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**IDEOLOGY AND POWER RELATIONS
IN ONLINE NEWSPAPERS**

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ABSTRACT

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The media, including online newspapers, carry ideologies, many times implicitly. From a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective, every discourse is political, and thus invested with ideology. The present research applies the principles of CDA, as proposed by Fairclough (1995), by means of a Systemic Functional Analysis (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004) of online headlines and leads of two well-known British newspapers. Considering discourse as a social practice, it shows that most of the processes in headlines and leads depict some change by being material, although throughout the news story itself it is more common to use verbal and relational processes. Even though most processes are material, other linguistic choices, such as the representation or foregrounding of social actors, for example, may elicit a different response from the reader, exposing ideological biases.

Key words: Online news, Ideology, Discourse as Social Practice

RESUMO

IDEOLOGIA E RELAÇÕES DE PODER EM JORNAIS ONLINE

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A mídia, incluindo jornais online, carrega ideologias, muitas vezes implicitamente. Partindo de uma perspectiva da Análise Crítica do Discurso (ACD), todo discurso é político e assim permeado por ideologias. A presente pesquisa aplica a ACD, conforme proposta por Fairclough (1995), por meio de uma Análise Sistêmica Funcional (Halliday e Matthiessen, 2004) de manchetes e leads online de dois jornais britânicos bem conhecidos. Considerando discurso uma prática social, a pesquisa mostra que a transitividade utilizada apresenta geralmente processos materiais, como forma de promover mudanças, mas que outras escolhas linguísticas, como a representação dos atores sociais, por exemplo, contribuem para criar posicionamentos diferenciados por parte do público leitor, expondo uma dimensão ideológica.

Palavras Chaves: Jornais online, Ideologia, Discurso como Prática Social

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CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Objectives and research Questions

In the so-called knowledge era, in which ways of communicating are crucial for interpretation, my aim here is to unveil ideology and power relations enacted in the media, most specifically the ideology implicit in headlines and leads of online newspapers.

Every medium entails voices, voices of the institution behind the news, holders of knowledge concerning events, exposing its consumers to biases by means of linguistic choices. The discussion of power relations between newspaper institutions and their readership aims to depict the social practice of journalism as an instrument for the construct of power imbalance. In assessing transitivity choices (SFL), as will be explained later, the premise of the following analysis is to unveil the expected semiotic interpretations of headlines as intended by the editors of specific newspapers from a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective.

Based on the interests mentioned above, it is the concern of this research to respond to two major questions, considering headlines and leads of online newspapers:

- A. How are power relations enacted in online newspaper headlines and leads concerning international affairs?

- B. What transitivity choices might enhance the ideology of the newspaper institutions towards their readership?

1.2 Significance of the Research

The significance of this research lies on the spread of online communication all over the world and the difficulty most readers have in perceiving the ideological motives behind this online content. In analyzing the headlines and the leads of online newspapers from a discursive perspective, a wider awareness can be fostered, at least in the academic context, of the power of newspaper institutions and of the ideological biases enhanced on the front page. This research should, then, contribute to bringing reflection on news controlling knowledge, through a systemic analysis of power relations within the field of Critical Discourse Analysis, looking at how news institutions limit the freedom of interpretation of readers, or influence their knowledge, attitudes or contexts of culture. As an informed reader, aware of the power entailed in discourse and aware of its implicit ideology and bias, I hope I can foreground what it means to be a critical reader rather than a simple consumer of the information highlighted in headlines.

1.3 Method

1.3.1. Corpus and Criteria for Data Selection

The corpus has been selected from international affairs stories of two online newspapers from the UK, namely, *BBC News* on <http://news.bbc.co.uk/>, and *The Times* on <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/>. The two newspapers were chosen due to the difference in social perspective they present, since choices of news report vary from context to context.

The data was collected between February and June 2009, following the international concern for the specific time in which the data was collected, that is, according to the most reported subjects and stories in the media worldwide, considering well known online newspapers from Brazil, France, Italy, Germany, Spain, England, the USA, and Portugal at the very moment they were collected. The 12 articles are set in pairs, one from BBC and one from The Times, in order to make a comparison, since they are dealing with the same subject reporting different details, making different linguistic choices, entailing different ideologies. The chosen data concern the main headlines and their leads on the top of the webpages, encompassing international political issues, in a British context of culture, since both newspapers are from the UK. Although the layout of the newspaper and disposition of every word is crucial to a more precise analysis from a social semiotic perspective, the focus of the

research is on the headlines and leads, and their linguistic choices, with other semiotic multimodal signs and the complete stories being used only for support of the verbal analysis. Thus the full texts of each news is examined to confirm (or not) the interpretation of the headlines and leads.

1.3.2 Data Analysis

The data analysis characterizes a qualitative research, in which I select and follow the more relevant events reported, considering the time and cultural background involved in the samples. It also includes some degree of quantitative analysis, in the sense of highlighting the frequency of the different types of transitivity. The headlines are set in pairs, assessed individually, and then compared. The analysis is carried out by means of transitivity (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), in a systemic social semiotic perspective. Afterwards, the headlines and leads are assessed collectively to point out what subjects have been more relevant for the international affairs from the British context of culture from the point of view of the news institutions.

In the analysis, I focus on the ideational metafunction, which will be explained later, looking at the participants and the processes present in the data. In the discussion of the results, I consider the background context, the social environment and structures of the countries and societies involved, as proposed by Foucault (1975), Giddens (1984), Meurer (2004), and Graham (2006). Therefore, departing from the

collection of data, I carry out, firstly, individual assessment, analysing each headline and lead separately; secondly, I make a comparative assessment, looking at the data in each pair dealing with the same subject in both newspapers; and finally, in discussing my findings, I point out the most relevant differences in the presentation of each topic. A comparison between the same topics from the two different online newspapers and how ideology might be enhanced differently in each of them is shown throughout the discussion of the results.

1.4 Outline of the Thesis

Chapter I details my objective, method, the corpus and criteria for data selection, and finally, details about the analysis of the collected data.

Chapter II reviews some of the most important concepts which ground the field of study known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA from now on), especially in what concerns media discourse. Research on discourse, society, semiotics, power relations, all of them have made it possible to look at language from the perspective of CDA and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL from now on), areas to which this study belongs. Besides that, I also discuss the way SFL and transitivity work and precede the data analysis. I also discuss journalism as a social practice and a locus of power relations, offering a brief historical background on the subject.

Then, the headlines and leads are assessed with special attention to the context of culture within the findings discussed in Chapter III and taken up in Chapter IV, seeking to respond to the research questions. Chapter IV also presents limits of the research, proposing further studies from a social semiotic perspective focusing on media discourse.

CHAPTER II – REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1. Journalism as a discursive practice

Since very early in the history of humanity, communities have sought an awareness of different peoples around them. From then on there has been a growing need of being informed of what is going on beyond boundaries, a need of being aware of different events around the globe, involving different peoples, customs, cultures, and beliefs. The compulsion for communication among distant communities and for understanding the world from different perspectives reaches now an unprecedented scale. Since globalization has taken over the international political and economic agenda in the past few decades, an awareness of the most powerful governments in the world, considering the European Union and the United States of America, for instance, is inevitable, for we are all inextricably tied together as a global community. Changes in policies, concerns, interests, and most important of all, an increased urgency of working together in order to maintain a viable balance of power and an inhabitable planet claim for a structure to mediate the circulation of information so that individuals or citizens may participate, however indirectly, in decision-making processes.

With the need of such a mediating structure, a new institution arises in the context of most of Western culture. Carrying an ethical and moral responsibility, it becomes responsible for demanding account of

what is done by representatives of the people (politicians, public companies, etc), that is, for informing society as a legitimate right. This mediating structure, namely journalism, becomes a social practice being both product and producer of a larger structure in which individuals are inserted.

Throughout the maturation of journalism as a social structure, the demand for a specific question never lost its relevance: “What news?” The answer to this is obtained whenever individuals or communities feel the necessity of being in contact with different geographical locations of the planet. Diversified means and structures for answering this particular question developed throughout the ages, such as the *Stone Age scriptures*, *generation storytelling*, *the Greek agora*, *the Roman forum*, *the manuscriptum*, or in the Middle Ages, *the Dutch corantos*, the more recent *daily newspapers* and *broadcasting*, and currently, *hypermedia and multimedia*. Media institution personnel bear the responsibility not only for putting the public sphere to account, but also to account for all information reported, since, according to Caldas-Coulthard (1997, p. 59): “News is what is said” and, as such, constitutes a practice which is materialized through discourse .

Among the diversity of mediatic genres, four main categories may be identified (Caldas-Coulthard, 1997): service information, opinion, advertising, and news, with the latter being possibly identified as the leading type in the discourse of the media. News by its turn can be classified into three different categories: hardnews, feature news, and topic news. Hardnews, the category which interests us in the present investigation, is characterized by not having the explicit intention of

expressing the author's opinion; nevertheless, it can never be neutral. The moment a bystander reports it, for example, this very report carries the perspective of its author, acquiring therefore an ideological dimension, since language is never a mirror reflecting reality (Lee, 1992). It becomes, then, the reconstruction of an already reconstructed reality through the interpretation of the writer or speaker.

The development of different technologies in the course of time has given form to the social practice which is called mass media. As professed by Fairclough (2003), social practices articulate discourses and non-discursive elements within a certain area of social life. Regarding news as an articulator of the elements of daily life inevitably places it in a larger social semiotic system, understood as context of culture. By using spoken, written, visual or digital media, from hieroglyph to multimedia, humankind has been developing news reporting in large scale to attend to the expectancy of the growth of the global relationship.

A mark in media is set in 1440, the year in which the German Johannes Gutenberg assembled the printing press process, which became the principal means of media until the emergence of the Internet in the late 20th century. This important recent development determined the emergence of an online form of the traditional newspaper medium in order to follow the changes in the way society exchanges meanings. This emergent form, namely, the online newspaper, is embodied in multimedia and hypermedia.

The online news differs from the printed one due to the navigation elements and characteristics such as interactivity, instantaneity, and the multimedia layout, known as hypermedia.

Hypermedia works as an extension to hypertext, providing multimedia resources such as sound, interactive picture and video, all of which contribute to a multimodal format. Such resources, however, fall out of the focus of the present work.

Online newspapers today are largely known to be one of the most frequently used sources of information in the era which knowledge seems to represent such a great deal in power relations. But, similarly to what happens with their printed counterparts, the institutions responsible for the online newspapers convey different ideologies, according to their different needs, perspectives, and interpretation or opinion. Researchers in the area could consider two main aspects concerning news report: interpretation, considering that it would be extremely faithful to the event, or opinion, which could be considered speculation or even imagination from the facts. Therefore, news reporting is constantly open to the possibility of bias, since according to Bell (1991), stories are molded and modified by various hands. Nonetheless, as discussed by Cornu (2009), the role of the journalists is not only to demand account for what happens, but also to account themselves for what is reported, which brings ethics, ideology, and bias concepts into play in an interactive context of culture.

The substantial aim of international news is to inform the readership about the present time events around the globe. The present time, as the focus of journalism, is situated logically between two other time dimensions, according to Karam (2005): between the set of values, facts, testimonies, and interpretations of the past, and the possibilities, projections, hopes of the future. As Fidalgo (2004) emphasizes, people, times, places and events in the news bond between past and future, with

the present as the mediating element. It is inside this temporal concept, based on society's previous experience and projecting socially mediated outcomes, that the institutions carry their ideologies in the current time, reconstruing reality.

To reinforce what has been said, we may recall that nowadays, when a newspaper asks a question to its readers, it seems to demand their view over the matter, on which they already have an opinion: readers do not risk learning much. This implies that what that is proposed by the news media, at the end, depends on the readership assessment bonded to the context of culture (past) to understand the moment (present) to project what is to come (future). Therefore, if a certain institution used to control the past of events by the exposure of a certain bias, it controls the present, and consequently would control the future from the same perspective, as a looping relationship that can only be interrupted when looked at critically and contested by journalism institutions, or even sometimes, by the population, when the journalism institutions seem to flaunt the maxims of the 'semiotic conversation' (Grice, 1975) between events and readership. This very relationship between events and readership accommodated by the media brings into play the discourse analyst, who has the crucial role of exposing the unbalanced power relation enacted in the process. Who controls the past now controls the future, since as realised by Fairclough (1992), discursive practices embed ideology and it becomes most effective when considered common sense.

In the process of news consumption, the readers need not only to understand the lexicon and grammar, but to recognize the genre of an online newspaper, understanding the functions of headlines, leads,

background information, quotations, and other conventions, as pointed out by Van Dijk (1995). Besides this semiotic understanding of the formal characteristics of news as social practice, it becomes also necessary to be aware of the media's potential to endorse certain interests of a particular institution.

Media power, following Van Dijk (1995), is defined in terms of the social power of groups and institutions. Such social power, according to Giddens (1992), occurs through the context of culture by the use of what he terms allocative and authoritative resources, which mean respectively human domination over nature and domination of some actors over others, entailing the ideological imposition of the values of certain groups or institutions over others. This process may take place, among other channels, through the new mass media, namely, the online newspaper.

Fairclough (1989) divides the power in discourse into three categories: firstly, 'face-to-face', carried out through spoken discourse; secondly, 'cross-cultural', that is, among participants belonging to different social groupings; and thirdly, the 'hidden power', related to the discourse of the mass media. According to Fairclough (1989), control over knowledge, through the use of language, embodies ideology in establishing an unbalanced power relationship between Edition and Readership. It is crucial to point out that 'Edition' here is seen as the ideology of the source, sometimes one voice, sometimes a plethora of voices, sometimes even the voice of a country; the Reader, on the other hand, is seen as the semiotic interpreter of that voice, usually considered only a receiver rather than an exchanger of signs. This relation arises

from the difficulty of the Reader in responding to what is proposed by the news, since, as observed by Fairclough (ibid), one characteristic of media discourse is its ‘one-sidedness’, that is, there is a sharp divide between producers and interpreters. Different meanings may be conveyed by the very systemic choices of the Edition board in deciding, for example, how to layout the online newspaper, changing the ‘rank’ of headlines to cause a certain impact or to achieve a particular goal.

Taking Chandler’s consideration (www.aber.ac.uk), words are signs, even thoughts are signs... then, how can we consider a word out of the social? How can we consider a thought out of the social? Actually, this proves impossibility, considering that all meaning that we speakers attribute to a sign is based on the social conventions for that specific term, or specific thought. Putting words together is a result of making meanings from isolated words turned into new meanings in the social environment. The way speakers see language is based on certain necessities for the use of such language in a specific context in which the speakers would attribute certain meanings for specific signs. If one takes a word that has no comprehension whatsoever by any known language, we might say that it is not a sign; there is not a meaning; that would seem to be the limit of the social semiotic perspective. However, if you take, for instance, a word in Mandarin, you may not know the meaning; nevertheless, you will interpret it as a Chinese word, or at least, as an Asian language word. On this attribution of signification you are already seeing it as a sign, and that sign is recognised because of the social, the social that makes you know the characters used for various languages all around the world. This is even more so after globalisation, after capitalism spread out over the

world, turning a communist country into a capitalist superpower, for instance. From that point of view it is not hard to understand that semiotic resources are seriously affected by the interpreter, such as a journalist, who is to report in writing, a report which is edited by a second interpreter, and finally read by the readership as a third interpreter of the initial semiotic resource, leaving some space for the influence and effects of certain ideologies from specific institutions or social groups towards the spread of discourses through the same media.

Concerning power relations, it is important to consider the words of Rupert Murdoch, head of the News Corporation: “I grew up in a highly centralized world where news and information were tightly controlled by a few editors, who deemed to tell us what we could and should know”. As a trace of ideological impositions, he implies that all citizens, especially media personnel, should and could control what to do and what to know, rather than just a few editors in the world. Considering Murdoch’s statement one might recall Foucault’s (1975) consideration of institutions as ideological prisons. Although Murdoch defends the freedom of running news business and of the acknowledgement of the news process by the readership, the News Corporation is a living example of control by a few editors in the world, spreading the same ideological edition system over all the branches they run over such world. The very core of the ‘prison’ is illustrated in his following announcement as reported by BBC News: “We intend to charge for all our news websites. I believe that if we are successful, we will be followed by other media.”

Thus, the power relations, or ideology, present in journalistic communication is not always explicit; as a matter of fact, most of the time

it is implicit, or even so subtle that the reader acknowledges the news uncritically as unbiased truth. Subtlety, therefore, must be dealt with through a careful analysis of the linguistic choices present in the discourse of the news, a task that is made possible by the general theoretical principles of CDA and the specific analytical tools provided by SFL, which will be presented in the next sections.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.

(Van Dijk, 2001, p.1)

The growing interest in the processes and effects of communication in the past few decades has led to a proliferation of media studies, from the most diverse perspectives. Stepping on different areas of knowledge, different research fields, carrying different foci, the research carried out has brought the critical study of communication into an interdisciplinary field, in which studies of discourse have come to play a major role because of their interest in investigating the role of the media

in terms of the representation of reality and the process of construing and reconstructing the structures of society.

It must be remembered that for a long time the study of language consisted of a formal or “scientific” enterprise. The focus was on language as a system and not much attention was paid to what was socially done with or through language. However, although users of a determined language might simply use it unconsciously, not necessarily knowing why they choose certain expressions over all other semiotic possibilities, “When people speak or write they produce text” (Halliday, Matthiessen, 2004, p.3), and such produced texts are embedded in social interactions. This realization was by no means sudden but the consequence of enormous cultural and conceptual changes taking place in Western culture. Accordingly, linguistic studies in mid 20th century started to see language no longer as a transparent medium to express an already existing “reality”, but as a constitutive element of that reality. This view of language in use that is generally seen as “discourse” entails the constitution of objects of knowledge, social subjects, social relationships, and conceptual frameworks (Fairclough, 1992).

Much of the basis for this turn in the study of language may be attributed to Michel Foucault, who in *L'archéologie du savoir* (1969) inaugurates a discussion of the pragmatic objectives of discourses in their continuity and discontinuity of rules. He argues that discourse is based not merely on what is said, but on what was ‘never said’, that is, a silent voice within the interactions taking place in social institutions. Two years later, the philosopher publishes *L'ordre du discours* (1971), the result of an inauguration lecture in the *College de France*, in which he introduces

the concept of power relations operating in the way discourses are construed and limited by a number of invisible procedures. The author affirms that as part of a ‘society of discourse’ people are not free to say what they think they want to say, but obey the rules of a ‘discourse police’ which determines what can and what cannot be said. Finally, in *Surveiller et Punir* (1975), he argues on how discipline and punishment are enacted in society by means of structures of power inside social institutions.

After Michel Foucault, linguistic studies could no longer ignore the concepts of discourse and ideology and many new theories were formulated attending to the “political” character of language. One of the areas of inquiry arising as a result of such changes and contributing to their development is CDA. Critical linguistics is referred to have begun in the University of East Anglia in the 70’s with Fowler, Kress, Hodge, among others (Fairclough, 1992), the initial premise being to bring together social theories with linguistic textual analysis. Language is one of the ways to represent ideology, considering that people can communicate through diverse sorts of semiotic signs. Some of Fairclough’s concerns in the 80’s were on how people could be unaware of the social determination of their way of communicating, what would be the social effects of this practice, and mainly, how could this be changed. For him, social actions are intrinsically linked to terms of institutions, alleging that people witness a social action by identifying the institutional environment it belongs to, that is, people acknowledge an event based on terms the institution in which the event takes place has

proposed before, and such repetition of terms leads to the acknowledgement of the events.

In *Language and Power* (1989) Fairclough takes up the discussion of language as a means of maintaining and changing power relations in contemporary society, arguing that the understanding of such processes would enable people to resist and change them. Some years later, *Discourse and Social Change* (1992) stresses the belief that discourses do not simply represent social entities and relations, but constitute them; therefore, ‘changes in language use are an important part of wider social and cultural changes’. The author mentions that analyses should consider not only the text but the discursive event within production, distribution and consumption and, finally, the social practice as illustrated below:

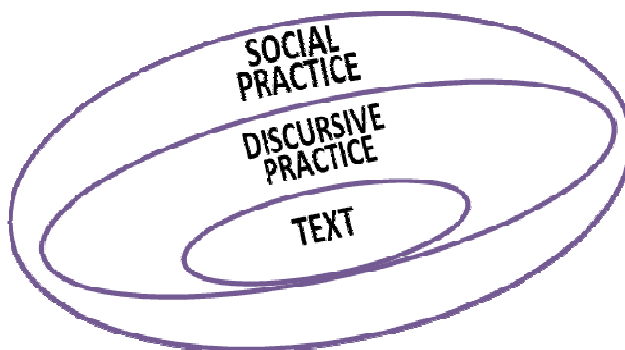


Figure 1 (Adapted from Fairclough, 1992, p. 73)

One of the areas which have received special attention in CDA has been the media, especially for its empowered role in establishing social frameworks linking some existing cultural aspects to the new

interests of the present institutions. Thus, CDA's interest in the media lies on the ideological effects of publications on individuals and groups.

In *Media Discourse* (1995), for example, Fairclough explores intertextuality and genre mixing as a discursive practice which illustrates wider processes of social and cultural change: the tension between private and public, information and entertainment. Following that, in 2003, he widens the scope of his thinking to include other fields in *Analyzing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, an introduction to text and discourse analysis for areas not usually concerned with the materiality of discourse. More recently, the author published *Language and Globalization* (2006), discussing globalization with a focus on language. The book talks about 'voices of globalization', a cultural approach to political economy, spatial entities (such as nation-states), and even media and mediations. In such work new scales, that is, new social conventions in which institutions relate to society have an intertextual semiotic exchange, as stated below:

The mass media play an important part in the constitution of new scales, the transformation of relations between scales, the re-scaling of spatial entities, and the construction and consolidation of a new 'fix' between a regime of accumulation and a mode of social regulation.

(Fairclough, 2006, p. 97)

With similar interests, Van Dijk (1985, 1989, 1991, 1995, 1996, 2001, 2004, 2006, 2007, and 2009) discusses the media roles, ideology, and manipulation from a critical perspective towards discourse as well. The author talks about the relationship between discourse, ideology and

context, by observing that ideology might affect discourse interpretation or production in a direct or indirect way, “through the prior formation of a biased representation of the social situation” (2001, p. 1), that is, what has been previously instituted as a proper or convenient representation of certain social events and producing a continuously biased way of looking at such events.

Producers of discourse are part of different social groups simultaneously, encompassing different social practices. Having considered that every social group shares particular ideologies and discourse productions are biased in such ideologies, such diversity of social groups are interconnected, fused into new ideologies which depend on the social groups individuals might share. Therefore, every time individuals produce meaning in discourse, it is not only based on prior formation as proposed by Van Dijk, but it is also producing new ideology in such discourse, based on all different social groups and practices fused into this brand new ideology. It is important to mention that all discourse is ideological and that ideologies are not necessarily negative. Their negative effects, or manipulation, depend only on one’s perspective as to the consequences of the social practice in action, as reminded by the author. Therefore, manipulation is defined by him in the following way:

Socially, manipulation is defined as illegitimate domination confirming social inequality. Cognitively, manipulation as mind control involves the interference with processes of understanding, the formation of biased mental models and social representations such as knowledge and ideologies.
(2001, p. 1)

Such social manipulation and illegitimate domination is one of the reasons why critical studies were started deriving from semiotics and other linguistic and social studies. According to Van Dijk (2009, p. 63), critical studies have the following characteristics:

- They aim to analyze, and thus to contribute to the understanding and the solution of, serious social problems, especially those that are caused or exacerbated by public text and talk, such as various forms of social power abuse (domination) and their resulting social inequality.
- This analysis is conducted within a normative perspective, defined in terms of international human rights, that allows a critical assessment of abusive, discursive practices as well as guidelines for practical intervention and resistance against illegitimate domination.
- The analysis specifically takes into account the interests, the expertise and the resistance of those groups that are the victims of discursive injustice and its consequences.

In a broader perspective, Anthony Giddens has investigated the macro and micro levels of social life. Macro levels are entire societies and their changes through time as in the construction and re construction of new scales, forming and adapting new societies to the environment in which they live in the moment. The micro levels of society are concerned with individual behaviour and relationship with other individuals. The author argues that the macro and the micro levels feed each other and that, therefore, people do not choose between them. In *The Constitution of Society* (1984), he says that agents (individuals, micro level) in society

are substantially in a relationship with social structures (macro level). Giddens adds that the repetition of the acts of individual agents constitute the structure, the changes in society, the way society is structured and the power relations involved in such changes by the use of allocative and material resources. Material resources derive from human domination over nature and authoritative resources (non-material) result from the domination of some actors over others, conveying ideology and establishing the present structures of society. Thus, Giddens connects to Van Dijk and Fairclough in the sense that they consider language and meaning only within the social environment, that is, the researchers search for a view of language as behaviour and relationship of micro level (individuals) only seen as semiotic exchange within a macro level (scales of society). As far as I understand such relationship, no communication action is taken without remnants from the macro level in which the micro level individual is inserted, no thought is free from ideology, and no ideology is free from social structures, and scales.

CDA can therefore be seen as a type of discourse analytical research looking at how unbalanced social power is encoded in texts in social and political contexts. By looking closely at the linguistic choices made by the producers of texts, it attempts to answer the following questions: Who has the power? How do you know that? How do the attitudes and opinions reinforce the impression of power? CDA sees every discourse as political and all politics as carrying ideology and, therefore, marked by different interests.

One example of how this approach can be applied to the analysis of the media can be found in Knox (2007). From a CDA perspective

focusing on visual, verbal and visual-verbal communication on the online newspapers, and using multimodal analysis, the author assesses the use of the media to enact social power relations conveying ideology. The work found important similarities in the visual–verbal structure of news stories and home pages among newspapers. They show a similar atomization of news texts in which readers interact in short time scales, and a greater consistency in the visual–verbal design of longer timescale news. According to him, “a genre-specific visual grammar for online newspaper home pages is emerging in response to the demands of the new medium and historical and social trends in news reporting” (Knox, 2007, p 02).

Considering that I have been looking for background theory both in social studies and media studies, and although CDA has given rise to much research concerning media, society and power relations, there seems to be still a gap in the studies of Internet and online newspapers as forms of social practice from a systemic and social semiotic perspective, as proposed by Knox and his fellow workers in Australia.

Therefore, the present research has taken up the task of investigating if online newspapers can be said to carry ideological biases in the ways they present their news, especially headlines and leads, and thus reveal different relations of power toward their readers. The analysis will rely mainly on the linguistic choices in transitivity within a Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) perspective backgrounded on CDA, media, and social studies.

2.3 Social semiotics in Systemic Functional Linguistics

Critical Discourse Analysis, as we have seen, is a linguistic enterprise. It departs from the materiality of language -- the text -- and sees it as a document of specific discursive practices, which in turn are related to wider social practices. One of tools most commonly used by critical discourse analysts for approaching the text has been the Systemic Functional Grammar propounded by Halliday and further developed by some of his followers. Because the present data analysis will be using the concept of transitivity as a means for identifying the possible positioning of online newspapers in relation to their readers, it becomes necessary to have a general view of Halliday's ideas before focusing on social semiotics, and transitivity itself.

For Halliday (1978), social semiotics takes place when language is assessed within a sociocultural context, and culture itself is interpreted in semiotic terms as sign, signifier (*signifiant*), signified (*signifié*), representing an information system. Language as such consists in exchanges of meaning in various interpersonal contexts, sharing the different forms of knowledge of the world. According to Foucault (1980), language is an instrument of thought, the representation of it, and although he says that human sciences are fragile and cannot be but an episode of the history of knowledge, language is fragile as such due to the fact that it is never static. Therefore, it is impossible to attribute characteristics of truth without considering the context of culture, although this truth may be real for a certain moment in history. This

fragility, or instability, is one of the most important characteristics of language as an ongoing process.

Van Leeuwen (2005, p. 3) argues that for social semiotics is preferable the term 'resource' rather than sign, because it avoids the impression that the semiotic comprehension is pre-given and not affected by the use, that is, depending on the context, a resource might be interpreted in a different perspective, consequently being attributed to a different meaning. According to the author, the key term to understand social semiotics is the very 'semiotic resource'. Based on Halliday's (1978) consideration of grammar as a resource for making meanings, semiotics lies on meaning potential, since meaning potential for signs relates to its use and is not pre-given in society as mentioned above. For Van Leeuwen (*ibid*), almost everything we do or make can be realised in different ways, admitting diverse social and cultural meanings, possibly ruled or free for interpretations. For instance, in writing about this theme I probably have chosen a different lexicon from other researchers in attempting a similar goal; furthermore, the meaning potential of this text is based on what has been already inserted into society, which may rule the interpretation; on the other hand, depending on the context in which the readers find themselves, they might understand what is being said in a different way, having freedom of interpretation as an alternative choice for the rules of the past meaning potential in social contexts. Halliday (1975/2007, p. 185) says that social structure "defines and gives significance to the various types of social context in which meanings are exchanged." In doing so, the social structure defines and rules also the meaning styles in the given contexts.

The Systemic Meaning Modelling Group from Macquarie University (<http://minerva.ling.mq.edu.au/>) places the origins of Halliday's theory in the work of Saussure, following the tradition of European Linguistics. The theories from the mid-20th century, as the Prague school and French functionalism, focus on functional and semantic and no longer formal and syntactic aspects. The first attribution of the theory is to J.R. Firth and his peers in London, and the name 'systemic' comes from system defined by Firth (1957) as a theoretical representation of paradigmatic relations, contrasted with structure for syntagmatic relations. One of the most relevant characteristics of such theory is the realization of the paradigmatic features. Syntagmatic concerns the hierarchical organization of the units of a text while paradigmatic concerns the semiotic meanings brought about by the structural and lexical choices.

Halliday, in the early 1960s (1963, 1965), separated grammatical and phonological representations from the constraints of structure. Instead of merely focusing on language as an abstract system, he gave precedence to how people made use of that system. In other words, he emphasized the way language actually functioned in everyday interaction, thus the denomination "systemic" and "functional" grammar or linguistics.

Halliday recognizes three interrelated metafunctions of language: the ideational function, which reflects and influences social structure, giving meaning to experience; the interpersonal function, which establishes relationships between the participants of discourse; and the textual function, which gives cohesion and coherence to specific instances of discourse.

According to those principles, the analysis of a text, broken into clauses, takes place within a context divided into field, tenor, and mode. Field is what is happening, the nature of the social interaction taking place: what the participants are engaged in. Tenor is who is taking part; the social roles and relationships of participants, their status and roles. Finally, Mode is the symbolic organization of the text, its rhetorical modes, the channel of communication, spoken or written, monologic or dialogic, more or less visual contact, computer-mediated communication on the telephone, face to face, etc.

Clauses have three main classifications: clause as message, clause as exchange, and clause as representation. Clause as message is related to the **textual** function and studied through thematic structure, the organization that contributes to the flow of discourse. Clause as exchange has to do with the **interpersonal** function, being looked at through the system of ‘mood’, or ways of interaction between subjects. Clause as representation regards the **ideational** function, focusing on the configuration of processes (verbal groups), participants (nominal groups) and circumstances (adverbial groups or prepositional phrases), aspects which characterize the transitivity system. The choices (often unconscious but not always so) as to how an event is represented are extremely relevant to the understanding of the social attitude behind it. As illustrated in Figure 2 the interpersonal metafunction forms the basis for both textual and ideational analyses, considering that without a personal interaction it would not be possible to infer textual and ideational meanings.

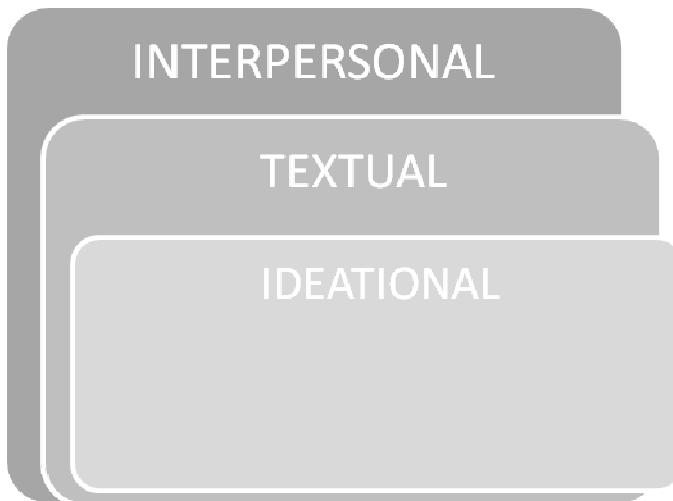


Figure 2 (adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004)

From these broad analytical frames, however, what interests the present research specifically is how events are discursively represented. For that, we need to look at what Halliday terms the transitivity system, or, in more general terms, who does what to whom and in what circumstances. Because of my initial premises, I focus more specifically on who does what to whom, as the choices of the two online newspapers selected for analysis.

Clause as representation entails the configuration of processes (verbal groups), participants (nominal groups) and circumstances (adverbial groups or prepositional phrases), aspects which characterize the transitivity system in which different types of processes can be found depending on the representation of a specific event. The transitivity

system is thus concerned with how people represent reality in language. Such representation can be seen in the processes allied to the role of the participants in certain circumstances. The types of processes can be classified as material, behavioural, mental, verbal, and relational. Such processes are not a matter of simply classifying the linguistic choices, but of semantically and grammatically interpreting what has been reported.

Following Halliday (in Ravelli, 2000), processes may be classified as follows:

- Material Processes: actor, goal, beneficiary and range;
- Mental Processes: senser and phenomenon;
- Behavioural Processes: behavior and range;
- Verbal Processes: sayer, receiver, verbiage and target;
- Relational Processes: carrier and attribute / identifier and identified;
- Existential Processes: existential.

Material processes are processes of doing-and-happening, having an outcome that present some change; as in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 179), it “construes a quantum of change in the flow of the events.” Since it is a process of doing, it necessarily requires a participant who is an Actor of the actions represented, and who, therefore, receives an emphasis as a social actor. Sometimes the clauses might present a Goal or/and a Beneficiary which would represent the target of the actor in the material process.

Behavioural processes, as suggested by the name, are “processes of (typically human) physiological and psychological behaviour, like breathing, coughing, smiling, dreaming and staring” (Ibid, p. 248). This

process takes a behavior (or more) to be the participant of such linguistic representation.

Mental processes are considered processes of sensing, they are “our experience of the world of our own consciousness” (Ibid, p. 197). There are normally two participants involved in this process, the Senser (the responsible for feeling, thinking, perceiving), and the Phenomenon (what is being felt, thought, or perceived). This process easily allows language users to express opinions, and thoughts; which is not that easy in material process.

Verbal processes include all modes of expressing; the Sayer is the responsible for the process, which consists of the producing of Verbiage towards a Receiver.

Relational processes are processes of being, serving “to characterize and to identify, by use of attributes, tokens and values towards the carrier (Ibid, p. 210). Therefore, the Carrier is the participant who receives an attributive characterization.

Depending on the choice of processes and participants, an event may be represented in a variety of ways, entailing different ideational positioning which might indicate ideological/political positions or biases.

Focusing, thus, on the different types of processes presented above, the analysis that follows examines the transitivity choices made in the headlines and leads of the online newspapers selected for comparison.

CHAPTER III - CORPUS ANALYSIS

3.1 Context of culture

In order to identify ideological characteristics of journalistic institutions, I look at two British online newspapers of considerable status. The two online newspapers, namely *BBC News* and *Times Online*, offer different general perspectives. *BBC News* is known as an institution of popular political participation, since it is maintained with resources of the citizens of the United Kingdom. *Times Online* is part of a considerably larger corporation known as *News Corporation*, led by the entrepreneur Rupert Murdoch, who was born in Australia and naturalized a US citizen, known for a central-rightwing political perspective.

To analyze the British online newspaper *BBC News* let me consider its context of culture, formed politically by a union of four nations united by a Royal heritage reigned by Queen Elizabeth II, administered by a Prime Minister. Therefore, in considering the *BBC News* an institution of popular participation, we also consider the peoples of Scotland, England, Wales and Northern Ireland, along or against the voices of the party administration and the monarchy. Obviously, there are different political parties carrying different ideological interests, such as the Conservative, Communist, Liberal parties, among others; nevertheless, the party in charge has certainly a more relevant voice in a corporation considered public to set some important discursive practices. In this way, let us consider the Labour Party as an important influence in analyzing the data within their context of culture. The Labour party was

led for years by the former Prime Minister Tony Blair, replaced by Gordon Brown during the period in which the data was collected, and currently replaced by David Cameron, who as a Prime Minister has just delivered a novel ‘quantum of change’ in his new policies and premises for the UK and for the international relationships.

On the other hand, in analyzing the likewise British newspaper *Times Online*, although considering a context of culture reasonably similar to that of the BBC, the most important voice to be considered here would be that of the rightwing capitalist entrepreneur Murdoch, who is president and chairman of the *News Corporation*, which includes the ownership of the Sky satellite network, FOX studios, and the Dow Jones stock market, among others. Therefore, although both *BBC News* and *Times Online* are British newspapers, we might expect some differences in their presentation and representation of news items due to the different institutional contexts they represent and defend.

As to the type of data to be analysed, it must be pointed out that headlines are composed by verbal and nominal groups as linguistic choices. Although nominal groups do appear in my data, the pairs of headline samples containing verbal groups were favoured over the others in my analysis due to the importance of the representation of processes. Such processes, as explained in the theoretical background, may be classified as material, mental, relational, verbal, or behavioural. Besides the headlines, the leads which establish the connection between the headlines and the body of the news are also considered in the analyses.

There are two main principles to consider in going through the analysis and the discussion of findings. Firstly, an event needs to be

encoded in language in order to become news, and secondly, such encoding inevitably involves linguistic choices from an almost unlimited number of possibilities. Transitivity analysis is applied in the corpus as an important tool for a social semiotic view of the clauses in which processes, circumstances and participants are defined. As such, it can provide basis for further analysis in terms of CDA and Journalism theory, and as a consequence, respond to my initial research questions concerning what processes are used in headlines and how they might reveal the power relations enacted in the headlines of both institutions. This study will thus attempt to verify if the choices of two different journalistic institutions reveal any sort of ideological positioning.

3.2 Analysis

The corpus of the present analysis consists of six pairs of online news, collected between February and June 2009. As indicated in the Introduction, special attention will be given to the headlines and the leads, since they impact more fully on the readers, being responsible for the decision of reading (or not) the news. Thus the full texts which follow each individual opening will serve only as further support for the analysis, when needed.

By way of an introduction, and considering the group of texts as a whole, it seems interesting to take up the SFL concepts of field, tenor, and mode, as defined in the preceding theoretical chapter, and establish their general characteristics.

The Field for the present data can be defined as online news about international events concerning political leaders making decisions under circumstances of current global affairs. The first sample pair reports the moment in which the US president is sworn in; the second deals with the Group of Seven's policies towards Protectionism; the third shows the divergence of opinions between the then French President and the British Prime Minister; in the fourth, the approval of the stimulus plan from the US president over resistance is presented; in the fifth, a new economic stimulus plan proposed now by the Group of 20 receives the papers' attention; finally, the sixth pair focuses on a historical armoury reduction talk between Russia and the USA.

The Tenor is characterized by a formal and distant relationship between editorials and the target public, considering that my focus in the present work relies on the ideology present in the news and the possibilities for interpreting them rather than on the reading results of an actual readership.

As to Mode, all samples follow the rhetorical pattern of online news, with headlines, leads and the extended text, all of which are intended to be read individually. Even though sharing the news by means of comments with other readers is not impossibility, as a form of computer-mediated communication such is not the primary aim of such type of discourse.

In the analysis of the samples from an SFL perspective in transitivity, the participants are highlighted in bold, while the processes are in underlined italics in order to distinguish between the two. The headlines and leads appear in the boxes which introduce each story.

3.1 PAIR ONE

1a *The Times*

Barack Obama	<u>sworn in</u>	as new US president
Participant	nominal group	

Barack Obama	<u>was sworn in</u>	as America's 44th president today in front of an estimated	
participant	nominal group		
two million people	who	<u>flooded</u>	central Washington for a distant view of history.
actor		material	

But even as **he** arrived at Capitol Hill in an armoured limousine with his predecessor George W Bush, **US security agencies** were urgently investigating a potential threat against him from an East African terror group.

According to a joint bulletin from the FBI and Homeland Security, **US intelligence officials** had received information that **people** associated with a Somalia-based Islamic terror group might try to travel to the US with plans to disrupt Inauguration Day.

The alert said that **US counter-terror officials** have grown concerned in recent months about the threat posed by the militant al-Shabaab group and a cell of **US-based Somali sympathizers** who have traveled to their homeland to “fight alongside Islamic insurgents”.

But **Russ Knocke**, a Homeland Security spokesman, said: “This information is of limited specificity and uncertain credibility... As always, **we** remind the public to be both thoughtful and vigilant about their surroundings, and to notify authorities of any suspicious activity.”

Unaware of the threat, **hundreds of thousands of people** *began arriving* in central Washington from before dawn for a distant view of history and the right to say ‘I was there’ when America’s first black president was sworn in.

Vast crowds braving freezing cold *crammed* into the National Mall and mobbed streets leading onto the central thoroughfare, *clogging up* the Washington metro system and roads into the city centre more than five hours ahead of the handover.

After attending a church service this morning, **Mr Obama and his wife, Michelle**, *arrived* at the White House at 10am (1500GMT) for a courtesy call and a final cup of coffee with President and Mrs Bush.

He then *travelled* with Mr Bush to Congress to prepare for his inauguration shortly before noon (1700GMT) appearing on the steps of the Capitol about 15 minutes earlier to vast cheers from the crowd and the chant ‘Obama! Obama!’

The inauguration *took* place amid unprecedented security. About **8,000 police** *were deployed* and a total of **32,000 military personnel** *are* either on duty or on standby.

The Secret Service *launched* its final security sweep of downtown Washington at 3am. An hour later **special Metro trains** *were* already *filled* to capacity and darkened roads into the city *were packed* with traffic.

The final crowd figure *was* anyone’s guess, but **it** *was expected to dwarf* that for all previous presidential inaugurations, including the **1.2 million** who *attended* Lyndon Johnson’s swearing-in in 1965.

Mr Bush *departs* from office with the lowest approval ratings of any US president and *leaves* his successor two foreign wars and an economy crippled by the credit crunch. **Mr Obama’s most potent weapon** *will be* the vast fund of goodwill he enjoys both in the United States and overseas.

Yesterday, **Mr Obama** *paid* tribute to Martin Luther King on **the holiday** which *marks* the birth of the slain civil rights leader.

“**We** *will come together* as one people on the same mall where **Dr King’s dream** *echoes* still,” **Mr Obama** *said*, in a nod to the transformative ‘I

have a dream’ speech that **King** delivered from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in 1963.

“As **we** do, **we** recognise that here in America, **our destinies** are inextricably linked. **We** resolve that as **we** walk, **we** must walk together. And as **we** go forward in the work of renewing the promise of this nation, let’s remember King’s lesson: that **our separate dreams** are really one.”

Unknown on the national stage before an appearance at the Democratic Convention of 2004, **Mr Obama**, 47, was propelled to the presidency on the back of his own skill as an orator, allied with **an unflappability and strategic conviction** that enabled him to see off Hillary Clinton in a bruising campaign for the party’s nomination.

His oratorical skills were to be on display again in a **17-minute inaugural speech** that is expected to stress the themes of shared responsibility, echoing John F Kennedy’s famous plea 28 years ago today: “Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country”.

Mr Obama took the oath of office on a Bible used by his political hero, Abraham Lincoln, at his first inauguration in 1861. **His swearing-in** will be followed by the U.S. Marine Corps band playing “Hail to the Chief” and a 21-gun salute.

1b BBC News

Historic moment	as	Obama	<u>sworn in</u>
		participant	nominal group

More than one million people	<u>gathered</u>	in the National Mall in a wintry Washington DC, to see
actors	material	
Mr Obama	<u>take</u>	the oath shortly after 1200 (1700 GMT).
actor	material	

He used his inaugural address to vow to begin the work of "remaking America".

The new US leader said his country faced a number of challenges but was entering a "new era of responsibility".

But a **shadow** was cast over Mr Obama's celebrations in the hours after his swearing-in, as **veteran Senator Ted Kennedy** collapsed during the inaugural lunch.

Mr Kennedy, whose **support** was seen as influential in winning over Democratic voters for Mr Obama, has been seriously ill with a brain tumour and has previously undergone surgery.

Earlier, in his inaugural address, **Mr Obama** made reference to the scale of his achievement at being the first black American elected to the White House, in a **remark** that gathered one of the biggest cheers of the speech.

"**This** is the meaning of our liberty and our creed... why a man whose **father** less than 60 years ago might not have been served at a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath."

The new president takes office amid a dismal economic climate and with the US still embroiled in two wars.

Speaking to the vast crowd, stretching as far back as the Washington Monument in the distance, **he** was quick to admit that **the US** is in the midst of a crisis - a fact now "well understood".

"**Our nation** is at war, against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. **Our economy** is badly weakened," he said, blaming the current situation both on the greed of a few and the "collective failure" of many.

He branded healthcare "too costly", said **schools** "fail too many" and charged that **US energy policy** both strengthens enemies and threatens the planet.

"**The challenges we** face are real," **Mr Obama** said. "**They** are serious and **they** are many. **They** will not be met easily or in a short span of time.

"But know this America - they will be met."

Invoking the memory of the US's Founding Fathers, **Mr Obama** *said* **he would strive** to rebuild his nation's standing in the world, saying: "**We are** ready to lead once more."

He addressed the foreign policy challenges facing the US, saying **the US would "responsibly leave** Iraq to its people and *forge* a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan".

The new president also *addressed* the world's poor and **the Muslim world**, much of which angrily *opposed* the actions of the previous administration.

From now on, **Mr Obama** *said*, **the US would seek** "a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect".

The BBC's Kevin Connolly, in Washington, *says* **Mr Obama delivered** a difficult inaugural message.

Its task, our correspondent *notes, is* to lift hopes and hearts at a moment when **every economic indicator** *is falling*.

In this pair, although both newspapers choose nominal groups for their headlines, using the expression *sworn in* as the semantic nucleus, they opt for a different sequencing of the information. In 1a the nominal group comes at the end of the headline, turning it into a 'Historic Moment', a circumstance which is made more visible than the process, while in 1b the nominal group immediately follows the participant, giving a sense of ordinariness to the event. Thus, I might start my discussion by saying that, even though both institutions have chosen the same process to represent the event, the positions they raise have a diverse impact, as explained ahead. According to Fairclough, mass media play an important role in the constitution of new discourses. As proposed in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), the chosen and produced texts lie on structures of

society; therefore, reproduction and recreation of scales, structures, discursive and social practices depend on the structures of the social group an individual is inserted in. This observation would lead us to conclude that, although The Times and BBC belong to the same context of culture, the appeal to different social groups within the greater context of culture provides them with different structures, which might indicate different ideologies and goals.

A second look at the samples shows that in 1a the actor is represented as Obama, which is the name used throughout the campaign to brandish the popular appeal, while in 1b the actor is Barack Obama, which is the official name register for the elections. It is important to have in mind that his factual name is Barack Hussein Obama II, although, of course, this would hardly be found in headlines due to their limited number of characters, especially in online news. Therefore, 1a brings the event appealing to the popular, while 1b pleads to a more formal representation of the event itself. By choosing differently construed actors, it is discernible that 1a aims at a popular impact right in the bold gold (I bring this term in allurement of the persuasive potential of the headline) when 1b entices a more conservative reading of the facts.

Focusing now on the leads appearing immediately below the headlines, we can see a slightly different direction in relation to the headlines. Although in 1a there is a consistence in the ideological impact of popularity, 1b moves from conservative to popular by using ‘an emotional crowd’. These distinctive representations reinforce that in 1a the institution is directly involved in the ‘popular’ impact of the event,

while in 1b the institution stresses the information, with an awareness of the popularity of the story shown only in the sequence of the page.

In terms of the transitivity used in the leads, The Times expands the *sworn in* nominal group, making it a passive verbal performative process in which the again formally named Barack Obama receives the major emphasis, followed by the material process of two million people metaphorically “flooding” the American capital for an also metaphoric “view of history”. BBC inverts the emphasis, placing the more than one million people in privileged position, but at the same time giving the now “Mr” Obama an active role, as he is no longer “sworn in”, but effectively acts in “taking the oath”.

When comparing the full texts of the news, it is interesting to note that, whereas The Times imparts greater importance to the actions of the security agents in the face of a terrorist threat (seven of the actors referred to) and to the crowd that gathered for the event, BBC stresses the new President’s actions, making him the agent of twelve of the material or verbal processes in the text and referring to him as “Mr Obama” and “the new President”. Likewise, BBC allotted a large space to Obama’s governmental projects, such as foreign policy, the economy and health care.

PAIR TWO

2a *The Times*

G7	<u>backs</u>	economic bailouts
actor	material	goal

The Group of Seven finance ministers and central bankers,			meeting in Rome yesterday,	<i>said</i>
sayer				verbal
the world	<i>was</i>	in a "severe" downturn but that	the measures each of the G7 countries	<i>was taking</i>
would " <i>build</i> over time" to lift the global economy out of its worst postwar slump.				
material				

The group - which is made up of the UK, US, Japan, Germany, Italy, Canada and France - backed fiscal-stimulus measures by the leading economies, **which it *said should be*** "frontloaded and quicky executed" but consistent with "medium-term fiscal sustainability". **Economists *warn* the debt hangover from the present crisis *could last*** for decades.

"**We *reaffirm*** our commitment to act together using the full range of policy tools to support growth and employment and strengthen the financial sector," **the G7 *said*** in a statement. "**The stabilisation of the global economy and financial markets *remains*** our highest priority."

The G7 *headed off* a clash with China over its currency and vowed to stem rising protectionism. **It *criticised*** the protectionist tone of President Barack Obama's \$787 billion (£546 billion) fiscal-stimulus plan and for America's lack of clarity on its \$2 trillion bank-bailout plan.

The meeting, the first attended by the new US Treasury secretary Tim Geithner, came amid continued tensions in the markets. Immediately after taking over last month, **Geithner *accused*** China of "currency manipulation".

Yesterday **the G7**, which has long pushed for China to allow the yuan to rise, softened its stance. "**We *welcome*** China's fiscal measures and continued commitment to move to a more flexible exchange rate," **it *said***.

Officials *said* the aim *was* to ensure that **China *was*** on board for the G20 meeting in London on April 2. "**The G7 *has realised* China *needs*** to be brought into the fold of the global financial system rather than be treated as a pariah," said **UBS foreign-exchange strategist Geoffrey Yu**.

The International Monetary Fund *was boosted* by a \$100 billion loan from Japan to help troubled economies.

Alistair Darling *said* there had been no discussion of sterling's fall, which **some European finance ministers** *have been complaining* gives Britain an unfair advantage.

The chancellor also *dampened* speculation about nationalisation of Lloyds-HBOS. "**I have made** it very clear **banks are** best run in the commercial sector, privately owned," **he said**.

2b BBC

G7	<i>pledges</i>	to <i>avoid</i>	protectionism
actor		material	

Finance ministers	at a G7 meeting in Italy	<i>said</i>	raising barriers to free trade would make the downturn worse.
sayer		verbal	

Hours earlier, **the US Congress** *approved* an \$787bn economic recovery plan that includes a 'Buy American' clause.

G7 ministers *said* stabilising the world economy and financial markets was their priority. **They said they would work** together to support growth and jobs.

The 'Buy American' clause *has raised* fears that protectionism could be growing in the world's largest economy.

But in a statement after the meeting, **new US Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner** *dismissed* such concerns.

"**All countries need to sustain** a commitment to open **trade and investment policies** which *are* essential to economic growth and prosperity," **he said**.

Ministers also called for urgent reform to the International Monetary Fund, saying **the crisis** had shown weaknesses in the world financial system.

"**We agree** that a reformed IMF, endowed with additional resources, is crucial to respond effectively and flexibly to the current crisis," **the ministers' statement** said.

Other points included: Praise for recent economic moves by China; Help for banks; and the need for a speedy end to the Doha talks on world trade **the G7** comprises the US, the UK, Japan, Germany, France, Italy and Canada.

The BBC's correspondent at the meeting says it was billed as a meeting to discuss the broad issues of the economic crisis, not to decide major policy initiatives - and that's what **it was**.

Britain's Chancellor of Exchequer (Finance Minister), Alistair Darling, said it was a stepping stone to a meeting in London in April of the G20 group, which also includes big emerging economies such as China and India.

Both samples include material processes in their headlines ("avoid" and "backs") thus stressing some amount of change; nevertheless, the first one presents also a conative process, conveying the effort of the participant as a sayer (G7). In 2b, the process represented in 'pledges to avoid' is considered conative, displaying a positivism, in the sense of an active stance on the part of the G7 concerning 'protectionism'. For The Times, the G7 'backs' economic bailout, with such material process also indicating a positive perspective in the effort from the group towards the economic situation dealt with. Thus, for the purpose of representing the attitude of G7 concerning protectionism, each newspaper presented it from a slightly different point of view. While BBC News emphasizes and is biased to G7 positivism in being willing to solve problems, Times Online proposes the interpretation that the

response of G7 is already happening in the material process of ‘backs’, in what concerns public interest. Such difference in the representations of the same event supports the initial hypothesis of the present analysis that there may be an ideological and biased attitude behind the news. In this case, BBC seems to have an interest in exposing a positive initiative from the G7.

The leads show a concern on who are effectively making the decisions in the choice of the participants: in 2b as ‘finance ministers’ and in 2a as ‘the group of seven finance ministers and central bankers’. Therefore, while for BBC the decision and the meeting are carried out by finance ministers, with central bankers not even being mentioned, why would it be important for The Times to highlight such bankers?

In the extended news, there is a diversity of participants, enlisted to prove the first point exposed in headlines and leads. Broadly speaking, most of the participants are involved directly or indirectly with the group of seven, as for instance: the Chancellor, the International Monetary Fund, Us Treasury secretary, the Group, G7, Britain's Chancellor of Exchequer (Finance Minister), Ministers, and also the correspondent and China as an emergent participant in the context of culture of the international decisions ruled by the G7. As for the processes throughout the news, they are predominantly material, although verbal and existential processes also do their part in convincing readers of the first statements in headlines and leads.

PAIR THREE

3a *The Times*

Downing Street	<u>not amused</u>	by Sarkozy attack on Brown tax cut
Participant	Nominal group	

French officials	<u>scrambled</u>	to salvage the entente cordiale today after	
Actor	material	goal	
President Sarkozy	publicly	<u>disparaged</u>	Gordon Brown's response to the global economic crisis.
Actor		material	goal

In a 90-minute interview carried simultaneously on three TV channels last night, **Mr Sarkozy** promised not to repeat Britain's economic "mistakes" and said that the **Prime Minister's flagship VAT cut** had "absolutely not worked".

This morning the **Elysée Palace** attempted to smooth ruffled feathers, assuring officials at Downing Street that **Mr Sarkozy's comments** had not been intended as an attack on British economic policy.

But a **Downing Street spokesman** left little doubt of the irritation that **Mr Sarkozy** caused at No 10, telling reporters: "**The Elysée** have been in contact this morning to assure us that **these remarks** were not meant as a critique of UK economic policy - **which** is nice."

The spokesman declined to say whether **this morning's telephone conversation** between officials in Downing Street and the Elysée was initiated by London or Paris.

Challenged over his own plans to boost the French economy by infrastructure spending rather than tax cuts, **Mr Sarkozy** said: "**Britain** is

cutting taxes. **That** will bring them nothing. **Consumption** continues to decrease in Britain.”

Predictably enough, the **Tories** jumped on Mr Sarkozy’s comments.

“**President Sarkozy** is the latest international leader to condemn Gordon Brown’s main policy for tackling the recession,” said **George Osborne**, the Shadow Chancellor.

“**We** said at the time that **Brown’s flagship VAT cut** would only make things worse and would be an expensive failure. **That view** is now echoed not just by British retailers, but by foreign governments, including France, Germany and Holland.

“**Gordon Brown** claims to have saved the world. **It** would appear that **world leaders** increasingly disagree.”

In his television interview, **Mr Sarkozy** said he understood the concern of those who joined mass demonstrations last week but would not be swayed from his plans for trimming France’s costly public sector and reducing taxes on business.

“It’s normal that **the French** are worried. **It’s** a crisis the like of which **the world** has not seen for a century,” he said. “**We** have a lot of protests in France. If **you** have to stop every reform because of a protest, then you’d be better off not having any reforms.”

He added: “Naturally, **I** will continue to reform the country. **This** is the mandate **I** received, **it** is my duty. **It** is the only way for France to emerge from the crisis stronger than going into it.”

The French President revealed he was not certain he would seek re-election in 2012. Asked why, he explained: “Because **my job** is very difficult. **It** needs a lot of energy, a lot of strength to do it and **I** have put all my strength into doing it as well as possible.”

“There are still **three-and-a-half years**,” he added. “**I** give no undertaking in one direction or the other. **You** run for a second term if **you** have the strength to chase another dream and **people** have confidence in you. **It** would be shocking if **I** had been able to make such an important decision less than half-way into my first term.”

Mr Sarkozy refused to follow President Obama in setting a ceiling for the salaries of bankers whose **firms** had been bailed out by the

government. **He** said that **successful managers** deserved their pay, but that **he** was shocked by the system of pay enjoyed by financial traders.

“**That’s** what you have to forbid,” **he** said. **France** would review its relations with neighbouring financial havens such as Luxembourg, Andorra and Monaco, **he** added.

Mr Sarkozy also confirmed that **he** would seek to put pressure on French carmakers to prevent them selling cars in France made by cheaper factories abroad.

The opposition Socialist party characterised Mr Sarkozy’s television appearance as a show of impotence. “**He** was incoherent, hesitant and showed that **he** does not understand the crisis,” **Benoit Hamon**, a spokesman for the party, said.

3b BBC

Sarkozy	<u>attacks</u>	Brown's VAT cut
actor	material	goal

In a debate on French TV,		Mr Sarkozy,	whose handling of France's economy	
		Actor/Sayer		
<u>has prompted</u>	protests,	<u>said</u>	the UK's VAT cut	<u>had absolutely not worked.</u>
material		verbal	actor	material

"**Britain** is cutting taxes. **That** will bring them nothing. **Consumption** continues to decrease," **he** said.

Downing Street said the French had been in touch to stress the comments were not meant as a critique of UK policy.

But the Conservatives said President Sarkozy was just the latest foreign leader to criticise Gordon Brown's policies.

'Not a critique'

Shadow chancellor George Osborne said: "We said at the time that Brown's flagship VAT cut would only make things worse and would be an expensive failure. That view is now echoed not just by British retailers, but by foreign governments, including France, Germany and Holland," he said.

"Gordon Brown claims to have saved the world. It would appear that world leaders increasingly disagree."

In a 90 minute interview, President Sarkozy defended his plans to revive the French economy, a week after protests and strikes by a million French workers.

He made his comments after being asked why France was investing in infrastructure projects not cutting taxes.

Asked about the remarks on Friday, the prime minister's spokesman said: "The Elysée [Palace] have been in contact this morning to assure us that these remarks were not meant as a critique of UK economic policy - which is nice."

He said that the government had set out its case for a VAT cut and other countries had to decide what was appropriate for their economies.

A Downing Street spokesman later added: "It is important to remember the context in which he was making the comments, which as I understand it, was a domestic debate on television about the way forward for the French economy and French proposals for an economic stimulus."

'Breathtaking'

BBC political correspondent Carole Walker said there appeared to be some irritation at Downing Street about the comments. She added it was clear, in the run-up to the G20 summit, that President Sarkozy had a different view to how a fiscal boost should work, than Mr Brown.

Mr Brown's economic stimulus plans *came* under fire in December from Germany's finance minister **Peer Steinbrück**, who *said* **Britain's response to the crisis** *had been* "crass" and "breathtaking".

The Conservatives *say* the criticisms *undermine* the government's claims that **other countries** *were following* the UK's lead over the economy.

The Conservatives and Liberal Democrats *have* both *criticised* the year-long reduction in VAT from 17.5% to 15% - estimated to cost £12bn. **The Tories** *say* it *has been* an expensive failure, pointing to figures suggesting shopper numbers had fallen. **The Lib Dems** *said* it *was* a "seriously defective" way of getting money into the economy.

But **Downing Street** *defended* the VAT cut, saying **recent reports** *suggested* it *had stopped* sales falling as far as they would otherwise and could be expected to increase sales by 1.2% over 2009.

Business and Enterprise Minister Pat McFadden *told* BBC Radio 4's The World at One: "I *don't believe* that the VAT cut *hasn't worked*. This *is* something **that is going to be** in place for the rest of the year.

"I *don't deny* for a moment **that times are** tough in the economy but I *think* that **governments do have** to be active. **Many governments** around the world *are taking* a fiscal stimulus."

There were some interesting choices of metonym for participants in the Times' displaying of this particular event: first, Downing Street, that is the famous street in London containing historical British cabinets including the residence of the Prime Minister, and secondly, in the text, Elysée as metonym for the French government. Both headlines bring material processes with a connotation of post-action changes. In 3b, Sarkozy's 'attack' is seen as a grammatical metaphor representing the event in a straight way, focusing on the attack and on the agent rather than on the effect and reaction, while 3a focuses directly on the effect and

position of the attacked. The participants in 3b are Sarkozy and Brown, in 3a, Downing Street and Sarkozy. Although the goals were, respectively, Brown and Downing Street, the nominal groups were chosen instead of the name or social identity. For instance, in 3b, Sarkozy attacked not Brown, but Brown's policy concerning VAT, and in 3b the attacked was not only Brown, but the whole cabinet of the Prime Minister. I will finish my observations on this pair with questions, food for thought. Why would a publicly supported British newspaper report the French attack without considering positions from the government, and why would a private British newspaper focus on the efforts of the French?

In the news, a game of words is brought into play both in sample 3a and in sample 3b, considering that both bring many verbal processes with the aim of reinforcing the linguistic choices of the headlines and leads. The participants here show some divergence, for The Times continues to use metaphorical expressions, as Elysée Palace, Downing Street, and The French, while BBC assumes a more objective perspective, using terms such as Conservative, Britain, Sarkozy. Both BBC and Times use Downing Street; nevertheless, Downing Street is a well known metaphor for the UK Government, considering its geographical implication.

The Times appears to go for a more instigating approach through the use of figurative processes such as “jumped”, “bailed”, “shocked”, while BBC seems more conservative in the use of regular reporting processes as “defended”, “added”, “disagree”, etc. This prerogative from The Times might reflect a greater impact in choosing such material processes which are not merely reporting a fact, but, inflecting a fact.

Throughout the samples, the biggest differences standing out are the choices of each participant, considering that by choosing a street instead of a single representative it appears to embody more participants than the former. Besides that, the choice of some of the material processes could be replaced by other processes as verbal, or even a nominal group; however, the decision made draws the attention to the possible results of the action taken, as for instance in “attacks”, “jumped on to”, “not amused” which would engage a metaphor for disagreeing with the actions.

PAIR FOUR

4a *The Times*

President Barack Obama	<i>breaks</i>	Republican resistance	over \$820bn plan
actor	material	goal	

President Obama	<i>cleared</i>	the biggest hurdle in his fight to push through his \$827 billion economic stimulus plan after winning a crucial vote in the Senate yesterday.	
actor	material		

Needing 60 votes in the procedural ballot to cut off the debate on the Bill — and to thwart any Republican blocking tactics — **Mr. Obama** *got* 61, winning the support of three moderate Republicans. **The Bill** *will* now *go* for a full decisive **Senate** *vote* today, where again a **60-vote majority** *will see* it through.

The struggle over the stimulus package, which has faced almost unanimous Republican opposition and has gone some way to reinvigorating the party after its heavy defeats in November, has left Mr. Obama's hopes of a new era of bipartisanship looking increasingly forlorn.

Such was the fear that the **Bill might fail that **Senator Edward Kennedy, who is suffering** from brain cancer and **suffered** a seizure on Inauguration Day, even travelled from Florida for the vote.**

Mr Obama last night used the first prime-time news conference of his presidency to warn that **a failure to act swiftly and boldly** "could turn a crisis into a catastrophe."

"At this particular moment, with the private sector so weakened by this recession, **the federal government is** the only entity left with the resources to jolt our economy back to life," **he said**.

Mr Obama has sought to retake control of the partisan debate in Congress and took his case directly to the American people for the first time yesterday. Borrowing heavily from the populist themes and rhetoric that got him elected, **he railed** in front of a crowd in Indiana against the "bickering" of Washington politicians.

His townhall rally in Elkhart, a city that has one of the worst unemployment rates in the United States, is part of a hastily arranged campaign blitz to get the public behind the plan. Today **he will campaign** for the package in Florida and on Thursday **he will make** his case in Peoria, Illinois.

By appealing directly to voters, **the President wants** to increase pressure on his Republican opponents. If **he can peel off** even an extra handful of opposition supporters in the House and Senate, **it will lend** the Bill a modicum of bipartisan support.

More fundamentally, **Mr Obama and his aides know** that **the stimulus plan could** well decide the fate of his presidency. If **it fulfils** his promise to create or save three million to four million jobs within two years, **his Republican opponents will have** little to fall back on. If **the plan fails**, which is a distinct possibility, **he and the Democratic Party will have** no one else to blame.

Mr Obama's strategists want to build as much popular support as possible for the measure, because **they** realise that **they** will need as much patience as **they** can muster among voters in the face of an economic crisis **that Mr Obama** has said could take years to turn around.

"**I can't tell** you with 100 per cent certainty that **everything in this plan** will work exactly as **we** hoped," **Mr Obama** said yesterday, adding that **any delay to pass the Bill** "will bring only deepening disaster".

In an incident that **he** will hope does not become a metaphor for his efforts to revive the economy, **Mr Obama** banged his head hard as **he** boarded Marine One, the presidential helicopter, on his way to Indiana.

In recent polls **barely half of Americans** said that **they** supported the plan, **which** is the biggest spending package in US history. Yet when asked how **Mr Obama** was handling the issue **two thirds** backed him, with only a third expressing support for congressional Republicans, according to the latest Gallup poll. **David Axelrod**, Mr Obama's chief adviser, said on the flight to Indiana that **the Gallup survey** showed that "the **American people** are desperate for us to act".

Republicans oppose the plan because **they** claim that **it** contains wasteful, untargeted spending and will greatly increase the ballooning national budget deficit.

4b BBC

US Senate	<u>approves</u>	stimulus plan
actor	material	

The US Senate	<u>has passed</u>	an economic stimulus plan expected to cost some \$838bn	
actor	material		
The Democratic-controlled Senate	<u>voted</u>	61-37 to approve the measure, with few Republicans opting to back it.	
actor	material		

Tough negotiations are now expected in order to reconcile the Senate bill with the House of Representatives' version.

President Barack Obama welcomed the vote as a good start. **It** came as the **US Treasury Secretary** unveiled a bank bail-out plan worth some \$1.5 trillion.

'No assurance'

The president, who says **the stimulus measure** is needed to create up to four million jobs and lift the economy, has said **he** wants the final package to reach his desk by 16 February.

Speaking at a public event in Fort Myers, Florida, **Mr Obama** said **the passage of the Senate legislation** was "good news" but warned there was still work to do.

"**We've** still got to get the House bill and the Senate bill to match up before **it** gets sent to my desk, so **we** have a little more work to do over the next couple of days," **he** said.

Democratic Senate Majority Leader **Harry Reid** said **he** would send a completed version of the legislation to Mr Obama "as soon as possible".

But **Mitch McConnell**, the Republican Senate Minority Leader, complained that **the bill** was "full of waste", adding: "**We** have no assurance it will create jobs or revive the economy."

Democrats in the Senate secured support for the bill from three Republican senators, Susan Collins and Olympia Snowe from Maine and Arlen Specter from Pennsylvania.

The House and Senate measures are largely similar, but there are differences over how to expand the federal medical programme, Medicaid, and on spending priorities.

While **the House bill** would give more money to schools, local governments and individual states, the **Senate bill** devotes more resources to tax cuts.

White House spokesman Robert Gibbs said **Mr Obama** would address a joint session of the House and the Senate on 24 February to outline his agenda.

Meanwhile, under Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner's bank bail-out plan, **the size of a key Federal Reserve lending program** *will be* expanded to \$1 trillion from \$200bn.

In addition, **a public-private investment fund of \$500bn** *will be* created to absorb banks' toxic assets and *could be* expanded to \$1 trillion. (73bn).

As a common occurrence in headlines and leads, both 4a and 4b present material processes in reporting the matter. In 4b, the participant actor 'US Senate' approves (material process) a certain stimulus plan. The fact of not specifying which plan illustrates Foucault's observation that nowadays the newspaper proposes themes that the audience have already some opinion about, in the sense that the audience is expected to know what stimulus plan was talked about. On the other hand, in 4a, the actor 'President Barack Obama' is the one who breaks (metaphorical material process) the possible resistance of the Senate, especially of Republican senators, towards a specific plan of \$820bn, value which was not considered important for the BBC to highlight. Thus, in 4b, there was no represented effort of the president in approving such plan. It was simply a decision made by the US Senate towards their goal, which was completely different for The Times in representing the effort of the president in breaking the resistance of the Republicans. In representing such effort The Times creates a different image of the president and the political life of the USA from the one proposed by the BBC, which did not even mentioned the Republicans.

The samples also differ as to the choices of processes in the story itself: BBC opts more for verbal processes and reporting statements as for

instance in “said”, “address”, “warned”, “says”, and The Times selects more material processes as in “backed”, “take”, “bring”, “work”, among others. The participants seem to circulate around the same choices as Mr. Obama, although BBC attempts to vary the designation by using The President or President Barack Obama. It is very clear for CDA that no choice is free from ideology; therefore, the very fact of BBC having used US Senate as actor rather than The Time’s choice of President Barack Obama in the headlines and throughout the story certainly suggests some ideological positioning. Furthermore, the fact of opting for material processes suggests an effort to convince by means of others’ opinions and actions rather than stressing the voice of the newspaper itself.

PAIR FIVE

5a *The Times*

G20	<u>could give</u>	\$1 trillion stimulus to boost world economy
actor	material	
A new \$1 trillion stimulus to the world economy	<u>could emerge</u>	from the G20 summit in London’s Docklands later today,
actor	material	
officials	<u>say.</u>	
sayer	verbal	

It will not be the co-ordinated fiscal injection that **Gordon Brown and Barack Obama** *had been hoping* for when **the summit** was called last November. On that there will be a strong commitment to “do **what is** necessary” and a timetable for action on top of the \$2 trillion boost already announced by governments.

The big surprise today will instead be the sheer scale of the extra sums made available in new loans and other liquidity boosts, particularly to kickstart growth in the emerging markets of China and Latin America.

The Times understands that **the money** will come in three separate packages.

The first are new lines of credit worth more than \$100 billion to encourage countries to trade more.

The second is a possible tripling to \$750 billion in the resources held by the International Monetary Fund to rescue struggling economies. **The extra money** will come from Japan, the EU, China and others.

The third is a one-off allocation of “special drawing rights” that enable countries to swap their own currencies for IMF backed resources. **The effect** is to give those countries more confidence to deplete their reserves and expand.

Officials said they were confident of a deal on financial regulation, with the outstanding issue being the timing and content of a blacklist of tax havens against which **international sanctions** will be taken. **The dispute** has put France and China, **which** has havens in Hong Kong and Macao under its jurisdiction, at odds.

British officials explained President Sarkozy’s late arrival at last night’s to Number 10 feast on the grounds that **he** had felt the need “to freshen up”.

Officials held out no hope of a firm commitment at the summit to complete the Doha trade talks soon, arguing that **America** had only just appointed a negotiator, and that **the Indians elections** made progress impossible.

The other firm commitment will be a threat to name and shame countries that erect new protectionist barriers, **officials** said.

Gordon Brown was reported to be pleased with overall progress this morning. **Stephen Timms, Financial Secretary to the Treasury**, said that **the UK** supported tough action against tax havens. “**The era of banking secrecy** is over,” he said.

5b BBC

G20 leaders	<u>seal</u>	\$1tn global deal
actor	material	

• IMF boost:	The resources of the International Monetary Fund,		the emergency lender for
actor	goal		
countries in financial trouble,	<u>will be expanded</u>	by \$750bn.	Its coffers <u>have been depleted</u>
	material		material
in recent months by having to help a number of Eastern European nations.			

The G20 nations	<u>are expected to agree</u> to lend it an extra \$500bn. In addition,		
actor	material		
leaders	<u>will</u>	also	<u>agree</u> significant changes that <u>will</u> in effect
actor		material	actor
<u>create</u>	an overdraft facility worth \$250bn (in the IMF's currency, so-called Special Drawing Rights)		
material			
that	the world's poorest countries	can call on.	

- **Tax havens:** Treasury minister Stephen Timms *says* the G20 *have agreed* to impose sanctions on tax havens **that** *refuse* to sign up to OECD rules to fight money laundering and tax evasion, although **discussions** *are continuing* over whether **uncooperative havens** *will be named and shamed*.
- **Global trade:** *There will be* about \$250bn committed to boost international trade, UK Chancellor Alistair Darling *confirmed*. **The figure** *will include* national efforts already announced.
- **Fiscal stimulus:** **No new money** *will be pledged*. However, **leaders** *are expected to pledge to do* whatever it takes to boost their own economies and emphasise that - globally - **\$2 trillion** *is* already *being spent* to tackle the global recession.
- **Protectionism:** *There will be* a commitment to naming and shaming countries that breach free trade rules.
- **Financial regulation:** **Tighter limits on the financial system** *are expected*, including the activities of hedge funds, which are currently unregulated investment funds.
- **Bankers:** *There may also be* measures to clamp down on bankers' pay.

According to the BBC's diplomatic correspondent James Robbins, **the agreement** *will mark* a very substantial shift towards control and regulation of capitalism.

It *does imply* that **business** *will be done* in a very significantly different way in the future, **he says**.

Disagreements

Earlier, UK Business Secretary Lord Mandelson *told* the BBC that despite all the preparatory work before the summit, *there were* still some issues to iron out.

"[Disagreements] *persisted* overnight," Lord Mandelson *told* the BBC News channel, particularly over levels of funding for the IMF, regulation of tax havens and measures to boost global trade.

It *is* understood that **Gordon Brown** *wants* to go further than some other leaders on these matters.

"Our Prime Minister is excessively ambitious in what he wants out of this summit," UK Business Secretary Lord Mandelson said. "A good thing too, because there's absolutely no point in people just coming here and rehearsing old arguments restating old commitments."

Leaders started the crucial day of talks with a working breakfast, and before beginning what one minister described as "lively discussions", posed for a team photo.

Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper missed it when he was pulled aside by an aide. When the photo was re-taken, however, the Italian Prime Minister, Silvio Berlusconi, was absent.

Protests

Protesters gathered outside the summit, but in smaller numbers than Wednesday's demonstrations in London's financial district where one man died and 86 people were arrested.

By mid-afternoon on Thursday, that total had risen to 111, the Metropolitan police said.

Several hundred staged "noisy but calm" protests near the Excel centre representing groups including the Stop the War Coalition and CND, the BBC's Ben Brown said.

A small group of protesters gathered earlier at the London Stock Exchange, but have since dispersed.

The final agreement will not be the end of the process, BBC chief economics correspondent Hugh Pym warns. "The G20 will need to meet again."

He says the leaders will have a difficult balancing act in presenting the final agreements later on Thursday.

There will have to be a bit of pragmatism over what can and cannot be achieved, our correspondent says, but they must also convey a sense that they really have a vision as to how they can bring economies through this recession.

The recession has worsened since G20 leaders met last November in Washington.

Both the IMF and the World Bank *expect* the world economy to shrink for the first time in decades this year.

Reporting from the Excel centre, BBC business correspondent **John Moylan** *said* the summit *would be judged* a success if the global recession became a short, sharp shock, rather than a very long downturn.

The G20 group of nations *is* made up of the world's most powerful economies, accounting for 90% of the world's economic output, 80% of world trade and two-thirds of the world's population.

In this pair, both newspapers represent the attempt of the G20 in coming to an agreement to solve the global economical problem. BBC chose the material process 'seal' in the infinitive, emphasizing the immediacy of the presentation of the proposal. This linguistic choice might lead the reader to imagine something close to the present time and a positive result arising from the G20 efforts. On the other hand, The Times proposes the material process 'give' preceded by a modal verb with a connotation of a less certain factual resolution in presenting such stimulus plan. The representation of the material process in 5b differs from 5a in the sense of attributing less certitude in the meeting's outcome towards an international agreement.

Besides the processes, the headlines differ also in the quantity of information. In 5a, it is taken for granted that the readership might not know about the content of the cited meeting of the group. BBC's representation showed 'global deal' as the goal of the actor G20 in the process. The Times represented the context of situation for the readers by specifying the amount of '\$1 trillion stimulus' and qualifying the goal with another process: 'to boost' world economy. It is important to notice that, while one institution chooses to be general and bring a positive

atmosphere, the other gives details and represents doubt as to the actual completion of such proposal.

The leads from 5a and 5b confirm the initial premise of the analysis, in which 5a gave a less certain completion status by the use of ‘could emerge’ in contrast to 5b in ‘will be expanded’. It is also intriguing to observe that 5a brings in the development of the news the following statement: ‘*The Times* understands that’ which is unusual, since the newspaper itself rarely appears as a participant. More common, though not very usual, is to attribute opinions to reporters and correspondents, as in “BBC business correspondent John Moylan said”. BBC divided the full news into topics classified as either positive or negative, within a range of material (arrest) processes. Besides the example above, they include another institutional participant, as in ‘BBC’s Ben Brown’. The Times relied more heavily on statements of outsider participants, such as Officials, America, etc.

PAIR SIX

6a *The Times*

Russia and America	<u>pledge to slash</u>	nuclear stockpiles
actor	material	

Russia and America	<u>have pledged to slash</u>	their nuclear stockpiles in a groundbreaking agreement in London on the eve of the G20 summit.
actor	material	

President Obama and President Medvedev	<i>issued</i>	a statement that promised a “fresh start” in	
sayer	verbal		
relations that could include a legally binding arms reduction treaty by the end of the year.			
White House officials	<i>indicated</i>	that the number of nuclear warheads	<i>was</i>
actor	material		
likely to be reduced to no more than 1,500 each.			

It <i>was</i> the first time that	the two leaders	<i>had met.</i>	Mr Obama	<i>will visit</i>	Moscow in the summer.
	actor	material	actor	material	

The four-page statement *pledged* co-operation on issues ranging from the war in Afghanistan to reining in Iran’s nuclear ambitions. However, **White House officials** *said* that **the men** *disagreed* on human rights, US plans to site missile defence systems in Eastern Europe, the expansion of Nato and Russia’s invasion of the Georgian territory of South Ossetia.

Mr Obama *set* a hectic pace in his debut to the world stage. **He** *held* his first talks with the Chinese President Hu Jintao. **China, which** *has been pushing* for more say in the governance of global institutions at the expense of Europe, *has* already *signalled* that **it** *may be willing* to pour billions of dollars into the IMF to help developing economies.

Meanwhile, **Gordon Brown’s hopes of securing a comprehensive economic recovery plan** *hit* a dangerous hitch. **President Sarkozy of France and Angela Merkel, the German Chancellor,** *joined* forces at a London hotel to warn that **they** *would not sign up* unless **their call for a new international “financial architecture”** *was met*. In what may yet turn out to be an exercise in pre-summit brinkmanship, **they** *said* that **agreement** *had to come* today and *could not be put off* to a later summit.

The day was marred by protests in the City of London. Although **fears of a mass riot** failed to materialise, **masked anarchists** smashed their way into a branch of Royal Bank of Scotland. By 7pm, **32 people** had been arrested, 11 for possession of police uniforms while travelling in an armoured personnel carrier. **A man**, believed to be in his 30s, collapsed and later died near a police cordon. **Bottles** were thrown at officers who went to his aid.

In a joint press conference at the Foreign Office, **Mr Obama** praised Mr Brown's leadership in bringing the summit to London. **American officials** voiced astonishment that, in the middle of intense negotiations, **Mr Brown** had to go to the Commons to face Prime Minister's Questions. "**We** are constantly fascinated by the rituals and rigours of parliamentary democracy," said one.

6b BBC

US and Russia	<u>press</u>	the reset button
actor	material	goal

The United States and Russia	<u>have pressed</u>	the reset button	on their relationship by
actor	material	goal	
reaching for the easiest issue they can settle quite quickly - a reduction in their nuclear forces			

Nuclear warheads are the low-hanging fruit on the tree of their relations and, after their meeting in London, **Presidents Obama and Medvedev** announced that **they** intend to reach a new agreement by December.

Why is **this** the easiest issue? Because **it** is in the interest of both sides to make further reductions. **They** do not need so many.

The current aim, reached in an agreement between Presidents George W Bush and Putin in Moscow in 2002 (and known as the Strategic Offensive

Reductions Treaty or Sort) is to cut deployed warheads to between 1,700 and 2,200 on each side by 2012.

The new aim is to get an agreement to take those numbers much lower. It will still give them both the power to destroy each other several times over.

And why by **December**? Because **that** is when a **previous treaty** known as Start (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) runs out. Start made dramatic reductions in nuclear forces of some 80% but **the key point** at this moment is that **it** contains binding agreements on verification and when the treaty runs out so do those commitments. **They** will have to be renewed if arms control is to be under proper monitoring.

That creates a timetable and an opportunity which **both leaders** have seized.

'Political will'

Some problems remain to be overcome. **Russia** wants to go back to the original idea used in Start and reduce delivery systems, as they are called - rockets, submarines etc - and not just warheads.

It also wants all warheads, not just those ready for use, to be counted. **That** creates verification problems.

For the United States, **it** will have to be clear that there is no linkage between this potential agreement and the proposed US anti-missile system in Eastern Europe to which **Moscow** objects. **It** is still possible that **President Obama** will cancel or delay the system, but **he** will not do so at Russia's behest.

"**This** is an extremely short timeframe," said **Mark Fitzpatrick**, nuclear watcher at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. "In the past **these treaties** have taken years to negotiate and **ratification** also takes a long time but there is political will behind this one."

Reduction not elimination

President Obama hopes that a **by-product of a new agreement** will be the deflection of criticism that **the US** is not doing enough to meet its commitment to nuclear disarmament under the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty.

The treaty *demands* that nuclear-armed states *aim* for disarmament under a general agreement. A review conference on the treaty *is* to be held next year.

"The treaty *needs* political strengthening," *said* Mark Fitzpatrick. "It *is* under siege. The last review conference in 2005 *was* a failure and non nuclear-armed states *are losing* faith that the nuclear states *are fulfilling* their side of the bargain."

However, the reality *is* that the nuclear-armed states *might disarm* partially but *will not disarm* completely.

They *are* all in the process of modernising their forces which *will reduce* them in numbers - but not eliminate them. A nuclear weapons-free world *remains* pie in the sky because there are - and will be - missiles in the sky instead.

In 6b the BBC seems to consider it a common sense to talk about US-Russia negotiations, for they have chosen to express the restart of the negotiation through the use of a grammatical metaphor: reset button. By making such decision, they link the control of nuclear armoury, which is initiated by pressing a button, with the negotiations as a game set of which we may never be free. On the other hand, The Times goes straight to the point, informing the specific objective of the meeting, which is represented by nominal group: nuclear stockpiles. Whereas BBC makes a popular linguistic choice, The Times uses 'pledges to slash', which entails the effort of both countries in agreeing that the reduction of the nuclear power of all nations would present a more peaceful outcome.

Finally, a more noticeable fact is the position in which the countries appear differently in each headline. While 6b shows 'US and Russia', 6a shows 'Russia and America'. BBC is considering the nominal group US as popular in the country, while The Times chooses America,

which refers back to the Cold War representations of the USA. The order in which a country appears in the headline might depict who is perhaps in control of the negotiations, or even who is looking for such negotiations. Thus, for the BBC the US seems more important in the negotiation than Russia, since, politically speaking, the US is considered a closer ally to the UK than Russia. On the other hand, for The Times, Russia may be more important in the relationship, since the institution has no explicitly direct governmental relationship.

In the leads, both newspapers reinforce the headlines simply by changing the material processes into present perfect as in ‘have pledged, have pressed’. The choices for participants differ in a sense that The Times use ‘officials’ as a more general way of representing the participants, while BBC prefers individuals for presenting statements.

The process choices throughout the stories vary equally between verbal (said) and material (joined, reduce). For the participants, The Times keeps using Mr. Obama; BBC refers to him as President Obama, which could be seen as a strategy to reinforce his position as a President of one of the most important countries of the world towards the decisions to be made in the matter, while Mister would not fulfil the same role.

After looking closely at each of the six pairs selected for analysis, we proceed in the next and final chapter to assess them as a whole, highlighting the major findings so as to answer the the research questions, the initial premises of the work.

CHAPTER IV - CONCLUSIONS

4.1 Final Remarks

This research departed from the premise that online newspapers, like other kinds of news media, may carry ideological biases depending on the political stances of the institutions to which they belong. Although when it comes to international political news, most newspapers report a similar story, and therefore carry similar headlines and leads, this very report, if looked at closely in discursive terms, would prove to vary according to their ideology.

In searching for evidence of ideological variation, I looked at two worldwide news institutions, namely BBC News and Times Online, both of them situated in the UK. It is important to stress that I looked at online newspapers, rather than at their printed version, which requires a more immediate response from the editors towards the target audience, considering the liability of the sources and the timing of the event. The research was carried out and organised as explained below.

Chapter I introduced the purposes and the questions of the research, and pointed out its academic contribution in terms of CDA, SFL, Social Semiotics, and Media Studies. It also included the method employed for corpus selection and data analysis. The investigation sought to answer how power relations may be perceived in online newspapers concerning international affairs, and what transitivity choices enhance the ideology of the newspaper institutions towards their readership. Emphasis

was given to headlines and leads, considering the greater impact these have on online readers, who can quickly decide whether to continue reading the piece of news or move to a different page.

Chapter II depicted the review of literature, presenting discourse and ideology and social practice according to Foucault, Fairclough, Halliday, Van Dijk, Meurer, among others. Briefly, it explained the transition from earlier communication media to the hypermedia used on computers today and how the researchers followed such communication mediation in society.

Chapter III provided the comparative analysis of each of the twelve samples and the findings concerning the comparison between the two editorial ideologies. As a common discursive practice, headlines tend to present nominal groups as a linguistic choice; nevertheless, for the purpose of analysing transitivity, I selected mainly verbal groups, even though some nominal groups were still included in the samples due to the importance of the event for the comparison. In terms of the processes identified, the results of the comparative analysis of headlines showed a marked preference for material processes as means of appealing to the readership, with the material processes making up 78% of the transitivity choices in the headlines and leads, as shown in the following figure:

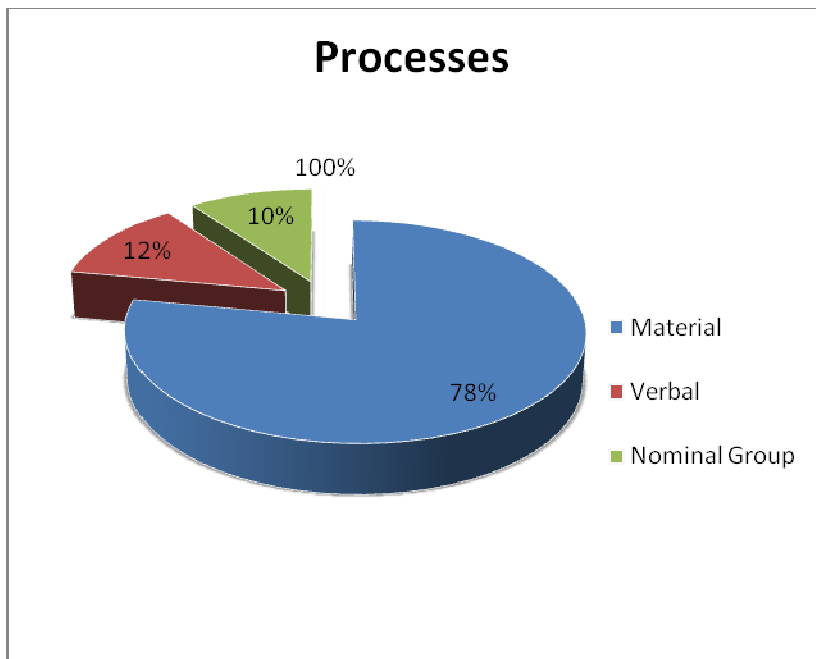


Figure 5

As we have seen, material processes indicate some change in the event at the moment of reporting. Therefore, the choices of the news institutions analysed here seem to illustrate a preference for significant changes in the political world. Considering that international relations should be based on long-term talks between different representatives, and they are represented in at least three of the samples, it seems clear that the choice of a material process over all other possibilities might indicate the desire for a change that the institution either wants to prevail or intends to make the audience believe is happening already.

4.2 Answering the Research Questions

In order to address the initial premise of this work, I shall respond to the research questions proposed as a main motivation for carrying out the present research, which were the following:

- A. How are power relations enacted in online newspaper headlines concerning international affairs?

- B. What transitivity choices enhance the ideology of the newspaper institutions towards their readership?

With regard to the first question, it was important throughout the thesis to emphasise that we were dealing with only two distinctive news institutions, based in the UK, to represent online news and their emergence in contemporary society. Since news constitute social practices, news online are considerably different from the hard copies of newspapers. Consequently, power relations, as presented in the review of literature, are enacted by the use of what was ‘never said’ or the silent voice as proposed by Foucault (1969). The ‘never said’ or silent voice is the voice behind the perceptible meanings, the ideology behind the construct of such biased headline, sometimes perceived in an ordinary look, sometimes only through a semiotic perspective as a transitivity analysis allows researchers to do.

The domination of some actors over others, as explained in the review of literature with reference to Giddens (1984), is illustrated in 1a

and 1b among other examples. In those samples the news institutions have freely chosen how they would represent the president of a politically important nation such as the United States. They might say Obama, Barack Obama, President Obama, President Barack Obama, or they may opt out, by not mentioning his political position at all, which might depict him as a common citizen rather than in the position of a leader. The Times refers to him as Barack Obama in the headline and the lead, indicating a degree of formality, even if in the remainder of the news he appears simply as Mr Obama. BBC, on the other hand, imparts a tone of informality, by designating him as Obama already in the headline, and as Mr. Obama in the lead. By popularizing an important political figure, the newspaper gains closer access to its readership, facilitating its ideological hold over them. In the text that follows, it seems to be the interest of BBC to stress the plans and projects of “the new US leader” (once) and “the new president” (twice).

Another difference in perspective can be seen in the fourth pair of news, about the struggle between democrats and republicans in relation to the approval of the economic stimulus plan proposed by the US President. Whereas The Times foregrounds the presidency, referring to the victorious “hero” (who “breaks” Republican resistance and “clear[s] the biggest hurdle in his fight”) as President Barack Obama and President Obama, BBC focuses on the American Senate, which simply “approves”, “passes” and “votes” the bill, rendering the news simply as a normal political procedure, diminishing the impact of the president’s victory.

One answer, then, to the question of how power relations are enacted in online newspapers could be in their linguistics choices in the representation or foregrounding of social actors and/or events.

In addressing the second research question, we have seen that the news institutions have chosen how they would represent the ‘actor’s action’, if through a mental, material, or verbal process. Although most of the processes are material, conferring the power of agency to the actors rather than to circumstances or to relations, there are considerable differences as to who is presented as an authoritative resource. The silent voice of the institution, its bias toward the events reported, is thus construed in the choice of emphasis on who acts and on which details of the action are selected. Therefore, in discussing the power relation institutions might have with their readership, it is important to highlight the linguistic choices here represented by the transitivity system.

As mentioned before in the journalism chapter, ideology encompasses opinion and interpretation. Although some authors point out the difference between them, I see their intrinsic connection as an important characteristic of journalism, for whenever beholders, journalists or not, witness an event, they bring to their interpretation all the opinions and scales of society (Fairclough, 2006). From a semiotic perspective, which is the purpose of this very work, all opinions and interpretations are biased according to the context of culture in which people are positioned.

Both BBC News and Times Online seem to be eager for changes in political scenery; nevertheless, each one is moved by a different impulse. After looking at the samples and following the processes of

making news, it is clearer that on the one hand BBC embraces the duty of being a democratic voice to inform people about what is happening out of boundaries, and on the other hand, the Times might make use of such position to defend private political interests. While BBC is attempting to bring hope to the people by being positive concerning the actions of the politicians (although some critique might be detected), The Times is being more critical towards the politics, since it departs from a more private institutional perspective. Consequently, it may be stated that BBC differs somewhat from The Times in the sense that the presentation of the same events varies, according to the depiction of different “silent voices”.

Certainly, many more questions could have been asked about the topic dealt with in this investigation, which leaves an open ground for further research on the ideological implications of transitivity choices in online newspaper headlines. Some of the possible research questions for further analysis would be about what ideologies are enhanced in newspapers and how far can the edition of a newspaper go to influence ideologically other positions and institutions.

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