama bin Laden could at this very moment be...l.1*

*they feel they know him well l.8*

*the mastermind behind the plane atrocities has assured himself of a place in the history books...20.*

2. The possibility of retaliatory war becomes the next topical focus, lines 27-34, as the writer hypothesises the kind of war it could be, e.g.

*These are extremely fearsome thoughts in every respect, for if there is a war, it might be one that will make the Gulf War seem like a Sunday school picnic and Saddam Hussein like Father Christmas l.31.*

3. The lack of preparation for such an attack is the next thematic focus, lines 35-56, where the writer criticises America's inability to prevent September 11 but then downplays this criticism by explaining the unpredictable nature of terrorism e.g.

*Most people cannot understand either how the United States could be so careless l.39*

*But it was inevitable that the Americans would be taken unawares because though they are usually on high alert, they are mostly prepared for hi-tech terrorist attacks, not people wielding knives l.42*

*Terror can become the most lethal weapon...l.49*

*For it strikes where it is least expected...l.51*

The section ends with topical themes that highlight *the resilience of the human spirit* l.55 to survive such attacks e.g. *thousands of others will spring up* l.54.

4. The final section, lines 57-72, closes the discussion by focussing on the expected and recommended reaction of the United States e.g.

*America will mourn and lament until anger sets in* l.59.

*His initial reaction might be, even at this very moment of grief, to strike back...l.63.*

*This is a signal that there will be massive retaliation by the Americans...l.67.*

*And yet that is the way it must be...l.69.*

There is insignificant use of interpersonal themes but a consistent use of textual themes (also in the other editorials). These textual themes include concessive conjunctions like *but* and *though* and continuatives like *and*. As in the other editorials, the textual themes function to adjust reader's expectations and to negotiate the meaning of the attacks e.g. *But what the mastermind may not have reckoned with...l.23*. Topical themes are all unmarked except for two marked circumstances of time i.e. *On Tuesday night* l.1 (as mentioned above), and *In 1998* l.9, which foregrounds the attack in Kenya thought to be by Osama. Reference to this attack helps the Kenyan reader make sense of the attacks in America.

Therefore, this analysis of theme and rheme reveals an assertive focus on Osama as responsible at the start of the editorial, not emphasised in the other texts, some criticism of America's inability to prevent the attack and a recommendation for retaliation. In the section to follow, I further develop an analysis of this editorial in respect of Bolivar's (1994; cf. 2.3.6) structural theory.

#### **4.6.2.6 Editorial Structure**

The analysis of this editorial confirms the use of three-part structures (see Appendix K), as in the other chosen editorials. There are 7 *content* triads, all except the last one following the basic LFV structure, 2 larger *movements* and 2 turns of an *artefact* (cf. 2.3.6). The final triad, lines 61-72, contains more than three turns i.e. LFLFV, as the writer delays the final evaluation with more information and negotiation. Some turns, most notably the V (Valuate), are made up of more than one sentence, indicating the focus on the final evaluation of the triad e.g. lines 42-48.

All the content triads begin with *informing* Leads (declaratives) e.g. *The story of the grieving mothers, wives, children, sisters, brothers and husbands has not been told yet* l.57. The Valuates are a variety of *informative concluders* and *prophecies* but once again (as in all the other selected editorials) the last triad contains a *directive*, lines 69-72. This recommendation is the concluding opinion drawn from previous Valuates that prophesise the high probability that America will retaliate with war e.g. lines 30-34.

The triads are grouped together into 2 larger three-part *movements* i.e. SDR SDR (cf. 2.3.6). The first movement, lines 1-34, evaluates Osama's assumed role in the attacks and closes with the concluding evaluation that America will retaliate. The second movement, lines 35-72, examines the nature of terrorism; how America failed to prevent the attacks and that the expected and recommended reaction is retaliation. At the highest level, these movements can be combined into Type A and C turns of an *artefact* as the text focuses on discussing the actual world as it *is* after the attacks and how similar attacks have occurred in the past e.g. the bombings in Kenya in 1998, and how the world *should* be i.e. America should retaliate. The medial turn concerned with an evaluation of how the world might be is omitted, as the writer immediately turns to the recommendation.

This analysis of *The Daily Nation* editorial, like those in the preceding sections, therefore, confirms the existence of three-part structures of varying sizes. In the next section I report on the second and third stages of my CDA i.e. Interpretation and Explanation.

#### **4.6.3 Interpretation and Explanation**

In this section I reveal how the discourse choices illuminated through the descriptive stage of my analysis, presented thus far, are informed and influenced by contextual factors and those involved in the processes of production and reception. To do this, I examine the situational context in Kenya, those involved in the editorial process and what ideological strategies (Thompson 1990) the writer uses in order to confirm his argument for retaliation.

*The Daily Nation*, founded in 1960, is owned by The Nation Media Group and this company's "ownership is divided between H.H. the Aga Khan, the spiritual leader of the Ismaili Community worldwide, and local investors" ([url:14](#)). Khan's achievements in promoting development in many of Kenya's sectors have targeted people of all religions and ethnicities ([url:18](#)). The wellbeing of the Muslim people, 20% of Kenya's population

([url:17](#)), is also one of his concerns ([url:18](#)) and the absence of stereotyping or targeting in this editorial could be indicative of influence from the paper's owner (cf. 2.2.4).

*The Daily Nation* is the only truly independent media group in the country with all other groups owned, or controlled by politicians or the government ([url:14,16](#)). *The Daily Nation* has from the start “remained true to its mission to be independent, subject neither to factional, commercial, religious or political interests” ([url:15](#)). However, the relationship between the press and the government in Kenya has been troublesome since the country's independence in 1963. With the autocratic rule of President Kenyatta there were severe restrictions placed on freedom of expression including many arrests, detentions and violence against journalists who attempted to criticise any aspect of the government ([url:14,16](#)). This continued under Arap Moi's presidency and despite the introduction of a multi-party democracy in 1992, and President Kibaki's promises of greater press freedom, when he came to power in 2003, the press is today still, to a certain degree, suppressed by the government ([url:14,16](#)) (cf. 2.2.3.3).

Kenya also has a history of human rights abuses, not only concerning journalists but also linked to government attempts to stay in power ([url:20,21](#)). For example, in the runup to presidential elections in 2002 “sporadic clashes between members of ethnic groups allied to the ruling party and those perceived to support the opposition continued in the run-up to the 2002 election, adding to the toll of numerous deaths and hundreds of thousands displaced in “ethnic” violence” ([url:20](#)). *The Daily Nation*, throughout its existence, has attempted to expose this kind of corruption in the government, and for this has been targeted ([url:16](#)).

Despite the discussion provided above, this particular editorial from *The Daily Nation* does not appear to resist or highlight local issues, in any explicit manner, as is evident in the Zimbabwean editorial (cf. 4.5.3). However, its assertive position on the ability of people to recover from such acts of violence e.g. *No country has ever been brought to its knees by terror, and none will be, for the resilience of the human spirit is a wonder to behold* 1.54 (see Appendix E), could be indicative of its attempt to highlight (implicitly) the human rights abuses in Kenya, in the newspaper's mission to remain independent and objective.

An important focus in this editorial is the identification of Osama bin Laden as the most likely suspect for the September 11 attacks in America e.g. *Those chaps believe it couldn't be anyone but Osama* l.8. This can be traced to a similar attack in 1998 when the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed ([url:19](#), Snowden & Johnson 2005). Osama bin Laden was almost immediately suspected as responsible and America retaliated with “missile attacks on paramilitary training camps in Eastern Afghanistan run by Osama and on a pharmaceutical plant in Sudan that officials suspected of involvement in the manufacture of chemical weapons” ([url:19](#), see also Snowden & Johnson 2005). Immediate retaliation by the Americans is assumed to be the probable outcome in these latest attacks e.g. *This is a signal that there will be massive retaliation by the Americans on some target...l.67*, because America wasted no time in reacting after 1998.

Although the author signs the editorial (cf. 2.3.4), I faced limitations (as with my Zimbabwean editorial) in sourcing information about him and in my attempts to contact him (cf. 5.2). All that is known is that the writer is Kenyan and the opinion pages editor of the newspaper. Unlike the Zimbabwean editorial, the writer here does not use September 11 to highlight the political or social conditions in Kenya. The Kenyan bombing in 1998, however, is used to interpret the attacks for the reader. Hence contextual information does work its way into the text, as Fairclough (1989) suggests (cf. 3.3.2).

As in the American, British and Zimbabwean editorials, 4 modes of ideology, as identified by Thompson (1990) (cf. 3.3.2), are employed in this editorial to deliver a preferred ideological perspective on the events i.e. *legitimation; unification; fragmentation; and reification*. The text does not appear to hide relations of power and therefore the mode of *dissimulation* (cf. 3.3.2) is not evident in the text.

Firstly, to *legitimate* the need for America to retaliate, the writer relies on the strategy of *rationalisation*. The relevant reasoning relies on chains of cause and effect, much like my other selected editorials (cf. 4.2.3; 4.3.3; 4.5.3). The identity of Osama as the most likely person responsible for September 11 is clear from the start of the editorial and is legitimated by reference to the Kenyan bombing in 1998, which Osama bin Laden is, as mentioned earlier, believed to be responsible for. The argument follows that even though Osama bin Laden has successfully attacked America *his triumph* will not last, as it will

undoubtedly cause America to retaliate. The writer criticises America's lack of preparation for such an attack but adds that this is because America is usually prepared for high-tech attacks. Therefore legitimisation works to blame the attack on America's lack of preparation and ignores any other possible reasons why the events took place. This can be compared with the British and Zimbabwean editorials (cf. 4.3.2.4 and 4.5.2.4), which point to America's foreign policies as the most obvious cause. The writer claims that attacks like September 11, despite their devastation, will not bring a country down and after the mourning America will find those responsible. Retaliation is presented as the only option, rationalised by the fact that it would be seen as cowardly to do otherwise.

Secondly, strategies of *unification* and *fragmentation* separate those responsible for the attacks from their victims i.e. Americans and Kenyans. Kenyans have experienced a similar attack and thus align with America particularly in understanding their grief e.g. *many will pour ashes on their heads and wear sackcloth. The keening will be great, loud and long in this great country l.58*. In other words, the *symbolisation of unity* (cf. 3.3.2) between Kenya and America is drawn from the fact that both countries have experienced the same kind of attack. Kenya's sympathy and legitimisation of America's status can also be attributed to good relations between the two countries ([url:17](#)).

A unified Kenyan response is constructed at the start of the editorial, lines 1-8, as the writer explores the local consciousness concerning who is responsible for the attacks e.g. *Another with a morbid sense of humour opined...l.5*. This unification of all Kenyans is presented in an informal manner, almost colloquially, perhaps appealing to the oral tradition of recording events in history, commonly found in African cultures (Nwanko 2000). Osama is identified as the Other and *differentiated* (cf. 3.3.2) from "us" by the fact that most people would never consider killing innocent people for any reason at all. In other words, he is differentiated from *most people* by his immoral actions. His identity is ironically portrayed as, on the one hand, an average person (like the local Kenyan) who could *be sipping a cold, soft drink after a job well-done l.6*, and on the other hand, regarded as an evil threat akin to the most notorious figures in history e.g. *Adolf Hitler l.21*. The threat of this Other, therefore, whether it is Osama or not, is evaluated as significant enough to call for retaliation and *the expurgation of the Other* (cf. 3.3.2) because any other option would be seen as cowardly by the Other.

Finally, strategies of *reification* (the 4<sup>th</sup> mode of ideology evident in this text) (cf. 3.3.2) work together with legitimisation strategies to present the writer's argument and recommendation as natural and hence legitimate. In other words, much is *naturalised* as fact, in this text, to support his recommendation for retaliation i.e. Osama is the likely suspect; America is the world's only superpower; the attack took place because America was unprepared and for no other apparent reason; this kind of attack will not bring a country down; and retaliation is the only option. Considerable anti-Americanism has been caused by America's foreign interventions and the selected British and Zimbabwean editorials (cf. 4.3.2.4 and 4.5.2.4) suggest this is the main reason for the attacks on America. Here, however, American foreign policy is ignored as a possible cause of the attacks and this diverts any blame from America. It is rather the nature of deranged terrorists like Osama who will always be a threat to the world who are the focus of blame for the attacks. This *externalisation* strategy (cf. 3.3.2) serves to ignore America's role in causing the attacks and to legitimate its position as *the world's only superpower* l.16. The identity of the Other is largely focused on Osama but as this is not certain, the use of *nominalisation* in the representation of the events appears to conveniently hide the agent e.g. *Tuesday's attacks were acts of great audacity...l.35*.

Therefore Kenyans and Americans are united in this editorial despite their differences, due to similar attacks in their countries. America's dominant global position is legitimated and those responsible for the attacks are the focus of most of the blame. As in the American editorial, retaliation is viewed as the only option. Significantly, the editorials from Britain, South Africa and Zimbabwe recommend restraint and not retaliation, indicating that Kenya's own experience with this kind of attack possibly has had an influence on the writer's recommendation.

#### **4.6.4 Conclusion**

To interpret the events for the reader, the writer constructs an "us" group that aligns Kenyans with Americans as the victims of terrorist attacks (cf. 4.6.2.1). Reference to the 1998 bombing in Kenya by Osama bin Laden is assumed common knowledge for the Kenyan reader and allows the writer to align Kenyan feelings with those of the American victims. As in the British, South African and Zimbabwean editorials, the writer acknowledges the power distance between America and Kenya, which serves to confirm America's powerful position. Blame for the attacks is attributed only to deranged

terrorists like Osama and America's responsibility for the attack is ignored, possibly due to the positive view of America in Kenya, and their strong alliance (cf. 4.6.3). The recommendation for retaliation keeps in line with the American editorial (cf. 4.2) and can be traced to Kenya's first hand experience of such an attack (cf. 4.6.3). The editorial follows Bolivar's triad system to negotiate meaning and like the other editorials, there is no initial summary of the events (cf. 4.6.2.5 & 4.6.2.6). However, unlike the other editorials, a summary appears further into the text from line 12 as a means of comparison between the two attacks in the two different countries. At this point in the presentation of my findings, I now turn, in the next section, to a comparison between all five editorials.

## **4.7 Comparison of the Five Editorials**

### **4.7.1 Introduction**

Thus far I have presented my findings regarding the close analysis of each of my five ‘core’ editorials as five largely discrete analyses. In this final section of chapter 4 I compare and contrast those findings in order to reveal how language choices in the representation of social actors and the events help the writer in his attempts to negotiate positioning of the reader’s beliefs, opinions and ideologies. The comparison of the editorials reveals how the different interpretations by each writer are constructed to serve specific ideological interests. The differences between the interpretations indicates that countries further away from the attacks i.e. in this case, the African editorials, use local events and situations to interpret the attacks as well as to highlight various dominant interests and issues at the local level. In this section to follow, I firstly provide a comparison of the five editorials from the descriptive stage of my analyses (cf. 4.7.2) and secondly draw on these results to compare the interpretation and explanation stages of my analyses (cf. 4.7.3). I conclude this chapter (cf. 4.7.4) with a summary of the overall generic properties of the editorial as revealed in the findings of my study.

### **4.7.2 Description**

#### **4.7.2.1 Representation of Social Actors**

The representation of social actors is notably divided into “us” and “them” groups for the purposes of promoting and legitimating the ideology of the in-group in all except the South African editorial. Nevertheless, this absence is significant and serves a particular function as I show below. It is important here to focus on who is included and excluded from these groups, how social actors appear in the texts and what function this serves for the text as a whole.

The formation of an “us” group in every editorial is, overall, represented in positive terms that help to advance the ideology of the group. The construction of the Other group is negative in each case and serves to condemn the attacks. Looking firstly at the representation of the “us” (see Table 32.):

1. All the editorials construct this group by associating themselves with America and Western values of democracy. However, despite this alignment, within the representation of this group there is division according to power. In other words, the

British and African editorials recognise the power distance between themselves and America. This is achieved through over-lexicalising the positive appraisal of America as a social actor e.g. *superpower* l.16 (see Appendix E). The American editorial similarly emphasises a positive appraisal of its social justice principles and its power over the rest of the world e.g. *our commitment to freedom, tolerance and the rule of law* l.16 (see Appendix A). Moving further from the attacks, this power distance is stressed in the African editorials and is less evident in the British editorial where the writer points out the economic and power similarities between Britain and America.

2. The composition of members of the in-group is, however, different across the five editorials and serves different functions. The American editorial constructs the in-group as composed mainly of Americans (cf. 4.2.2.1). There is extensive use of generic pronouns like *we* and *us* to stress the unity between all its members. Other in-group members, such as allies like Britain, are not emphasised. The British and African editorials expand this group to associate themselves with America - but the African editorials, in particular, use the construction of this group to highlight local issues. In other words, the South African editorial, for example, firstly aligns with America then uses this unity to focus on uniting all Capetonians through extensive use of the generic pronoun *we* (cf. 4.4.2.2). As in the American editorial, the South African writer stresses the need for an all-inclusive unity between its members. The difference lies in the fact that collective terms in the South African editorial, e.g. *we* l.15, *the ordinary working people* l.20 (see Appendix C), are used to override the differences between Capetonians. The Zimbabwean editorial (cf. 4.5.2.1) uses the construction of the in-group to differentiate between those Zimbabweans who support Western ideology and those who support violence in the light of the country's economic and political problems. The Kenyan editorial (cf. 4.6.2.1) aligns Kenyans with Americans, by representing Kenyans as a collective, familiar with such an attack e.g. *some wags* l.1, *those chaps* l.8 (see Appendix E). This serves to interpret the events for the reader and to emphasise the similarity between the two countries, given their shared experiences, and despite the power difference.
3. Members of this group are also constructed as victims of the Other. This is evident in all except for the American and South African editorials (due to the absence of an Other group in the latter editorial). Interestingly, victims are absent from the American

editorial, possibly because of the writer's aim to focus on uniting Americans and the desired course of action. The Zimbabwean editorial, notably, aligns those in Zimbabwe who are victims of the violence supported by the country's government, with the American victims. This serves to highlight the seriousness of the Zimbabwean crisis.

4. Lastly, social actors in the in-group are portrayed in terms of their functionalisation. The use of these functional terms, however, is different across the five editorials, and serves different interests. In other words, on the one hand, the American writer presents a positive appraisal of those actors involved in American foreign policies in order to legitimate the call for retaliation (cf. 4.2.2.1) e.g. *U.S. authorities actively hunt those responsible for past terrorist acts and have successfully brought many to justice* l.20 (see Appendix A).

On the other hand, the British, Zimbabwean and Kenyan editorials use functional terms to support a positive but somewhat critical appraisal of those actors. By doing so, these editorials point to the functions of various in-group members as potentially responsible for playing a part in causing the attacks e.g. *The U.S. government has not always acquitted itself well as what its enemies have called "the world policeman"* l.14 (see Appendix D). Functional terms in the South African editorial (cf. 4.4.2.1), are, specifically, used to highlight the different identities of the people of Cape Town in an attempt to unite them e.g. *the religious leaders of our city, the politicians, the business community, the ordinary working people...* l.20 (see Appendix C).

Secondly, in the representation of the Other group (see Table 32.), social actors are:

1. Represented as the group responsible for causing the attacks on America.
2. Constructed as an unknown, deviant, immoral group who do not support in-group ideology.
3. Also represented in some instances as non-Western through ethnic, religious and geographical characteristics. The American editorial includes very little representation of this group, so as not to encourage its readers to align with the group. The group's identity is portrayed as unknown but by suggesting the attack as *a holy war* l.15, the writer alludes to possible Islamic origins of those responsible. The British and Zimbabwean editorials both portray this group as potentially originating from the Middle East, because of the evaluation of American foreign intervention that has

created tensions between the West and the Middle East. The Kenyan writer specifically identifies Osama bin Laden as responsible but does not emphasise ethnic or religious classifications (possibly indicating the writer's sensitivity to the fairly large Muslim population in Kenya; cf. 4.6.3).

4. The African editorials use the construction of this out-group for promoting local interests: i.e.
  - a. The South African editorial (cf. 4.4.2.1) omits any representation of the Other purposely to avoid a division between "us" and "them" in the Cape Town context.
  - b. The Kenyan editorial (cf. 4.6.2.1), due to its experience with a similar attack, is the only editorial that specifically identifies Osama bin Laden as responsible. The attack in Kenya in 1998 is used to interpret the events in America and to remind the reader that no country will be brought down by such actions.
  - c. The Zimbabwean editorial (cf. 4.5.2.1) uses the construction of the Other group to align those in Zimbabwe, who support the local government in violent activities, with the people responsible for September 11. This comparison functions to highlight the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe at the time of the attacks.
5. Lastly, the representation of the Other in the British editorial (cf. 4.3.2.1) is also constructed as a group victimised by the in-group, particularly as a result of America's attempt to spread democracy.

An analysis of the dominant processes used in the representation of social actors, reveals an overall reliance on material processes, in all the editorials. The Other is identified through its actions against the in-group and the in-group is linked to material processes that both positively and negatively appraise America's actions, particularly in dealing with the Other group e.g. in its foreign policies. Material processes also indicate the expected or recommended reaction in the aftermath of the attacks. In contrast to the other editorials, the American writer employs a greater use of material processes (75%), drawing attention to American actions rather than any significant evaluation of the meaning of the events (as appears in the other editorials).

Representation of "us" and "them" groups, therefore, serves different interests in each editorial. Moving further away from the site of the attacks, the editorials use the division between "us" and "them" to promote ideological interests within each country (cf. 2.4.4) e.g. the division between "us" and "them" in Zimbabwe that has divided the country politically (cf. 4.5). The in-group, despite being made up of various different actors in

each editorial, is consistently constructed with a positive self-image and contrasted with the negative image of the Other who is the agent responsible for the attacks on America.

**Table 32. Representations of “us” and “them” in the five editorials**

	<b>Us</b>	<b>Them</b>
<b>America</b>	<i>American people, Americans, we, our, U.S. authorities, friendly but not always helpful capitals, (victims excluded).</i>	<i>terrorists, opponents, extremists.</i>
<b>Britain</b>	<i>developed states, the strong, the rich, bond-brother (to New York), master of the world (New York).</i>	<i>poor, weak, destitute, shadowy groups, civilians victims of American bombing.</i>
<b>South Africa</b>	<i>the world, we, Capetonians, civilians</i>	none
<b>Zimbabwe</b>	<i>most Zimbabweans, the Americans, we, humankind, innocent civilians, the United States administration.</i>	<i>Arab terrorists, the few Zimbabweans.</i>
<b>Kenya</b>	<i>innocent people, the world’s only superpower, some wags.</i>	<i>Osama bin Laden, the mastermind, terrorists.</i>

#### 4.7.2.2 Appraisal of Social Actors

By using APPRAISAL resources (cf. 3.3.3.3.1) the feelings and behaviour of the social actors are evaluated to reveal the writer’s attitudes and how this seeks to align the reader towards a desired reading position. Firstly, looking at the emotional reaction to the attacks, the overall feelings are unhappiness and insecurity felt by “us” and happiness or satisfaction felt by “them” (see Table 33.). Nevertheless, each editorial focuses its emotional reaction slightly differently:

1. In the American editorial, the evaluation of feelings is minimal and largely through implication. Interestingly, feelings of unhappiness are absent (cf. 4.2.2.2) and the writer focuses on promoting feelings of satisfaction towards American achievements in past defeats of terrorist groups. Some negative feelings of dissatisfaction are attributed to the lack of preparation for the attack and insecurity at possible future attacks (cf. 4.2.2.2). The Other is evaluated as having feelings of dissatisfaction towards America

(i.e. envy and hatred) that caused the attacks and then satisfaction at their success e.g. *those who engage in terror feed on any display of weakness l.59* (see Appendix A).

2. The British editorial, like the African editorials, evaluates the in-group as feeling emotions of unhappiness at the attack and insecurity for future attacks (cf. 4.3.2.2). The Other group, as in the American editorial, expresses feelings of dissatisfaction towards America but here the negative feelings are attributed to American foreign intervention, particularly in the Middle East, which has created anti-American feelings. This dissatisfaction results in the happiness the Other group feels towards the success of the attack e.g. *it awards him the attention he craves, the apotheosis of fame l.38* (see Appendix B).
3. In the African editorials, the in-group, overall, feels unhappiness at the events. In the Kenyan editorial (cf. 4.6.2.2) this unhappiness becomes dissatisfaction towards the Other, which the writer claims will undoubtedly lead to retaliation from America. Both the South African and Kenyan editorials also evaluate the in-group as experiencing feelings of insecurity about the future (cf. 4.4.2.2 & 4.5.2.2). Like the American editorial, Kenyan feelings of insecurity call for retaliation to expurgate the Other so future attacks do not take place. The Zimbabwean editorial does not express feelings of insecurity but, like the American editorial, points to the satisfaction America should feel at its achievements (cf. 4.5.2.2). The Other group expresses feelings of happiness in both the Zimbabwean and Kenyan editorials (absent in the South African editorial) and the Zimbabwean editorial points to the dissatisfaction of the Other towards American foreign policy in the Middle East as a cause of the attacks.

Secondly, looking at the behaviour of the social actors, their actions are judged, overall, according to how socially and morally positive or negative they are. The predominance of terms relate to the degree of *normality*, *capability* and *propriety* of the social actors in each editorial (see Table 34.).

The Other is judged as immoral and socially deviant in all the editorials (except the South African editorial as the Other is absent) but the capability of the Other, which led to the successful attacks on America, is ironically evaluated as positive e.g. *the works of genius*

l.37 (see Appendix E). The evaluation of in-group behaviour, in all five editorials, is varied:

1. The American editorial focuses on promoting the country's positive capabilities in defeating terrorist groups overseas (cf. 4.2.2.2) e.g. *there have been many silent victories* l.22. Its failure to prevent this attack is downplayed as something no in-group member could have been capable of doing e.g. *no government can guarantee the full safety of its citizens abroad* l.19. By emphasising American capabilities the writer legitimates the recommendation to go to war. America's capabilities are contrasted with those of other in-group members e.g. *friendly but not always helpful capitals* l.36 so as to reaffirm its positive capabilities. Unlike the immorality of the Other, America's retaliation is evaluated as moral e.g. *America itself must embark on its own holy war – not one driven by hatred or fuelled by blood but grounded in our commitment to freedom, tolerance and the rule of law...l.14* (see Appendix A).

**Table 33. Evaluation of social actors using Martin's category of affect**

	<b>Us</b>	<b>Them</b>
<b>America</b>	<i>satisfaction</i> : at terrorist defeats <i>insecurity</i> : for future <i>dissatisfaction</i> : at poor preparation	<i>satisfaction</i> : at attack <i>dissatisfaction</i> : envious of U.S.
<b>Britain</b>	<i>unhappiness</i> : at attacks <i>insecurity</i> : for future	<i>satisfaction</i> : at attacks <i>dissatisfaction</i> : at American foreign intervention
<b>South Africa</b>	<i>unhappiness</i> : at attacks <i>insecurity</i> : for future	none
<b>Zimbabwe</b>	<i>unhappiness</i> : at attacks <i>satisfaction</i> : at American achievements	<i>dissatisfaction</i> : at U.S. foreign intervention in Middle East <i>happiness</i> : for attacks
<b>Kenya</b>	<i>unhappiness</i> : at attacks <i>insecurity</i> : at future <i>dissatisfaction</i> : at attacks	<i>happiness</i> : at attacks

2. The British editorial also focuses on evaluating the behaviour of in-group members but it highlights the positive and negative propriety of America and the West (cf. 4.3.2.2). Foreign intervention is evaluated as immoral and unethical as it has caused many civilian deaths but this is countered and downplayed by pointing out that the intentions of the in-group were honest (propriety +ve). Despite America's positive capabilities

e.g. *the strong* l.27, its capability in protecting itself and retaliating is evaluated as impossible e.g. *to protect every American building is clearly impossible* l.36.

3. All of the African editorials evaluate American normality and capability as positive, overall e.g. *the most powerful nation in the world* l.25 (see Appendix D). There are, however, some negative evaluations of American capability. The Zimbabwean editorial points out America's failure to bring peace to the Middle East and the Kenyan editorial points out America's failure to be prepared for such an attack. Despite this the in-group is evaluated as moral in contrast to the Other e.g. *innocent people* l.38 (see Appendix E).

It is clear that the behaviour of the in-group is evaluated as positive in contrast to that of the Other. The American editorial omits any negative evaluations of its capabilities in order to reaffirm its positive self-image and position the reader to view retaliation as the only option. Criticism of American behaviour in foreign affairs is evident in all the other texts (except the South African editorial) but is downplayed through contrasting it with the behaviour of the Other (see Table 34.).

#### **4.7.2.3 Representation of the Events**

The representation of the events in each editorial is achieved through the use of nominalisations (cf. 3.3.3.3.2). The differences lie in whether a detached or affective representation is constructed and how this seeks to appeal to the reader. The differences are as follows:

1. The American editorial contains very few representations of the events as the writer focuses on representing and evaluating the social actors (cf. 4.2.2.3). Nevertheless, the events are represented through the use of nominalisations that establish a detached, objective, causal representation. This means that the events are presented as something that happened, without grading its significance or emotional impact. The nominalisations have the effect of obscuring the agent responsible and of emphasising the yet unknown identity of those responsible e.g. *yesterday's terrorist attacks* l.2 (see Appendix A).

2. The British editorial also uses nominalisations that obscure the agent responsible. In this editorial, however, there is a combination of objective and affective terms (not all made up of nominalisations) (cf. 4.3.2.3) to represent the events e.g. *yesterday's acts* l.43, *the outrage* l.39. The reader is encouraged to view the events critically but also to feel emotionally for what happened, as does the writer e.g. *...the most vivid display of terror that I can recall* l.2 (see Appendix B).
3. The South African editorial consists of representing the events through nominalisations that reflect the APPRAISAL categories of judgment and affect (cf. 4.4.2.3). Once again nominalising of the events obscures the agent responsible but here the social significance, skill and emotional impact of the events is included in the representation. For example, *the high-technology horror* l.1; *this unprecedented, unbridled, co-coordinated, brutal, targeted terror* l.2 (see Appendix C).
4. The Zimbabwean editorial relies on nominalisations of the events that appeal to the feelings and morals of the reader (cf. 4.5.2.4). Affective terms and nominalisations with affective epithets predominate in the representation e.g. *Tuesday's insanity* l.58; *the savage attacks* l.4 (see Appendix D).
5. The Kenyan editorial is unique in its representation of the events as it is immediately linked to Osama bin Laden (cf. 4.6.2.3). The events are represented in terms that emphasise the significance of Osama's actions e.g. *Osama's triumph* l.23; *a job well-done* l.7. As the argument becomes more general the representation of the events becomes more objective e.g. *the terrorist attacks* l.34 and nominalisations indicate the unknown nature of terrorists. Nevertheless, these detached representations are linked to descriptions of the social significance of the events e.g. *Tuesday's attacks were acts of great audacity, meticulous planning...l.35* (see Appendix E).

Clearly, as one moves away from the location of the attacks the representations appeal more to the reader's emotions, morals and judgments as opposed to objective, detached facts. The American editorial is almost free of affective representations, suggesting that the writer was focused on what America must do to counter the attacks. Nominalisations predominate in the representation of the events in all the editorials, emphasising the hidden identity of the attackers, as the agent is obscured.

**Table 34. Evaluation of the social actors using Martin's category of judgement**

<b>Judgement</b>			
<b>Editorials</b>	<b>Actors</b>	<b>Social Esteem</b>	<b>Social Sanction</b>
<b>America</b>	"us"	<b>Capacity (+ve)</b> <i>e.g. victories</i> <b>Capacity (-ve)</b> <i>e.g. not helpful capitals</i>	<b>Propriety (+ve)</b> <i>e.g. commitment to freedom, tolerance...l.16</i>
	"them"	<b>Normality (-ve)</b> <i>e.g. a troubled world</i>	<b>Propriety (-ve)</b> <i>e.g. driven by hatred...l.15</i>
<b>Britain</b>	"us"	<b>Normality (+ve)</b> <i>e.g. master of the world l.5</i> <b>Capacity (+ve)</b> <i>e.g. the strong l.27</i> <b>Capacity (-ve)</b> <i>e.g. no realistic defence l.22</i>	<b>Propriety (+ve)</b> <i>e.g. with honest intent l.81</i> <b>Propriety (-ve)</b> <i>e.g. not wise policies</i>
	"them"	<b>Normality (-ve)</b> <i>e.g. a madman l.36</i> <b>Capacity (+ve)</b> <i>e.g. devastating means of forcing their attention on the world l.30</i> <b>Capacity (-ve)</b> <i>e.g. the weak l.27</i>	<b>Propriety (-ve)</b> <i>e.g. a suicide hijacker l.33</i>
<b>South Africa</b>	"us"	<b>Normality (+ve)</b> <i>e.g. ordinary people l.12</i> <b>Capacity (+ve)</b> <i>e.g. most powerful country l.6</i>	<b>None</b>
	"them"		<b>None</b>
<b>Zimbabwe</b>	"us"	<b>Normality (+ve)</b> <i>e.g. the wealthiest country l.22</i> <b>Capacity (+ve)</b> <i>e.g. most powerful nation l.25</i> <b>Capacity (-ve)</b> <i>e.g. Bush's hands-off policy has probably made peace yet more difficult to achieve l.30</i>	<b>Propriety (+ve)</b> <i>e.g. free and democratic country l.6</i>
	"them"	<b>Normality (-ve)</b> <i>e.g. deranged American citizen l.19</i>	<b>Propriety (-ve)</b> <i>e.g. humankind's own inhumanity to humankind l.34</i>
<b>Kenya</b>	"us"	<b>Capacity (+ve)</b> <i>e.g. world's only superpower l.16</i> <b>Capacity (-ve)</b> <i>e.g. the U.S. could be so careless l.40</i>	<b>Propriety (+ve)</b> <i>e.g. innocent people l.38</i>
	"them"	<b>Normality (-ve)</b> <i>e.g. a deranged terrorist l.48</i> <b>Capacity (+ve)</b> <i>e.g. genius l.37</i>	<b>Propriety (-ve)</b> <i>e.g. a mindset that would plot...l.37</i>

#### 4.7.2.4 Appraisal of the Events

The representations of the attacks on America reveal that all editorials, except for the American one, include evaluations or appraisals of the events that appreciate them according to their emotional impact and social significance. The American editorial provides representations that are detached and objective e.g. *yesterday's terrorist attacks* l.2. The absence of significant appreciation of the events focuses the argument on the appraisal of the social actors and hence the cause and significance of what happened is ignored.

The British and African editorials provide a negative appraisal of the emotional impact the attacks had, their social significance as well as a negative valuation of the kind of attack it was e.g. *this unprecedented, unbridled, co-ordinated, brutal, targeted terror* l.2 (South African editorial; Appendix C); and *Tuesday's attacks were acts of great audacity, meticulous planning, cold-blooded precision and such elementary simplicity* l.35 (Kenyan editorial; Appendix E).

Comparative intertextuality (cf. 3.3.2), in all the editorials, also plays a role in appraising the events, by comparing September 11 with other events, and thus advancing an in-group ideology:

1. Reference to American foreign involvement is used by the American, British and Zimbabwean editorials for different reasons. The American editorial (cf. 4.2.2.4) focuses on a positive appraisal of previous successful military achievements in stopping terrorists as well as victorious past wars, e.g. *the Cold War* l.62, which threatened the American way of life, and as in the case of September 11, must be stopped through similar military retaliation. However, unlike the British and Zimbabwean editorials, there is no criticism of its foreign policies as a possible cause of the attacks. The British and Zimbabwean editorials point to American foreign interventions as a cause of anti-Americanism and thus a possible cause of September 11 (cf. 4.3.2.4 & 4.5.2.4). Despite this criticism, both editorials use disclaimers to counter and downplay this negative evaluation of America, which inevitably confirms America's dominance within the in-group.
2. The African editorials also include intertextual references that help to interpret September 11 and at the same time highlight local issues (as was discovered in

Achugar's study (2004) in her analysis of Uruguayan editorials; cf. 2.4.5). For example, the Kenyan editorial focuses mainly on the 1998 bombing of its U.S. embassies as a means to evaluate the events in America in relation to its local experience (cf. 4.6.2.4). The writer emphasises that terror cannot bring the country down. By doing so, the writer could possibly be alluding to the human rights abuses in Kenya (cf. 4.6.3), although there is no explicit mentioning of this prevalent issue. The Zimbabwean editorial highlights the local economic and political decline in the country by associating *the few Zimbabweans l.7* who support violence with those terrorists who have attacked America. Through this comparison, the writer grades the significance of the events in Zimbabwe (cf. 4.5.2.4). The South African editorial (cf. 4.4.2.4), avoids any inclusion of explicit intertextuality, thus showing sensitivity about the ethnic tensions in Cape Town at the time. However, the ideal reader would be aware of implicit references to events and situations in Cape Town, e.g. the Pagad Phenomenon (cf. 4.4.3), that underpin the writer's argument e.g. *We have to try, in all our diversity, to ensure that the schisms now tearing global politics apart do not destroy the fabric of our city l.18*.

In addition to comparative intertextuality, there is an array of Engagement resources in all the editorials to confirm and contest the opinions presented:

1. It is only in the British and Zimbabwean editorials that attributions, both explicit and implicit, include those from both in and out-group members. By including views from the out-group, the British editorial confirms criticisms of American foreign policy and justifications for the attacks (cf. 4.3.2.4). This criticism is, however, softened by the inclusion of voices from the in-group like the writer himself, and two famous literary writers, *Thomas Paine l.89* and *Kipling l.81*, who support America's intentions of spreading democracy despite the mistakes. The Zimbabwean editorial includes the voice of the Other particularly to emphasise the differences in ideology between the two groups which have, at the local level, split the Zimbabwean community (cf. 4.5.2.4). The opinions of the Other are similarly countered by using disclaimers and opinions from the in-group that promote and positively appraise in-group ideology.
2. The American editorial includes only attributions from the in-group, which are mostly implicit and serve to confirm the writer's opinions (cf. 4.2.2.4). Concession and negation are prominent, functioning to deny any notion that America will not retaliate

or succumb to the attackers. In effect, the argument is contracted to present one perspective on the American response.

3. Similarly, the South African editorial attributes only the in-group's response and contracts the evaluation of the events to something: *the world has never seen...l.4* and that *we know we will not escape the reverberations...l.15*. The writer's opinions surrounding how Capetonians should react to the events are also contracted to present one point of view, representative of the writer/newspaper (as attribution is not specified) e.g. *Today we are called upon, simply, not to do harm to our fellow citizens l.25*. Resources of concession and negation allow the contraction of the argument for calm (cf. 4.4.2.4).
4. Unlike the other editorials, the Kenyan perspective specifically points to Osama bin Laden as responsible for the attacks (cf. 4.6.2.4). This opinion is attributed to all Kenyans through the construction of impersonal individual social actors, representative of the local Kenyan e.g. *some wags joked...l.1*. Negation denies any opinion to the contrary e.g. *those chaps believe it couldn't be anyone but Osama l.8*.
5. Lastly, all the editorials include a range of modals potentially to expand the negotiation of opinions (cf. 3.3.3.3 & 3.3.3.3.1). Strong modals of *probability*, *obligation* and *ability* predominate regarding the type of reaction expected, recommended or possible. The fact that strong modals are the most common, allows for the contraction of the opinions to support one point of view e.g. *those attacked must either fight or fold l.59* (American editorial: obligation).

The appraisal of the events is achieved through the use of relational processes and this is employed by the British, South African, Zimbabwean and Kenyan editorials for the purposes of explaining, not only what has happened and what should be done, but also what the events mean. This focus is mostly absent from the American editorial, where little interpretation of September 11 is apparent.

Clearly the editorials consist of a range of voices and Engagement resources that both expand and contract the potential for negotiation. It is, however, the particular use of

these resources in each editorial, which function to promote issues pertinent to the local ideology and situational context.

#### **4.7.2.5 Theme and Rheme**

Comparing the structure of the selected editorials, the most noticeable aspect is the absence of any summary of the events itself. This is common to all five editorials in my study but may not be standard in the editorial as a genre, as MacDougall, Stonecipher and Van Dijk identify a summary or introduction as part of the generic structure of the editorial genre (see section 2.3.6). Rather, it can be assumed that due to the extensive coverage of the attacks, in the media, a summary of the events would have been unnecessary and regarded as assumed or given information. Each editorial focuses immediately on the reaction to the events. The British, Zimbabwean and South African editorials begin with an evaluation of the emotional reaction; the Kenyan editorial focuses on the immediate identification of Osama bin Laden as responsible and the American editorial begins by evaluating the events in terms of what America will do.

Clearly defined thematic sections make up the structure of each editorial by which the writers build on their main arguments through evaluations of various themes leading into the recommendation or pragmatic conclusion at the end. Thematic progression (cf. 3.3.3.4) does not appear to follow one strict pattern and is rather adapted according to the writer's interests e.g. the constant patterning found in the American editorial and in the second half of the South African editorial – is employed by the writer for extra emphasis and assertive focus on the main topical theme (cf. 4.2.2.5 and 4.4.2.5).

Unmarked topical themes predominate in all the editorials, with marked themes only evident when a change of theme occurs or to highlight circumstances of place and time (cf. 3.3.3.4). All the editorials contain extensive use of textual themes that either help to develop the negotiation of information e.g. in the form of continuatives like *and*, or more importantly help to deny alternative voices and naturalise the information in the form of concessive conjunctions, like *but*. Minimal use of interpersonal themes indicates an attempt to remain objective and detached.

#### 4.7.2.6 Editorial Structure

The structural analysis of my five ‘core’ editorials confirms the existence of three-part structures in line with the theory outlined by Bolivar (1994) (cf. 2.3.6). The extent to which these differ appears to be in the degree of evaluation and information provided by the writer. At the basic level, *content* triads generally follow an LFV structure. Extended forms such as LFLFV and deviant forms like LV (e.g. lines 1-4; in the American editorial) are used but are not as common. The number of turns per triad and sentences per turn is possibly also an indication of how much knowledge the reader is assumed to have, with multiple sentences and turns suggesting the writer’s attempt to provide more information and evaluation for the reader. The British editorial (see Appendix H) contains the most content triads due to its length and signals the focus on detailed evaluations.

The Leads of the content triads are all *informing* (declaratives) and signal the writer’s assertiveness in the statements made. The Valuates are a mixture of *informative comments*, *prophecies* and *directives* with the latter prevalent in the triads towards the end of each editorial where the writers indicate the desired reaction. Content triads ending in prophecies are more obvious in the Kenyan and American editorials (cf. 4.6.2.6 & 4.2.2.6). This is because Kenya’s experience in an attack, like that in America, allows the writer to predict what will be the likely outcome e.g. *No country has ever been brought down to its knees by terror and none will be, for the resilience of the human spirit is a wonder to behold* l.54 (see Appendix E). America’s determination to find those responsible is prophesied at the very start of the editorial e.g. *But what is certain is that the American people will not succumb to terrorists – and will not rest until justice is done to those responsible* l.2 (see Appendix A).

Combining the triads, it can be seen that at a higher level i.e. *movements* and *artefacts*, the absence of, not only final turns (as noted by Bolivar 1994; cf. 2.3.6) but also medial turns is prevalent. In other words, larger structures may be made up of, for example:

1. SR: where the medial D is absent (e.g. South African editorial; Appendix I).
2. AB: where the final closing turn C is absent (e.g. Zimbabwean editorial; Appendix J).
3. AC: where the medial B turn is absent (e.g. South African editorial; Appendix I).

Differences between the editorials appear to lie in the way in which the writer presents and evaluates the world. Therefore, my analyses confirm the existence of three-part structures as a way of organising the argumentative style of the genre. In the next section I discuss the interpretation and explanation stages of my five selected editorials.

### 4.7.3 Interpretation and Explanation

Having, thus far, presented a comparison of the findings from the descriptive stage of my analyses, I now report on the interpretation and explanation stages. This involves comparing the influences, on each editorial, from their situational contexts and the conditions within which they were written as well as the influences from their respective writers and newspaper owners. In addition, I compare the ideological strategies employed by each editorial writer for the purposes of supporting their respective arguments.

To make sense of events like September 11, 2001, readers can turn to the “expert” opinions found in editorials (cf. 2.3.3). By analysing the situational context surrounding the editorial writer and newspaper owner, it is clear that opinions often present the ideologies of those owners who have the power to dictate newspaper ideology (cf. 2.2.4), clearly evident in the five editorials. Despite the fact that newspapers are increasingly coming under the control of fewer larger corporations (cf. 2.2.4), the ownership of these multi-media groups is still often in the hands of powerful individuals, as is evident in the five selected newspapers. The interests of each of these individuals has an influence on the ideology of the newspaper:

1. *The Washington Post* editorial, owned by the Graham family, positively evaluates the American way of life and American foreign policy. The favourable alliance between the Graham family and the Republican Party, including President Bush, appears to support a positive appraisal of American ideology. Also by choosing the former Secretary of Defence, William S. Cohen, to write the editorial, the newspaper’s ideological interests are maintained as Cohen advocates Republican views (cf. 4.2.3).
2. Rupert Murdoch’s strong economic agenda is aided by political alliances that suit his interests in Britain. Despite his support for America and Bush, the editorial from *The Times* is critical of American foreign policies and is not in support of war. This can be attributed to the writer, Simon Jenkins, who is known as a non-interventionist, and hence his recommendation for a change of foreign policy instead of war (cf. 4.3.3).
3. Ownership of *The Cape Times*, in the hands of Irishman Tony O’Reilly, indicates the power of the owner to influence appointments of editors. The appointment of Moegsien Williams as the first coloured editor in 1996 can be traced to O’Reilly’s support of the new South African government (Peron 1998). The absence of an Other group and a call for calm and understanding can be attributed to the editorial writer,

- Chris Whitfield, whose sensitivity towards creating divisions between an “us” and “them” was influenced by the ethnic tensions in Cape Town at the time (cf. 4.4.3).
4. The owner of Kenya’s *The Daily Nation*, H. H. Aga Khan, has the interests of the Muslim community in Kenya as a priority and the absence of negative evaluations of this group and the focus on Osama as the sole responsible man in this editorial avoids targeting Muslim groups (cf. 4.6.3).
  5. In the Zimbabwean editorial, the interests of those in dominant positions also have a role in dictating the opinions presented (cf. 2.4.4). Geoffrey Nyarota, founder of *The Daily News*, centred his newspaper on criticising the policies of the government especially to bring attention to the worsening economic and political situation in Zimbabwe from 1998 (cf. 4.5.3).

Therefore, moving further away from the site of the attacks, the editorials in Africa pursue local agendas through an interpretation of the events. Through the construction of “us” and “them” groups and intertextual reference to local issues, attention is drawn to those local issues and to the ideological interests of those in dominant positions (cf. 2.4.4).

Turning now to compare the types of ideological strategies, employed by the writers, it can be seen that 4 out of Thompson’s five modes of ideology (1990; cf. 3.3.2) are used in the American, British, Zimbabwean and Kenyan editorials i.e. *legitimation*; *unification*; *fragmentation*; and *reification*. The South African editorial relies predominantly on 1 mode i.e. *unification*, and on 2 others to a lesser degree i.e. *legitimation* and *dissimulation*.

*Unification* and *fragmentation* strategies play a large part in laying blame for the attacks and in seeking to position the reader to align with the “us” group. This strategy is slightly different in every editorial:

1. The American argumentative strategy is to unify all Americans as a community who share the same values of democracy and freedom against the unknown, deviant Other group. The division serves to point to the envy and hatred felt by the Other towards the American way of life as the cause of the attacks and this evil must be expurgated in order for the in-group to defend its values. By emphasising the positive ideologies of the “us” group, the Other group by, contrast, is presented as deviant and evil. The writer appeals to the reader’s knowledge of American values and patriotism to unite. Very little representation of the Other group serves to prevent the reader from

understanding or allying with the Other group. The legitimization of American ideology is the result, as there is an absence of critical reflection on American responsibility for the reader (cf. 4.2.3).

2. The strategy in the British editorial is to divide strong, first world countries from weaker, third world societies who disapprove of American foreign intervention in the cause of peace. The identification of an Other group also leads to a recommendation for *expurgation* but, unlike the American editorial, the argument here is to change American foreign policies rather than use force on an enemy that is unknown. Jenkins' belief in non-intervention would explain his recommendation (cf. 4.3.3). By aligning Britain with America, as powerful members of the in-group, Jenkins legitimates their cause of spreading democracy and despite suggesting a change of foreign policies, America's dominant position is confirmed.
  
3. The African editorials use *unification* and *fragmentation* strategies to make sense of local issues and divisions. The South African editorial, significantly, is devoid of an Other group entirely and, instead, focuses on the unity of Capetonians with the rest of the world (cf. 4.4.3). This strategy works to avoid blaming any particular group and is indicative of the writer's sensitivity towards social tensions in Cape Town at the time. The Zimbabwean editorial uses this ideological strategy to align the local government and its supporters with the terrorists, in their similar use of violence on members of the in-group (cf. 4.5.3). The Zimbabwean reader would be aware of divisions in the country between the government and the opposition party i.e. between "us" and "them". Lastly, the Kenyan editorial unifies Kenyans and Americans as inhabitants of countries that have now both experienced terrorism (cf. 4.6.3). The Other is identified as Osama bin Laden, specifically, because he was responsible for the 1998 bombings in Kenya.

*Reification* strategies serve to obscure the identity of those who attacked America and to, in some cases, externalise possible causes of the events:

1. Due to the unknown identity of the attackers, all the editorials make use of *passivisation/nominalisation* strategies to obscure the agent responsible.

2. Another strategy adopted is that of *externalisation*. In the American editorial the failure of Cohen to criticise American foreign involvement as a possible contributing factor to the events results in placing blame solely on the Other, hence preserving the positive American image (cf. 4.2.3). The Kenyan editorial similarly ignores American foreign policies and focuses on its lack of preparation for such an attack as the cause. Strong relations between Kenya and America and Kenyan dependence on American aid (cf. 4.6.3), could explain the absence of any critical reflection of American foreign policy (evident in the British and Zimbabwean editorials). The British and Zimbabwean editorials are critical of American foreign policies but nevertheless counter this argument by positively appraising other aspects of American ideology (cf. 4.3.3 & 4.5.3). The South African editorial does not evaluate the causes of the attack because the writer focuses on uniting Capetonians and recommending that no blame be placed too soon. This can be attributed to the writer's sensitivity towards previous negative reactions the newspaper had received from the Muslim and Jewish communities in Cape Town to any discussion on events in the Middle East (cf. 4.4.3). By not blaming America for some responsibility in the attacks (as in the other editorials from Africa and Britain), the writer confirms his final recommendation to Capetonians not to do the same within their community.

With the identification of in and out-group members the writers of all editorials rely on *legitimation* strategies to rationalise either retaliation or restraint:

1. By reasoning that relies on cause and effect, both the American and Kenyan editorials call for retaliation by laying the blame for the attacks solely on the Other group. The American editorial reasons that retaliation is necessary (and hence legitimate) because America must defend its way of life. The Kenyan editorial reasons that it would be cowardly not to retaliate and, as was in the case of the 1998 bombings in Kenya, retaliation is expected from the Americans.
2. The call for restraint by the other three editorials is because, firstly, the British and Zimbabwean writers point to American foreign policies as partly to blame for the attacks. Secondly, the South African editorial does not lay blame on any group for the attacks and calls for restraint because so much is yet unknown. Despite some criticism of American foreign interventions, all the editorials positively evaluate America, which serves to naturalise its position as world leader and hence to legitimate its

foreign policies. The British editorial, in particular, also legitimates American democracy and the cause of peace because Britain is an ally of America. This serves to promote the dominant interests in these two countries and to show that despite their claim to objectivity (cf. 2.2.3.1), broadsheets inevitably promote and legitimate certain ideological interests.

Interestingly, the texts do not contain instances of *dissimulation* strategies, indicating that they are to be taken literally and are not intent on hiding relations of domination. The analysis shows that in an attempt to construct meaning for the reader, writers compare the events and its social actors with intertextuality pertaining to local events and dominant interests. By doing this, the construction of meaning varies between the editorials.

#### **4.7.4 Overall Generic Properties of the Editorial**

Through the construction of “us” and “them” groups, readers in all five editorials are positioned to align with the in-group in support of American ideology and to demonise the Other. The ideological interests of those in the in-group are articulated by the inclusion of other discourses which not only help to support the opinions surrounding the perception of reality created by the writer but also to explain local political and social issues. In other words, through comparison with other historical events, the writer explains the meaning of September 11, 2001 and my analysis reveals that moving further from the site of the attacks, the editorials (in Africa) use the events to explain and try and change issues at the local level. The use of intertextuality (cf. 3.3.2) includes a range of explicit and implicit alternative voices by which the writers support their arguments.

An analysis of the use of intertextuality is not complete without examining the influence of those involved in the production of newspaper editorials and how social, political and institutional conditions promote dominant ideological interests. Firstly, my analysis reveals that the power of the newspaper owner and the influence of the writer’s own ideologies have a significant effect on the construction of “us” and “them” groups and the choice of intertextual discourses used to explain the attacks in America (cf. 2.2.4 & 2.3.4). Secondly, an examination of social conditions at the time of the attacks dictates, to a certain degree, the writers’ manipulation of the editorial discourse in the support of dominant interests (cf. 2.4.4). For example, tensions between the Jewish and Muslim groups in Cape Town at the time of the attacks influenced the South African writer

towards caution (in the representation and evaluation of “us” and “them”) with the intention of avoiding further splits in the community.

The structural analysis of my five editorials provides evidence in support of Bolivar’s (1994) three-part structural system with variations in the degree of information and evaluation provided by the writer. The schematic structure of the editorial consists of a very brief introduction of the issue, an evaluation and a recommendation/pragmatic conclusion. Omission of a proper summary of events at the start of the editorial could possibly be a result of the enormity of the events being covered.

The chapter above has presented the findings, firstly, from my analysis of each of the five editorials, and secondly, from a comparison between them. In my concluding chapter to follow I present a summary of the main findings from my study, and the extent to which they have answered my first two research questions (outlined in 1.2). I discuss the limitations I faced and suggest the relevance of my research for media education in South Africa (my third research question). Finally, I provide possible suggestions for further research related to my study.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

### 5.1 Introduction

In this final chapter I, firstly, present a summary of the main finding of my analysis (cf. 5.2), from my discussion in chapter 4. In doing so, I return to my research questions and objectives, as were outlined in 1.2, in order to point to the ways in which my findings have illuminated answers to them. Secondly, I draw on these findings to suggest the relevance of my research to enhancing media education in South African high schools (cf. 5.3), my third research question. Lastly, I provide suggestions for future research within this field, based, in part, on the limitations of my own study (cf. 5.4).

### 5.2 Summary of Main Findings

The goals of my research have been to answer three research questions, as outlined in section 1.2. In light of my first research question, i.e.

*What does the analysis of linguistic choices of the chosen texts reveal about the ideologies of each editorial and how they compare and contrast with each other?*

I have attempted to show how editorial writers construct reality, advance the ideologies of the in-group and are influenced by their own ideological leanings and those of the newspaper owner (cf. 2.3.4 & 2.2.4). As a result, editorials, instead of representing the writer's objective viewpoint, can be taken as representative of the ideological stance of the newspaper as an institution (cf. 2.3).

In the aftermath of September 11, 2001 editorial writers attempted to interpret the events and evaluate those involved for the reader. My research indicates that it is through the distinction and exploitation of "us" and "them" that readers are persuaded to identify with the in-group and to support its ideologies (see Oktar's definition of ideology; cf. 2.4.3). This is achieved by positively evaluating the "us" group and its ideologies through an appraisal of their behaviour, attributes and feelings, and by so doing encouraging the reader to align with the "us" group. The Other group is vilified and negatively appraised to enhance the positive appraisal of the in-group and to discourage the reader from associating with this group, that is, "through the demonisation of the Other, debates over how to explain terrible events are presented in dichotomous ways that oppose good and evil forces" (Achugar 2004:291).

The analysis of my five editorials reveals that despite the positive appraisal of the in-group in each case, the degree to which this is manifested differs in those countries further away from the attacks, instead, serving to promote and highlight local issues (as was similarly found in Achugar's study 2004; cf. 2.4.5). The British, Zimbabwean and Kenyan editorials discuss various negative characteristics of the in-group e.g. America's foreign policies, that may have encouraged the attacks. By so doing, the editorials seek to target their ideal reader (cf. 2.3.5). For example, the British editorial, by critically appraising America's attributes and behaviour, aims to attract readers of a higher social status, interested in the serious, critical nature of editorialising which *The Times* is known for (cf. 2.2.3.1).

An examination of the social context, in each case, reveals that editorials cannot be treated as objective opinion pieces but as representative of dominant ideologies in each respective country. Individual newspaper owners, like Rupert Murdoch, owner of *The Times*, influence the ideological stance of their newspapers and inevitably the stance presented in the editorials. Similarly, local social and political situations influence, as is clear in the case of my study, the writer's evaluations, and function to confirm or challenge existing ideologies (cf. 2.4.3). My research reveals that writers employ 4 out of Thompson's five modes of ideology (cf. 3.3.2) i.e. *legitimation*, *unification*, *fragmentation* and *reification* to construct an in-group identity and to legitimate its ideologies. These modes are used in varying degrees according to the aims of the writer e.g. the South African editorial does not employ *fragmentation* strategies, in line with the writer's conscious attempt to prevent further splits in the Cape Town community (cf. 4.4.3). Legitimation of America's dominance is evident in all the editorials and confirms its powerful ideological position in the world (cf. 2.4.3). Editorials from outside America use the events in America to challenge local ideologies through the *mobilisation* (cf. 2.2.2) of their readers, but also to confirm their support of both global and local in-group ideology.

In light of my second research question i.e.

*What are the discourse properties of the editorial as a genre and how uniformly are they represented across selected editorials in English-medium newspapers drawn from the USA, UK, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Kenya?*

my analysis reveals that all the selected editorials exhibit a uniform range of discourse properties, which function to support the genre as opinion discourse. Firstly, the evaluative strategy in all the editorials is: the use of comparative intertextuality and

Engagement resources (cf. 3.3.2 & 3.3.3.3.1). The editorials from the African countries, in particular, rely on comparative intertextuality to evaluate the events in America through a comparison with local issues. Intertextual references to local issues not only help to explain what has happened in America but also help to raise awareness of pertinent local political and social issues. This strategy “is used as a form of argumentation and as a way of guiding the reader on how to interpret the events by connecting them to his/her available social mental models. This form of intertextuality helps to establish an ideal reader position” (Achugar 2004:312). In other words, by using other examples of events that share similarities with September 11, the writer is able to support the main argument presented in the editorial. The comparison with local events is used both explicitly and implicitly in the African editorials i.e. the South African editorial implicitly refers to the tensions prominent in Cape Town at the time of the events in America and uses September 11 to argue for calm.

The use of Engagement resources, in all the editorials, works to expand the range of voices to support the writer’s argument. For example, strong modals are predominantly used in all the editorials to confirm the in-group ideology. This is because the use of strong modality grades each writer’s argument more intensely as regarding the recommendation for future action. Extensive use of disclaimers, particularly negation and conjunctions, are also employed to contract opinions from the out-group, and support one overriding point of view (cf. 3.3.3.3.1).

Secondly, an important grammatical strategy in all the editorials is the use of nominalisations to represent and evaluate the events. As discussed in section 3.3.3.3.2, the effect of nominalisation is to obscure agency and tense, presenting something as timeless, abstract and formal. By doing so, the writer is able to remain detached and distant. In the case of September 11, this strategy works to hide the identity of those responsible, to present the events as an objective fact, and to hide American culpability. So soon after the events, those responsible were not known and through nominalisation, the differences between “us” and “them” were cautiously suppressed, allowing the writer to make general conclusions until more was known. Unlike the American editorial, the British and African editorials contain more nominalisations and both evaluate the events in terms of affect and judgement, in an attempt to evaluate the meaning of the events.

Lastly, the analysis of the structural properties of the five editorials reveals a consistent pattern, in line with Bolivar's (1994) three-part structural system (cf. 2.3.6). The difference between the editorials lies in the extent to which the writer negotiates and evaluates information for the reader, manifested through the number of turns per triad. Each editorial presents the topic, develops the evaluation of the issue and finally closes with a recommendation for future action (cf. 2.3.6). However, in all the editorials, only a very brief introduction to the events on September 11 is provided. In other words, a summary of the actual events is not included, allowing the writer to move straight into an evaluation of the events (cf. 2.3.6). The fact that this event was extensively covered in the media can possibly account for this fact. In addition, unmarked topical themes and textual themes predominate throughout with little inclusion of interpersonal themes, allowing the writers to remain formal and detached. Thematic progression (cf. 3.3.3.4) is varied and again is dictated by the aims of the writer, e.g. the focus on America and American people as topical theme in *The Washington Post* editorial, allows the writer to be assertive in his argument for unity in an American war against those who were responsible for September 11, and terrorism in general (cf. 4.2.2.5).

Thus, the analysis of my five selected editorials indicates that the argumentative nature of the genre (cf. 2.4.2) provides grounds for the writer to construct reality based on the ideological affiliations of the newspaper. The interests and ideologies of the owner of the newspaper, the writer of the editorial and the social conditions surrounding the production of the editorial all play a role in influencing this construction of reality. Readers are exposed to dominant ideologies that seek to maintain the status quo in the interests of those in powerful positions (cf. 2.4.3 & 2.4.4) e.g. the legitimization of America as the most powerful member of the in-group, evident in my analyses. In other words, this discourse is "primarily, in terms of a struggle for power between competing social forces, is both shaped by this struggle and, in turn, influences the course of this struggle" (Oktar 2001:321). In the next section, I provide answers to my third research question (cf. 1.2) where I examine the relevance of these findings for the study of media education in South African high schools.

### **5.3 Relevance of Study for Media Education**

As I have tried to show in my study, language is an important medium through which ideologies are conveyed or contested. In order to become aware of the hidden ideological

power of discourse, such as editorial discourse, readers need to become equipped with critical tools for analysis. This is necessary, according to Fairclough (1989:1) “to help increase consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others, because consciousness is the first step towards emancipation”. This section is, therefore, the focus of my third research question, that is:

*What general directions can media education in South Africa take, bearing in mind the findings that emerge from questions 1 and 2?*

According to both Fairclough (1989) and Wallace (1992) there is a need for more critical awareness and analysis of language, especially within education. Wallace (1992) explains that readers are generally submissive in the reading process. She therefore argues that “effective reading involves challenging the ideological assumptions as well as propositional knowledge in written texts and that we as teachers may need to guide readers to an awareness of ideological content simply because it is so often presented as ‘obvious’” (1992:61).

In order for teachers to guide readers towards a more critical approach to language, pedagogical tools are necessary. In light of my research I shall suggest various general tools for the analysis of media discourse, particularly the editorial, for use in South African high schools. I feel this is necessary as an examination of the requirements for English First Language Higher Grade, stipulated in the Independent Examinations Board Senior Certificate Examination Handbook (2000), reveals that media education is limited and general with no specific requirements that focus on the critical analysis of media discourse. Traces of the analysis of media discourse are included in:

- Shorter written pieces (functional writing).
- Creative writing.
- Comprehensions.
- Film Study (focusing on visual analysis).

Thus in order to raise a critical consciousness regarding media discourse, I feel that teachers need to be exposed to:

1. An understanding of the definition of news and its social and individual functions (cf. 2.2.2).
2. Relevant definitions of ideology that relate to its power in media discourse (cf. 2.4.3 & 2.4.4).
3. Methodological tools such as those used in my study, particularly to encourage students to become critical discourse analysts (cf. 3.3.2).

Once teachers are provided with the necessary tools, lessons can be drawn up for readers. With the knowledge gained through my research, I feel teachers should be equipped to guide readers in an analysis of media discourse, such as the editorial, towards:

1. How to go about data collection using such resources as libraries, the Internet or, as in the case of my research, contacting the newspapers directly.
2. An understanding of the social and individual functions of the media.
3. An understanding of the concept of ideology, its relationship with power and how it is reflected in media discourse.
4. How to go about a text analysis: focusing, firstly, on a descriptive analysis of the formal features of their texts. Specific features, like those outlined in my 'grid' (cf. 3.4), can be selected for analysis which the teacher feels will tease out the most relevant ideological trends. Suggestions, taken from my study, are:
  - a. Examinations of how language is used to represent and evaluate the world e.g. identifying which social actors are represented and how they are portrayed in the text.
  - b. Identifying if and how various linguistic features function to position readers e.g. the kinds of verbs used in the text.
  - c. Identifying the patterns that define the structural properties of the genre and that function to position readers e.g. thematic progressions.
5. Expanding this analysis by identifying the writer, the ideal reader, and how the relationship between them may influence the language choices in the text e.g. the use of Intertextuality that relies on the assumptions about what the reader knows.
6. Researching the socio-historical context surrounding the text, the power relations in society that might shape the discourse and, lastly, how the reader is positioned in relation to the reproduction or challenging of ideologies and social practices.

I feel that students in high school need to be exposed to a deeper awareness of how language can shape power relations in society and need to be equipped with the necessary tools by which they can become critical readers. It is only through this awareness that readers are empowered to challenge and change social practices and representations in society.

## **5.4 Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research**

As with any study, mine is limited and as a result there is considerable potential for future research in this area. Therefore, in this section I briefly outline five main limitations in my study and provide suggestions for future research. The limitations are as follows:

1. The study has very limited generalisability owing to the fact that I analyse one event as represented in only five editorials selected from only five newspapers.
2. My understanding of the newspaper world is frustratingly partial. Limited access to important source material is partly to blame for this, often limiting me to the Internet as my only resource.
3. Allied with 2, the effects of the situational contexts and conditions surrounding the production and reception of each text, as presented in stages 2 and 3 of my analysis, is similarly incomplete, not only as a result of limited accessibility to those situational contexts (and conditions surrounding the production and reception of each text) but also due to constraints of the thesis length. Hence, this dimension of my study could be richer than it is.
4. Richer social theory might have underpinned my understanding of the production of each of my chosen editorials. So too might a more concerted engagement with Chomsky's thinking on the attacks and allied issues.
5. The exploration of the relevance of my research to media education is tentative and could be much fuller – leading, for instance, to the production of educational materials for students at high school level in South Africa.

The limitations, as indicated above, along with my findings in chapter 4 and the outline of the relevance of my research for enhancing media education, point to suggestions for future research. Below I list five suggestions:

1. Richer analysis of a larger sample of newspapers would widen the scope and increase the generalisability of the findings of a study such as mine.

2. A longitudinal study of editorials from selected newspapers would be valuable. This would enable one to track how and in whose interests the ideological representation and appraisal of social actors and the events progresses over time.
3. A close study of one chosen newspaper, employing various ethnographic tools that, for instance, would involve situational observation and interaction with editorial writers at a selected newspaper. This would allow the researcher not only to carry out a longitudinal investigation (as suggested in 2), but also to gain a richer understanding of the processes involved in and influences on the production of the editorial. By exploring this, a researcher would be able to overcome the partial detail at the Interpretation and Explanation stages of the CDA analysis, as is the case in my study.
4. A study involving a larger sample of editorials from different cultures and languages is a further suggestion. Such a study would be oriented towards investigating the textual properties of the genre, particularly in line with Bolivar's theory (1994) (cf. 2.3.6). This would illuminate the overall generic structure of the genre and the degree of its uniformity and universality across cultures and languages. I feel this is a necessary and important aspect for further research as the editorial, as a genre, has to date received limited structural analysis (cf. 1.1 and 2.3.1).
5. A study focusing, more fully than I was able to, on the use of APPRAISAL resources would also be valuable. Such a study would explore how the writer seeks to position readers' attitudes and opinions in the interests of dominant ideologies.
6. Finally, aided by the findings from further in-depth studies, such as those suggested above, researchers would be able to devise pedagogical tools for teachers and materials for learners, e.g. in the form of lesson plans and work books, equipping learners with practical tools for an analysis of media discourse. This is necessary because, as mentioned in 5.3, media education in South African high schools is limited and inadequate.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

Newspaper editorials are traditionally seen as those articles that not only provide information but also aim to explain and interpret various, often contentious, issues from an

objective, 'expert' point of view. My research, however, has revealed that this is not the case and despite the views in the editorial being attributed to one particular individual, these opinions and ideologies are influenced by a number of factors and are representative rather of the newspaper as an institution. They are also not 'objective', as editorials embody not only the beliefs of the writer, but also those of the owner and those on editorial boards (cf. 2.2.4 & 2.3.4). Powerful individuals who often own entire newspaper chains use their dominant positions to advance their ideological views and agendas. In addition, my interpretation and explanation of the situational context of each of the editorials in my study reveals how local social and political issues affect the writer's construal of events in the interests of in-group ideology and dominant local interests (as was similarly discovered in Achugar's (2004) analysis of Uruguayan editorials after September 11; cf. 2.4.5). Those editorials, in my study, selected from countries further away from the site of the attacks, i.e. the African editorials, used the events of September 11 both explicitly and implicitly to highlight and recommend change in local matters. My analysis of the structural properties of the five editorials indicates a consistent use of textual and unmarked topical themes and thematic sections by which the argument is developed. In addition, my analyses reveal the existence of three-part structures, in line with Bolivar's study (1994). These three-part structures function to evaluate opinions in the editorials both on a small scale, i.e. content triads, within the editorial and on a large scale, i.e. artefacts, as its overall structure (cf. 2.3.6). However, in keeping with my suggestions for future research (cf. 5.4), I feel a structural analysis of this genre deserves much richer exploration, as research to date is limited. Lastly, based on the findings in my study, I believe that there is a need to raise the awareness of learners in South African high schools of media discourse and the interests it promotes. It is only through such awareness and, particularly, through becoming critical readers that such learners can challenge media representations and what lies behind them, because as Fairclough (1992:12) explains, "power relations work increasingly at an implicit level through language, and given that language practices are increasingly targets for intervention and control, a critical awareness of language is a prerequisite for effective citizenship, and a democratic entitlement".

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## **APPENDIX A: *THE WASHINGTON POST* EDITORIAL**

### **American holy war**

**by William S. Cohen. September 12, 2001**

1 As the smoke clears from the skies of New York, Washington and western Pennsylvania,  
2 much remains unknown this morning regarding yesterday's terrorist attacks. But what is  
3 certain is that the American people will not succumb to terrorists – and will not rest until  
4 justice is done to those responsible.

5 As a free society, and one that is constantly renewed and strengthened by integrating  
6 individuals from all lands and cultures, America is particularly vulnerable to those who  
7 exploit our openness. The objective of such terrorists is to cause America to cower -- to  
8 withdraw from the world and to abandon our ideals. But America cannot wrap itself in a  
9 continental cocoon, safely isolated from a troubled world. We have global economic,  
10 political and security interests that require our active involvement abroad. Even if we did  
11 retreat, America would remain such a potent symbol that those lashing out over perceived  
12 grievances would still aim their wrath at the United States.

13 Too many generations have paid the ultimate price defending our freedom for us to retreat  
14 from the world or retrench from our values. In a very real sense, America itself must  
15 embark on its own holy war - - not one driven by hatred or fueled by blood but grounded  
16 in our commitment to freedom, tolerance and the rule of law and buttressed by our  
17 willingness to use all means available to defend these values. Just as those who pursue  
18 terror have been relentless in their efforts, so must we be in ours.

19 No government can guarantee the full safety of its citizens either abroad or at home. But  
20 no government can permit its citizens to be attacked with impunity if it hopes to retain the  
21 loyalty and confidence of those it is charged to protect.

22 There have been many silent victories in which attacks, both abroad and at home, have  
23 been foiled by U.S. authorities during their preparation. Key terrorists and portions of  
24 terrorist networks have been rolled up, unraveling planned operations against U.S.  
25 interests. We have used military force to strike at terrorist camps and capabilities, and we  
26 are constantly refining our ability do so more effectively. Those who support or harbor  
27 terrorists should know that the United States is not limited to passive defense but is  
28 prepared to take active measures to disrupt terrorist activities, as demonstrated three years  
29 ago by our strikes in Afghanistan and Sudan. There is no statute of limitations in pursuing  
30 justice, and U.S. authorities actively hunt those responsible for past terrorist acts and have  
31 successfully brought many to justice. America's memory is long, and her reach even  
32 longer.

33 We have sought and usually received cooperation and support from other governments in  
34 these efforts, with various degrees of enthusiasm. Such international cooperation has  
35 become even more essential and less discretionary -- meaning that America's fundamental  
36 posture toward friendly but not always helpful capitals should increasingly depend on  
37 their cooperation in fighting terrorism. This is because, as horrific as yesterday's attacks  
38 were, we must be prepared for even worse. Americans must now think the unthinkable –  
39 that the next terrorist attack could well involve a contagious biological agent carried to  
40 our soil or airspace in a briefcase or bottle. We face opponents who are working diligently  
41 to become, in W. H. Auden's words, someone who "clutching a little case, walks briskly  
42 to infect a city whose terrible future may have just arrived".

43 Viewed as merely the stuff of fiction a decade ago, such a scenario is now widely  
44 acknowledged as a genuine threat. In recent years, tremendous efforts have been made by

45 federal, state and local authorities to prevent and prepare for such a threat, and thereby  
46 deter it. But much more remains to be done. There is a natural tendency among political  
47 figures to compete to claim this issue as their own, but the threat is sufficiently at hand  
48 that a disciplined approach is needed, with the president and his administration providing  
49 the leadership and Congress providing oversight and funding.

50 To be effective, this effort will require greater international cooperation, intelligence  
51 collection abroad, and information gathering by law enforcement agencies at home.  
52 Information is power, and greater access to information will require the American people  
53 and their elected officials to find the proper balance between privacy and protection. It  
54 has been difficult to get sustained, thoughtful, broad-based dialogue on this delicate topic,  
55 but the sooner such dialogue occurs the more likely it is we will strike the right balance.  
56 This will raise difficult questions regarding government intrusion, but the main threat to  
57 our civil liberties stems from the chaos and carnage that could result from a biological  
58 attack for which we were insufficiently prepared and the demands for action that would  
59 follow. Those who engage in terror feed on any display of fear or weakness, and those  
60 attacked must either fight or fold. Our people, not just our government, stood up to the  
61 fascist and then the communist threat to freedom. Americans did not triumph in the long,  
62 twilight struggle of the Cold War only to forfeit our victory to anonymous extremists in  
63 this war. As with the last, this struggle will not be won with a single military response.  
64 Victory will require the American people to display courage, faith, unity and  
65 determination to carry on for the indefinite future.

## APPENDIX B: *THE TIMES* EDITORIAL

### Democrats should not fight fire with fire

by Simon Jenkins. September 12, 2001

1 First the horror. The attacks on the World Trade Centre and Washington yesterday  
 2 before a horrified world were the most vivid display of terror that I can recall. The  
 3 heart of darkness had come to the heart of light and wreaked havoc. New York is a  
 4 city I love. It is bond-brother of London and cultural capital of a nation that has  
 5 entered the new millennium as master of the world. That made it a natural target of  
 6 envy and hatred. Those who question America's frequent global interventions in the  
 7 cause of democracy do so always from a position of respect. Leadership demands a  
 8 price. When that price is paid in such symbolic centres of the nation as New York and  
 9 Washington, Americans deserve every sympathy. Words may try to explain such  
 10 events. None can justify them. After the horror comes the response. The wise general  
 11 always keeps in mind his enemy's objective. As with other recent attacks on  
 12 Americans at home and abroad, the objective here cannot be the traditional one of  
 13 those who wage violent war. It is not to defeat America, to undermine its economic  
 14 power or military strength, nor even to damage its political stability. Such goals are  
 15 unachievable. That is why comparisons with Pearl Harbor are silly. The objective is  
 16 to publicise a cause, humiliate America and goad her into a violent response. To achieve  
 17 this goal requires more than a big bang. It requires that bang to be publicised and for  
 18 the reaction to it to be equally violent. Its effectiveness lies not in the death toll - a toll  
 19 repeated daily on the roads - but in the loudness of the echo through the world's  
 20 media. It lies in the action replay, the humanising of the tragedy, the publicity for  
 21 those responsible. It lies in the aftermath. There is no military defence against attacks  
 22 such as these. Indeed there is no realistic defence at all. America will doubtless  
 23 redouble its efforts to penetrate and contain the groups responsible. But they will not  
 24 be defeated by main force. Any plane can be hijacked. Any building is vulnerable.  
 25 People can be protected individually but not in the mass. A community can always be  
 26 gassed or poisoned. The paradox of new technology is that it makes developed states  
 27 more vulnerable to random assault. In the war of the weak against the strong, the  
 28 weak can wield weapons more potent than ever before. Globalisation may render the  
 29 rich richer and the poor poorer. But it offers the self-appointed champions of the poor  
 30 devastating means of forcing their attention on the world. Faced with horrors such as  
 31 these, "anti-missile" defence systems seem suddenly obsolete. No rogue state needs  
 32 an intercontinental ballistic missile to assault America when a boy with a suitcase or a  
 33 suicide hijacker can walk through any shield. A trillion dollars hurled into outer space  
 34 cannot stop the blast of a civilian jet loaded with fuel out of Boston airport.  
 35 Fylingdales may detect a menace from outer space, but not a virus in a handbag or a  
 36 madman in Club Class. To protect every American building is clearly impossible. To  
 37 attempt to protect city centres against suicide attack plays the attacker's game. It  
 38 awards him the attention he craves, the apotheosis of fame. The constant search for  
 39 security becomes a ghostly re-enactment of the outrage, a reminder and a challenge to  
 40 next time. That surely is why the World Trade Centre was targeted for a second time.  
 41 It added an eerie echo to the "ripple" of the terror. Its power lies in the memory of  
 42 blood-stained bodies and sobbing women, of shattered buildings and a world turned  
 43 upside down. If yesterday's acts were committed under the sponsorship of a foreign  
 44 state, retaliation might be understandable. But punitive action requires a collective  
 45 entity that can be held responsible. Here there are only shadowy groups, moving from  
 46 country to country, terrifying their hosts as much as the rest of the world. In 1993 the  
 47 World Trade Centre was the victim of a massive car bomb. It appeared to be the work  
 48 of Arab fundamentalists with ties to Afghanistan and Sudan. No conceivable response  
 49 to the attack made any sense, except to track down the individuals concerned. They  
 50 appear to have struck again. Nor did any good come from putting states such as Syria,

51 Iraq, Libya, Iran and Sudan on a list of countries “responsible for sponsoring state  
52 terrorism”. Trade sanctions were imposed on destitute peoples with primitive political  
53 economies. Sanctions entrenched and often enriched those already in power. To  
54 sponsor anti-Americanism has long been a guarantee of dictatorial longevity, witness  
55 Assad of Syria, Castro of Cuba, Gaddafi of Libya and Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

56 The ardent non-interventionist might argue that incidents such as these can be  
57 avoided. They would plead with America not to intervene everywhere and thus render  
58 its territory a target to all whom its government has offended abroad. This argument  
59 must be met since many enemies of America will cite it. They will point out that the  
60 scenes on television yesterday were different only in degree from those experienced  
61 by civilian victims of American bombing in Yugoslavia and Iraq. Those critical of Nato  
62 bombing might offer America more sympathy if Nato had offered sympathy for  
63 the hundreds of civilian deaths from its missiles and cluster bombs far from home. U.S.  
64 generals openly demanded the bombing of civilian targets in Belgrade and Baghdad,  
65 to “break the will” of local people.

66 Is that not what the perpetrators of yesterday’s outrage might say? Here we tread  
67 warily. Sponsoring the state of Israel led America into a prolonged and senseless  
68 hostility to the cause of the dispossessed Palestinians. The financing of anti-Soviet  
69 warlords in Afghanistan in the 1980s armed and galvanised terrorist groups, including  
70 Osama bin Laden and others behind the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Centre.  
71 The criminalisation by the Americans of the trade in heroin and cocaine, of which  
72 America is the major consumer, ensures that crime triumphs in states throughout Asia  
73 and South America. The continuance of the Kuwaiti policing operation into weekly  
74 bombing of Iraq has made Saddam a regional hero and America an object of regional  
75 hatred. These were not wise policies. The true policeman does not just project his  
76 awesome authority across the globe, he thinks through the consequences of his policy.  
77 But that is an issue distinct from yesterday’s events. The new Anglo-American “moral  
78 imperium” may be no less imperial than the old one, but I do not believe it to be  
79 cynical. The bombing of the Serbs and Iraqis was undertaken in the cause of peace. It  
80 was without self-interest on Nato’s part. America and its allies have “taken up the  
81 white man’s burden” with honest intent. They have done so aware of Kipling’s feared  
82 reward, “the blame of those ye better,/The hate of those ye guard”. The wrong turns  
83 of Western policy in the Middle East may help to explain yesterday’s slaughter. They  
84 in no way excuse it. Nobody should want to see America terrorised into isolationism.  
85 To seek revenge would be senseless. America showed after attacks on its East  
86 African embassies in 1998 that it regards revenge as a legitimate weapon in its  
87 geopolitical arsenal. The bombing of Afghanistan was ineffective. That of Sudan was  
88 illegal and militarily indefensible. Revenge is not the response of a sophisticated  
89 political community. America above all should know Thomas Paine’s plea, to “lay the  
90 axe to the root and teach governments humanity . . . sanguinary punishments corrupt  
91 mankind”.

92 To react to an atrocity by abandoning the customary self-control of democracy is to  
93 help the terrorist to do his work. He wants America to behave as the regional bully of  
94 local demonology. To extend further America’s Middle East economic sanctions,  
95 isolation and military aggression offers succour to the terrorist. These policies have  
96 not hastened the spread of democracy or stability through the region. They have, if  
97 anything, done the reverse. They should be replaced with policies of engagement,  
98 trade, friendship and contact.

99 The message of yesterday’s incident is that, for all its horror, it does not and must not  
100 allowed to matter. It is a human disaster, an outrage, an atrocity, an unleashing of the  
101 madness of which the world will never be rid.

- 102** But it is not politically significant. It does not tilt the balance of world power one  
**103** inch. It is not an act of war. America's leadership of the West is not diminished by it.  
**104** The cause of democracy is not damaged, unless we choose to let it be damaged.  
**105** Maturity lies in learning to live, and sometimes die, with the madmen.

## **APPENDIX C: *THE CAPE TIMES* EDITORIAL**

### **The day that shook the world**

**September 12, 2001**

1 How to describe the high-technology horror visited upon the United States yesterday?  
2 New words will have to be found to capture the full meaning of this unprecedented,  
3 unbridled, co-ordinated, brutal, targeted terror.

4 Even while shock still clouds our thoughts it is clear that the world has never seen the  
5 like of this. It is not just that this is the first concerted attack on the US mainland in  
6 the history of the world's most powerful country – and that no one has any idea of  
7 how the superpower will react. It is not just that this seems more like a declaration of  
8 war than the savage delivery of a message of terror.

9 The truth is that the intentional targeting of civilians on this scale catapults the world  
10 into unknown political territory. The events unfolding in north America are, at this  
11 stage, inexplicable and profoundly unpredictable – even to the most powerful people  
12 on earth. Ordinary people can only watch with fear and – crucially – try to influence  
13 terrifying events for the better in their own home towns.

14 Capetonians wake up to join a shocked world this morning. Even here in South  
15 Africa, we know that we will not escape the reverberations of the collapsing World  
16 Trade Centre towers. We cannot directly influence what will happen in the coming  
17 days in Washington and the world, but we can shape reactions in our city.

18 We have to try, in all our diversity, to ensure that the schisms now tearing global  
19 politics apart do not destroy the fabric of our city. If there has ever been a time when  
20 the religious leaders of our city, the politicians, the business community, the ordinary  
21 working people, need to call for calm and stand together, it is now.

22 We have to wait and watch and try to understand as dynamics well beyond our control  
23 play themselves out. We have to resist speculation and blame-apportion. We have to  
24 stand together as one community for a moment, and not succumb to hysteria.

25 There will be more than enough time to try to understand. Today we are call upon,  
26 simply, not to do any harm to our fellow citizens.

## APPENDIX D: *THE DAILY NEWS* EDITORIAL

### Terror, violence won't end world's conflicts

September 13, 2001

1 Tuesday's attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington  
2 must have induced in most Zimbabweans a sense of genuine horror, outrage and a certain  
3 helplessness.

4 Whatever political differences the masters of the perpetrators of the savage attacks had with  
5 the United States administration could never justify the cold-blooded murder of innocent  
6 civilians going about their daily business in a free and democratic country.

7 But the few Zimbabweans who blame the country's present political and economic disaster on  
8 the US, Britain and other Western countries, may have found a perverse cause for celebration.  
9 These are the same people who have encouraged the government to mete out savage treatment  
10 to its political opponents, the Judiciary and the independent Press.

11 The reaction to the horror attack was more or less the same around the world. Those who see  
12 the U.S. international policy as one guided by the values that created the nation in 1776, felt  
13 sorrow and sympathy for the families of the innocent civilians caught up in the conflagration.  
14 The U.S. government has not always acquitted itself well as what its enemies have called "the  
15 world policeman". There have been mistakes and some of the people who have resorted to  
16 violence against Uncle Sam have not been foreigners, like the Saudi dissident, Osama bin  
17 Laden, the number one suspect in the latest outrage.

18 The Oklahoma bombing in 1995 was initially blamed on Arab terrorists, until it transpired  
19 that this was a home-grown atrocity. It was committed by a clearly deranged American  
20 citizen who had his own warped and evil motives for causing the death of 168 people.  
21 Yet the Americans have good reason to feel proud of their achievements in such a short  
22 period. They have developed the wealthiest country in the world and have tried to adhere to  
23 the tenets of freedom expounded by their Founding Fathers, a country in which a peanut  
24 farmer from rural Plains, in the Deep Southern state of Georgia, can become President of  
25 the most powerful nation in the world.

26 In the Middle East, successive U.S. administrations have grappled in vain with the differences  
27 between two combatants, the Arabs and the Jews, whose ethnic quarrel goes back to their  
28 very origins as nations.

29 Some of Washington's prescriptions have been so naïve they have not helped to cool tempers  
30 in Jerusalem or the West Bank. But George W. Bush's "hands off" policy has probably made  
31 peace yet more difficult to achieve.

32 Yet that is still not a good reason to blow up buildings and kill thousands of people- if it is  
33 proved this outrage was spurred by Arabs incensed by the administration's perceived pro-  
34 Israeli bias. For the world, the latest display of humankind's own inhumanity to humankind  
35 must remind people that terror and violence may have only short-term advantages, but in the  
36 end they will not solve any conflicts.

37 The United States will survive Tuesday's horror.

38 Hard-core advocates of violence will scoff at the efficacy of the United Nations as the  
39 world's peacemaker. They will cite the U.N.'s failure to influence change in the Middle East.  
40 They will even ignore Kofi Annan's key role in the arms inspection crisis between Iraq and  
41 the West in the aftermath of the invasion of Kuwait. But the U.N. remains an effective tool for  
42 peace. Of course, it can only be as effective as its member-states want it to be.

43 The reaction of the Bush administration to Tuesday's horror is likely to be justified by the  
44 government on the grounds that there are similarities with the Japanese attack on Pearl  
45 Harbour in 1941. That unprovoked invasion, for which the U.S. was ill-prepared, led to its  
46 massive entry into the Second World War; culminating in the first explosion in 1945 of the  
47 atomic bomb, ushering humankind into an era of such awesome destructive potential, no  
48 nation has dared use the bomb again.

49 The people who sent the suicide pilots hurtling into the twin towers of the World Trade  
50 Centre and the Pentagon most certainly deserve severe punishment, as do the countries which  
51 aided and abetted them.

52 But if the retaliation causes the same massive loss of civilian life that was witnessed on  
53 Tuesday, then the world will not have learnt anything from the unbridled use of power.  
54 Technology has advanced so much since Pearl Harbour the potential for mass destruction is  
55 awesome, as we witnessed during the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's set-to with  
56 Yugoslavia's Slobodan Milosevic.  
57 Restraint is called for as any excessive use of force might turn sympathy into the same  
58 outrage that greeted Tuesday's insanity.

## APPENDIX E: *THE DAILY NATION* EDITORIAL

### The world keens with the Americans

by Andrew Ngwiri. September 13, 2001

1 On Tuesday night, some wags joked that arch-terrorist Osama bin Laden could at this  
2 very moment be swaggering from one house to another in Kibera's Laini Saba suburb  
3 chuckling quietly to himself after successfully carrying out perhaps the most heinous,  
4 most horrendous, most extraordinarily gruesome act of carnage of his bloody career.  
5 Another with a morbid sense of humour opined that the man was ensconced in some  
6 private members' club in Kampala, watching busuti dancers and sipping a cold, soft  
7 drink after a job well-done.

8 Those chaps believe it couldn't be anyone but Osama. They feel they know him well.  
9 In 1998 he engineered the deaths of more than 250 Kenyans, Tanzanians and  
10 Americans in simultaneous bomb explosions in the U.S. embassies of the two East  
11 African countries.

12 But if it is he, indeed, who choreographed the three almost simultaneous civilian  
13 plane crashes into the symbols of American industrial and military might killing  
14 possibly tens of thousands of people in less than an hour, then he should have been  
15 sipping champagne and lapping caviare.

16 After all, he had just struck into the heartland of the world's only super-power,  
17 humiliating the giant by destroying the twin symbols of its power - its economic and  
18 military might - while a fourth plane is said to have crashed on its way to destroy the  
19 symbol of the American political might, the presidential retreat at Camp David.  
20 By doing so, the mastermind behind the plane atrocities has assured himself of a place  
21 in the history books, where he might even edge out Adolf Hitler in the annals of  
22 infamy.

23 But what the mastermind may not have reckoned with is that his triumph may turn out  
24 to be pyrrhic at best, for there is sure to be a swift, equally deadly rejoinder by the  
25 United States, which means that the extent of the triumph, even in symbolic terms,  
26 will not be easy to quantify.

27 For inevitably, there will be retaliation which may even escalate into war. And unless  
28 wiser counsel prevails, Israel will be in the thick of it, and woe betide the world if  
29 some fool decides to try and dismantle the land of the Jews.

30 These are extremely fearsome thoughts in every respect, for if there is a war, it might  
31 be one that will make the Gulf War seem like a Sunday school picnic and Saddam  
32 Hussein like Father Christmas.

33 Perish the thought, but if it turns out that tens of thousands of Americans have died in  
34 the terrorist attacks, this might, indeed, be the end of the world as we know it.  
35 Tuesday's attacks were acts of great audacity, meticulous planning, cold-blooded  
36 precision and such elementary simplicity that they can only be regarded as the works  
37 of genius. Prepared for hi-tech terrorism, most people cannot fathom a mind-set that  
38 would plot the destruction of thousands of mainly innocent people at a go for  
39 geopolitical, or any other reasons. Most people cannot understand either how the  
40 United States could be so careless as to allow terrorists to run riot brandishing knives  
41 and creating mayhem.

42 But then it was inevitable that the Americans would be taken unawares because,

43 though they are usually on high alert, they are mostly prepared for hi-tech terrorist  
44 attacks, not people wielding knives. They are ready for terrorists hijacking trans-  
45 continental airliners - not internal flights.

46 They are, probably, most at home anticipating the devastation that can be wrought by  
47 a deranged terrorist getting hold of a nuclear or biological weapon, but not what a  
48 bunch of fanatical kamikaze fatalists can do in one swift impact.

49 It is downright puzzling how terror can become the most lethal weapon mankind has  
50 ever devised, more terrifying than the nuclear bomb, more horrifying in its  
51 possibilities and magnitude, for it strikes where it is least expected, and more futile in  
52 its end results, except in the sheer number of body bags.

53 Terror of this nature cannot succeed because of its finality: so many thousands killed  
54 at a go, thousands of others will spring up to take their place. No country has ever  
55 been brought down to its knees by terror and none will be, for the resilience of the  
56 human spirit is a wonder to behold.

57 The story of the grieving mothers, wives, children sisters, brothers and husbands in  
58 America has not been told yet. Many will pour ashes on their heads and wear sack-  
59 cloth. The keening will be great, loud and long in this great country. America will  
60 mourn and lament, until anger sets in. And then there will be the consequences.

61 It is not pleasant to contemplate what might happen if someone does not put a gentle,  
62 restraining hand on President George W. Bush and the hawks in Congress.

63 His initial reaction might be, even at this very moment of grief, to strike back swiftly,  
64 in blind rage, throwing caution and precision to the wind. Already he has indicated  
65 that American might will not spare either the perpetrators of this grievous outrage or  
66 those who harbour them.

67 This is a signal that there will be massive retaliation by the Americans on some target,  
68 the only question being the identity of that target.

69 And yet that is the way it must be, for it would be lethal for the US to show any sign  
70 of hesitation, for those might be interpreted as cowardice. And it is in the nature of  
71 sneaking cowards to detect that trait in their victims if they so much as blink  
72 momentarily.

## APPENDIX F: THOMPSON'S FIVE MODES OF IDEOLOGY (1990): *THE WASHINGTON POST*

MODES	STRATEGIES OF SYMBOLIC CONSTRUCTION	EXAMPLES FROM <i>THE WASHINGTON POST</i> EDITORIAL (APPENDIX A)
<p><b>LEGITIMATION</b> Representing something as legitimate to gain support for it.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Rationalisation</b></li> <li>2. <b>Universalisation</b></li> <li>3. <b>Narrativisation</b></li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cause &amp; Effect: the envy and hatred of America's enemies caused the attack. Retaliation is the only means for America to defend its way of life. It cannot isolate itself as it is so important to global interests. America's previous successes in defeating terrorists indicate it will bring those responsible to justice.</li> <li>- American democracy: constructed as the ideal. American foreign involvement represented as in the world's best interests.</li> <li>- Biblical echoes: e.g. holy war</li> </ul>
<p><b>DISSIMULATION</b> Hiding, denying or obscuring relations of domination to sustain them.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Displacement</b></li> <li>2. <b>Euphemism</b></li> <li>3. <b>Trope (e.g. metaphor)</b></li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- No obvious use of displacement suggesting the text does not try and hide relations of power.</li> <li>- This effort, this struggle = war</li> <li>- No obvious use of trope suggesting that the text should be taken literally.</li> </ul>
<p><b>UNIFICATION</b> Embracing all individuals into a collective despite differences.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Standardisation</b></li> <li>2. <b>Symbolisation of unity</b></li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- American democracy and values offered as the norm.</li> <li>- Collective identity with all Americans creates solidarity.</li> </ul>
<p><b>FRAGMENTATION</b> Fragmenting individuals &amp; groups that may challenge those in power</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Differentiation</b></li> <li>2. <b>Expurgation of the Other</b></li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Americans differentiated from terrorists (those who do not support American values) – 'us' and 'them'.</li> <li>- Terrorists endanger the American way of life and must be expurgated through retaliatory war.</li> </ul>
<p><b>REIFICATION</b> Representing the socio-historical state of affairs as natural and permanent.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Naturalisation</b></li> <li>2. <b>Externalisation</b></li> <li>3. <b>Nominalisation/ Passivisation</b></li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Terrorism is a threat to America.</li> <li>- America cannot isolate itself from the world.</li> <li>- America has been successful in bringing terrorists to justice.</li> <li>- War is the only means of expurgation of the Other.</li> <li>- Attacks external to any American responsibility. Blamed on envy and hatred of the Other and American foreign policies, as a cause, are ignored.</li> <li>- Nominalisation of the event obscures agency as attackers are unknown. Processes clearly indicate what Americans must do to the Other.</li> </ul>

## APPENDIX G: *THE WASHINGTON POST* EDITORIAL STRUCTURE

### American holy war

by William S. Cohen. September 12, 2001

- A S L 1 As the smoke clears from the skies of New York, Washington and western Pennsylvania,  
V 2 much remains unknown this morning regarding yesterday's terrorist attacks. But what is  
3 certain is that the American people will not succumb to terrorists – and will not rest until  
4 justice is done to those responsible.
- D L 5 As a free society, and one that is constantly renewed and strengthened by integrating  
6 individuals from all lands and cultures, America is particularly vulnerable to those who  
F 7 exploit our openness. The objective of such terrorists is to cause America to cower -- to  
L 8 withdraw from the world and to abandon our ideals. But America cannot wrap itself in a  
F 9 continental cocoon, safely isolated from a troubled world. We have global economic,  
V 10 political and security interests that require our active involvement abroad. Even if we did  
11 retreat, America would remain such a potent symbol that those lashing out over perceived  
12 grievances would still aim their wrath at the United States.
- R L 13 Too many generations have paid the ultimate price defending our freedom for us to retreat  
F 14 from the world or retrench from our values. In a very real sense, America itself must  
15 embark on its own holy war - - not one driven by hatred or fueled by blood but grounded  
16 in our commitment to freedom, tolerance and the rule of law and buttressed by our  
V 17 willingness to use all means available to defend these values. Just as those who pursue  
18 terror have been relentless in their efforts, so must we be in ours.
- L 19 No government can guarantee the full safety of its citizens either abroad or at home. But  
V 20 no government can permit its citizens to be attacked with impunity if it hopes to retain the  
21 loyalty and confidence of those it is charged to protect.
- B S L 22 There have been many silent victories in which attacks, both abroad and at home, have  
F 23 been foiled by U.S. authorities during their preparation. Key terrorists and portions of  
24 terrorist networks have been rolled up, unraveling planned operations against U.S.  
V 25 interests. We have used military force to strike at terrorist camps and capabilities, and we  
D L 26 are constantly refining our ability do so more effectively. Those who support or harbor  
27 terrorists should know that the United States is not limited to passive defense but is  
28 prepared to take active measures to disrupt terrorist activities, as demonstrated three years  
F 29 ago by our strikes in Afghanistan and Sudan. There is no statute of limitations in pursuing  
30 justice, and U.S. authorities actively hunt those responsible for past terrorist acts and have  
V 31 successfully brought many to justice. America's memory is long, and her reach even  
32 longer.
- R L 33 We have sought and usually received cooperation and support from other governments in  
F 34 these efforts, with various degrees of enthusiasm. Such international cooperation has  
35 become even more essential and less discretionary -- meaning that America's fundamental  
36 posture toward friendly but not always helpful capitals should increasingly depend on  
L 37 their cooperation in fighting terrorism. This is because, as horrific as yesterday's attacks  
F 38 were, we must be prepared for even worse. Americans must now think the unthinkable –  
39 that the next terrorist attack could well involve a contagious biological agent carried to  
V 40 our soil or airspace in a briefcase or bottle. We face opponents who are working diligently  
41 to become, in W. H. Auden's words, someone who “clutching a little case, walks briskly  
42 to infect a city whose terrible future may have just arrived”.
- C S L 43 Viewed as merely the stuff of fiction a decade ago, such a scenario is now widely  
F 44 acknowledged as a genuine threat. In recent years, tremendous efforts have been made by  
45 federal, state and local authorities to prevent and prepare for such a threat, and thereby  
V 46 deter it. But much more remains to be done. There is a natural tendency among political  
D L 47 figures to compete to claim this issue as their own, but the threat is sufficiently at hand

48 that a disciplined approach is needed, with the president and his administration providing  
49 the leadership and Congress providing oversight and funding.

F 50 To be effective, this effort will require greater international cooperation, intelligence  
51 collection abroad, and information gathering by law enforcement agencies at home.  
V 52 Information is power, and greater access to information will require the American people  
L 53 and their elected officials to find the proper balance between privacy and protection. It  
54 has been difficult to get sustained, thoughtful, broad-based dialogue on this delicate topic,  
55 but the sooner such dialogue occurs the more likely it is we will strike the right balance.  
F 56 This will raise difficult questions regarding government intrusion, but the main threat to  
57 our civil liberties stems from the chaos and carnage that could result from a biological  
58 attack for which we were insufficiently prepared and the demands for action that would  
V 59 follow. Those who engage in terror feed on any display of fear or weakness, and those  
R L 60 attacked must either fight or fold. Our people, not just our government, stood up to the  
F 61 fascist and then the communist threat to freedom. Americans did not triumph in the long,  
62 twilight struggle of the Cold War only to forfeit our victory to anonymous extremists in  
V 63 this war. As with the last, this struggle will not be won with a single military response.  
64 Victory will require the American people to display courage, faith, unity and  
65 determination to carry on for the indefinite future.

## APPENDIX H: *THE TIMES* EDITORIAL STRUCTURE

### Democrats should not fight fire with fire

by Simon Jenkins. September 12, 2001

A S L 1 First the horror. The attacks on the World Trade Centre and Washington yesterday  
 F 2 before a horrified world were the most vivid display of terror that I can recall. The  
 D V-L 3 heart of darkness had come to the heart of light and wreaked havoc. (L) New York is a  
 F 4 city I love. It is bond-brother of London and cultural capital of a nation that has  
 V 5 entered the new millennium as master of the world. That made it a natural target of  
 R L 6 envy and hatred. Those who question America's frequent global interventions in the  
 F 7 cause of democracy do so always from a position of respect. Leadership demands a  
 L 8 price. When that price is paid in such symbolic centres of the nation as New York and  
 F 9 Washington, Americans deserve every sympathy. Words may try to explain such  
 S V-L 10 events. None can justify them. (L) After the horror comes the response. (F) The wise general  
 F-L 11 always keeps in mind his enemy's objective. (L) As with other recent attacks on  
 F 12 Americans at home and abroad, the objective here cannot be the traditional one of  
 V 13 those who wage violent war. It is not to defeat America, to undermine its economic  
 V 14 power or military strength, nor even to damage its political stability. Such goals are  
 D L 15 unachievable. That is why comparisons with Pearl Harbor are silly. (V) The objective is  
 F 16 to publicise a cause, humiliate America and goad her into a violent response. (L) To achieve  
 V 17 this goal requires more than a big bang. It requires that bang to be publicised and for  
 V 18 the reaction to it to be equally violent. Its effectiveness lies not in the death toll - a toll  
 19 repeated daily on the roads - but in the loudness of the echo through the world's  
 20 media. It lies in the action replay, the humanising of the tragedy, the publicity for  
 R L 21 those responsible. It lies in the aftermath. There is no military defence against attacks  
 F 22 such as these. Indeed there is no realistic defence at all. (F) America will doubtless  
 V 23 redouble its efforts to penetrate and contain the groups responsible. But they will not  
 24 be defeated by main force. Any plane can be hijacked. Any building is vulnerable.  
 25 People can be protected individually but not in the mass. A community can always be  
 B S L 26 gassed or poisoned. The paradox of new technology is that it makes developed states  
 F 27 more vulnerable to random assault. In the war of the weak against the strong, the  
 V 28 weak can wield weapons more potent than ever before. Globalisation may render the  
 29 rich richer and the poor poorer. But it offers the self-appointed champions of the poor  
 D L 30 devastating means of forcing their attention on the world. Faced with horrors such as  
 F 31 these, "anti-missile" defence systems seem suddenly obsolete. No rogue state needs  
 32 an intercontinental ballistic missile to assault America when a boy with a suitcase or a  
 33 suicide hijacker can walk through any shield. A trillion dollars hurled into outer space  
 34 cannot stop the blast of a civilian jet loaded with fuel out of Boston airport.  
 35 Fylingdales may detect a menace from outer space, but not a virus in a handbag or a  
 L 36 madman in Club Class. To protect every American building is clearly impossible. To  
 F 37 attempt to protect city centres against suicide attack plays the attacker's game. It  
 V 38 awards him the attention he craves, the apotheosis of fame. The constant search for  
 L 39 security becomes a ghostly re-enactment of the outrage, a reminder and a challenge to  
 F 40 next time. That surely is why the World Trade Centre was targeted for a second time.  
 V 41 It added an eerie echo to the "ripple" of the terror. Its power lies in the memory of  
 42 blood-stained bodies and sobbing women, of shattered buildings and a world turned  
 R L 43 upside down. If yesterday's acts were committed under the sponsorship of a foreign  
 F 44 state, retaliation might be understandable. But punitive action requires a collective  
 V 45 entity that can be held responsible. Here there are only shadowy groups, moving from  
 S L 46 country to country, terrifying their hosts as much as the rest of the world. In 1993 the  
 F 47 World Trade Centre was the victim of a massive car bomb. It appeared to be the work  
 L 48 of Arab fundamentalists with ties to Afghanistan and Sudan. No conceivable response  
 49 to the attack made any sense, except to track down the individuals concerned. They  
 50 appear to have struck again. Nor did any good come from putting states such as Syria,  
 51 Iraq, Libya, Iran and Sudan on a list of countries "responsible for sponsoring state  
 F 52 terrorism". Trade sanctions were imposed on destitute peoples with primitive political  
 V 53 economies. Sanctions entrenched and often enriched those already in power. To

54 sponsor anti-Americanism has long been a guarantee of dictatorial longevity, witness  
55 Assad of Syria, Castro of Cuba, Gaddafi of Libya and Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

- D L** 56 The ardent non-interventionist might argue that incidents such as these can be  
**F** 57 avoided. They would plead with America not to intervene everywhere and thus render  
**L** 58 its territory a target to all whom its government has offended abroad. **(L)** This argument  
**F** 59 must be met since many enemies of America will cite it. **(F)** They will point out that the  
60 scenes on television yesterday were different only in degree from those experienced  
61 by civilian victims of American bombing in Yugoslavia and Iraq. Those critical of Nato  
62 bombing might offer America more sympathy if Nato had offered sympathy for  
63 the hundreds of civilian deaths from its missiles and cluster bombs far from home. U.S.  
64 generals openly demanded the bombing of civilian targets in Belgrade and Baghdad,  
65 to “break the will” of local people.
- L** 66 Is that not what the perpetrators of yesterday's outrage might say? Here we tread  
**F** 67 warily. Sponsoring the state of Israel led America into a prolonged and senseless  
68 hostility to the cause of the dispossessed Palestinians. The financing of anti-Soviet  
69 warlords in Afghanistan in the 1980s armed and galvanised terrorist groups, including  
70 Osama bin Laden and others behind the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Centre.  
71 The criminalisation by the Americans of the trade in heroin and cocaine, of which  
72 America is the major consumer, ensures that crime triumphs in states throughout Asia  
73 and South America. The continuance of the Kuwaiti policing operation into weekly  
74 bombing of Iraq has made Saddam a regional hero and America an object of regional  
**V** 75 hatred. These were not wise policies. The true policeman does not just project his  
76 awesome authority across the globe, he thinks through the consequences of his policy.
- R L** 77 But that is an issue distinct from yesterday's events. **(F)** The new Anglo-American “moral  
**F** 78 imperium” may be no less imperial than the old one, but I do not believe it to be  
79 cynical. The bombing of the Serbs and Iraqis was undertaken in the cause of peace. It  
**V** 80 was without self-interest on Nato's part. **(V)** America and its allies have “taken up the  
81 white man's burden” with honest intent. They have done so aware of Kipling's feared  
**L** 82 reward, “the blame of those ye better,/ The hate of those ye guard”. **(L)** The wrong turns  
**F** 83 of Western policy in the Middle East may help to explain yesterday's slaughter. **(F)** They  
**V** 84 in no way excuse it. Nobody should want to see America terrorised into isolationism.
- C S L-F** 85 To seek revenge would be senseless. **(F)** America showed after attacks on its East  
86 African embassies in 1998 that it regards revenge as a legitimate weapon in its  
**V** 87 geopolitical arsenal. The bombing of Afghanistan was ineffective. That of Sudan was  
88 illegal and militarily indefensible. Revenge is not the response of a sophisticated  
**L** 89 political community. America above all should know Thomas Paine's plea, to “lay the  
90 axe to the root and teach governments humanity . . . sanguinary punishments corrupt  
91 mankind”.
- D F** 92 To react to an atrocity by abandoning the customary self-control of democracy is to  
**V** 93 help the terrorist to do his work. He wants America to behave as the regional bully of  
**L** 94 local demonology. To extend further America's Middle East economic sanctions,  
**F** 95 isolation and military aggression offers succour to the terrorist. These policies have  
96 not hastened the spread of democracy or stability through the region. They have, if  
**V** 97 anything, done the reverse. They should be replaced with policies of engagement,  
98 trade, friendship and contact.
- R L** 99 The message of yesterday's incident is that, for all its horror, it does not and must not  
**F** 100 allowed to matter. It is a human disaster, an outrage, an atrocity, an unleashing of the  
101 madness of which the world will never be rid.
- V** 102 But it is not politically significant. It does not tilt the balance of world power one  
103 inch. It is not an act of war. America's leadership of the West is not diminished by it.  
104 The cause of democracy is not damaged, unless we choose to let it be damaged.  
105 Maturity lies in learning to live, and sometimes die, with the madmen.

## APPENDIX I: *THE CAPE TIMES* EDITORIAL STRUCTURE

### The day that shook the world September 12, 2001

- A S L** 1How to describe the high-technology horror visited upon the United States yesterday?  
**V** 2New words will have to be found to capture the full meaning of this unprecedented,  
3unbridled, co-ordinated, brutal, targeted terror.
- D L** 4Even while shock still clouds our thoughts it is clear that the world has never seen the  
**F** 5like of this. It is not just that this is the first concerted attack on the US mainland in  
6the history of the world's most powerful country – and that no one has any idea of  
7how the superpower will react. It is not just that this seems more like a declaration of  
8war than the savage delivery of a message of terror.
- V** 9The truth is that the intentional targeting of civilians on this scale catapults the world  
10into unknown political territory. The events unfolding in north America are, at this  
11stage, inexplicable and profoundly unpredictable – even to the most powerful people  
12on earth. Ordinary people can only watch with fear and – crucially – try to influence  
13terrifying events for the better in their own home towns.
- C S L** 14Capetonians wake up to join a shocked world this morning. Even here in South  
**F** 15Africa, we know that we will not escape the reverberations of the collapsing World  
**V** 16Trade Centre towers. We cannot directly influence what will happen in the coming  
17days in Washington and the world, but we can shape reactions in our city.
- R L** 18We have to try, in all our diversity, to ensure that the schisms now tearing global  
**F** 19politics apart do not destroy the fabric of our city. If there has ever been a time when  
20the religious leaders of our city, the politicians, the business community, the ordinary  
21working people, need to call for calm and stand together, it is now.
- V** 22We have to wait and watch and try to understand as dynamics well beyond our control  
23play themselves out. We have to resist speculation and blame-apportion. We have to  
24stand together as one community for a moment, and not succumb to hysteria.
- 25There will be more than enough time to try to understand. Today we are called upon,  
26simply, not to do any harm to our fellow citizens.

## APPENDIX J: *THE DAILY NEWS* EDITORIAL STRUCTURE

### Terror, violence won't end world's conflicts September 13, 2001

- A S L 1 Tuesday's attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington  
2 must have induced in most Zimbabweans a sense of genuine horror, outrage and a certain  
3 helplessness.
- F 4 Whatever political differences the masters of the perpetrators of the savage attacks had with  
5 the United States administration could never justify the cold-blooded murder of innocent  
6 civilians going about their daily business in a free and democratic country.
- V 7 But the few Zimbabweans who blame the country's present political and economic disaster on  
8 the US, Britain and other Western countries, may have found a perverse cause for celebration.  
9 These are the same people who have encouraged the government to mete out savage treatment  
10 to its political opponents, the Judiciary and the independent Press.
- D L 11 The reaction to the horror attack was more or less the same around the world. Those who see  
V 12 the U.S. international policy as one guided by the values that created the nation in 1776, felt  
13 sorrow and sympathy for the families of the innocent civilians caught up in the conflagration.
- R L 14 The U.S. government has not always acquitted itself well as what its enemies have called "the  
F 15 world policeman". There have been mistakes and some of the people who have resorted to  
16 violence against Uncle Sam have not been foreigners, like the Saudi dissident, Osama bin  
17 Laden, the number one suspect in the latest outrage.
- L 18 The Oklahoma bombing in 1995 was initially blamed on Arab terrorists, until it transpired  
F 19 that this was a home-grown atrocity. It was committed by a clearly deranged American  
20 citizen who had his own warped and evil motives for causing the death of 168 people.
- V 21 Yet the Americans have good reason to feel proud of their achievements in such a short  
22 period. They have developed the wealthiest country in the world and have tried to adhere to  
23 the tenets of freedom expounded by their Founding Fathers, a country in which a peanut  
24 farmer from rural Plains, in the Deep Southern state of Georgia, can become President of  
25 the most powerful nation in the world.
- B S L 26 In the Middle East, successive U.S. administrations have grappled in vain with the differences  
27 between two combatants, the Arabs and the Jews, whose ethnic quarrel goes back to their  
28 very origins as nations.
- F 29 Some of Washington's prescriptions have been so naïve they have not helped to cool tempers  
30 in Jerusalem or the West Bank. But George W. Bush's "hands off" policy has probably made  
31 peace yet more difficult to achieve.
- V 32 Yet that is still not a good reason to blow up buildings and kill thousands of people- if it is  
33 proved this outrage was spurred by Arabs incensed by the administration's perceived pro-  
34 Israeli bias. For the world, the latest display of humankind's own inhumanity to humankind  
35 must remind people that terror and violence may have only short-term advantages, but in the  
36 end they will not solve any conflicts.  
37 The United States will survive Tuesday's horror.
- D L 38 Hard-core advocates of violence will scoff at the efficacy of the United Nations as the  
F 39 world's peacemaker. They will cite the U.N.'s failure to influence change in the Middle East.  
40 They will even ignore Kofi Annan's key role in the arms inspection crisis between Iraq and  
V 41 the West in the aftermath of the invasion of Kuwait. But the U.N. remains an effective tool for  
42 peace. Of course, it can only be as effective as its member-states want it to be.
- R L 43 The reaction of the Bush administration to Tuesday's horror is likely to be justified by the  
44 government on the grounds that there are similarities with the Japanese attack on Pearl  
F 45 Harbour in 1941. That unprovoked invasion, for which the U.S. was ill-prepared, led to its  
46 massive entry into the Second World War; culminating in the first explosion in 1945 of the  
47 atomic bomb, ushering humankind into an era of such awesome destructive potential, no

48 nation has dared use the bomb again.

- L** 49 The people who sent the suicide pilots hurtling into the twin towers of the World Trade  
50 Centre and the Pentagon most certainly deserve severe punishment, as do the countries which  
51 aided and abetted them.
- F** 52 But if the retaliation causes the same massive loss of civilian life that was witnessed on  
53 Tuesday, then the world will not have learnt anything from the unbridled use of power.  
54 Technology has advanced so much since Pearl Harbour the potential for mass destruction is  
55 awesome, as we witnessed during the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's set-to with  
56 Yugoslavia's Slobodan Milosevic.
- V** 57 Restraint is called for as any excessive use of force might turn sympathy into the same  
58 outrage that greeted Tuesday's insanity.

## APPENDIX K: *THE DAILY NATION* EDITORIAL STRUCTURE

### The world keens with the Americans by Andrew Ngwiri. September 13, 2001

- A S L** 1 On Tuesday night, some wags joked that arch-terrorist Osama bin Laden could at this  
2 very moment be swaggering from one house to another in Kibera's Laini Saba suburb  
3 chuckling quietly to himself after successfully carrying out perhaps the most heinous,  
4 most horrendous, most extraordinarily gruesome act of carnage of his bloody career.  
5 Another with a morbid sense of humour opined that the man was ensconced in some  
6 private members' club in Kampala, watching busuti dancers and sipping a cold, soft  
7 drink after a job well-done.
- F** 8 Those chaps believe it couldn't be anyone but Osama. They feel they know him well.  
**V** 9 In 1998 he engineered the deaths of more than 250 Kenyans, Tanzanians and  
10 Americans in simultaneous bomb explosions in the U.S. embassies of the two East  
11 African countries.
- D L** 12 But if it is he, indeed, who choreographed the three almost simultaneous civilian  
13 plane crashes into the symbols of American industrial and military might killing  
14 possibly tens of thousands of people in less than an hour, then he should have been  
15 sipping champagne and lapping caviare.
- F** 16 After all, he had just struck into the heartland of the world's only super-power,  
17 humiliating the giant by destroying the twin symbols of its power - its economic and  
18 military might - while a fourth plane is said to have crashed on its way to destroy the  
19 symbol of the American political might, the presidential retreat at Camp David.  
**V** 20 By doing so, the mastermind behind the plane atrocities has assured himself of a place  
21 in the history books, where he might even edge out Adolf Hitler in the annals of  
22 infamy.
- R L** 23 But what the mastermind may not have reckoned with is that his triumph may turn out  
24 to be pyrrhic at best, for there is sure to be a swift, equally deadly rejoinder by the  
25 United States, which means that the extent of the triumph, even in symbolic terms,  
26 will not be easy to quantify.
- F** 27 For inevitably, there will be retaliation which may even escalate into war. And unless  
28 wiser counsel prevails, Israel will be in the thick of it, and woe betide the world if  
29 some fool decides to try and dismantle the land of the Jews.
- V** 30 These are extremely fearsome thoughts in every respect, for if there is a war, it might  
31 be one that will make the Gulf War seem like a Sunday school picnic and Saddam  
32 Hussein like Father Christmas.
- 33 Perish the thought, but if it turns out that tens of thousands of Americans have died in  
34 the terrorist attacks, this might, indeed, be the end of the world as we know it.
- C S L** 35 Tuesday's attacks were acts of great audacity, meticulous planning, cold-blooded  
36 precision and such elementary simplicity that they can only be regarded as the works  
**F** 37 of genius. Prepared for hi-tech terrorism, most people cannot fathom a mind-set that  
38 would plot the destruction of thousands of mainly innocent people at a go for  
39 geopolitical, or any other reasons. Most people cannot understand either how the  
40 United States could be so careless as to allow terrorists to run riot brandishing knives  
41 and creating mayhem.
- V** 42 But then it was inevitable that the Americans would be taken unawares because,  
43 though they are usually on high alert, they are mostly prepared for hi-tech terrorist  
44 attacks, not people wielding knives. They are ready for terrorists hijacking trans-

45 continental airliners - not internal flights.

46 They are, probably, most at home anticipating the devastation that can be wrought by  
47 a deranged terrorist getting hold of a nuclear or biological weapon, but not what a  
48 bunch of fanatical kamikaze fatalists can do in one swift impact.

**D L** 49 It is downright puzzling how terror can become the most lethal weapon mankind has  
50 ever devised, more terrifying than the nuclear bomb, more horrifying in its  
51 possibilities and magnitude, for it strikes where it is least expected, and more futile in  
52 its end results, except in the sheer number of body bags.

**F** 53 Terror of this nature cannot succeed because of its finality: so many thousands killed  
**V** 54 at a go, thousands of others will spring up to take their place. No country has ever  
55 been brought down to its knees by terror and none will be, for the resilience of the  
56 human spirit is a wonder to behold.

**R L** 57 The story of the grieving mothers, wives, children sisters, brothers and husbands in  
**F** 58 America has not been told yet. Many will pour ashes on their heads and wear sack-  
59 cloth. The keening will be great, loud and long in this great country. America will  
**V** 60 mourn and lament, until anger sets in. And then there will be the consequences.  
**L** 61 It is not pleasant to contemplate what might happen if someone does not put a gentle,  
62 restraining hand on President George W. Bush and the hawks in Congress.

**F** 63 His initial reaction might be, even at this very moment of grief, to strike back swiftly,  
**L** 64 in blind rage, throwing caution and precision to the wind. Already he has indicated  
65 that American might will not spare either the perpetrators of this grievous outrage or  
66 those who harbour them.

**F** 67 This is a signal that there will be massive retaliation by the Americans on some target,  
68 the only question being the identity of that target.

**V** 69 And yet that is the way it must be, for it would be lethal for the US to show any sign  
70 of hesitation, for those might be interpreted as cowardice. And it is in the nature of  
71 sneaking cowards to detect that trait in their victims if they so much as blink  
72 momentarily.