

Introduction

Whether women should be ordained to the priesthood in the Anglican Church in Australia has been 'debated' extensively in the daily press for over ten years. To have an opinion on the ordination of women is to be 'church literate'. However, out of a total Australian population of 16.85 million, only 1.2 million persons (of which approximately one quarter are Anglicans) attend Protestant churches regularly. It is therefore reasonable to speculate that opinions have been shaped for many people by sources other than sermons or discussions with clergy.¹ Even allowing for indirect input through contact with theologically informed lay persons, one can hypothesise that attitudes in the general population, but perhaps also among persons who would identify themselves as practising Anglicans, have been formed to some degree in response to the media definitions of the issues involved.

From the perspective of the 'person in the street', the women's ordination debate may have constituted anything from an example of the strident radicalism of feminists, to being a non-issue - a foregone conclusion - or even an example of the deplorable out datedness of 'the Church'. The public relations office of the Anglican Church, Diocese of Sydney (which, through its director, acted both for the Diocese of Sydney and the General Synod of the church), tended to receive most telephone enquiries about ordination to the priesthood during the week of synod meetings. This was the time when media coverage of the issue was most intense, as for

example, during the General Synod meeting in August 1989. Many such calls came from people holding a pro-ordination view. A few callers wanted to cast their 'vote', phone-in poll style. Not only does this say something about the impact of the media on issue definition (at least for some people), it also raises questions about the media's capacity to shape perceptions and expectations of the workings of democracy and church.

By the time of the 1989 General Synod it was evident to me as a public relations practitioner in the Anglican Information Office, that the theological viewpoint of the Anglican Diocese of Sydney was, in general, falling on deaf journalistic ears. At times it seemed as though the plot (women versus men) and theme (misogyny) were already set, and the journalists were simply looking for spokespersons to slot into the character types (heroes and villains) in the story. This subjective experience in part motivated this study.

There were, no doubt, other points of view on the process. From the perspective of the general rounds journalist covering a synod session, while women's ordination was always "hot news" the theological and legal debate approached the unfathomable. Journalist, historian and a Melbourne diocesan representative on the Standing Committee of the Anglican General Synod, Dr Muriel Porter, put it this way:

" ... the church's rules that govern its sacraments and ministry are complex and not readily understood by general journalists. Most of them find the church's treatment of women in this context genuinely mystifying, so mistaken emphases are understandable." ²

For the women who would have considered themselves to be leaders in the push for ordination, there may have been gratitude that they were being 'heard' by the media and society at large,

when they were not being 'affirmed' by their own church(es). But their role in relation to the media was not always a reactive or passive one. Member of the Movement for the Ordination of Women (M.O.W.) and a "founding mother", Dr Ruth Sturme, in her doctoral analysis says that media interest "was deliberately fostered by M.O.W. as a communication and education strategy".³ Eileen Baldry, another member of M.O.W., clearly outlines the rationale for the strategy:

"A single understandable target (ordination) was made the focus. This was a deliberate strategy for it was recognised after many years of attempting to gain ground, that the media, and the public via the media, would not grasp the complex in-house church matters in question, but that women as priests was a strong, memorable image."⁴

Sturme goes on to attribute three factors to M.O.W.'s media "success". The first was that Dr Patricia Brennan, M.O.W. president, moved "professionally into media work". Sturme identifies the second factor as "the renewed interest in religion throughout Australian society in the middle eighties" which meant that "organised religion was news". Third was that feminists in other areas of society "no longer popularly articulated feminist ideals", nor worked in "such highly conflictual situations". That is, that there was a vacuum of feminist issues and role models.⁵

Thus, projecting their viewpoint "through" the media to keep it before Australian society, was a conscious strategy of M.O.W., along with targeting and influencing church leaders.⁶

This of course raises a number of questions as to the nature of the media. At this point I will suggest the most obvious. Are the media but a clear 'window' through which one can communicate a point of view? If not a window, then do the media sometimes willingly act in a

public relations role 'in the public interest'? What implications does this have for journalistic commitment to 'objective' or 'impartial' reporting? It also raises the question of the basis of the media's interest in the women's ordination issue.

One view is that the Anglican Church's view on women is still evaluated by the media as socially formative.⁷ Sturmev on the other hand argues that the increased media interest in religion during the 1980s precipitated the interest in the women's ordination issue.⁸ Compare this with M.O.W.'s goal to keep the issue before Australian society through the secular media: "to remind them of the priority they ought to give to reforms for women".⁹

Was it Christianity that the media were interested in, or feminism? The latter would seem more consistent with Sturmev's view that M.O.W. filled a void in secular feminist activism. If M.O.W. was 'successful' in its media campaign, then the nature of that success is worthy of analysis.¹⁰

What of the perspective of those Anglican women not leading the media debate, but nevertheless keen to be ordained to the diaconate or priesthood? Some may have been similarly appreciative of media coverage. For others there may have been some embarrassment at a radical media image. Consider the account of the Rev Jennifer Hall, Anglican Diocese of Perth:

"If any group found me singularly disappointing, it was the press. When they sought an interview several months after the ordination (to the diaconate), I warned that I would not provide the controversial story they wanted. Undeterred, they came, we talked, they photographed. I made it a condition that I 'vet' the article before it went to press. How they changed what I said! I pointed out they were twisting the facts and reporting falsely. They wailed that they had to sell papers. Since I refused to allow publication of their version, the finished product ended up in small print on page 79 or thereabouts."¹¹

The goal of this study is to discover how debate has been constructed in the metropolitan press.¹² The task at hand demanded a mass communication methodology that facilitated the analysis of how news texts constructed a range of meanings associated with identifiable participants, how the reader was positioned in relation to them, and how the participants and their meanings were evaluated, generally, and comparatively across newspapers. The methodology had to allow the analysis of cartoons and photographs, as well as verbal text.

This brought me to semiotics. Saussure defined semiotics as the "science of the life of signs in our society".¹³ Mainstream semiotics emphasises structures and codes. This study however, is based in functional social semiotics, which emphasises the representation of participants and the social process involved in meaning creation.¹⁴

The working methodology adopted is that developed by Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen in association with Halliday and Kress and Hodge.¹⁵ This offers an integrated system of analysis for both visual and verbal texts, and one that is based in language theory: the functional grammatical system developed by M.A.K. Halliday. It is mindful of Halliday's contention that "a discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text".¹⁶ Given that this study applies the Kress - van Leeuwen model to the analysis of news texts, rather than to children's textbooks and advertising texts among others, it has been used also in conjunction with the perspectives of Fowler and Bell in relation to the language of the news media and news production.¹⁷

Very little of Christianity and church in Australia has been studied from a semiotic perspective. Ironically, it is the ordination of women that has awakened interest at the academic level. In her preliminary inquiry, Barbara Field noted conflicting meanings in the women's ordination debate:

"When people in the Church debate the issue of the ordination of women, they appear not to be 'hearing' each other. They are using the same words such as 'priest', 'ordination' and 'ministry', but they are not necessarily meaning the same things by them." ¹⁸

To assist an analysis of the communication of meanings, she proposed the adoption of Foucault's concept of the "discursive field" for each social structure or institution, within which there are many sometimes opposing discourses.¹⁹ This present study independently follows a similar line of inquiry, seeing the women's ordination debate as being informed by a range of discourses. The 'discursive field' will be used as a working concept. However, in the identification of those discourses, this study departs from Field's analysis. Consider Field's conceptualisation of the discourses:

"There is an overarching patriarchal discourse which subsumes the discourses of power and authority, theology and liturgy. There is also the discourse of subordination which subsumes the discourses of domesticity, equality, sex and gender." ²⁰

Field admits that her separation of the discourses is an "artificial one". While I agree that "the different discourses are not wholly independent of one another", ²¹ some regard must be given to the traditions of thought, and their meaning-emphases, that have given rise to the different points of view. This will facilitate an understanding of the discourses as expressed by their advocates. The very labelling of those discourses and matching with their advocates is crucial and must arise from textual evidence.

Kress' view of discourse, adopted as a working definition, is:

"Discourses are organisations of meanings which are prefigured in, determined by, and existent in social and material structures and processes. Discourse represents the mode in which ideology finds its discursive expression." ²²

In this study I will equate the 'discursive field' with church and church-related activities, or the practice of Christianity, rather than with the women's ordination debate as such, because women's ordination is the site for conflict between larger meanings not confined to this particular issue. The term 'discourse' will be equated with a textually identifiable and corporately held view on women's ordination. The more general terms 'viewpoint', 'view' or 'point of view' will be used to describe attitudes expressed by individual participants in the debate.

Chapter One outlines the theoretical background to the thesis in more detail. Chapter Two identifies strategies used to encode credibility for participants, and to position the reader favourably or unfavourably towards them. The model offered identifies modal values, and more obliquely, linguistic triggers of modal evaluations. Strategies are illustrated by sample texts. I will suggest that the end product of these strategies is the creation of social affinity between reader and represented participant, a 'personality credibility' that embodies the interpersonal metafunction of language.

In Chapter Three, photographs and cartoons will be considered. Analysis will follow the Kress - van Leeuwen model, which is explained and illustrated. It considers interactive meanings in images as well as composition and layout. Because of the smaller number of composite texts all

photographs have been analysed. Brief reference will be made to free-standing cartoons, which constitute a type of 'opinion' text. Suggestions for modifications and additions to the model also have been made.

Chapter Four will look at non-media sources of collectively held viewpoints on the women's ordination debate, linking discourses with particular participants and their points of view already identified in Chapter Two. These have been categorised into theological discourses and feminist discourses on the ordination of women. In identifying these competing discourses, a historical or 'tradition' approach has been taken, which looks at meaning-origins, contextualising the meanings in a wider system.

Within the field of Christianity-church-theology it will be seen that far from a simple 'for' and 'against' division of meanings in relation to the ordination of women to the priesthood, there are at least five views, with many more competing meanings within them, arising from three different traditions of theological inquiry. Within the field of feminism, three traditions have given rise to at least four perspectives including two limited anti-feminisms.

Three media discourses will then be identified. There is a democratic-legislative discourse, from which stems both a progress-historical discourse, and a unity discourse. The very nature of news discourse, and news values, also will be explored in relation to the construction of the media debate, and related back to the evaluative framework identified linguistically in Chapter Two.

The study will focus primarily on the representation of the women's ordination to the priesthood debate in the Anglican Church, but will make occasional comparison with press reporting of the Presbyterian debate. For the sake of brevity, I will use the term 'ordination' to refer to women's ordination to the *priesthood*, unless indicated otherwise.

News texts were systematically collected for the period 1987-1992 inclusively. Over 250 news items were collected along with a comparable number of other texts that included columns, features, cartoons, editorials and letters to the editor. Some reference will be made also to selected 1985/6 texts and 1993/4 texts. Items were collected from the *Sydney Morning Herald* (with the *Sun Herald*), the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* (or its predecessor, the *Daily Telegraph* with the *Sunday Telegraph*). Occasional reference is made to the *Canberra Times* or a suburban or regional newspaper. *The Age* was chosen along with the Sydney based newspapers to provide a comparison and because of an existing Sydney-Melbourne perspective in academic analysis of the debate.

Muriel Porter has made the judgment that "the two largest dioceses, with their significant numbers and substantial influence, have been at the heart of the dispute", and sees this as being related partially to secular Sydney-Melbourne rivalries but more to a difference of "world views".²³ Ruth Sturmeay offers an Adelaide/Sydney/Melbourne grid in her analysis of the theological contributions to the debate.²⁴ More generally, Stuart Piggin has argued that Australian Evangelicalism cannot be understood without the regional factor at least in relation to lay Anglicanism.²⁵

Historical and sociological analyses, which may involve the study of news texts as source material, may well benefit from researchers taking into account the very nature of news discourse and its mediatory effects.

I have entitled the thesis "Ordination By Media?" because this encapsulates the question as to whether, and in what ways, the newspapers studied can be said to have positioned the reader favourably towards ordination to the priesthood for women. It will be found to be a question that cannot be answered without some reference to the nature of news discourse and the economic basis of the newspaper industry.

The main argument of this thesis is that the women's ordination debate has been constructed and evaluated in terms of the 'social'. This is related to the ideology behind news discourse, which rests on notions of social progress and cohesion as measured by legislation, an ideology that reflects values of the Enlightenment. A by-product of this process has been the construction of a 'mediated theological orthodoxy' which lies in the realm of the 'social' rather than the 'theological': a shorthand measure by which church participants are henceforth evaluated.²⁶

The extent to which the same shorthand measure is adopted by church members, without reference to the theological debate, may suggest the extent to which the teaching role of church teachers - at least on this issue - has been usurped by the media.

Endnotes : Introduction

1. Findings from the National Church Life Survey (1991) of Protestant churches showed that 28% of those surveyed were enthusiastically in favour of ordination for women, 34% did not see it as a problem, while 25% saw it as inappropriate. 9% were unsure, 1% did not believe in ordination, while 3% supported it but not for their church. See Peter Kaldor, Ruth Powell, John Bellamy (et.al.), *Views From the Pews*, (Adelaide, Open Book, 1995).
2. Muriel Porter, *Women in the Church: The Great Ordination Debate in Australia*, (Ringwood, Penguin Books, 1989) p101.
3. Ruth Sturme, "Women and the Anglican Church in Australia: Theology and Social Change", PhD, (Department of Religious Studies, University of Sydney, 1989) p 187.
4. Eileen Baldry, "Women Challenging the Anglican Church" in *Actions Speak: Strategies and Lessons from Australian Social and Community Action*, Eileen Baldry and Tony Vinson (eds) (Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1991) pp 137-8.
5. Sturme, Thesis, p 187.
6. Ibid, p 188.
7. Porter, p 3; Sturme, Thesis, p 179.
8. Sturme, Thesis, p 187.
9. Sturme, Thesis, p 188.
10. Note also her observation that at one point in the mediated debate, the government's commitment to equal opportunity legislation made relevant the attitude of the Anglican Church to women priests (p 179).
11. Jennifer Hall, "A Ministry, A Mediation, A Statement" in Barbara Field (Ed.), *Fit For this Office: Women and Ordination*, (Blackburn, Collins Dove, 1989) p 131.
12. The role of television and radio in the representation of the debate may tell different stories again, but will be left to other researchers. Some of the original questions with which I approached the texts were shaped by my media liaison work with the Anglican Information Office during the 1989 synod session. However, in the course of text analysis, other issues arose.
13. Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, London, 1974 quoted in Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress, *Social Semiotics*, (Cambridge, Polity Press - Blackwell, 1988).

14. See Hodge and Kress, *Social Semiotics*, p 1.
15. Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, (Melbourne, Deakin University Press, 1990).
16. M.A.K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, (London, Edward Arnold, 1985) p xvii).
17. Roger Fowler, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*, (London, Routledge, 1991); Allan Bell, *The Language of News Media*, (Oxford, Blackwell, 1991).
18. Barbara Field, "Conflicting Discourses: Attitudes to the Ordination of Women in the Anglican Church in Australia" in *Religion in Australia: Sociological Perspectives*, Alan W. Black (ed) (Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1991), pp 52-3.
19. Chris Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*, (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1987) p 35, cited in Field, "Conflicting Discourses" p 53.
20. Field, "Conflicting Discourses", p 53.
21. Ibid, p 54. See discussion in Chapter 4.1 "Discursive recognition in the women's ordination debate", noting in particular endnote 3.
22. Gunther Kress, "Media Analysis and the Structure of Discourse", *Media Information Australia*, 28, (May 1983), p 3.
23. Porter, pp 11; 166.
24. Sturmey, Thesis, Chapter Two.
25. Stuart Piggin, "Pietism, Pluralism and Provincialism: The Divergent Paths of Melbourne and Sydney Evangelicalism, 1848-1988", Perry Memorial Lecture, Melbourne, 19 October 1990.
26. See discussion in Chapter 4.1 "Discursive recognition in the women's ordination debate", noting in particular endnote 5.

Chapter 1

Theoretical background

"Whoever controls modality can control which version of reality will be selected out as the valid version in that semiotic process ... All other versions can exist briefly but are deprived of force in the longer term unless a group refuses to let that force be negated. The sanction of modality ultimately has its force in the agreement of a group of people." ¹

This chapter will focus on the theoretical background to the methodology of this thesis. The method adopted explores the role of modality and of evaluation according to modal values, in newspaper texts.

First, I will trace the development of the concept of modality as understood by logicians and linguists, and then more recently, social semioticians. This will be done because it is the purpose of the study to identify the evaluative framework behind news texts. It will be argued that there are features of texts that, while not strictly part of the modal system by (formal) linguistic definition, nevertheless serve the same function. That is, they enhance or diminish the credibility of participants in the semiotic process and as a consequence, their points of view.

Modality in logic and linguistics

Whereas in the logician's view, modality is concerned with the necessity or possibility of the truth of a proposition, for the linguist, modality involves the speaker or the writer as the reference point. In very general terms, logic has provided the 'objective' stance, while linguistics has provided the 'subjective' one. The difference is the presence or absence of what Lyons calls the "I say so" component. ²

Whereas the linguist would recognise epistemic modality in the following statement - "I (confidently) infer that X is unordained" - the logician would remove the speaker/observer from the expression of the possibility of a proposition, thus:

"In the light of what is known, it is necessarily the case that X is unordained." (After Lyons.)

Logicians, says Lyons, distinguish between qualified or circumstantial truth and non-negatable but unverifiable truth. This is spoken of by logicians as "necessity" and "possibility" and these, according to Lyons, are the "central notions of traditional modal logic". ³ Lyons notes further that modal logic was originally concerned with only these notions of the necessary or possible truth of propositions. However, by the 1970s two other kinds of necessity and possibility were recognised: epistemic and deontic. While epistemic modality is related to knowledge/belief; that is, under what conditions something is true, deontic modality is "the logic of obligation and permission". ⁴

"Logical and epistemic necessity ... have to do with the truth of propositions; deontic modality is concerned with the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents." ⁵

While philosophers are concerned with moral obligation, Lyons argues that it is preferable for the linguist to take a broader view of obligation, "drawing no distinction, in the first instance at least, between morality, legality, and physical necessity." ⁶

So, the 'objective'/'subjective' limits of modality are derived from logic, while the 'obligation'/'permission' dimension is a linguistic extension argued by Lyons. It should be noted, however, that deontic necessity is, in Halliday's terms, 'modulation', rather than modality. ⁷

Diana Major, in the course of research into children's acquisition of language, described modals functionally:

"Modals are generally considered to be a group of words which, whatever they may be or do, function as auxiliary verbs in English sentences." ⁸

However, her description is preceded by discussion of their problematic definition. Indeed, there has been considerable debate among grammarians as to which words are modals:

"Modals are sometimes defined in terms of 'modal meaning' ie. 'willingness, desire, resolution and the like' (Allen); 'possibility, constraint and desire' (Long) and 'ability', 'possibility', 'permission', 'necessity', 'obligation', 'prediction'(Twaddell). They are sometimes defined in terms of syntactic characteristics (Ehrmann) ... and ... sometimes defined merely by their presence on a list labelled 'modals' (Fries)." ⁹

The differences are attributed by Major to different theoretical approaches, from semantics to etymology, usage and syntactic behaviour. ¹⁰ She, however, prefers a balanced definition incorporating formal (grammatical) and semantic considerations:

" ... defining a class exclusively in terms of the meanings of its members does not reflect the formal features they might share, just as a purely formal definition fails to reflect the near synonymy of certain modal and modal-like expressions." ¹¹

In 1971, Major concluded that it was not really possible to go beyond Fries' 1940 view that "no rules yet formed seemed adequate" to define more clearly the use of modals.¹²

Halliday's functional grammar

It was Michael Halliday who gave fresh direction to understanding the concept of modality. He saw it as 'interpersonal'. His is a functional, rather than a formal grammar, in that it looks at language in use in context and within the total linguistic system. It is a view of language that sees meaning in functional terms. The position taken by Halliday is within 'systemic' theory, which views "meaning as choice, by which a language or any other semiotic system, is interpreted as networks of interlocking options", "either (more like) this or that or the other". In Halliday's functional grammar, the relationship between the semantics and the grammar is one of realisation: "the wording 'realises' and encodes meaning."¹³

Importantly for this study, Halliday maintains that textual analysis, whether for the study of ideology (as here) or literary features, or whatever, because it is an act of interpretation, cannot proceed validly without a grammar at the base:

"A text is a semantic unit, not a grammatical one. But meanings are realised through wordings; and without a theory of wordings - that is, a grammar - there is no way of making explicit one's interpretation of the meaning of a text. Thus the present interest in discourse analysis is in fact providing a context within which grammar has a central place ... a discourse grammar needs to be functional and semantic in its orientation, with the grammatical categories explained as the realisation of semantic patterns."¹⁴

Indeed, Halliday argues that any discourse analysis not based on a grammar is no analysis at all, but just a running commentary on a text. It either appeals to some set of non-linguistic conventions, or to linguistic features "trivial enough" not to require a grammar, like the number of words per sentence. Halliday argues that the objectivity of this is often illusory. Otherwise, he sees that the exercise can be no more than a private one, with one explanation being as good or bad as any other.¹⁵

This study, then, proceeds in part from a European tradition of linguistics which sees the text as of equal importance with the grammatical system:

"It is of little use having an elegant theory of the system if it cannot account for how the system engenders text; equally it adds little to expatiate on a text if one cannot relate it to the system that lies behind it, since anyone understanding the text does so only because they know the system."¹⁶

For Halliday, the components of meaning in languages are functional components, or "metafunctions" as he calls them, and there are two main ones. There is the ideational component, which is related to making sense of the material world around us, and there is the interpersonal component, by which we interact with others in it. A third metafunction or meaning-component of language is the textual component, the site where the other two meaning-components are brought together.

Halliday locates modality in the "interpersonal metafunction", defining it as "intermediate degrees, between the positive and negative poles" of "yes" and "no". He also made a distinction between "propositions (information ie. statements and questions) and proposals (for goods and services ie. offers and commands)". Halliday asserts therefore that there are two kinds of

"intermediate possibilities": degrees of probability (possibly/ probably/ certainly) and degrees of usuality (sometimes/ usually/ always).¹⁷ It is to the degrees of probability and usuality that the term modality strictly belongs, says Halliday. Scales of obligation and inclination are termed 'modulation' in his grammar.

Remembering that Halliday views meaning as a function of choice, it may be possible to see an extension of the concept of 'modality' in his grammar in the 'grammatical metaphor'. He defines metaphor as "variation in the expression of meanings", a variation from that which "is in some sense typical or unmarked" or "literal" or "congruent". He notes that the consequence of lexical (word) selection is usually grammatical variation as well. Indeed, he argues that "the variation is essentially in the grammatical forms although often entailing some lexical variation as well".¹⁸

Halliday proposes two main types of grammatical metaphor in the clause. First, (interpersonal) metaphors of mood (including modality) and (ideational) metaphors of transitivity. Halliday describes the structure of interpersonal metaphors:

"... the speaker's opinion regarding the probability that his observation is valid is coded, not as a modal element within a clause, which would be its congruent realisation, but as a separate projecting clause in a hypotactic clause complex".¹⁹

Thus, 'it probably is so' becomes the grammatical metaphor 'I think it is so'. Halliday recognises, however, that it is not always possible to identify what is and isn't a metaphorical representation of modality. He notes, however, that speakers have an infinite number of ways of expressing opinions, or perhaps disguising the fact that they are doing so.²⁰ It is this 'grey' area between objectivity' and 'subjectivity' that is the focus of my interest in the reporting of the women's ordination debate.

Having argued that modality refers to that area of meaning that lies between 'yes' and 'no', Halliday outlines the features of the "modality system". With regard to an information clause (a proposition congruently realised as indicative) the meaning is understood to be encoded first, in degrees of 'probability' or 'usuality', which he labels "type", and second, according to "orientation", which refers to whether it is subjective/objective, implicit/explicit.²¹

Diagram 1

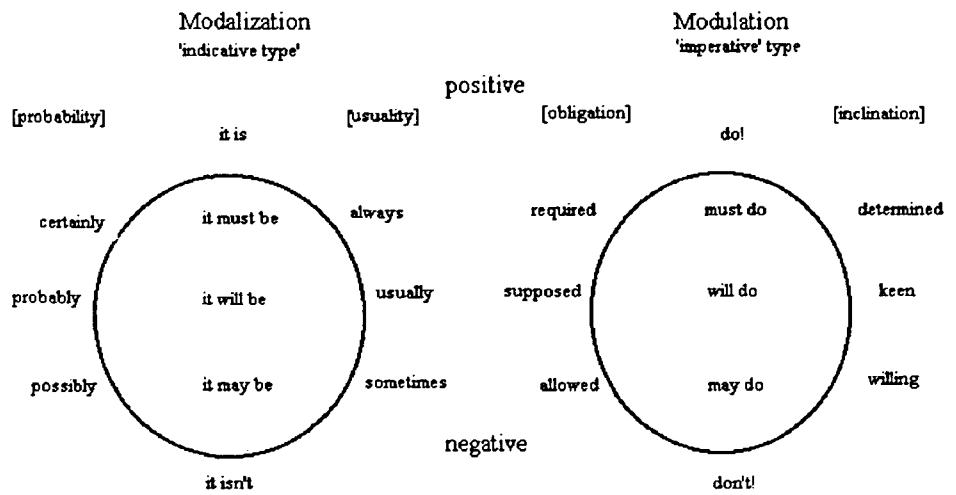
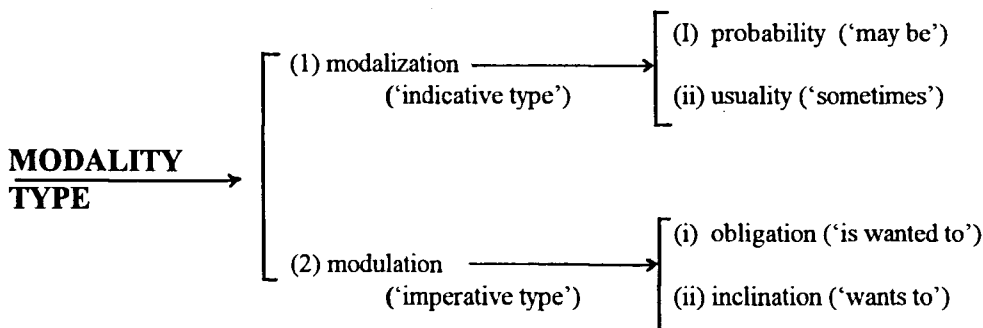


Diagram showing relation of modality to polarity and mood

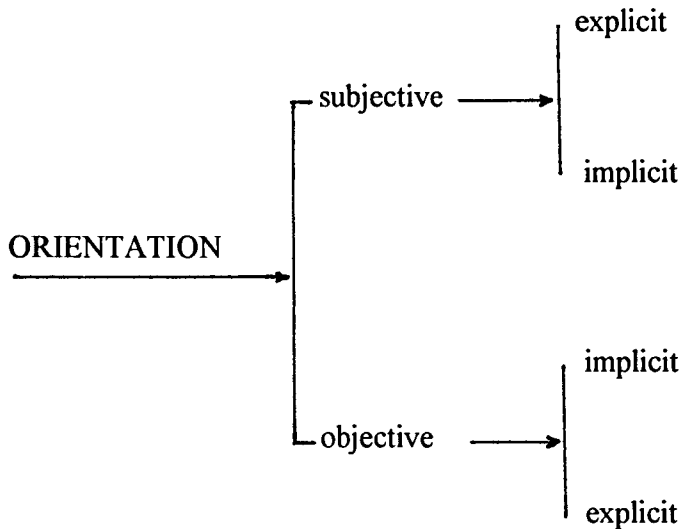


System of types of modality

Diagram 2

The third feature of his modality system is "value", whether it is high, median or low:

Diagram 3



System of orientations in modality

Halliday outlines the ways in which these features of probability-modality and usuality-modality are rendered for both positive and negative propositions. The result is 48 broad categories of modality. However, he recognises that "the actual number of semantic distinctions that can be recognised runs well into the thousands". From Halliday is thus derived a modality system based on type (probability, usuality), orientation (subjective or objective, explicit or implicit) and value (high, median, low).²²

So in functional terms, how does modality affect meaning? Halliday notes the irony of our speech acts in that we say we are certain when we are not. He puts it this way:

"The importance of modal features in the grammar of interpersonal exchange lies in a apparent paradox on which the entire system rests - the fact that we only say we are certain when we are not ... most of the 'games people play' in the daily round of interpersonal skirmishing involve metaphors of this objectifying kind".²³

Nowhere is this game playing more obvious than in the matter of media reporting, where the subjective judgment on the truth value of a statement is frequently rendered in an objective light, disguised by such phrases as "it is reported", "clearly", "obviously" and so on. Going a step further, it will be argued in this study that modality is realised in oblique forms as well, via strategies that are not strictly modality (according to Halliday), but which function as implicit markers of modality.

Social Semiotics

From the interpersonal dimension of modality proposed by Halliday, one moves on to Hodge and Kress' emphasis on the social construction of meaning in which they see the modality system of language in sociological terms:

"Social semiotics treats all semiotic acts and processes as social acts and processes. What is at issue always in social processes is the definition of social participants, relations, structures, processes, in terms of solidarity or in terms of power."²⁴

Like formal grammar, mainstream semiotics stresses 'system and product', while social semiotics, like functional grammar, stresses participants interacting in concrete social contexts but with the added dimension of a background of competing ideologies. From a social semiotic perspective, 'truth' therefore becomes a description of "the state when social participants in the

semiotic process accept the system of classifications of the mimetic plane".²⁵ In other words, modality in social semiotics is a measure of the degree to which a participant's message is congruent with the ideology that makes sense of the world/reality to which the message refers.

Hodge and Kress put it this way:

"... what is at issue is the question of 'affinity' or lack of affinity of the participants with the system (and thereby with each other) ... we can (therefore) speak of a modality of high affinity (with the system) or of low affinity (with the system), or alternatively, of 'high' or 'low' modality ... affinity is therefore an indicator of relations of solidarity or of power ...
... modality points to the social construction or contestation of knowledge systems. Agreement confers the status of 'knowledge', 'fact' on the system or on aspects of it; lack of agreement casts that status into doubt ... modality is consequently one of the crucial indicators of political struggle. It is a central means of contestation, and the site of the working out, whether by negotiation or imposition, of ideological systems"²⁶

In their earlier work, *Language as Ideology*, Kress and Hodge explored the way in which modal auxiliaries establish "the degree of authority of an utterance" but with an inbuilt ambiguity about "the nature of authority, whether it is based primarily on knowledge or on power" depending upon in which speech model the auxiliary appears.²⁷

Crucial to this study of press reporting of the women's ordination issue is Kress and Hodge's conclusion regarding modality and control. That is, that who controls modality - the journalist and sub-editors who shape the final news text - control which version of reality is constructed as the most valid and which versions fall into obscurity.²⁸

What linguistic features then produce modality, according to Kress and Hodge? Apart from the class of verbs known as 'modal auxiliaries', they maintain that "all transactive verbs referring to speech processes or mental processes can be used modally to indicate the authority of an

utterance or the relation of the speaker to the utterance". They also allow for the non-verbal realisation of modality, through even non-deliberate features such as hesitations signalled by "ums and ers", fillers (such as "sort of") and adverbs.²⁹

Hodge and Kress recognise that the possibility of deciding on the meaning of the use of the modality system is greater for language. However, they argue that the main points of verbal modality hold true for all semiotic codes, including the visual.³⁰ The concept of visual modality is developed by Kress and van Leeuwen:

"Modality realises and produces social affinity through aligning the reader or listener with certain representations (those considered credible by the social group with which the writer or speaker aligns him/herself) and not with others ...

"Images too are interpreted as more or less 'real', more or less 'credible'. Images too have modality, realised in ways appropriate to the visual medium, which are of course different to those of language."³¹

In doing so they draw on, and react to, the work of Roland Barthes. Barthes argued that the meaning of images is always related to, and to some degree dependent upon, the verbal text, because images are too open to a variety of meanings. Barthes distinguished between an image-text relation in which the verbal text extended the meaning of the image, adding new and different meanings ("relay"), and a relation in which the verbal text makes more precise, or defines more narrowly, meanings from the image ("anchorage").³²

Barthes argued that in the traditional modes of illustration, the "image functioned as an episodic return to denotation from a principal message, the text". In relation to photographic images, however, he argued with regret that "it is not the image which comes to elucidate or 'realise' the text, but the latter which comes to sublimate ... the image".³³

In other words, photographs, unlike illustrations, do not illustrate the text. Rather, the text loads meaning on to the photograph. Indeed, Barthes argues that a text can even invent a new meaning which is then projected on to the photographic image, to the degree that it seems as though it is denoted there. He adds that a text may even contradict the image to produce a compensatory effect.³⁴ Hence Barthes argued for the necessity of deciphering the code of connotation of press photography, which is both a product of and a window to the "ideological contents of our age" and its activities.³⁵

Kress and van Leeuwen take up the challenge of Barthes in relation to the meaning of the image and hypothesise that the image has its own grammar that does not, nor does it have to, conform to linguistic concepts. Indeed, they argue that images have meaning that stands alone and apart from the verbal text, not dependent upon the verbal text. This leads them to outline the principles of a visual grammar that draws on Halliday's concepts of the interpersonal and ideational metafunctions, but which also takes account of composition (layout).³⁶

Summary

The concept of modality on which I focus in this analysis of the press reporting of the women's ordination debate has been informed by the following theoretical perspectives.

First, is the contribution of logicians. It is they who focus on the necessity or possibility, according to logic, of the truth of a proposition. From them is inherited the true/false dichotomy: the 'objective' dimension.

Second, is the contribution of linguists. From those like Palmer one appreciates the problems associated with attempts to define structurally, modal auxiliaries (formal grammar). From linguists such as Long, Allen and Joos one inherits a focus on the uses of modal auxiliaries and modal-like expressions in terms of their meaning (semantics): the subjective dimension.

Third, is the functional grammar of Michael Halliday. Halliday asserts the interpersonal character of modality. One sees this in his concept of the grammatical metaphor. From his work is inherited an appreciation of a complex modality system, encompassing type (probability, usuality), orientation (subjective/objective, explicit/implicit) and value (high/ median/low).

Fourth, is the thought of the French structuralist, Roland Barthes. From Barthes one inherits an appreciation of the photograph as text which needs to be decoded to reveal the ideology behind the selection processes that created it.

Fifth, is the social semiotic - critical linguistics perspectives of Hodge, Kress and van Leeuwen. This perspective treats social processes as primary in the creation of meaning. Proceeding from a materialist theoretical position, it pursues an interest in the ideologies encoded within texts. The work of Kress and Hodge extends the concept of modality into this social dimension, defining it as the realisation of social affinity between participant and the prevailing ideology. Kress and van Leeuwen draw on the functional grammatical perspective of Halliday in regard to the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions of language. They also address the challenge laid by Barthes regarding decoding images, but assert that the meaning of visual texts is not

dependent upon the verbal text. Their work goes on to propose a grammar for the decoding of the meaning of visual images.

While not assenting to all the assumptions behind this semiotic tradition, I consider that this model may be usefully adopted to examine the specifics of how the modal system has operated in the press reporting of the debate over women's ordination. This study therefore seeks to apply and develop Kress and van Leeuwen's concepts, with particular reference to the part that modal-like strategies, in both verbal text and photographs, play in that 'grey' area between 'objectivity' and 'subjectivity': what I term oblique realisations of modality.

Focus is placed on the modal system because of its crucial role in the contest of ideologies or meaning systems. Chapter Two will outline, and illustrate by reference to sample texts, modal strategies. It will propose an evaluative framework that reflects modal values, as well as outlining modal-like strategies used by journalists in verbal texts in relation to participants in the debate. Other non-modal strategies that by default must fall into Halliday's textual metafunction, also will be identified.

Endnotes: Chapter One

1. Gunther Kress and Robert Hodge, *Language as Ideology*, (London, Routledge, 1979) p 147.
2. John Lyons, *Semantics*, Vol 2, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977) p 799.
3. Ibid., p 787.

4. Ibid., pp 791, 793, 823.
5. Ibid., p 823.
6. Ibid., p 824.
7. Ibid., p 792.
8. Diana Major, *The Acquisition of Modal Auxiliaries in the Language of Children*, (The Hague, Mouton, 1974) p 27.
9. Ibid., p 23.
10. Ibid., p 15.
11. Ibid., p 26.
12. Ibid., p 22 quoting Fries, 1940.
13. Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p xx.
14. Ibid., p xvii.
15. Ibid., p xvii.
16. Ibid., p xxii.
17. Ibid., p 86.
18. Ibid., p 320.
19. Ibid., p 332.
20. Ibid., pp 332-4.
21. Ibid., p 335.
22. Ibid., pp 338-9.
23. Ibid., p 340.
24. Hodge and Kress, *Social Semiotics*, p 122.
25. Ibid., p 122.
26. Ibid., p 123.
27. Kress and Hodge, *Language as Ideology*, p 122.

28. Hodge and Kress, *Social Semiotics*, p 147.
29. Kress and Hodge, *Language as Ideology*, pp 126-127.
30. Hodge and Kress, *Social Semiotics*, p 128.
31. Kress and van Leeuwen, pp 49-51.
32. Ibid., pp 3-4.
33. Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, (London, Fontana, 1977) p 25.
34. Ibid., p 27.
35. Ibid., p 31.
36. See especially Kress and van Leeuwen, Chapters 2 and 4.

Chapter 2

News reports and modality

2:1 The modal system of language

and other forms of implicit linguistic evaluation in the press

In this chapter I will outline a system of analysis that highlights modal components in the evaluative framework of journalistic practice. I will illustrate the model with examples from the women's ordination debate. I suggest that it is possible to see the modal system of language explicitly in modal verbs, implicitly in evaluations, and as triggered by non-modal language resources. The last could be seen to serve the modality system in an oblique way (interpersonal metafunction), but more strictly to belong to the textual metafunction of language.

I will suggest that the end product of these strategies is the creation of social affinity between reader and represented participant, a kind of 'personality credibility'. This will then be related to the 'coding orientation' of news discourse. Characteristics of news discourse will be considered in Chapter Four.

Kress and van Leeuwen, following Halliday, identify modality in four forms: verbs, adverbs, adjectives and nouns. It can be expressed as probability (possible, probable, certain) or

frequency (sometimes, usually, always), in terms of degrees of affinity (high, median or low) and as being subjective, neutral or objective. However, they argue that "this does not exhaust the ways in which modality can be realised". Verbs of saying are seen to contain a dimension of modality in their meaning ('he stressed', 'he said', 'he implied') while attribution, through whom the discourse is reported, provides the opportunity for inbuilt evaluation/credibility judgment.¹

They argue further that "whether a representation is judged credible or not is not necessarily a matter of its absolute truth". Thus, what one social group considers credible may not be credible to another. For this reason they see modality as interactive, rather than ideational. While modal expressions consciously may be employed to convey a judgment as to the absolute truth of a proposition, they argue their effect is to realise and produce social affinity:

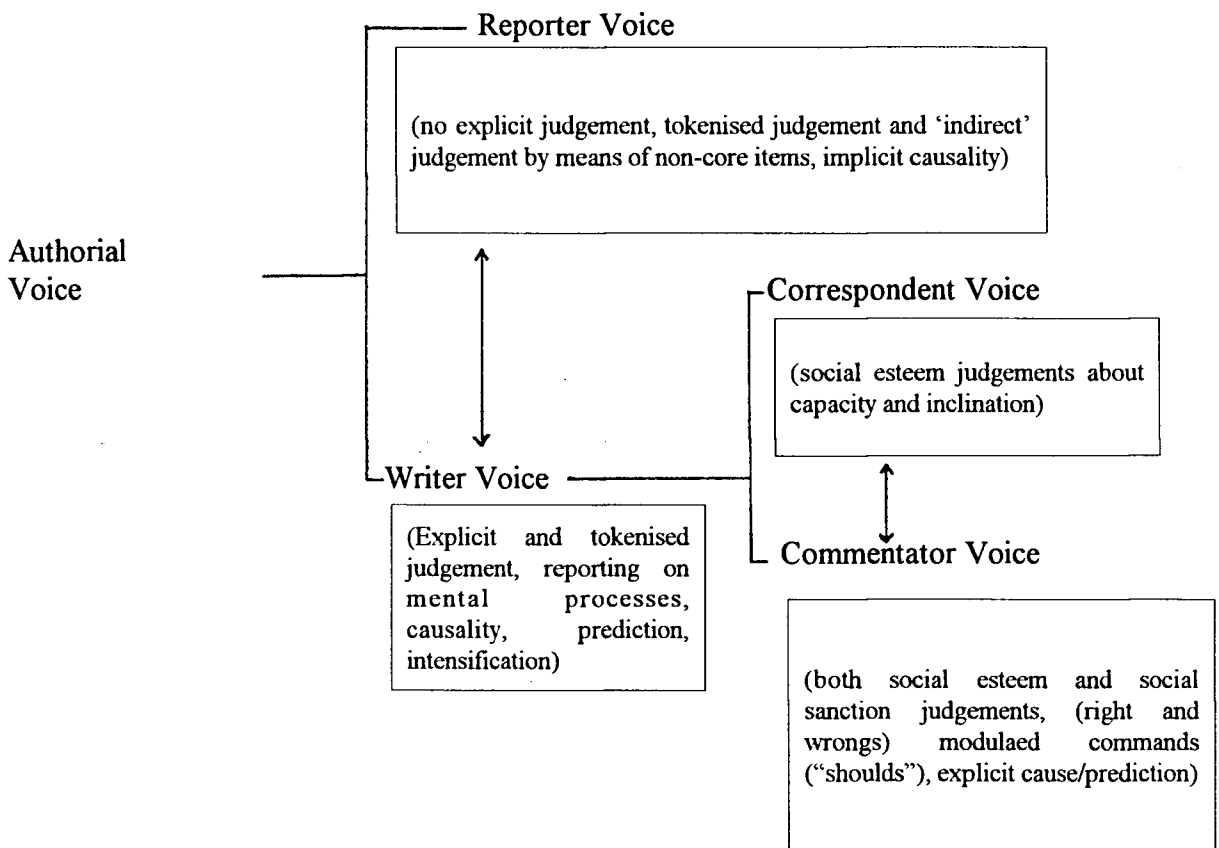
"through aligning the reader or listener with ... representations ... considered credible by the social group with which the writer or speaker aligns him/herself ... and not with others."²

While journalists may claim 'impartiality' or 'balance' in reporting, the debate itself points to the grey area between explicitly encoded or proclaimed objectivity and subjectivity, the field of the modality system. This is taken up by a recent Media Literacy Report, which distinguishes between explicit subjective judgment by the journalist and more subtle forms.³

In so doing it proposes a model of "authorial voice". It identifies a "reporter voice" for the apparently "objective" voice of the hard news report and a "writer voice" for the "subjective" personalised voice of the evaluative commentary.⁴ The report recognises, however, that texts do not always fit neatly into 'hard news' or 'commentary/ opinion'. Between these two voices - in that grey area between 'objectivity' and 'opinion' - it places a "correspondent voice" and a

"commentator voice". The former evaluates its news actors. The latter evaluates, but also has a modal component ('should' and 'must'). Thus the voices are distinguished by degrees of subtle judgment. In terms of the D.S.P. model, my interest is not in the "writer" voice, so much as in the "reporter-commentator" and "reporter- correspondent" voices, those writing positions that, while seeming to be objective, actually encode subtle forms of judgment.

Diagram 4 D.S.P. Report "System of Authorial Voice"



The report makes the following assertion:

"the 'impartiality' or 'factuality' of a text are not measures of the degree to which it accurately reflects reality ... but measures, rather, of the success of the text in presenting its underlying set of value judgments and ideologically informed responses as 'natural' and 'normal', as fact rather than opinion, as knowledge rather than belief." ⁵

How are these value judgments and ideologies encoded in news texts? Following the D.S.P. report it could be argued that there is a modality system of language that encodes commitment to the truth value of what we say, and a 'judgment' system of language that parallels modal categories. It could be argued further that there is an oblique modality system of language: a range of language resources which, while not modal in strict linguistic terms, nevertheless supports the modality system. The D.S.P. report suggests that what constitutes a verbal modality equivalent can be verified by its ability to be replaced by an overt verbal modality equivalent expression. ⁶

Below are five possible continua of positive/negative criteria with parallel values in the judgment system in brackets:

Diagram 5: Modality (and Judgment) system of language

uniqueness	(fate)	usual - unusual
potentiality	(capacity)	incapable - capable
inclination	(resolve)	disinclined - committed
probability	(truth)	remote - likely
obligation	(ethics)	optional - necessary

(Based on D.S.P. Report)

Writer evaluation and modal categories

The categories suggested by the report are outlined with modifications, below. They are illustrated with textual examples (from the women's ordination media debate) of the adjectives, nouns (nominalisations), adverbs and verbs chosen by journalists to describe participants.

Uniqueness

The first modality principle offered by the D.S.P. report is the continuum of the usual-unusual, and social expectations related to that. I will call this 'levels of uniqueness'. It is interesting to note that this is a 'newsworthiness' value.⁷ In women's ordination terms this tends to be a measure of attitudes and especially practice in relation to gender and role. Thus, a visiting woman priest from overseas is unique when compared with Australian church practice:

"Mrs Cheek holds an *unusual* position currently denied Australian women ... she is an Anglican priest." ("Why the Reverend Alison is angry" DT 23.6.87.). (Italics: JB)

The Rev Alison Cheek was 'newsworthy' because her social role was unique. At the same time she was made newsworthy by the journalist's use of adjectives and noun labels that communicated high credibility on this evaluative basis. Having become a news actor, her authority was validated, thus qualifying her to speak and be quoted as a source again. Alan Bell notes this circular relationship and argues that "exposure as a news source reinforces the source's authority as well as reflecting it".⁸ However, I would argue that to this formula one needs to add "creates the source's authority" by bringing the realm of the "unique" or "unusual"

into the realm of the "normal" and transforming it into "authoritative" (modal category of 'probability') within that realm.

To define something as an historical event is to attribute to its news actor high credibility on the basis of the modal value of uniqueness. The degree to which a reporter sometimes goes to define the nature of the "first" is noteworthy. Its effect is to enhance the perceived uniqueness of the event.⁹ So credible is the 'inaugural event', that news discourse (reflecting its modal basis) creates and carries an ongoing pseudohistorical-progress discourse, about which more will be said in Chapter Four.

Potentiality

The modality principle behind potentiality (capacity) is described by the D.S.P. report as "assessments of degrees of ability". In the judgment system this is seen to extend to "the ability to meet conventionalised (aesthetic) standards of form, balance, physical composition" and so on, together with "competence in the social sphere".¹⁰ I offer the description, 'levels of social competence', realised as 'status' to cover this area. In women's ordination terms this appears to be a measure of participants' theological qualifications, pastoral capacity and leadership potential, as evidenced in the public and social rather than the private sphere. However, maternal status still merits a mention, more so in the *Daily Telegraph/Mirror* than in the other newspapers. Subsequent analysis will look at the degree to which a female news actor's status is related to marriage and family.

Analysis of significant texts will also suggest that the ultimate mark of status would appear to be for a person to be a journalist, or an established media commentator. Father John Fleming, an Anglo-Catholic priest opposed to the ordination of women, was encoded with high credibility on the basis of his media work (Figure 1). ¹¹

Positions of leadership and other professional status also belong in this modal category. Note what would appear to be a descending order of achievement:

"Episcopal office would have capped a diverse career for Ms Kilbourn. She was an art critic for the Toronto Star, graduated from Harvard and Oxford Universities, gave birth to five children and was a pastoral worker in hospitals where she discovered her priestly vocation" (Age, 17.8.87)(Figure 2).

In media texts, advocates of women's ordination, women deacons or aspiring priests frequently are described in terms of their qualifications, especially those evaluated as equivalent-to-clerical:

"Ms O'Reilly Stewart has all the qualifications to become a minister ... completed a Masters degree at Sydney University and teaches theology outside her denomination at the Uniting Theological College" ("The pain of almost being a priest" DT 27.8.87).

"Mrs Marion Gabbott ... topped Moore Theological College as a student. She would qualify for ordination - if only she agreed with it" ("United in faith women remain divided in views" SMH 8.7.92).

However, they are also described in terms of their position, and where a label is not available one is constructed to encode credibility:

"A lecturer in theology at Sydney University and *a leading member* of the Movement for the Ordination of Women, Dr Barbara Thiering" (Aust 12.10.87) (Italics: JB.)

Compare a description of the Rev Theodora Hobbs in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* and in *The Australian*. In the latter, an authority description is not given, which may signify a 'less credible' evaluation by that newspaper, or perhaps implicit opposition to the spiritual headship of women:

"The Rev Theodora Hobbs, *head of* the (Presbyterian) church's Abbotsford parishthe Rev Janet Frost, *head of* the church's Macquarie Field's parish" (DTM 10.9.91).

"The Rev Theodora Hobbs, *from* the parish of Abbotsford-Five Dock ... the Rev Joy Bartholomew, *from* the parish of Corowa" (Aust 13.9.91).

This is very compatible with the news value category of 'elite actors'. To this point I will return in Chapter Five.

Resolve

The modality principle behind inclination (resolve) is described by the D.S.P. report as the "state of mind or emotional disposition of the participant in question ... (which) ... determines whether the participant and/or their actions are viewed positively or negatively".¹² This could be understood as a qualitative and quantitative measure of motivation, with regard to altruism, idealism and commitment as measured by social activism. In women's ordination terms, this is evidenced in descriptions of political activity relevant to a news actor's theological position. Evaluation on this basis favours the protagonist rather than antagonist.¹³

Probability

The modality principle behind probability (truth) is defined as "levels of certainty and uncertainty".¹⁴ This functions in the judgment system as "levels of deviation from (speaking) the truth". I will label this 'degrees of authoritativeness'. This could be seen to relate to whether persons are perceived to represent a body of opinion and to speak for that body of opinion with democratically bestowed authority. In news discourse, then, 'truth' can be a democratically derived view, for a particular group, at that particular time.

There are two other contributing factors. One is the life experience and relational style of the participant and whether this is congruent with expectations about elite actors / experts. The other is the already recognised tendency for the media to source stories to elite actors (see category of potentiality (capacity) above); that is, established elites. For Anglican Church stories, journalists seek comments from archbishops, bishops and archdeacons. Clergy perceived to be part of a hierarchy - as signified usually by a variant title to 'the Rev' such as 'the Venerable' or 'the Rt Rev' - appear to satisfy the 'elite actors' requirement. Other clergy, who have been news actors, tend to continue to be news actors. The Rev Bruce Ballantine-Jones (Sydney diocese) is one.

Subsequent analysis will suggest that the press also recognise, and thereby help to create the authority of, new elites, as in recognition of the Movement for the Ordination of Women, and its elected representatives.

For non-elite actors, such as victims, textual analysis will suggest that 'truth' can be constructed in terms of emotion. That is, the more emotion-packed the utterance, the higher the credibility (see token of judgment, below). Consider the emotion-truth construction in texts in relation to ordination of women to the priesthood in Perth in 1992. Its inclusion in the text acts as a type of validation, achieved through the promotion of social affinity between reader and represented participant:

"The decision (to allow the ordinations at law) was greeted with loud and prolonged applause by the packed public gallery which included some of the women who are to be ordained in Perth today by Archbishop Carnley.

"Men and women wept openly as if in testimony to Dr Carnley's observation later that the decision 'will bring a great sense of relief in the Anglican community across Australia'" ("Go-ahead for women priests" SMH 7.3.92).

By comparison, *The Australian* text ("Women to be ordained today" Aust 7-8.3.92) adopted Dr Carnley's opinion that the decision would bring relief to the Anglican Church across Australia, but did not include the affective mental processes of those who heard of the decision, nor those to be ordained as a result. It did not increase the degree of social affinity between reader and represented participants encoded in the *Sydney Morning Herald* text.

Obligation

The modality principle behind obligation (ethics) could be understood as degrees of necessity. In the judgment system this translates to "compliance with, or defiance of, a system of social necessity".¹⁵ I will call this 'degrees of social ethics conformity'.

Only one text in 1992, the year in which women were ordained to the priesthood, first in Perth, then Adelaide and some other Australian dioceses, constructed ordination in headlines or lead paragraphs as a "right" that the church had given to women and referred to the decision in the Church of England UK.¹⁶ However, discourse analysis will suggest that an 'equal rights ideology' is subtly encoded within news discourse, serving as the evaluative criterion for what is socially obligatory. It will be shown that up to and including 1989, it was not uncommon for texts to give a summary of where women already were ordained, thus providing a social precedent that implied a necessity to conform. This may be part of an implicit ideology of social progress.¹⁷

The D.S.P. report categorises, with qualification, the first three categories above as "judgments to do with social admiration", the last two being those to do with "moral right and wrong".¹⁸ However, these categorisations could be conceptualised in a different way. Uniqueness, potentiality and inclination are to do with behaviour, while probability and inclination are to do with ethics, the principles behind systems of behaviours. The term 'moral' may be more appropriately used where there is an absolute code against which an attitude or behaviour can be measured such as the Old Testament Decalogue.

Diagram 6: Evaluations reflecting modal values

	Credible	Not Credible
Judgement: Modal Values		
Social Behaviour		
Uniqueness (Fate)	DSP: outstanding, lucky, remarkable WO: first, unusual	DSP: peculiar, odd, eccentric, unlucky WO: old fashioned
Ability (Capacity)	DSP: competent, powerful, beautiful, witty, fashionable WO: leading, outspoken	DSP: weak, incompetent, ugly, stupid, foolish, incapable WO:
Inclination (Resolve)	DSP: plucky, heroic, curious, resolute, WO: uncompromising, determined, staunch	DSP: cowardly, rash, apathetic, obstinate WO: unwilling to negotiate
Judgement: Modal Values		
Social Ethics		
Probability (Truth)	DSP: honest, frank, genuine, credible WO: 'victim' construction	DSP: deceitful, fake, dishonest, deceptive, WO: deviant of consensus
Obligation (Ethics)	DSP: right, good, ethical, kind WO: progressive, egalitarian, reformist	DSP: wrong, evil, mean, cruel, arrogant WO: authoritarian, patriarchal, fundamentalist
	DSP: Values identified in the D.S.P. report WO: Evaluations in women's ordination terms in news texts - by journalist or quoted participant	

Mediated social ethics

Evaluation in media texts would appear not to be referenced to an absolute code, but rather to a relative set of values that exists by mediated social consensus. It is therefore self referential. Indeed, a possibility that may be worth considering is whether, in the judgment system, the modal values of uniqueness (fate), ability (capacity) and inclination (resolve) are the site of initial evaluation. High credibility in these categories might then be expected to produce a positive evaluation in the probability (truth) and obligation (ethics) categories.

It would follow that if a news actor is constructed as being unique, capable and determined, then he or she is likely, if not initially then over time, to be constructed also as 'right' and their discourse as compelling a positive response. Thus, one might expect multiple high credibility encodings to result in a positive evaluation, based on a shared set of values. Subsequent analysis of texts suggests that this is often but not always the case in news discourse, where an intermediate structuring set of criteria can 'distort' evaluations.

I will step away from the field of church and the women's ordination debate for the moment, and, for the purpose of a comparison, consider the media image of (the late) Professor Fred Hollows.

A reading of news texts that record the last two years of his life, and his obituaries, suggest that 'ordinariness', combined with characteristics judged 'extraordinary', were the basis of his high credibility which extended to positive evaluation. These ranged from outspokenness and willingness to publicly protest, combined with a blunt disregard for niceties, a single minded and energetic pursuit of the good of the underprivileged in the face of declining health, and his Third World conscience (particularly as reflected in his ophthalmic work). This secular selflessness adequately met the requirements of news values, justifying coverage.¹⁹

In terms of modality, his determined (inclination), remarkable (uniqueness) and competent (capacity) work in the social realm, combined with a colourful personality (uniqueness) earned him the status of a genuine (probability) and compassionate (obligation) humanitarian (ethic of care/social justice for the underprivileged) whose ongoing work, to which the press drew attention, was worthy of public support through the Fred Hollows Foundation. (See Figures 3 and 4.)²⁰

In contrast, one might hypothesise a 'Fred Nile phenomenon'. If he attracts high credibility, but negative writer evaluation, this may be related to his moral statements being made with reference to absolute authority rather than social sanction. In the media view of social ethics, one could speculate whether he put the cart before the horse. Perhaps he was evaluated as asserting moral right and wrong before having earned mediated social admiration. In media terms, I have suggested that moral right and wrong follows performance and evaluation in the social realm. Thus the media could be seen to construct a 'personality credibility' by ideological affinity - in social terms - with the reader.

Consider two news actors in the women's ordination debate. Subsequent analysis will suggest that the Rev Alison Cheek initially qualified on 'uniqueness' as a woman priest from overseas. She would appear to have been judged 'capable', as a role model who lived through similar controversy in the US, and thus qualified to pastor would-be women priests here, while resolute in her commitment to their cause. In one of the early 1987 texts in *The Australian*, however, the focus was on whether she would mind being called a "priestess", a label suggestive of either a negative evaluation or a more subtle attempt to undermine the concept of a woman priest. With high frequency of coverage she would appear, however, to have been on the path to mediated social sanction and accreditation. In a text in *The Australian* only two months later, she is given the last word. She has even greater credibility in the *Sydney Morning Herald* two years later, being described as a "leading woman priest". (See Figures 5 to 7.)²¹

The same might be said of Dr Patricia Brennan, who quickly acquired high credibility. At the beginning of 1988 she was one of 10 women evaluated as having contributed most to Australia during 1987. By 1990 she is cast in a more prophetic role, being chosen as one of seven "prominent women" in a feature that canvassed their hopes for a new decade.²²

Selection and labelling of persons in the news

"Different labellings tend to signify different levels of authority," noted Bell.²³ Journalists make judgments about the credibility or authoritativeness of their sources. Indeed, they have control

over who or what is deemed an 'expert' which may not be a judgment congruent with the assessment of those who work in the field.

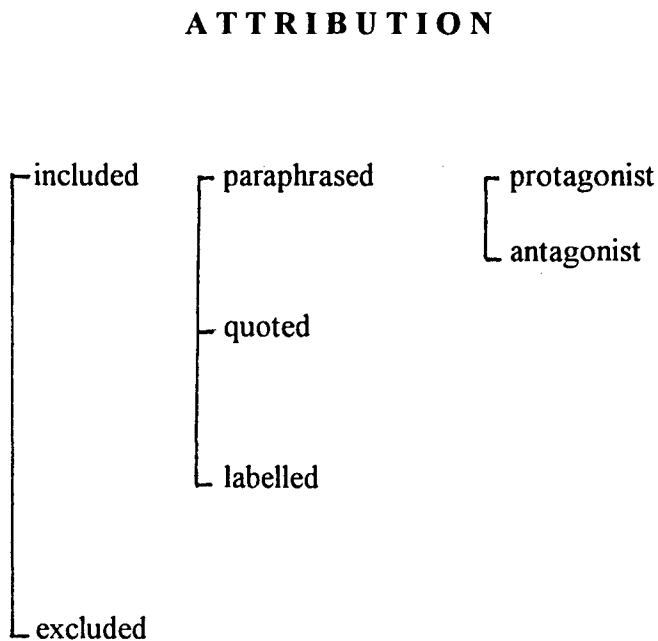
While I would endorse Bell's point that journalists are constrained by space and thus by necessity often generalise the nature of an actor's status or position, this is not without significance in the communication of meaning. Then, of course, there is the style of labelling that brings to mind "sources close to the palace" (in the case of reporting on the British royal family) which, while exceedingly imprecise, encodes a high credibility judgment.²⁴

However, even prior to the matter of labelling, is selection. Choice of news actor, I suggest, is a crucial determinant of how the reader will be positioned in relation to a point of view. The actor who is credible on the basis of performance on another issue may bring intertextual credibility to a view. Archbishop Peter Hollingworth's profile on welfare and social justice issues may have predisposed the media towards him as an actor in the women's ordination debate, and thus also to his view.²⁵ This brings me to the matter of attribution.

Attribution

A point of view may be paraphrased by someone sympathetic (positive evaluation) or antagonistic (negative evaluation). It may be reported in the voice of the journalist, indicating some degree of ownership (high credibility), communicated by direct quote (median credibility), or simply alluded to by label without explanation or detail (low credibility).

Diagram 7



Consider a *Sydney Morning Herald* report that records a protest by M.O.W. the morning following voting on an ordination bill at the 1989 General Synod. One of the anti ordination views, described in Chapter Four as an Evangelical 'headship' view in the Biblical tradition, is included (median credibility) rather than excluded (low credibility) but evaluated negatively through reference to the affective mental processes of an M.O.W. member. Secondly, it is labelled and negatively evaluated through an elite actor (a bishop) whose view stands fairly much at the opposite end of the Australian theological spectrum on this issue:

"I (Melbourne diocese synod member Ms Dianne Heath also M.O.W. member) felt so disgusted by the debate in synod last night and the narrow view of the Sydney theologians that a woman could not have authority over a man."

"... what he (Archbishop Peter Carnley of Perth) called the intolerance of Sydney delegates ..."

"I (Archbishop Carnley) agree with the Archbishop of Canterbury that fundamentalism in various forms seems to be at the heart of a lot of the world's problems,' he said.

"If they stand on a mistaken interpretation of scripture, as I believe, and people's lives are being screwed up by this, it is appalling."

("Twelve Apostles of protest in song" SMH 25.8.89. See Figure 8.)

Note the evaluation that this was a "narrow view", and the reporting of the derogatory term "fundamentalism".²⁶ While it is acknowledged that these are the evaluations of news actors, and not the journalist, selection has determined that these are the only representations of that theological view.

A leaning towards particular persons, or points of view, in the selection of news actors, arguably may point to an implicit ideological commitment. Roberta Kevelson has drawn attention to the rhetorical figure 'apomnemonysis':

"... with which the speaker implies his own position by letting it be stated from someone else's mouth, someone usually well-known as a visible authority." ²⁷

Where a view is quoted in first/last word position (high credibility/salience) this seems likely, even though a reported view would otherwise encode higher credibility.

In the text labelled Figure 8 (Volume 2), an alternative meaning would have resulted from advocates of this view being described as 'conscientious theological objectors' a positive evaluation reflecting the modal values of inclination (resolve), probability (truth) and obligation (ethics). It is a label that would have been available to journalists, having no doubt been part of media discourse during the Vietnam War period. ²⁸ To be evaluated as theological purists/idealists would accrue positive evaluation on the modal value of probability (truth) even if also negative evaluation on the value of ability (capacity) because of outdatedness or academic irrelevance. However, as Chapter Five will suggest, this would be at odds with the demands of news discourse.

From a public relations perspective if attribution of this kind became a common feature of reporting, it could be asked whether the textual absence of a point of view (low modality) is preferable to high credibility with negative evaluation.

I will now turn from evaluations implying modal values to look at other features of texts that construct the credibility of participants and encode subtle evaluations.

Oblique modality system

When journalists construct a story, they neither simply tell the 'truth', nor do they record uncritically what is printed in press releases or what public relations-chosen spokespersons say to them. They usually select their own spokespersons, they ask their own questions, select

succinct and colourful quotes and construct their 'stories'. At every point along the process choices are made by the news editor or journalist: to pursue this story or another; interview this person or that; ask this question or that, quote one statement or another, sequence and edit material this way or that.

One effect is that not only can differences between points of view be polarised, but the images of the various participants are also magnified across the poles of good/bad, right/wrong and so on. It could be argued that these hidden choices support the modality system of language. The very selection/ inclusion/ transformation/ editing process is a modal-like process at each stage. Each choice serves to position the reader in a particular way in relation to participants and their views, and removes opportunities for the reader to be positioned in many alternative ways.

If this is so, then one would expect to find the subjectivity of the journalist evident perhaps in very subtle ways even in the 'objective' news text in which there is minimal if any overt evaluation. Beyond the judgment system, one could envisage an 'oblique modality system', a system of non-modal strategies that tend to act in a modal-like way. The D.S.P. report labels these "tokenised judgment" and "indirect judgment by means of non-core items". They are strategies that encode the writer's judgment in very subtle ways, although not overtly in the manner of the examples given above.

Tokens of judgment

In the "token of judgment", a person/event is described so as to imply judgment values in a way recognisable to all readers. The D.S.P. report defines it thus:

"an interaction between meanings which relate to events, actions and conditions, as they are seen to exist in the external 'real' world (ie content or ideational meanings) and meanings which derive from or attach to the personalities, social status, personal perspectives and emotional dispositions of the writer or speaker. These content meaning or ideational tokens clearly activate certain interpersonal responses in the reader/listener and will be read as implying that the author had made a similar evaluative response to the events at issue." ²⁹

The report argues that the judgment value attached to a token is determined by reading position, a product of social status, experience and, or, ideology. Essentially, though, a token is a trigger to a positive or negative reader response. Let us consider some of these.

Order of introduction of participant/ point of view

One feature found in news texts is the recording of a viewpoint (quote) followed by an opposing one, which, rather than engaging and debating the argument, merely summarily affirms or dismisses it. The trigger here is the order in which participants are quoted or their views paraphrased. This is closely related to attribution.

The same effect is achieved more overtly by the use of the conjunction "but" to introduce a participant's view. I would argue that it is implied, however, simply by the structure of the news text. The reader is positioned against the preceding participant (and his/her opinion) and more favourably towards what is to come.

The order of participant/point-of-view introduction is therefore a token of judgment.

I propose that those participants introduced first and third in a text are accorded relatively higher credibility. Thereafter I suggest that news participants are accorded relatively lower credibility, apart from the participant given the 'last word'. The last participant to speak/be reported on, even if (as is likely) this is determined by the hand of the sub-editor rather than the writer, again carries relatively high credibility. This might be linked to Halliday's concept of Theme/Rheme, the ordering of 'given' and 'new' information.

Earlier, Alan Bell's view that it is the lead rather than the headline that indicates the emphasis of a news text, was mentioned. It is a directional summary, a "lens through which the point of the story is focused and its news value magnified", he argues.³⁰ I will take this further and argue that the location of reference to a participant in a news text says something about their judged credibility (and in consequence, that of their view).

Passive and active voice of verbs in headlines

Following on from van Dijk's analysis of the reporting of racial tensions between Dutch authorities and immigrant Tamils in 1985, Bell notes the significance of the use of passives and active verbs in relation to actors in headlines:

"Who is mentioned in first position in a headline, and whether the verb is active or passive, can be ideologically revealing".³¹

The implication would appear to be that the writer, and therefore the reader, is aligned more with those who act than those who are acted upon. An exception is where the protagonist is momentarily the victim. The protagonist has greater credibility than the antagonist.

Kevelson maintains that passive constructions point to victims, criminals, or an "enemy of the people".³² She cites also Halliday's view that action clauses imply underlying causative structures.³³

Kress and Hodge take up the matter of causation in their discussion of transformation.³⁴ They identify the effects of passive transformations, nominalisations and negative incorporation. In the passive transformation they suggest that the introduction of the verb 'to be' changes the verbal component from an actual to a finished process. It is thus a state of being. "Women to be ordained" thus emphasises the state of being ordained, rather than the episcopal actors. More overtly, the actor may be deleted altogether, and with it, the cause of the process, and the participants' significance as actors. The structure means that causality is no longer the focus, but rather, attribution or classification.³⁵

It will be seen in the next chapter that the texts that record the first ordinations of women, both the March 1992 'irregular' ordination and the December 1992 post-General Synod ones, as well as the earlier texts recording the admission of women to the Diaconate, as in the Sydney Diocese in February 1989, are headed by passive transformations.

In the transformation of verb to noun form, Kress and Hodge suggest interest may shift from the "participants and causers of the process ... to the affected participant".³⁶ This, similarly, will be demonstrated to be an identifiable trend in the texts studied. The result, suggest Kress and Hodge, is that "simplicity can be asserted where in reality, complexity is the case". Later, they suggest that transformations can "create an illusion of knowledge ... masking contradictions or confusions, and imposing an unexamined consensus."³⁷ Moreover, the economy of wordage in not mentioning the agents of actions - particularly bishops and in some instances leaders of M.O.W. - has the further effect of "suppressing their existence".³⁸ Or, as put by Kress and Hodge, "the effect of the deletion is to take these people entirely for granted and to eliminate them from the printed text".³⁹

I will suggest in Chapter Five, that there is therefore an ambiguity or paradox in the way in which the print media regard clergy and bishops and M.O.W. leaders. While they are accredited as elite actors and thus as news sources, in headlines at least, their existence is suppressed, arguably eroding their authority in mediated social reality.

It is of particular interest to note that prior to, and at the beginning of some synod sessions, it is the "women" who are in the active voice in headlines. Following the synod vote it is "Anglicans" or the "synod" who are in the active voice. This is the case in the reporting of the 1987 General Synod.

Prior to the synod the following appeared:

"Feminist priest faces battle again"	SMH 8.7.87
"A fighter intent on women being priests"	Age 19.8.87
"Movement (ie. MOW) refuses to compromise on the role of women priests"	Age 17.8.87
"Women lobby synod with psalms, love and candles"	SMH 24.8.87
"Anglican women in candlelit vigil outside synod"	Age 24.8.87

This may suggest that the M.O.W. strategy of timing their conferences just prior to synods was effective. The other 1987 General Synod headlines will be outlined in Chapter 2.2.

Positive and negative poles

A companion token of judgment is the journalist's choice as to which in Halliday's terms is the 'positive pole' and which the 'negative'. To give a hypothetical example, a draft bill or resolution not having received the necessary majority can have been 'successfully prevented from being passed unwisely' or can have 'failed because of intransigent opposition'. It is a matter of reference point. Here one sees a hidden evaluative component in the choice of verbs and adverbs.

An example from the press debate is the use of the verb "to block" in the sense of the N.S.W. court system blocking women from ordination.⁴⁰ While the court is in the active voice, it is the protagonist in relation to a (negative) action. The action is understood as negative when measured against 'progress', an unstated quality suggestive of the modal value of obligation. In

Chapter Four I will draw attention to 'progress' as a media discourse which, served by historical detail, is one of the three 'cements' that has kept the ordination debate cohesive and of continuing media interest.

In the case of the secular court 'blocking' the ordination of women, the language choices encode an implied judgment that a 'good' outcome would have been for there to have been no interference by the court, which would have allowed the change to have occurred. This, then, indicates a hidden evaluation reflective of the modal value of obligation. Headlines such as "At last, women priests" (ST, 8.3.92) further exemplify an implicit positive polarity.⁴¹

In the text "Eucharist blocked" (Aust 19-20.8.89) the poles are not only implicitly defined, the meanings are also narrowed. Here in literary terms there is example of metonymy. The sacrament of the Eucharist is taken to represent the priesthood. It is a term common to the Sacramental and Broad Church traditions, and gives a preferred meaning to the ordination debate: whether women can preside over the communion act. Such a definition by implication rates the Ministry of the Sacraments as a more credible meaning than others associated with ordination: pastoral oversight and the Ministry of the Word. An alternative term, "the Lord's Supper", suggests the Biblical tradition of Anglicanism while "Holy Communion" is a more general term.

Prediction

Another related and common trigger is the inclusion by the journalist of a quote from a participant to the effect that the ordination of women is "just a matter of time". This arguably is likely to trigger a response of acceptance in the reader to the proposition, and even impatience with those who would stand against the change. It too encodes, obliquely, the modal value of obligation/necessity. Should the voice be that of the journalist, then this would be an example of overt evaluation in the judgment system (obligation/necessity). Indeed, the tendency to predict an outcome is a significant strategy in the communication of the modal value of obligation. A prediction can become the main news event, rather than the enabling event from which the prediction arises. In "Another 80 women priests on the way" (Aust 7.12.92) Figure 9, using Bell's model of analysis, one can see the following news structure:⁴²

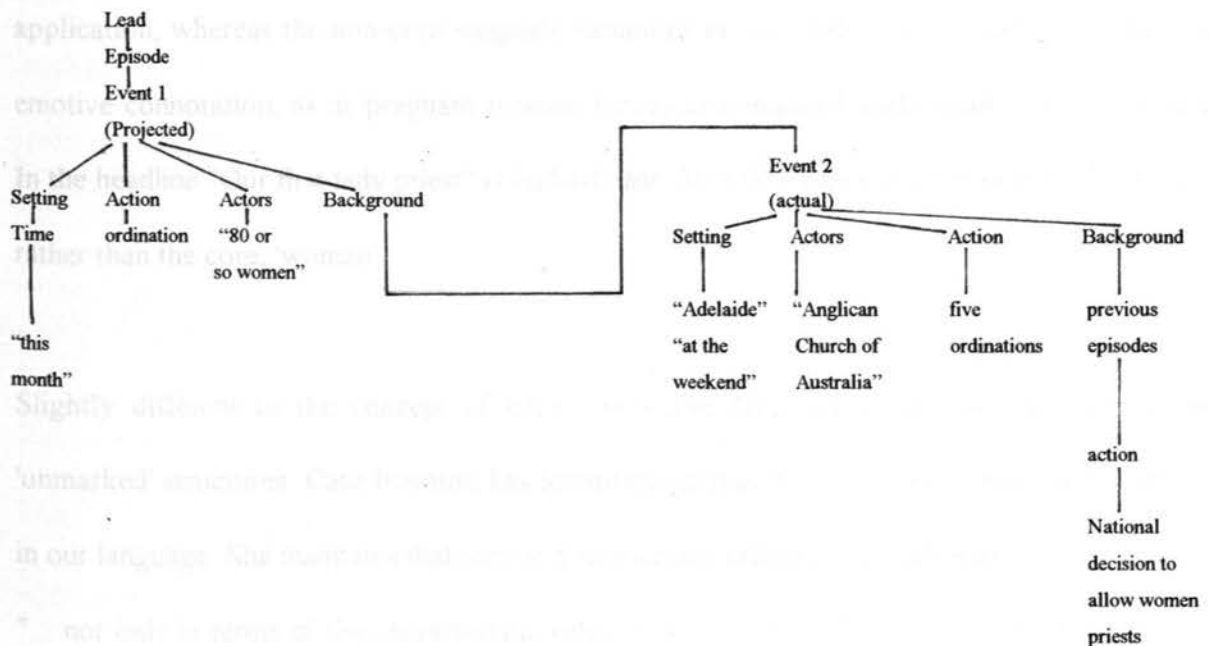


Diagram 8: Make up of a news story.

Analysis will show that a clear feature of reporting from 1987 onwards was for headlines to predict when the priesting of women would occur. Such predictions may have been in the journalist's voice, or attributed to a participant.⁴³ These predictions serve the modality system, whether through the use of explicit modal operators, as in "Women *must* 'suffer with Jesus' for the priesthood" (Aust 27.8.87; italics: JB); through evaluations reflecting the modal value of obligation, as in the examples above; or through a token of evaluation, in drawing attention to a participant's prediction, probably elicited by a journalist's question.

Marked / unmarked structures and non-core vocabulary

A second strategy that communicates judgment values indirectly, according to the D.S.P. report, is the use of "non-core items".⁴⁴ It is suggested that the core item has a general application, whereas the non-core suggests variations in informality or has some evaluative or emotive connotation, as in 'pregnant woman' (core) as compared with 'mum-to-be'(non-core). In the headline "Our first lady priest" (*Gosford Star*, 30.1.92), one notes the non-core - "lady" - rather than the core, 'woman'.

Slightly different to the concept of core / non-core language is the use of 'marked' and 'unmarked' structures. Cate Poynton has identified grammatical structures that encode gender in our language. She maintains that men and women are talked about differently:

"... not only in terms of the characteristic roles, activities and fields that they are known to be involved in ... but also in terms of differences in the perceived centrality or marginality of their participation in the ... world." ⁴⁵

Poynton has referred to the finding of Shuster that the active form is more characteristically used by and about males.⁴⁶ Subsequent analysis will suggest that males are only slightly more often in the active voice in headlines in the women's ordination debate. It will be seen that the frequency of nominalisation and infinitive constructions encode a low credibility for church matters, as compared, say, with politics in which male actors are more often constructed in the active voice. Poynton also draws attention to occupational and professional labels which, allegedly unmarked for gender, nevertheless communicate 'maleness' without a linguistic marker of femaleness. She concludes:

"Thus the male is linguistically unmarked, the linguistic norm, and the female ... a deviation from that norm."⁴⁷

The eventual ordination of women in 1992 was reported in one text as "Praise, protest greet new Reverend women" (SMH 7.12.92). On the one hand this may illustrate Poynton's point. The implied 'norm' is that clergy are male. On the other hand it raises the question as to which tradition of feminism is to prevail as the evaluative reference point. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, one tradition of feminism asserts equality sometimes to the point of androgyny; two others assert 'the feminine', a gender distinctiveness. Analysed from the perspective of a feminist tradition that asserts 'the feminine', "Reverend women" could be a welcome marking.

The use of non-core items is particularly evident in relation to young women deacons. One finds, for example, the more informal use of the Christian name as in "Deacon Kate" as opposed to "the Rev Kate Prowd".⁴⁸ Even allowing for slight differences of register between newspapers, the use of the Christian name arguably promotes social affinity between reader and represented participant.

Not all female participants, however, are represented with tokens of social affinity. Analysis of samples will indicate that Drs. Patricia Brennan and Janet Scarfe, as presidents of the Movement for the Ordination of Women, are addressed according to their professional/academic status (the former a doctor of medicine, the latter a doctor of philosophy). Such markings of status construct them as elite actors and arguably promote a relationship of deference between reader and represented participant consistent with this.

Reference has been made already to the use of labels to describe persons-in-the-news. Not all labels invite social affinity between reader and represented participant. There is evaluative content in 'conservative' and 'traditionalist', and emotive content as well, discouraging social affinity, in 'fundamentalism'. Such terms were used of persons or groups opposed to the ordination of women. Similarly, there are a number of terms used of persons in favour of the ordination of women, some clearly promoting affinity.⁴⁹ This brings one to another non-modal strategy identified by the D.S.P. report as indirectly helping to position the reader either positively or negatively towards the participants.

Affective mental processes and the construction of emotion

The tendency to report mental processes rather than verbal processes is a strategy nominated by the D.S.P. report as introducing implicit judgment. In the case of women's ordination, one can note that there is a reporting of the mental processes of affection ('she feels') in relation to intending women priests even more than mental processes of cognition ('she thinks').⁵⁰

Analysis of textual samples will show that the construction of emotion and attention to affective mental processes is particularly evident on those occasions in the debate when bills to enable the ordination of women priests did not achieve the required majority in the General Synod. The reporting of affective mental processes and evaluations encoding emotion contribute to a 'victim-like' construction. Consider headlines and leads arising out of the planned ordination in February 1992 of ten women in the Diocese of Canberra-Goulburn, unable to proceed because of an injunction brought against Bishop Owen Dowling. First, *The Australian* (Figure 10):

Headline: "After the cold hand of the law ... a time to weep" (Aust 3.2.92)

Lead : "The ordination service that was to have delivered Australia's first women Anglican priests yesterday became a time of weeping, pain and frustration for the women deacons."

The text details the emotional state of the women deacons and Bishop Owen Dowling using quotation and evaluative paraphrase before brief explanation (verbal process) of the relevant legal discourse. The verbal text goes on to represent protests in Goulburn, Perth and Brisbane against the injunction. The main photograph echoes saliently the emotions of the intending women priests, evaluated in layout as more 'ideal' and thus highly valued, than the march of sympathetic protesters.

A similar preoccupation with affect is evident in the *Sydney Morning Herald* text (3.2.92) (Figure 11):

Headline: "Anglican women wait in men's wake"

Lead: "When Anne Dudzinski walked into St Saviour's cathedral in Goulburn yesterday, it was one of the most painful moments in her life."

Here, the emotional response of the represented participant, Anne Dudzinski, has been generalised and objectified ("it"), as though the occasion possessed some intrinsic quality that necessitated this evaluation.⁵¹ The emotions of the women deacons are prominent throughout the text, both as affective mental processes, objectified in the writer's evaluation and quoted. The photograph in the 'given' position gives salience to the constructions in the verbal text.

The construction of anger, an emotion that in some texts can distance the reader from the represented participant, here is constructed as a righteous anger, not socially threatening, unlike some constructions of protest.⁵²

A parallel is found in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* (3.2.92) (Figure 12):

Headline: "The tears of defeat"

Lead: "Anglican Bishop Owen Dowling last night included 11 women in his emotional Goulburn ordination ceremony, but stopped short of declaring them priests."

Again, the evaluation that the ceremony was "emotional" implies that it possessed a self-evident quality that necessitates an interpersonal response from the reader. Reporting or quotation detailing the emotional state of the bishop, protestors, women deacons and other participants then takes up most of the text. Here there is explicit evaluation that the protesters provided "no disruption to the service". A large, salient photograph further facilitates reader affinity with the defeated women through its visual construction of sorrow/pain/despair.

A contrast is found in *The Age's* verbal evaluation. The text (Age 3.2.92) focussed far less on the construction of emotion in relation to female participants and more on Bishop Owen

Dowling as participant, and on church processes (Figure 13):

Headline: "Bishop wants Anglicans to defy court injunction"

Lead: "Bishop Owen Dowling may organise a group of bishops from around Australia to jointly defy court orders and ordain women, if July's General Synod fails to endorse women's ordination."

Emotion is, however, constructed in heightened terms in a subheading beneath a salient photograph of the cathedral gathering in which women are foregrounded. This is taken up further in a separate text.⁵³

That an event is constructed in terms of its emotional impact and the affective mental processes of participants indicates the journalist's judgment as to the relative credibility of participants, and therefore his/her commitment to the 'truth' value of their discourse.⁵⁴ This study will pay particular attention to the strategies that promote social affinity between reader and represented participant, for reasons that will be made clear in discussion of 'coding orientation', below. Two more indirect evaluative strategies need firstly to be outlined.

Causal links and transitivity

I have drawn attention already to the use of prediction. A similar but less overt strategy is the tendency to provide causal links (as in the conjunction 'because'), introducing a degree of subjectivity. A related strategy, as will be evident from the example below, is agent deletion.

Consider again the headline: "After the cold hand of the law ... a time to weep" (Aust 3.2.92).

This could be reconstructed as "the cold hand of the law caused women to weep". That is, the law is responsible for the weeping of the women. One could hypothesise another reading of the situation:

"After the attempted but constitutionally premature action of Bishop Dowling to ordain women ordinands ... a time to weep."

The former attributes the cause of the tears to "the law" (perhaps disguising the prior cause); the latter to the "constitutionally premature action of Bishop Dowling".

A third possibility would have been to spell out the cause of "the cold hand of the law". That is, the action of the plaintiffs to restrain Bishop Dowling. The headline could then read something like: "after opponents raised the cold hand of the law ... a time to weep". This spells out more explicitly the agents behind the legal action. One realises, of course, that the latter lengthy hypothetical examples would not have a hope of surviving as headlines. It is simply an illustration of alternative causations that would position the reader in a slightly different way towards the participants.

It is notable that in *The Australian* and *Daily Telegraph* headlines above, responsibility for the legal action is veiled (nominalisation). However, in the *Sydney Morning Herald* text, responsibility lies with "men". Subsequent analysis will show that male clerics (against) versus women (and their supporters for) was a thematic construction evident in the media debate.

I have already pointed to the role of prediction in encoding credibility for a point of view.

Arguably, a token of this judgment is found in the inclusion of a quote to the same effect. The reader is still positioned by the text to read the debate in these cause-effect terms, the more so if the participant is given high credibility through labels, for example. This would provide an instance of attributed modality. A variation on this is the recording of a similar prediction from more than one participant.

Intensified vocabulary

The use of intensified vocabulary explicitly ('very ...') or implicitly ('plummet' rather than 'fall'; 'battle' rather than 'disagreement' for example) is suggested by the D.S.P. report to be a significant marker of subjectivity. These word choices imply the commitment of the writer to the significance or seriousness of an event in combining two kinds of meaning: content and interpersonal. The reader is positioned to adopt the same evaluation, given that intensified terms have an affective component.⁵⁵

The most common 'intensified' terms to appear in headlines in General Synod news texts (excluding features, editorials and columns) in relation to 'disunity' meanings were:

"split"	(SMH 12.8.87, 6.7.92, 23.11.92; Aust 24.11.92)
"row"	(DT 19.8.87; Aust 3.7.92)
"battle"	(SMH 25.8.87, 26.8.87)
"schism"	(SMH 2.9.87)
"divide/-ed"	(DT 25.8.87)
"crisis"	(DT 6.7.92)
"differences"	(SMH 7.7.92)
"final breakup"	(SMH 4.7.92)
"disunity fears"	(Age 23.11.92)

This pattern suggests that in 1987 and 1992 synod reporting the *Sydney Morning Herald* used intensified terms more regularly than the other newspapers, thus providing a more heightened 'disunity', bad news, construction. Disunity meanings are notable for their absence in 1989 synod reporting. A non-synod comparison, reporting of the planned ordination of women to the priesthood at Goulburn Cathedral in February 1992, shows the *Sydney Morning Herald* again to be slightly more inclined to make use of intensified vocabulary:

"split"	(DTM 30.1.92; SMH 24.1.92, 6.2.92; Aust 9.1.92)
"row"	(Age 17.1.92; DTM 6.2.92)
"unholy fight"	(SMH 25.1.92)
"chaos"	(Age 24.1.92)

The headlines suggest the centrality in media discourse on this issue of the theme of 'unity' (along with 'progress' as will be seen in subsequent text analysis). Indeed, as will be discussed in Chapter Four of this study, a media unity discourse (to be distinguished from the theological unity discourses) was one of three media discourses that served as the 'cement' in the construction of the women's ordination media debate. Intensified vocabulary is an important evaluative strategy in constructing both a credibility evaluation and a token of social affinity (or distance) in relation to represented participants.

Apart from what the D.S.P. Report calls "tokens of judgment" and the "non-core items" outlined above, there are still other non-modal strategies available to the journalist via which the credibility of a participant may be enhanced or diminished.

Measure and generalisation

The D.S.P. report identified the category of 'measure' as a way of introducing subjectivity into the text.⁵⁶ In texts in the women's ordination debate, one notes on occasions such as the intended ordination in the Diocese of Canberra Goulburn in February 1992, references to large numbers of people. Arguably, this has the effect of enhancing the perceived significance of the event and thus its actors, in some ways paralleling the use of intensified vocabulary.

In the *Sydney Morning Herald* (3.2.92) the Goulburn protestors were "500 angry protestors"; in *The Australian*, "about 200 demonstrators" with "only a few regular Sunday churchgoers" protesting "elsewhere around the country". *The Age* concurs with the *Sydney Morning Herald*, though with the qualification "about". In the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*, "the ceremony was preceded by a march of more than 1000 men, women and children through the streets of Goulburn". One notes the numerical variation, and thus, what could be regarded as an oblique realisation of modality, being highest in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* and lowest in *The Australian*. Logically, predicted numbers would have the same impact, but carry the additional credibility attached to predictions.

A variation on 'measure' as an agent of oblique modality is the attributing of representative status, or the generalising of one event, to a large group. The effect is to take the event above and beyond numerical evaluation, yet maintaining high credibility. Consider again the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* text mentioned above:

"*Anglicans* around Australia also supported Bishop Owen Dowling by boycotting church services and placing flowers on church altars.

"In Sydney, 11 red roses were placed at St Andrew's Cathedral earlier in the morning."
(Ital: JB.)

The impact of the generalised term "Anglicans", arguably, is the realisation of symbolic or corporate representativeness, for the actions of represented participants. This promotes reader affinity with a 'majority' view.

In the case of "the women", the gender-only description facilitates a broader base of identification and enables an interpersonal response from a wider group. If they had been described as 'tertiary educated and over 30', reader identification, and thus a positive interpersonal response, arguably may have been reduced to a readership with those identifying characteristics. Instead, gender identity is encouraged and solidarity promoted. I suggest that this labelling also encodes the issue as a feminist one.

A variation on this strategy is to describe a participant as "X and her Christian sisters" as in "The pain of almost being a priest" (DTM 27.8.87). This communicates an image of solidarity, strength in numbers and again invites a positive interpersonal response in the reader.⁵⁷

A variation on 'measure' is the listing of sources of support for a person, which may include numbers.⁵⁸

I have outlined some of the major non-modal strategies evident in verbal texts constructing the women's ordination debate. It is evident that while some may function in modal-like ways (oblique realisations of modality), there are still other strategies that, either overtly or indirectly, encode subtle evaluation, so positioning the reader positively or negatively towards represented participants and therefore their points of view. Such strategies must by default be understood to be part of the textual metafunction in Halliday's functional grammar.

The textual metafunction is very significant in news discourse. News discourse, as will be outlined in Chapter Five, has very specific defining characteristics, which ensure a high degree of shared meaning between encoder and decoder, writer/editor and reader. One of these defining characteristics - 'personality credibility' or the personalisation of news - is the product of those strategies, broadly conceptualised as part of the 'modality system' of language in this chapter.

Personality credibility: ideological affinity with the reader

The end product of the evaluation of participants (reflecting modal values) and the use of linguistic triggers that invite evaluations reflecting modal values, is the creation of social affinity (or distance) between the reader and represented participant. This affinity is constructed on the basis of a shared evaluation of 'personality credibility'.

Hartley has drawn attention to the theory of Basil Bernstein, which focused on how the message is expressed rather than what is said. Bernstein's 'coding orientation' helps to conceptualise the impact of a major feature of news discourse: personalisation.⁵⁹

On the one hand, women's ordination is talked about primarily in terms of theology within church synods. Bernstein's "elaborated code" of "abstract language" may usefully describe this 'theology talk'. On the other hand, in news texts the issue is personalised: represented through a "restricted code", to use Bernstein's term, reinforcing the "solidarity of relationship". News discourse therefore has its own coding orientation. It relates messages in terms of persons rather than ideas and is read in terms of this orientation.

Kress and van Leeuwen also have taken up Bernstein's concept of coding orientation, offering the following definition:

"Coding orientations are sets of abstract principles which inform the way in which texts are encoded by specific social groups or within specific institutional contexts."⁶⁰

They argue that there is a scientific/ technological coding orientation, a way of thinking about and evaluating scientific material; a sensory coding orientation, a way of thinking about and evaluating according to the "pleasure principle" as in the world of fashion, advertising, culinary arts and so on; and an abstract coding orientation as used by socio-cultural elites in 'high art'. Their model constructs meaning as being relative to specific coding orientations.

I would argue that it is not appropriate to postulate a special coding orientation for the field of Christianity and Church in news discourse. Readers of newspapers would not read them as

though they are reading the Bible or theology. They would read them as news texts. Therefore it is the coding orientation of news discourse generally which is the coding orientation used by readers of news texts about the women's ordination debate. Thus, I suggest their coding orientation is what Kress and van Leeuwen, when discussing visual texts, call the 'naturalistic coding orientation':

"It is the one coding orientation all members of a culture share when we are being addressed as 'members of our culture', regardless of how much education or scientific/technological training (or theological training!) we have received. Individuals with special education or group allegiance will use it to draw on these only in certain contexts and revert to the naturalistic coding orientation in others when they are 'just being themselves'." ⁶¹

To return to Bernstein's "coding orientation", then, I propose that the coding orientation of producers/readers of news texts on women's ordination is the coding orientation of news texts generally, in which a 'restricted code' is operational. Because the restricted code "reinforces the solidarity of relationship", to quote Hartley's version of Bernstein, it follows that in news discourse, where there are strategies in use that seem to promote this solidarity of relationship, one may assume that the writer's aim is to encode the credibility of news actors and to construct meanings which assume that readers are 'news literate'. ⁶²

To use Kress and van Leeuwen's terms, the more detailed is the focus on persons and their mental processes (affective, perceptual or cognitive), the greater is the intention of newspapers to create social affinity between reader and text. This is independent of the particular individual's reading position (ideological stance) on an issue.

The following analysis proceeds from the assumption that the construction in a text of participants' affective mental processes ('I feel') or other constructions of their emotion, encodes the journalist/ editor's intention to create greater social affinity (within the restricted code of news discourse) than does the encoding of cognitive mental processes ('I think').

Summary

In this chapter I have outlined the components of a model to facilitate analysis of verbal texts with respect to participants in the women's ordination debate. The model provides a means of analysing how participants are encoded with credibility and how social affinity is constructed between reader and represented participant.

In the course of analysis I will use interchangeably, the terms 'newspaper article' and 'verbal text'. Where a newspaper article has a photograph or cartoon as well, I will use the term 'composite text'. In relation to photographs, my analysis proceeds from the premise that photographs have stand-alone meaning, as suggested by Kress and van Leeuwen, and discussed in Chapter Three. However, analysis will show that there can be ambiguity or intertextual conflict without a reading which takes account of the verbal text. The model will now be applied to the analysis of samples of verbal texts for the years 1987, 1989 and 1992.

Endnotes to Chapter 2:1

1. Kress and van Leeuwen, p 49.
2. Ibid., p 50.
3. Metropolitan East Department of School Education, Departmental Special Projects, Media Literacy Report (Draft) (1993) p 23. Hereafter called "D.S.P. Report".
4. Ibid., p 4.
5. Ibid., p 3.
6. Ibid., p 9.
7. See Chapter Five.
8. Allan Bell, *The Language of the News Media* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1991) p 192.
9. See for example, the first nun to become a deacon in NSW (eg. "Ploughing into the history books"; "First nun to be a deacon") DT 13.11.89; the first woman deacon to give birth to a child while in deacons orders ("Reverend Prowd's pride and joy" 2.12.88 DT, "Phoebe a holy first" Melbourne Sun 1.12.88, "The Reverend Kate makes history: Deacon's Prowd to be a mum" DT 22.11.88); the first woman priest ordained outside Australia to be licenced as deacon-in-charge of an Australian parish ("The sermon today is preached by a mother" Sunday T, 12.1.92). See also discussion under "Progress-historical discourse", Chapter Four.
10. DSP Report, p 10.
11. See "Anglican priest defects" Aust 28.4.87; "Anglican priest and family turn to Rome for salvation" Age 27.4.87. and analysis in 'Press evaluation of theological discourses' (Sacramental tradition) in Chapter Four.
12. DSP Report, pp 10-11.
13. In "A fighter intent on women being priests" (Age, 19.7.87) Dr Brennan is evaluated as "firm and serious", demonstrates "commitment" which is "stronger than ever" and, unlike other sections of the Anglican Church, is not hesitant or worried. She is a "fighter intent" who is sufficiently credible to attain first position in the headline, though with verb deletion. See further mention of this text in 'Press evaluation of feminist discourses', Chapter Four.
14. DSP Report, p 11.
15. Ibid.
16. See "Church gives women the right to be priests" SMH 13.12.92.
17. See 'Media discourses', Chapter Four.

18. DSP Report, pp 11-12.

19. See for example, "Hell raiser whose vision lit the world" Aust 11.2.93; "Hollows: the last interview" Aust 11.2.93; "State farewell to a great fighter" Aust 11.2.93; "4000 pay tribute to larrikin, visionary" Aust 16.2.93; "Final farewell to people's hero" SMH 16.2.93; "Don't worry Dad about not being here because you still are" SMH 16.2.93; "Foresight: the Fred Hollows Story" SMH 11.2.93; "Praise for a fearless surgeon" SMH 11.2.93; "Story of a man who aims to share his vision" SMH 24.9.91; "A dying man with a vision for the future" SMH 26.1.91; "Hollows the great Australian" Sun H 27.1.91; "Living with death adds piquancy to Fred's days" SMH 4.9.92. Note 'Christian Socialist' cf 'humanist' evaluations.

20. See for example, "Eritrea thanks Fred" SMH 22.1.94.

21. See "Priestess turns the cheek to critics" Aust 25.6.87; "Close vote expected on women priests" Aust 24.8.87; "Women expect synod victory" SMH 21.8.89.

22. See "Blazing special trails through '87" Aust 4.1.87; "Looking forward to the 90s" Age 3.1.90).

23. Allan Bell, p 193.

24. One cannot pass by *Sydney Morning Herald* religious reporter Alan Gill's "my spies tell me" attribution in this respect. See for example, SMH 26.2.90.

25. See for example, "Criticism over women priests upsets bishop", Age, 28.1.92.

26. Note that Ruth Sturme, for example, recognises that 'fundamentalism' is a negatively marked term for the theological perspective otherwise known as a 'Reformed' or an 'Evangelical' view. See Thesis, p 6. See also endnote 22, Chapter 4.2.

27. Roberta Kevelson, *The Inverted Pyramid: An Introduction to a Semiotics of Media Language, Studies in Semiotics*, (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1977), p 3.

28. An evaluation close to this was noted in only one text prior to 1992.

29. DSP Report, p 16.

30. Allan Bell, p 183.

31. Ibid., p 188., citing van Dijk, *News Analysis: Case Studies of International and National News in The Press*, Hillsdale, Lawrence Erlbaum, 1988) p 227. See also Kevelson, p 2 and Chapter 6, "Voice and judgment in headlines".

32. Kevelson, pp 97, 117.

33. Ibid, p 105 citing Halliday, *Explorations in Functions of Language* (London, Edward Arnold, 1973) pp 90-92.

34. Kress and Hodge, *Language as Ideology*, Chapter 2.
35. Ibid., pp 26-27.
36. Ibid., p 27.
37. Ibid., p 35.
38. Ibid., p 26.
39. Ibid., p 25.
40. See "Court blocks women priests" Aust 1-2.2.92.
41. See analysis of news reports for 3.2.92 in Chapter 2.2 for variations in polarity across newspapers.
42. See Allan Bell, Chapter Nine.
43. See, for example: "'Women in priesthood by 1992", says archbishop" Aust 7.3.87; "Archbishop to ordain women in 1990", Aust 15.10.87; "Women priests in Melbourne by 1990" SMH 15.10.87; "Synod clears way to ordain women" Aust 23.8.87 (This related to a resolution affirming the ancient right of a bishop, not to enabling legislation); "Women priests to be ordained next year" DTM 31.8.90; and so on, up until 1992 headlines such as "At last! Women priests!" (ST 8.3.92). These constructions could be seen to facilitate the media progress-historical discourse that I will discuss in Chapter Four. So newsworthy are predictions that SBS issued its own press release on the morning of 29.11.90 with the headline "Bishop's tip: women priests next year" on the basis of a comment made by Bishop Owen Dowling on SBS's Face the Press, to be broadcast that evening.
44. The concept of the "core" item of a set of related vocabulary items was proposed by Ronald Carter, 1982/7 and followed by the DSP report, p 19.
45. Cate Poynton, *Language and Gender: Making the Difference*, (Burwood, Deakin University Press, 1985) p 57.
46. Ibid., p 63 citing J Shuster., "Grammatical forms marked for male and female in English," Unpublished graduate student paper, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1973. See also my later discussion of news reports that construct the first ordinations of women to the diaconate/priesthood in relation to passive forms.
47. Ibid., p 58.
48. See for example, "Deacon Kate even swears a tiny bit" SMH 12.2.86 and "The Reverend Kate makes history" DT 22.11.88.

49. See for example Thesis Appendix, "Labelling: 1989 General Synod". More emotive labels such as "fundamentalism" tended to be quoted. Proponents of women's ordination varied from being "supporters (of women's ordination)" to "reformers" to "apostles of protest" to "the pro-women priests group" in 1989.
50. See Kress and van Leeuwen, p 67.
51. See D.S.P. Report, Appendix X: "In and out of touch with our emotions: Affect" p 1.
52. See discussion of 'consensus' in Chapter Five.
53. See discussion of 'dual text' strategy in Chapter 2.2 and in the Appendix.
54. One could suggest that the focus on emotion rather than verbal processes occurs for more obvious reasons: the women were upset. No doubt they were, but not everyone's tears make news. It is possible that focus was placed on affect because the issue was judged too complex to be understood by the average reader, or, having been on the media agenda for some time, required new angles to ensure newsworthiness. See discussion of 'News discourse' in Chapter Five.
55. See "Authorial Voice" DSP Report, pp 24-5. See also D.S.P. Report Appendix on "infused intensification".
56. DSP Report, p 5.
57. For discussion of the term "Christian sisters", see Chapter Four on Feminist discourses. Its use may encourage affinity between reader and represented participant potentially within two fields.
58. See for example, SMH 11.1.92, reporting on the consecration of the first woman bishop in the U.S.. See also all texts for 3.2.92. mentioned above.
59. John Hartley, *Understanding News* (London, Methuen, 1982) pp 149-151 citing Basil Bernstein, *Class, Codes and Control 1* (St Albans, 1973) and *Class, Codes and Control 3* (London, 1975).
60. Kress and van Leeuwen, p 53.
61. Kress and van Leeuwen, p 54.
62. Hartley, p 149 citing Bernstein.

Chapter 2

News reports and modality

2.2 Analysis of samples of verbal texts

In this chapter I summarise and illustrate the trends evident from my analysis of the verbal components of texts. This summary is based on the more detailed analysis of texts for 1987, 1989 and 1992 contained in the Appendix, which may be read alongside this chapter. Trends identified are referenced to the appropriate pages.

Samples of both 'synod' texts and 'non-synod' texts were analysed. 'Synod' texts are those newspaper articles which arise out of meetings of synods (assemblies of bishops, clergy and parish-elected non-ordained (lay) members of the church). The samples chosen report on meetings of the General Synod, the assembly of members from the dioceses across Australia, in 1987, 1989 and 1992. 'Non-synod' newspaper texts are those constructed from events other than synods. These range from book launches to visits by overseas clergy to the release of opinions by the Appellate Tribunal, the body which provides judgments in relation to church laws: in short, anything evaluated by the press as relevant to women's ordination. A selection of texts from 1992 has been analysed along with those from 1987 and 1989. This sampling approach was adopted (rather than analysis of all texts for all years 1987-92 and for all criteria) because of the large number of texts and the large number of criteria for analysis. Texts are

categorised as 'synod' or 'non-synod' to offset what initially seemed to be a preoccupation with legislative discourse in the former.

Analysis excludes the weekly texts produced by columnists James Murray (*The Australian*) and Alan Gill (*Sydney Morning Herald*). Analysis includes those that are more clearly 'news texts' by Alan Gill, as opposed to his weekly column, until the end of that column and the bringing of religious reporting under the general round.¹ For *The Age*, analysis similarly includes religious reporter Mark Brolly's news reports, but excludes his 'opinion' texts. Editorials for all four newspapers are not analysed, nor are other 'opinion' articles. Brief reference will be made to free-standing cartoons, later.

Attention will be drawn to the main participants - groups or individuals - in the newspaper debate. In Chapter Four they will be linked with their non-press-mediated viewpoints. Differences in the ways in which they are represented between newspapers will be suggested by reference to sample texts and across-newspaper comparisons of texts for the same day.

Before proceeding, two qualifications must be made. First, in the course of analysis it was difficult to hold together the range of criteria and arrive at a clear analysis of whether a particular text constructed participants on one 'side' of the debate as more credible than the 'other' within any one text. The problem was compounded when trying then to identify trends over a period. However, the cumulative weight of analysis, including study of visual material, does allow some conclusions to be established.

As a result, I suggest there is a need for this methodology to weight in general terms which verbal factors are more crucial to the construction of credibility and social affinity than others. The modal features as defined in Halliday's functional grammar must rate more highly than the ones I have described as 'modal-like'. However, the non-modal features need also to be ordered in significance. Having noted this problem I have proceeded on the basis of salience of features within each text. My conclusions are therefore tentative and subject to further refinement of the methodology and application to this, or other, textual samples.

Headlines and leads are focussed upon, as well as who is selected as a news actor, and which persons are given the "first" and "last word". The use of modals and the first person pronoun are regarded as very significant indicators of the newspaper's alignment with a represented participant. Social affinity indicators - the recording of affective mental processes - and tokens of the same in non-standard and heightened vocabulary, as well as labelling, also receive major attention. My analysis is based on the assumption that, while multiple high credibility encodings are *likely* to encode a positive evaluation based on a shared meaning system, the presence of social affinity indicators confirm that a newspaper has evaluated a given participant positively. The importance of who is chosen as a participant will become more apparent in Chapter Four's discussion of discourse analysis. Whether high credibility and social affinity encodings can be said to equal ideological commitment to an issue on the part of the newspaper to an issue, will be discussed in Chapters Four, Five and the Conclusion.

2.2.1 Findings from analysis of 1987 texts

1987 saw the following events receive press attention. The Appellate Tribunal issued an opinion in relation to the validity of a 1985 canon allowing the admission of women to the diaconate (February-March). Next came the meeting of the Church of England General Synod (U.K.) (February-March). Fr John Fleming's move from the Anglican to the Catholic Church as a layman was reported in April. June saw reports on the visit of a U.S. archbishop (Archbishop Louis Falk) and a U.S. female priest (the Rev Alison Cheek). The meeting of the N.S.W. Presbyterian Assembly was reported in July. August saw attention focused on the possibility that some Anglo-Catholics might establish a separate denomination; a report on the Third National Conference of the Movement for the Ordination of Women; a visit by the Rev Elizabeth Kilbourn (Canada), and the Special General Synod called specifically to debate the ordination of women. The Melbourne and Sydney diocesan synods were reported on in October, followed in November by Archbishop Robinson of Sydney's announcement that he would assent to a diocesan ordinance to permit the admission of women to the diaconate in the Diocese of Sydney.

A sample of 68 news texts, excluding columns and features was studied for 1987. This was the entire corpus of news reports for that year. Of these, 22 were texts from the Special General Synod in August. Trends identified below arise primarily from analysis of the synod texts but with reference also to others from that year.

In 1987 reporting, *The Age*, *The Australian* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* all appear to have evaluated the women's ordination debate within two separate fields: legislated progress for women (feminism) and church unity, while the *Daily Telegraph* evaluated the issue within the field of feminism only.

Daily Telegraph

The *Daily Telegraph* was the newspaper to construct spokespersons of M.O.W. with greatest credibility in that entire texts were constructed around a M.O.W. perspective. This may suggest that, for the *Daily Telegraph*, church was unnewsworthy, whereas feminism was newsworthy.² The *Daily Telegraph* was the newspaper most likely in 1987 to focus on the affective mental processes of intending women priests or deacons, thus promoting social affinity between reader and represented participant. However, M.O.W. participants were constructed as radical.³ Moreover, evaluations such as "Row over women priests revives" (DT 19.8.87) may discourage reader affinity with any of the participants, and thus from church as a whole.

The Australian

The Australian was the newspaper more frequently to evaluate anti-ordination viewpoints as credible in 1987. This is evidenced in the selection of represented participants, especially within the General Synod reporting period, and particularly with respect to 'unity' meanings.⁴

However, even in *The Australian*, where anti-ordination participants are more credibly represented, the two female participants who spoke against the ordination of women in the synod debate, are not represented.⁵ Male anti-ordination participants are represented participants in *The Australian* texts, both those from the Biblical tradition ('headship' view) and the Sacramental tradition.⁶ However, some texts gave higher credibility to pro-ordination participants. This leads one to conclude that in 1987 *The Australian* may have been addressing the issue in two fields, incorporating both 'for' and 'against' views. M.O.W. participants generally lacked positive social affinity markers. There is ambivalence if not negativity shown towards them at times. They are credible, but evaluated as radical; participants who do not promote unity.⁷

The Age

The Age in early 1987 had a news orientation similar to that of *The Australian*, but it differed from that newspaper in its slightly greater interest in theological meanings/church as a whole, rather than the more narrow ordination debate.⁸ Like *The Australian*, *The Age* appears to have evaluated women's ordination on the basis of two social issues, or in two separate fields. One site of evaluation was women as victims of gender discrimination, the other was the effect on social/church stability of women being allowed to be ordained.

By the time of the Special General Synod in August, Dr Patricia Brennan, President of M.O.W. is constructed as highly credible, both in visual terms and structurally in verbal text. What is

more, she is constructed with a 'righteous anger' that does not distance the reader in the manner of 'angry women' constructions. Attention is given also to the affective mental processes of the women affected following the synod, promoting social affinity between reader and these participants. Choice of represented participants suggests an orientation towards those with pro-ordination views, particularly bishops, but not just Melbourne diocesan bishops. One text prior to the synod established a 'men' versus 'women and their supporters' framework for analysing the debate.⁹

The Sydney Morning Herald

In 1987 *Sydney Morning Herald* texts, male pro-ordination participants are evaluated as the most highly credible, along with the synod as a pro-ordination actor. At times the pro-ordination orientation is quite overt in the journalist's definition of the 'positive' and 'negative' poles. For example, in one instance, voting is reported to have "failed" in the House of Clergy, the result being "worse than the situation two years ago".¹⁰ M.O.W. participants are highly credible, sometimes on the basis perhaps, of being sources of the unexpected. In one case, however, the resulting construction of humour may have served to reduce that credibility.¹¹ At times they are evaluated through labelling, and a distancing of the journalist from their view, as radical. They are on the edge of the social consensus.

'Unity' concerns arise out of the reporting of ecclesiastical politics in the Diocese of Sydney ('the social'), more than from Ecumenical issues ('the theological'). Rather than being positioned

with pro-ordination participants via social affinity indicators, *Sydney Morning Herald* texts for 1987 tend to position the readers against "plotters" (church disunity) and "radicals" (feminism), intensified vocabulary labels that have a negative social affinity component. To some degree, therefore, the reader is positioned at a distance from all participants, with the construction of humour playing its part in this. Again, women's ordination was constructed as two issues being about progress for women and church unity.¹²

While texts that reported on the 1987 Special General Synod tended to follow the order of speakers in the synod, not one of the four newspapers reported the views of two General Synod female members who expressed anti-ordination views in the (Evangelical) Biblical tradition. Evidence of the views of Narelle Jarrett and Janis Donohoo expressed on that occasion are accessible in the account of synod proceedings recorded by Janet Nelson and Linda Walter, advocates of the ordination of women who identified with M.O.W..¹³ *The Age* reported most clearly and at length a M.O.W. analysis of the debate, from the perspective of 'women and their supporters' 'for' versus 'men' 'against'. The other newspapers did not provide a challenge to this paradigm, even though *The Australian* on occasion gave very high credibility to alternative views, such as that "women must suffer with Jesus" - that is, have patience and not expect progress too quickly - in their pursuit of the priesthood.¹⁴ Both the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph* on occasion distanced the reader from all participants in the debate, and perhaps therefore, from the social practice of church as a whole.

2.2.2 Findings from analysis of 1989 texts

In 1989 the General Synod met in August to address the women's ordination question as well as a number of other issues. Other occasions for 1989 reporting were the deaconing of women in the Diocese of Sydney for the first time, and on the same day, but in the US, the consecration of the first woman (assistant) bishop in the Anglican Communion. There was also a visit by Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, to the Pope in Rome in October. As well there was the sickness and death of the Archbishop of Melbourne, Dr David Penman. Then came the ruling in November by the Appellate Tribunal that it was not legally permissible for the Diocese of Melbourne to proceed to ordain women as priests on the basis of its own legislation without prior legislation being enacted by the General Synod.

The following analysis of texts has been divided into two categories as for 1987: synod texts and non-synod texts of which there were 16 and 51 respectively.

A very clear difference between 1987 reporting and that of 1989 is the far more positive evaluation given to pro-ordination participants. The change is particularly marked in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. The strand of reporting evaluating progress for women (feminism) favourably in *The Australian* dominates in 1989 as well. However, for *The Australian* there would appear to be a qualification: that ordination for women be pursued constitutionally.

1989 General Synod

Headlines for the 1989 General Synod reporting period chart progress on women's ordination to the priesthood. Unity/disunity themes are notable for their absence.¹⁵ The 'positive pole' continues to be a pro-ordination view, one that evaluates any non-compliant process as a "blockage" or a "failure", that is "cleared" by a compliant process.¹⁶

Selection of news actors in 1989 General Synod reporting gave greater credibility to a small number of participants than to others. That is, pro-ordination participants from the Diocese of Melbourne, and Archbishop Peter Carnley from Perth. Ironically, this is true more for the *Sydney Morning Herald*, a Sydney-based paper, than for *The Age*, a Melbourne-based paper.¹⁷ Except in *The Age*, implicit high credibility was given to the view of M.O.W. in attributing status to the group's spokespersons as represented participants equivalent to that of bishops or 'leading' clergy.

Low credibility was attached to anti-ordination Sydney diocesan participants in 1989 synod texts, by virtue of placement in text or absence as represented participants.¹⁸ Participants given preferred positions of first/last word are M.O.W. spokespersons (Drs Pat Brennan and Janet Scarfe), M.O.W. supporters, intending women priests, or synod advocates of ordination for women, particularly Archbishop Peter Carnley (Perth). This is the case particularly in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph*.¹⁹

Whereas the reporting of the affective mental processes of intending women priests was more confined to the *Daily Telegraph* in 1987, this marker of social affinity is more pronounced across newspapers in 1989. The radical evaluation has declined and social affinity has been constructed between reader and represented participant.²⁰ Use of generalisations relating to "women" again suggest an evaluation of the issue as pertaining to the field of feminism. However this, along with the generalisation of pro-ordination views to "Anglicans" may serve to position the reader to identify with a pro-ordination view.²¹ I will turn now to trends specific to individual newspapers.

Daily Telegraph

The *Daily Telegraph* texts portray as highly credible, advocates of women's ordination, both male and female. Markers of social affinity are evident in relation to a woman deacon. This is a departure from its 1987 trend of constructing the debate through M.O.W. spokespersons alone. This may suggest that women deacons are evaluated differently, and more positively, than M.O.W. leaders.

The Australian

The *Australian* synod texts constructed pro-ordination participants, male and female, as credible also, far more so than in 1987. In the three texts studied pro-ordination participants

outnumber opponents, and intensified vocabulary is used, constructing high credibility for them and inviting some reader affinity. Headline structure suggests, however, that synod processes rate as even more credible. This may be a marker of a 'unity' discourse which, even when combined with a positive evaluation of pro-ordination (progress) for women, still stressed constitutionality. I return to this point in Chapter Four.

The Age

The Age did not feature M.O.W. participants at all in the synod sample. Selection and placement of sources favour pro-ordination participants who are bishops. Thus, *The Age* could be understood to have *reflected* church authority in selection of news actors. That the actors were primarily bishops and also synod participants, may also imply that *The Age* has constructed the issue as belonging to the field of church, more than women's role in society. However, choice of actors reflects a clear geographical orientation to Melbourne-based participants be they in favour of, or against, women's ordination to the priesthood.

Sydney Morning Herald

Findings are that it is in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, that Dr Brennan, for M.O.W., is constructed with highest credibility. Indeed, women, particularly M.O.W. spokespersons or those endorsed by M.O.W. such as the Rev Alison Cheek, are most frequently chosen as

spokespersons in *Sydney Morning Herald* texts, more so than male synod advocates of women's ordination, who were the only other represented participants.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* was the only newspaper to locate women in first position, active voice in a headline. Women are highly credible, but the creation of social affinity through affective mental processes is confined to a woman deacon. However, there are triggers to a positive evaluation of Dr Brennan and the Rev Alison Cheek as well where the reader is positioned with people who support them. This marks a change in evaluation from 1987.

Non-synod texts, 1989

Daily Telegraph

In relation to the ten *Daily Telegraph* 1989 non-synod texts, findings are that reporting continues along the lines of 1987, evaluating events primarily in the light of the views of spokespersons for the Movement for the Ordination of Women, but now also those of women deacons, who are constructed as highly credible participants. It is M.O.W.'s evaluation that dominates the news report of the first admission of women to the diaconate in the Diocese of Sydney. M.O.W.'s view also has 'last word' position in a text that reports on the prospect of having the Pope as head of a reunited Church of England - Church of Rome. However, women are not generally constructed as actors in headlines, even though headlines that contain reference to women focus on progress for them. They are acted upon or for.²² Two instances of

a passive construction in relation to female news actors in the headline or sub-heading, one in relation to the first woman appointed a diocesan bishop (N.Z.) and the other in relation to the first woman in N.S.W. to be placed in charge of a parish, signal the possibility of high credibility but negative evaluation (Kevelson). However, as outlined in Chapter Two, the use of a passive also serves to delete as participant the person who performed the appointment/consecration, and thus to erode the significance of male clerical/episcopal actors.²³

Analysis has demonstrated also the existence of an evaluative position that rated as credible, male persons who left the Anglican Church because of the admission of women to the diaconate. In one instance there would seem to have been a negative evaluation attached, in the other instance, a positive evaluation. Both persons subscribed to what will be identified in Chapter Four as the Sacramental (Anglo-Catholic) tradition opposed to the ordination of women. This view is constructed as a source of conflict, facilitating an emerging 'disunity' theme.²⁴ Notably, in a Sydney-based newspaper, Sydney Evangelical participants against ordination for women have not been represented.²⁵

The Australian

Higher credibility is given to advocates of women's ordination than to opponents in the majority of the 12 non-synod texts in *The Australian*. Credible male opponents-in-texts are associated with the Sacramental tradition's discourse and not that of the Biblical tradition.²⁶ Positive evaluations (high credibility plus social affinity) are reserved for those who stress unity either by

advocacy of ordination by constitutional means or rejection of it. This is very evident in a text that distances the reader from 'rebel' women deacons considering 'defecting' to another denomination.²⁷

The Age

Whereas *The Age* synod texts tended to feature male pro-ordination participants and particularly bishops, one third of the 18 non-synod texts gave significant credibility to women participants in favour of ordination, just on the basis of headline alone.²⁸ High credibility combined with the reporting of affective mental processes in some texts, positions the reader with them and may indicate a positive evaluation of ordination (progress) for women. Even so, this would appear to be qualified by its achievement by constitutional processes (unity), if this can be inferred from the active voice constructions in headlines in relation to the synod as actor. The majority of represented participants are Melbourne-based or at least Victorian. It is suggested also that the women's ordination issue is constructed more in the field of 'church' in 1989 than in 1987. Where the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury are represented participants, one is not constructed as more highly credible than the other.²⁹

Sydney Morning Herald

There were 12 non-synod *Sydney Morning Herald* texts. A clear feature of the selection of sources is that non-Sydney/N.S.W. sources have been preferred; a direct contrast to the geographical proximity implicit in *The Age's* selection of participants. This implies low modality for the dominant Sydney diocesan anti-ordination-of-women-priests view.³⁰

One sees two perspectives on the ordination of women being addressed in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. On the one hand there is high credibility for participants engaged in moves towards the ordination of women. The *Sydney Morning Herald*, slightly more so than other newspapers for non-synod texts, constructed individual women in first position with active voice in headlines. Moreover, in one text reporting on the first admission of women to the diaconate in the Diocese of Sydney, the newspaper in effect 'ordained' the women. Their ordination was constructed neither as an act of episcopal authority, nor as the achievement of M.O.W. or the women themselves. Progress towards ordination is the dominant theme in relation to the Australian church in non-synod texts, but this progress is evaluated with some ambivalence or intra textual conflict on occasion.³¹ The effect may be to position the reader away from church but not ordination for women. Some credibility is attached to preventing a possible rupture in the Church of England - Vatican relationship, but perhaps from a Church of England perspective. Disunity at this stage in the debate is 'international news'.³²

November 1989 Appellate Tribunal ruling:

a non-synod across-newspapers comparison

In November the Appellate Tribunal ruled against the constitutional legality of the Diocese of Melbourne proceeding to ordain women as priests without enabling legislation from General Synod. The reporting of this decision provides an opportunity for comparison of texts across newspapers to highlight differential emphases.

The Age text ("Ruling against women priests" *Age*, 7.11.89) (Figure 14) constructs the Appellate Tribunal ruling as dealing the campaign for women priests a "severe blow". This is comparable in force to the *Sydney Morning Herald's* "major rebuff" ("Women priests outlawed" 7.11.89) (Figure 15), but more heightened than *The Australian's* "setback" ("Tribunal finds women priest move unconstitutional" 7.11.89) (Figure 16), and perhaps slightly less emotive than the *Daily Telegraph's* "devastating setback" ("Church rules out women priests" 7.11.89) (Figure 17). All headlines focus on the hindering of progress for women as priests.

Apart from the differences in choice of vocabulary in the lead paragraphs of these texts, the other significant difference is in the agency behind the ruling. In *The Age*, agency is deleted, objectifying the decision. In *The Australian*, the agency is specific: the Tribunal, the voice of church law, in active voice, is the most credible actor. In the *Daily Telegraph* the agency is generalised to "church", which promotes a church-versus-women construction to the debate, and gives greater credibility, through active voice, to the (Anglican) Church. In the *Sydney*

Morning Herald, the agency is deleted, but the focus is on the women affected. Indeed, the use of a passive may suggest a victim construction. Notably, while lead paragraphs in *The Age* and *Sydney Morning Herald* texts are similar in focusing on the effect on the "campaign for women priests", the headline in *The Age* objectifies the situation, whereas the *Sydney Morning Herald* promotes identification with the women, consistent with them as victims.

The *Daily Telegraph* text generalises the impact of the decision to "Anglican women" and focuses on the affective mental processes of a M.O.W. spokeswoman and an intending woman priest, thus promoting social affinity between reader and pro-ordination represented participants.

The Australian text limits the impact of the decision to the "intention of Melbourne to ordain". The decision is not generalised as 'bad news' for all proponents of the ordination of women. At the same time, the issue is described as one "that has repeatedly split the church in previous years". There is a return to a disunity theme and possibly, therefore, an implicit credibility for an anti-ordination perspective.

The *Sydney Morning Herald*, by contrast, heightens the impact of the decision for the women concerned. The text has a 'tragedy' structure. First came the death of Archbishop Penman ("one of Australia's leading champions of women's ordination"), now comes the legal judgment. This confirms a 'victim' construction for women seeking ordination.

The Age text, though sourced to three pro-ordination actors (Stewart, Carnley and M.O.W. in that order) gives Bishop Hazlewood the last word. Here, however, the text provides a subtle and balancing twist that focuses upon the anticipated affective mental processes of supporters, but through the reported view of "a strong opponent of women's ordination":

"he (Bishop Hazlewood) said there was a 'sense of emptiness' at the heartbreak and damage to the faith that many people might be feeling after the ruling."

This attribution encourages social affinity with the pro-ordination supporters through mention of their affective mental processes. However, it also upholds "the ruling".

This across newspaper comparison helps to illuminate some of the differences between newspapers in 1989. Whereas the *Sydney Morning Herald* text was typified by victim constructions for intending women priests, thus focussing on progress for women, *The Australian* stressed disunity and the credibility of the Appellate Tribunal, a voice of law, as actor. Whereas the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* heightened the impact on the women of the ruling, *The Australian* expressed it in more understated terms. Whereas agency is stressed in *The Australian*, it is disguised in *The Age*. Of all the newspapers, *The Age* was the most 'balanced' and least inflammatory, either in relation to 'unity' or 'progress for women'.

Summary and conclusion: 1989 synod and non-synod texts

Analysis of 16, 1989 synod, and 51 non-synod texts, suggests the following.

In the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*, male episcopal participants in favour of ordination were among those chosen as actors and rated as highly credible. This marks a change from 1987 reporting, and may indicate that the issue has now been evaluated as relating to church as well as to feminism. Otherwise, M.O.W. continues as a main reference point for the issue. M.O.W. actors are usually highly credible, but do not attract markers of social affinity. Archbishop Donald Robinson is more credible than the Pope as actor on the matter of 'catholic interference'. The same choice of actors is evident in non-synod texts, with a slightly increased attention to women deacons. While there is not yet a full victim construction for these women in texts, there are social affinity indicators. Women are not generally actors in headlines. They are acted for or upon. The selected actors are N.S.W.-based with no Sydney (Evangelical) Biblical tradition clerical actors apart from Archbishop Donald Robinson.

Analysis of *Sydney Morning Herald* texts shows that M.O.W. spokespersons and their male episcopal supporters are the represented participants in synod texts, not Sydney diocesan clergy. In non-synod texts, of the four, this newspaper gave greatest attention to the controversy between the Church of England and the Pope. Non-synod texts also selected M.O.W. participants, female deacons and pro-ordination bishops as actors. There is also evidence of a 'victim' construction for women seeking ordination but with some ambivalence at times. Overall, ordination for women appears to have been evaluated as two separate issues.

High credibility is given to pro-ordination participants, but also to the prevention of further disunity between the Churches of England and Rome. At this point the latter is seen as 'overseas' news.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* and *Daily Telegraph* texts construct women participants as the most highly credible. The *Sydney Morning Herald* in particular constructs pro-ordination participants, especially female participants, as far more credible than synod processes (constitutionality). The *Sydney Morning Herald* in effect 'ordained' the first woman to the diaconate in the Diocese of Sydney. The headline's use of a possessive pronoun 'owned' the women, while deleting episcopal actors as agents of the ordination and not constructing the women as either pursuers or active receivers of ordination. Use of humour at the same time positioned the reader at a distance from church.

The Age texts are characterised by geographical proximity in the selection of news actors. Synod reporting appears to *reflect* church authority in that selected participants are male, mainly episcopal, synod participants. Lack of reference to M.O.W. in synod reporting may also indicate the construction of the issue as belonging to the field of church, rather than feminism. Non-synod reporting gives greater attention to women priests in waiting, and promotes social affinity with them, and to Melbourne spokespersons and the presidents of M.O.W.. Again, a geographical proximity would seem to be a strong selection factor. Preference is given neither to the Pope nor the Archbishop of Canterbury in texts that focus on unity-ecumenism. Evaluative comment and implicit evaluations suggest a preference for constitutional processes being followed: synods are constructed in active voice and first position in headlines.

In *The Australian*, higher credibility is given to pro-ordination participants, male and female, than in 1987. Headline structure in synod texts suggests the synod is rated as the most credible actor. Unlike *The Age*, *The Australian* has included M.O.W. female participants as actors in synod texts. Selection of actors in non-synod texts ranges widely across Australia. It is inclined towards pro-ordination participants but also to female participants advocating constitutional ordinations. Female advocates are only once constructed in active voice in headlines. Non-synod texts in general give higher credibility to pro-ordination participants and highest credibility to those advocating ordination by constitutional means. Disunity re-emerges as a theme following the November Appellate Tribunal ruling, perhaps in consequence encoding implicit credibility to the anti-ordination perspective. On the Church of England (U.K.) - Rome matter, the Pope is the preferred actor. No text from *The Australian* featured an anti-ordination participant reflecting the Biblical tradition (Evangelical) view opposed to the ordination of women. Opponents-in-text were associated with the Sacramental (Anglo-Catholic) tradition.

The Australian and *The Age*, while constructing female participants favouring women's ordination to the priesthood with credibility, also construct synodical processes (constitutionality) as the more highly credible actor. This is particularly marked in *The Australian*.

If one assumed a link between highest credibility/protagonist encodings and ideological commitment to the ordination of women, one could suggest a continuum between 'ordain at all costs' and 'ordain by constitutional means only', placing the newspapers in the following order: *Sydney Morning Herald* (but with some internal conflict); *Daily Telegraph*; *The Age*; *The*

Australian. It may be more significant, ideologically, however, that 'progress' meanings dominate in headlines across all four newspapers in 1989. To this point I will return in the Conclusion.

Theoretical issues

Analysis of texts has raised a theoretical issue in pertaining to the meaning of the word 'believes', in relation to potential ambiguity in the affective mental process/social affinity component.

Kress and van Leeuwen identify the word as signifying a cognitive mental process.³³ However, it is possible that it may encode an element of affective mental process as well, in the sense of passionately holding to a rational proposition or conviction. Alternatively, it could encode an element of scepticism: 'He believes this, but I don't.' The former would promote social affinity between reader and represented participant; the latter would discourage it. One might suggest that how the word is decoded may depend upon the reading position of the individual reader. However, context suggests the writer's intention. In the case of a text in *The Australian* that focuses upon a visiting U.K. Bishop, Dr Hughes, the social affinity component of the text's description of the bishop and the use of the term "conviction" in relation to Dr Hughes elsewhere in the text, the 'conviction' meaning (encoding social affinity) is more likely in this case.³⁴

Attention has been paid to Kevelson's view in relation to passive constructions in headlines, that a passive construction usually encodes a negative evaluation. However, it would be inconsistent on the basis of the texts studied to see the passive as necessarily encoding a negative evaluation, because of the presence in the texts of linguistic indicators of social affinity, such as the use of the possessive pronoun "our" in relation to the women ordained (as deacons).³⁵ The passive has been recognised therefore as contributing to a victim construction for the women.

Moreover, Kress and Hodge see the passive as a construction, along with nominalisation, that deletes the significance of the actor. In the case of the women's ordination debate these constructions might be understood to have eroded readers' perception of episcopal authority through deleting bishops as actors.

I have suggested a further possibility also; that passive voice in relation to female advocates of the priesthood encodes the preferred resolution of the issue. Namely, that women submit themselves to constitutional (democratic synodical) processes.

2.2.3 Findings from analysis of 1992 texts

The third sample of texts analysed in detail are those from January-February 1992 (non-synod texts) when Bishop Owen Dowling's intention to ordain women to the priesthood in the Diocese of Canberra-Goulburn was the subject of action in the N.S.W. Supreme Court and Court of Appeal. This is followed by analysis of texts from the General Synod held in July, and special session held in November, at which enabling legislation was passed. The other main media-recognised events of the year were the irregular ordination of women in March in the Diocese of Perth, diocesan synods held following the General Synod, and then the first regular ordinations of women in December. Brief reference is made to these.

February 1992: Bishop Owen Dowling's intention to ordain

The sample consists of 47 texts, from 9 January to 8 February. There are subtle but significant differences between newspapers in the reporting of the legal case taken to the Supreme Court of N.S.W. over the intended ordination in the Diocese of Canberra and Goulburn.

Daily Telegraph Mirror

The *Daily Telegraph Mirror* covered the debate in less detail than the other newspapers. It would appear to have held in tension, credibility constructions for female participants wishing to be priested, but also credibility for the discourse (less so, participants) opposed to an irregular ordination. The texts were less marked, however, than the *Sydney Morning Herald* for women participants, and *The Australian* for legal participants.³⁶

The Australian

In *The Australian*, highest credibility was reserved for the legal actors, and particularly Justice Rogers, during the court case. His judgment regarding the inappropriateness of taking a church dispute to secular law was therefore constructed as the most credible. The focus on legal and unity meanings until 29 January 1992 suggests a preoccupation with constitutionality of action.³⁷ This trend was evident also, but less pronounced, in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*.

The Age

The Age texts utilised elements of 'victim' constructions less than the *Sydney Morning Herald* in relation to intending women priests, evaluating the women as more activist. They are nevertheless constructed as highly credible, on the basis of their community support. Whereas

in *The Australian* the legal actors were evaluated as having the highest credibility, in *The Age* highest credibility was given to male clerical-episcopal actors during the court case. It is they who achieve the distinction of actors in first position with active voice in the headlines.³⁸ The reader is positioned generally with pro-ordination participants, although the device of dual (or three) texts, through which are represented the perspectives of up to three groups of actors, is utilised more in *The Age* than in the other newspapers. Hence, following the court case there would appear to have been an effort to represent as credible the perspectives of three groups of actors: intending women priests, plaintiffs and pro-ordination clerical actors in three separate texts on the same day (3 February). This 'balancing' device, evident at times in *The Age* in 1989, has increased in frequency.³⁹

Sydney Morning Herald

In the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the perspective of Bishop Dowling and the intending women priests is constructed as the most credible. Like the other four newspapers, the text for 3 February highlighted the affective mental processes/emotional state of the women constructing both pain and righteous anger. However, this reporting was most marked in favour of the women in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and therefore social affinity encodings were most pronounced in this newspaper.⁴⁰

Texts for January 29: across newspapers comparison

Daily Telegraph Mirror

In "Women to be priests" (DTM 29.1.92) (Figure 18), both unity and progress are addressed and held in tension, but with greater credibility for the pro-ordination participants than those opposed. There is high credibility for the women priests-to-be (as they were in the light of Justice Rogers' refusal to grant the injunction) as actors in the headline (though with infinitive), and the subheading of the text is "Victory in church row"; a victory for the intending women priests who are visually depicted rejoicing. Bishop Dowling is given the first word. The Rev Sue Pain is evaluated as being South Australia's first woman Anglican priest in waiting (high credibility modal value of uniqueness). That she is reported as having greeted Justice Rogers' decision "with relief" (affective mental processes), promotes social affinity between reader and represented participant, along with the credibility derived from the 'last word' position in text.

However, the lead also introduces the lack of support for the action "of some of the most senior members of the Anglican Church" (high credibility, modal value of capacity) alluding most probably to Archbishop Donald Robinson and possibly to the lack of enabling legislation from the General Synod. This attribution of credibility to unnamed persons opposed to the ordinations on this basis is more similar to *The Australian's* reporting on this same day than to *Sydney Morning Herald* reporting. In all other respects, however, the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* text is more similar to the *Sydney Morning Herald* text, as will be revealed below.

The Australian

The Australian's equivalent text, "Court lets ordination of women proceed" (Aust 29.1.92) (Figure 19), constructs the Supreme Court as the actor with first position (high credibility) in the headline. In the lead, however, the credibility construction changes. Note the 'ownership' of the women:

"The ordination of *the nation's* first Anglican women priests is likely to proceed after a supreme court judge refused to stop it, saying that he could not give an order that entrenched sexual discrimination." (Italics: JB)

This is a particularly high credibility construction for the intending women priests. They have been taken out of the field of 'church' (or feminism) and encoded as belonging to the 'nation', the socio-political consensus. However, there is also high credibility for the judge "who refused to stop it". The remainder of the text also encodes the legal actors as having the higher credibility. The issue is defined by the journalist as "the *failure* of the historic (legal) action" (Italics: JB). This positions the reader with the attempt to stop Bishop Dowling. ⁴¹ Mr Jeremy Saxton, lawyer for the plaintiffs, is given first word, followed by Justice Rogers, who is also given the last word. In between are Bishop Dowling and the Rev Sue Pain, having positions-in-text of lower credibility, even though the photographs are of each of these two participants, and encode them with high credibility. This is so, particularly in the case of the Rev Sue Pain whose salient photograph is located in the 'given' layout position, the significance of which is discussed in Chapter Three.

This text would appear to attempt quite successfully a balancing of the legal processes to stop the ordination as having high credibility (headline, first/last word), with the pro-ordination participants as having high credibility (visual constructions, lead, centred verbal text). The newspaper could be understood as having positioned the reader to retain commitment to legal processes (but the inappropriateness of taking a church dispute to secular law) while not opposing the ordination of women.

Whereas *The Australian* focused on the legal actors (judges and solicitors) as the most credible participants (first word) during the court case, *The Age* focused more on the clerical/episcopal actors (first word), rating them as the more credible participants.

The Age

The headline for *The Age* text for 29 January, "Court clears ordinations" (Figure 20), gives quite high credibility to the (N.S.W. Supreme) Court, which is constructed with active voice.⁴² However, in the body of the text, the focus is away from the legal actors. In the lead, focus is placed on progress meanings: "plans (nominalisation deleting Bishop Dowling or the Canberra/Goulburn synod as actor) (to ordain women) are going ahead". Progress is affirmed in *The Age*, less definite in *The Australian*.⁴³ In the body of the text, agency is linked to the episcopal actor, Bishop Owen Dowling. It is he who is given first word (high credibility). His view is followed by that of Justice Rogers.⁴⁴ It is the Movement for the Ordination of Women which is given last word (high credibility), positively evaluating Justice Rogers' anti-discrimination ruling in *The Age*.⁴⁵

A companion text, typical of *The Age's* dual text strategy, personalises the issue to the pro-ordination view of the Rev Jill Mendham, a deacon and intending woman priest, while the photograph of a group of women may suggest a more social or feminist construction of the issue. *The Age* is slightly more clergy-oriented, and implicitly inclined towards pro-ordination participants, than is *The Australian*.

Sydney Morning Herald

The headline of the *Sydney Morning Herald* text, "Just one last hurdle for women priests", (SMH 29.1.92) (Figure 21), constructs the issue from the point of view of the progress of women priests as a social goal, rather than the women as individuals. In the lead, the women, as in the other texts, are 'owned' by Australia. More significantly, the legal decision (that of Justice Rogers who refused to grant the injunction) is constructed as a "historic court victory", thus taking the point of view of the women intending to be priested, Bishop Owen Dowling, and their supporters.

It has been noted already that this is not the construction in *The Australian* text, which takes the anti (irregular) ordination point of view and constructs it as the "failure of the historic action".⁴⁶

The text begins with an attributed prediction, that given that the ordination would not be stopped, the General Synod would pass legislation for women priests in July. This is attributed

to "one senior church figure". The *Sydney Morning Herald* encoded this unnamed source with very high credibility through labelling and position-in-text. Apart from the newspaper making the prediction itself in a headline or lead, this is about as high a credibility construction as can be imagined, having the advantage of protecting the newspaper from being proven 'wrong'.

The rest of the text follows, featuring the points of view of Bishop Owen Dowling, then Justice Rogers followed by Archbishop Carnley, Archbishop George, Justice Rogers again and then the Revs Sue Pain and Vicki Cullen. Notable is the use of intensified vocabulary (with social affinity component): Bishop Dowling "vowed" to go ahead; Archbishop Carnley "pledged" to go to jail if necessary, Archbishop George "believed" the chances were now increased that the General Synod would vote in favour of women priests, the context here suggesting that this is a 'conviction' meaning.

The selection of participants and use of intensified vocabulary with affective component positions the reader towards pro-ordination views. The scepticism of the Rev Sue Pain that the ordination would take place, followed by the pro-ordination view of the Rev Vicki Cullen, both quoted, tends to parallel the headline: a hurdle remains in the face of the 'rightness' of women being ordained.

1992 General Synod

Daily Telegraph Mirror

In the 1992 General Synod sample (5 texts), the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* demonstrated an increased receptiveness to unity meanings but continued to place pro-ordination participants in the more salient positions-in-text. M.O.W. participants continued to appear as sole spokespersons- in-text, but less often.

The Australian

The synod sample numbered 10 texts. Pro-ordination participants continued to have a strong presence as sources for texts in salient positions. Two of these participants, Archbishops Rayner and Hollingworth, advocate constitutional resolution. *The Australian* texts appear to be less marked in favour of pro-ordination participants, though, than in 1989. The unity of the church would seem to be the preoccupation of the newspaper during 1992. The renewed interest in Sydney diocesan participants and the recognition of the Equal But Different group would appear to be secondary to its illustration of disunity concerns.

The Age

Six General Synod texts are analysed. *The Age* would appear to have kept two discourses separate, by focusing in separate texts on intending women priests (progress), and synod participants and constitutional-legal issues (unity). By separating participants and their views in this way, women deacons were constructed as highly credible, and so were male clerical/episcopal participants expressing unity meanings. The 'balancing' strategy of dual texts noted in 1989 reporting continued in 1992. However, atypically for *The Age*, selection of sources in the July-November sample ranged more widely than Melbourne participants and included Archbishop Donald Robinson of Sydney. This belated interest in his view may indicate the primacy of a media unity/disunity discourse at this time.

Sydney Morning Herald

The synod sample numbered 10 texts. In a striking departure from previous reporting, the *Sydney Morning Herald* in General Synod texts for 1992, like *The Australian*, emphasised a unity theme and attributed renewed credibility to anti-ordination participants. Women opposed to the ordination of women were constructed as participants for the first time. Participants advocating ordination for women are still highly credible in some texts (more so than in *The Australian*). Participants who acted unilaterally, such as Archbishop Peter Carnley, were portrayed with some ambivalence, if not negativity. It is participants expressing unity/disunity concerns or whose actions are conducive to unity, who are the most credible, especially in later texts in this sample.⁴⁷

Across newspapers comparison: 9 March and related texts

The first ordination of women to the priesthood

Daily Telegraph Mirror

In the March 'first ordinations' texts (2 texts), the issue is evaluated positively within the field of feminism.⁴⁸ The text for 9 March was strong on the affective mental processes of the women concerned, making use of intensified vocabulary to encode the emotion of the event. "Women rejoice" (DTM 9.3.92) (Figure 22) is notable for its placement of women as actors in first position in the headline with active voice, a very high credibility indicator. Note, though, that it is only women who rejoice. This may encode the achievement of ordination to the priesthood for women as belonging firmly to the field of feminism. Note too that the composite text is framed with another article that takes the theme of 'working wives', and reports on a speech given by the Prime Minister back in 1970. This speech is revisited and evaluated by Dr Hewson on the occasion of International Woman's Day ("Keating bowled over by maiden speech" DT 9.3.92). This adds weight to my finding that the ordination event has been evaluated by the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* primarily in the field of feminism, rather than church.

The first admission of women to the diaconate in the Diocese of Sydney in February 1989 was reported in a headline that similarly used active voice.⁴⁹

In a later/earlier edition of the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* for 9 March, the headline was "Tears of joy at women's mass" (Figure 23), reflecting the evaluation of the lead paragraph. Apart from the headline's Catholic terminology, encoding a sacramental view of the ordained ministry, it may imply that the ordained ministry of women is to women. That is, it is gender specific. The 'normal' unmarked form implicitly is male presidency over the mass.

Another dimension of the *Daily Telegraph Mirror's* evaluation of women as priests appears in cartoon form.⁵⁰

The sole represented participant in a text for the previous day ("At last, women priests" ST 8.3.92) was a female spokesperson for the Primate and Diocese of Melbourne. This female one-source construction is characteristic of much *Daily Telegraph* reporting on the issue. Very high credibility is given to the event in the lead, using explicit modality:

"At least 70 per cent of dioceses throughout Australia *are certain* to allow the ordaining of women as priests following the historic ordination of 10 women in Perth yesterday." (Italics: JB)

This, combined with the reporting of predictions, the listing of support for ordination within the church and constructions of emotion in relation to the female participants, invites a positive evaluation by reader.

It is notable that the March ordination attracted greater interest than did the December post General Synod ordinations, the latter producing only one brief text with headline in passive voice ("First woman priests ordained" DTM 20.12.92).

The Australian

The first regular ordinations of women in December 1992 gave higher credibility to pro-ordination participants than those opposed. The issue was evaluated more in the field of church than feminism, the latter having been the field of evaluation for the March 1992 Perth ordinations.⁵¹ Like the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*, *The Australian's* text for 9 March related the first ordination to International Women's Day. It also encoded the event as belonging to the field of feminism. "Unlikely militants celebrate liberation" (Aust 9.3.92) (Figure 24) attributes high credibility to the women ordained in the Diocese of Perth. It is they who are given first position in the headline, and with active voice. The ordination is their own achievement, and not an act of episcopal authority. Given that analysis of other samples of texts has suggested that *The Australian*, in 1992, was the newspaper more inclined to construct bishops/clergy as actors in headlines, this headline is a notable exception, and may carry an implicit disowning of ecclesiastical validity in the act, or at least an evaluation that this is an act of 'feminism' rather than 'church'.

The headline recording the first admission of women to the diaconate in the Diocese of Sydney in February 1989, "Touched by the spirit of equality" (Aust 13.2.89), on the other hand, used passive voice, deleting both the role of bishops as exercising ecclesiastical authority and the women as achievers of their own ordinations. The reference to "equality" tends to locate the event within the field of feminism.⁵²

By contrast, female participants, and particularly M.O.W., are not credited with the achievement of the December regular ordinations. Moreover, there is some stereotyping of the women participants, or mock stereotyping. In "Big day arrives for five women (and four men)" (Aust 5-6.12.92), the ordination event is encoded as significant by way of measure of expected attendance ("about 1000 people") and precautions taken against "trouble". Yet there is reporting of trivialities which encode the women ordinands as stereotypically female in a far from equally credible sense:

"The five women deacons and their four male colleagues to be ordained today have been in retreat since a final rehearsal on Wednesday which went smoothly apart from a couple of questions from the women about make-up."

In the follow-up text, "Another 80 women priests on the way" (Aust 7.12.92), ordination for women is encoded as highly credible in that a prediction of more women priests becomes the news, rather than the event itself.⁵³

However, the ordinations are not encoded as a triumph for M.O.W., even though the text leans implicitly towards a M.O.W. perspective. This can be seen in that the headline would appear to be an adoption of the point of view of Dr Janet Scarfe who is credited with the prediction about one third of the way through the text. *The Australian* has reported the ordination as a compromise between two "protests" - Dr Scarfe's about "mixed feelings" over the language in the service and one based in Scripture and tradition - and thus not given M.O.W. credibility for the ordination of women, while at the same time adopting its point of view. On this point, more will be said in Chapter Four and the Conclusion.

A later text "Applause and objection as 12 women ordained" (Aust 14.12.92), reporting on the first regular ordination service in the Diocese of Melbourne, recognises the opposition of some participants but encodes their view as less credible by virtue of space allocation and placement in text. The event too is encoded more in the field of church and far less in the field of feminism than the 9 March evaluation. A theme of unity would appear to dominate *The Australian's* reporting of the issue at this late stage of the debate. The use of the passive construction in the headline, perhaps encoding the preferred submission of the women to constitutional processes, could be seen to be consistent with this.

The Age

In general, *The Age* verbal texts reporting the first ordinations of women to the priesthood were less marked than those in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* and *Sydney Morning Herald*. That is, less marked negatively towards the March ordination and less marked positively towards those in December.⁵⁴

The Age's report on the first ordination of women in the Diocese of Perth, "After women's ordination, a celebrant" (Age 9.3.92) (Figure 25) is notable for its positive construction of the women ordained, and the effect of the ordinations. Dr Catherine Pinner, one of the priests, is given first word and the last word is that of the journalist relaying the "spontaneous and sustained applause" of the cathedral gathering. This text is particularly interesting because, using the same journalistic source, the negative evaluation in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, in

"Anglican 'cowboy' hailed by the West" (SMH 9.3.92) as will be evident in discussion below, is minimised. This may suggest that the field of 'church' retains a credibility in *The Age*.

Similarly positive in its evaluation of ordination to the priesthood for women was the text "First communion for woman priest" (Age 15.12.92). With a salient photograph occupying three-quarters of the composite space, the verbal text represented the view the Rev Barbara Darling, and another woman priest, the Rev Willy Maddock. The text lacks the heightened vocabulary of *The Age's* March ordination text, and its equivalent in *The Australian*, "Applause and objection as 12 women ordained" (Aust 14.12.92), and incorporates less reporting of affective mental processes. However, only pro-ordination participants are represented and there is a token of positive social affinity in the description of Ms Darling as being "surrounded by her family and friends".

Notably, the priesthood is again defined in terms of "first communion" in the headline, and with reference to the consecration of the bread and wine in the lead. An Anglo-Catholic and Broad Church emphasis in definition of the priesthood has been adopted.

By comparison, the reporting of the admission of women to the diaconate in Melbourne in February 1989 evaluated the event not in conflictual terms but chose instead a 'unity' oriented headline that focussed on family tradition: a previous archbishop with his newly ordained daughter.⁵⁵

Sydney Morning Herald

Unlike *The Age* text for 9 March, which shares a common source, in the *Sydney Morning Herald* there was ambivalence if not a negative evaluation, at least of the episcopal participant(s) and procedure. In the headline, "Anglican 'cowboy' hailed by the West" (SMH 9.3.92) (Figure 26), the accolades are restricted to "the West". In the lead there is a contrasting of two labels, with the critical one being listed first. There is also a tone of cynicism, while a distancing of reader from represented participant is created by the attributions:

"The Archbishop of Perth, the Most Rev Peter Carnley, dammed *by one critic* as an 'Episcopalian cowboy' but hailed *by his supporters* as a liberator, was in full flourish, pumped up by 20 years of theological struggle and a triumphant day in the civil courts." (Italics: JB)

The pomp and ceremony attending the ecclesiastical authority expressed at the occasion would appear to have been evaluated quite negatively, consistent with what I will suggest later in discussion of visual components of texts, to be an egalitarian outlook on the part of this newspaper. The participant evaluated as most credible, by virtue of her first position in the text after the lead, was a non-authority figure, a young mother, breastfeeding at the back of the cathedral:

"Her simple statement of modernity was in sharp contrast to all the ritual and ceremony that the Anglican Church could muster in Perth, but it juxtaposed perfectly with the sentiment of this historic occasion."

The content of Dr Carnley's sermon is noted with some detachment. However, criticism of him as an 'Episcopalian cowboy' is relayed, perhaps because of the anti-authority humour it invokes:

"(This attack left Dr Carnley searching his memory. 'I don't think I've ever been on a horse and I've certainly never been on a cow.')

Apart from the young woman at the back of the church, the other participants judged credible are the women priests. It is they who are given the last words, stressing inevitability, normalisation and acceptance through experience of the ministry of women. When measured against 1989 reporting, this is an unusual text that withholds a positive evaluation of any of the male clerical/episcopal participants in the process. It instead rates the non-clerical female passive participant as most credible, by implication, damning church in the process.

A companion text, "Unity in doubt, say opponents" (SMH 9.3.92) focuses on a unity discourse and in this context constructs "opponents" of the action as the most credible actors, in the lead. Dr Lawrence Scandrett is evaluated as credible in being given first word. However, the view of Bishop Dowling, introduced with "but", is thereby given greater credibility, extending also to the end of the text. While the view of "opponents" is made salient in the headline, the writer's distancing of their view from him/herself, and thus the reader, both in the headline and the text, gives implicit credibility to a pro-ordination view.

These two texts constitute a departure from the typical credibility constructions for pro-ordination participants in 1989 *Sydney Morning Herald* reporting. The former contains a more scathing evaluation of episcopal authority than the flippancy characteristic of constructions of Sydney diocesan ecclesiastical politics in 1987 articles. The ordained women, however, retain credibility.

By contrast, the credibility given to the women first ordained to the diaconate in the Diocese of Sydney in February 1989, extended to an overt positive evaluation. They were "*Our* first female

deacons *ordained*" (possessive pronoun and passive voice), the focus being placed on the status of the women and neither the episcopal actors who made them deacons nor the M.O.W. leaders who publicly lobbied for ordination.⁵⁶

The *Sydney Morning Herald* report on the first post General Synod ordination in Adelaide on 5 December carried typical encodings of credibility. It was a "historic service" (modal value of uniqueness) "with more than 900 people crowded into St Peter's Cathedral" (measure, enhancing credibility). In the last word, the journalist records a prediction that "more than 80 women" would be ordained by Christmas (measure and prediction enhancing credibility). In the text's headline, "Praise and protest greet new Reverend women" (SMH 7.12.92), the positive evaluation, praise, precedes the negative (protest). Moreover, the objections are evaluated as having "marred the celebratory service on Saturday". Thus the reader is positioned negatively towards the view of opponents of the ordination, even though one is given first word following the journalist. On balance, the reader is inclined towards the pro-ordination participants and the ordination event. It is notable that the part of Archbishop George's address that is quoted expresses social and historical meanings that link this first regular ordination to South Australia's distinction of being the first state to award women the vote, as well as to church as a potential role model for gender relationships - 'the social'. Evaluation is essentially from the perspective of social change, as will be suggested in Chapter Four.

1992 'across newspapers' summary

Both the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Australian* have constructed as the most highly credible, participants expressing concerns about unity during this reporting period. Probably because of the primacy of unity as a theme, opponents of women's ordination gained a new credibility. Their views illustrated the dimensions of the 'disunity'. Both newspapers gave recognition for the first time to the existence of women opposed to women's ordination in the Diocese of Sydney (Equal But Different group). The *Sydney Morning Herald* reporting was significantly different from that of 1989, negatively evaluating the episcopal actor(s) and church at the March ordination of women, but constructing the women as credible.

The *Daily Telegraph Mirror* continued to construct as highly credible, women participants including spokespersons for M.O.W.. Other texts, but not on the same day, constructed as highly credible, participants expressing unity meanings. Thus the two discourses were alternated. *The Age* texts were less marked for positive or negative evaluations of participants than in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* or the *Sydney Morning Herald*. *The Age's* balancing strategy of dual texts allowed both unity and progress discourses to exist side-by-side.

Also noteworthy from analysis of headlines is that in the *Sydney Morning Herald* "Anglicans" or the "synod" were made actors in first position with active voice in the General Synod sample. This contrasts with the greater incidence of nominalisation in *The Age* and the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*, and the presence of bishops as actors in the first position in *The Australian*. This may suggest a more democratic outlook on the processes of church on the part of the

Sydney Morning Herald, as compared with an episcopal authority view on the part of *The Australian*. The active voice component suggests that the issue was significant for both newspapers, less so for the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* and *The Age* at this time.

2.2.4 Trends in verbal evaluation in texts 1987-1992

In addressing the question as to whether any ideological commitment to the ordination of women can be discerned in the evaluations implicit in the verbal components of texts, the following trends have been observed:

First, the construction of women participants in headlines in active voice prior to synod sessions.

Second, the tendency to construct equivalent status for M.O.W. participants as news actors as to clergy and bishops.

Third, the tendency for women deacons to be accredited as news actors from the time of their admission to the diaconate in the 1987-89 period.

Fourth, the frequent use of nominalisation in headlines which deletes episcopal agency, thus focussing on the state of being ordained, or of being kept from ordination.

Fifth, the use of passive voice verbs in relation to women deacons pursuing the priesthood (a victim construction).

Sixth, the reporting of affective mental processes, and tokens of social affinity in the choice of vocabulary, especially in the January-February 1992 period in relation to the intended ordination of women in the Diocese of Canberra-Goulburn.

Seventh, the prominence of progress themes.

Eighth, one-source (M.O.W. participants) news reports (*Daily Telegraph/Mirror*).

Ninth, the non-representation in all four newspapers of women opposed to the ordination of women in 1987 and 1989 reporting.

Tenth, the preference for news actors other than from the anti-ordination Sydney diocese in Sydney-based newspapers (*Sydney Morning Herald* and *Daily Telegraph*).

The following additional trends have been noted because they may suggest an ideological commitment to the preferred means by which women are ordained as priests:

First, the late recognition/representation in 1992 of women opposed to the ordination of women. This may be evidence of heightened concern about unity/legality/constitutional action.

Second, the use of active voice verbs in headlines in relation to synod processes (democratic/constitutional processes).

Third, the high credibility given to legal actors (persons or courts) in the 1992 legal case in the Supreme Court of N.S.W.. This was particularly the case in *The Australian*.

Fourth, the use of passive voice verbs in relation to women actors in headlines, which apart from 'victim' constructions, may encode a preference that women submit themselves to constitutional processes.

Sixth, the prominence in headlines of unity themes.

Seventh, the high credibility given to news actors who advocate ordination by constitutional means, not irregular ordination, as in the United States. This was evident in *The Australian*.

The following trends are noted because they may suggest other evaluative criteria behind reporting on the issue:

First, a strong geographical factor in the selection of news actors in *The Age*.

Second, the use of a 'dual text strategy'. This was particularly evident in *The Age* in 1992 but also 1989 texts. It was also evident to a lesser degree in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1992.

Third, the use of Catholic/Anglo-Catholic terminology, as opposed to non-conformist and Evangelical Protestant terms, in the construction of news reports.

Fourth, the attention given to the issue in relation to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Pope, with the *Sydney Morning Herald* giving priority to the former and *The Australian* to the latter.

Fifth, the low incidence of episcopal/clerical participants in headlines in active voice.

Sixth, that meanings reported in relation to clerical actors are primarily social meanings, or the 'social face' of theological meanings. This is taken up in Chapter Four.

Seventh, given the existence of general trends, occasional inconsistencies from one text to another in newspaper evaluations, suggestive of a media 'Opposition-like' role.

The degree to which these trends can be said to indicate an ideological commitment, as opposed to reflecting other news shaping factors, will be discussed in the Conclusion in the light of Chapter Five.

Endnotes to Chapter 2:2

1. Alan Gill ceased to be SMH religious reporter in June 1990. After a brief period when Wanda Jamrozik covered religion, it came under the general round.
2. See Thesis Appendix, pp 2-8, especially p 4.
3. Ibid., p 6.
4. Ibid., pp 8, 10.
5. Ibid., p 12.
6. That is, both Robinson and Barnett, as well as Fleming. Ibid., pp 8-12, 14.
7. Ibid., p 12.
8. Ibid., p 16.
9. Ibid., p 9; 20-21; 24. See "A fighter intent on women being priests" Age 19.8.87.
10. Ibid., p 28.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., pp 29-32.
13. See Janet Nelson and Linda Walter, *Women of Spirit: Women's Place in Church and Society*, (Canberra, St Mark's, 1989) pp 150-151. They offer an account of synod proceedings from a pro-ordination perspective. See also Chapter 4, this thesis. It is likely that Donohoo and Jarrett addressed the synod in mid-late afternoon. If they spoke closer to 5pm, the deadlines that journalists have to meet would in part explain the absence of the women's views from news texts. However, 'holding stories' can be amended or newsworthy sources 'picked up' for subsequent features, regardless of synod agendas. See further discussion in Chapter Five.
14. Thesis Appendix, pp 10.
15. Ibid., p 34. Note that unity is associated with Anglican and Catholic women c.f. evaluation of them as a source of disunity. See "Show of unity as Anglican and Catholic women meet" SMH 21.8.89.
16. Ibid., p 36.
17. Ibid., p 38.
18. Ibid., p 39.

19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., pp 41-3.
21. Ibid., p 47.
22. Bishop John Stewart is the represented participant who expresses a M.O.W. view welcoming the consecration of Penelope Jamieson as the Bishop of Dunedin, while Bishop Jamieson is evaluated in 'private sphere terms'. See Thesis Appendix, p 49.
23. Ibid., pp 48-49.
24. Ibid., pp 50-51.
25. Ibid., p 50.
26. Ibid., pp 55, 58, except in one text, 13.2.89. See Chapter Four's explanation of the theological 'traditions'.
27. Ibid., pp 55-7, 60.
28. Ibid., pp 61-67.
29. Ibid., p 66.
30. Ibid., p 67.
31. Ibid., pp 71.
32. Ibid., pp 72-4.
33. Kress and van Leeuwen, p 67.
34. Thesis Appendix, p 60.
35. Ibid., pp 70-71 cf pp 55-6.
36. Ibid., pp 76-7.
37. Ibid., pp 78-83.
38. Ibid., p 84.
39. Ibid., p 87.
40. Ibid., pp 89-93.
41. See also the lead in "Judge to leave way open for ordination of women" Aust 25-6.1.92 but cf. "Groups seek ban ..." Aust 10.1.92.

42. *The Australian's* "Court lets ordination of women proceed" 29.1.92 is also in active voice but suggests a more involuntary action.
43. Cf "likely to proceed" - less definite - in *The Australian*.
44. Jeremy Saxton follows in *The Australian* text.
45. In *The Australian* text Justice Rogers' view is reported in last word position.
46. This evaluation preceded the Court of Appeal's granting of an interim injunction.
47. *Ibid.*, pp 105-119.
48. Thesis Appendix, pp 95-102.
49. *Ibid.*, p 49. See also Chapter Three's analysis of the photograph and layout relations.
50. See discussion of cartoons following analysis of visual components of texts.
51. *Ibid.*, pp 103-5.
52. Thesis Appendix, pp 55-6. See also discussion in Chapter Three.
53. See illustration of prediction in Chapter 2.1.
54. *Ibid.*, pp 106-11.
55. Thesis Appendix, p 65. See Chapter Three's discussion of the texts constructing ordinations to the diaconate on 13.2.89..
56. *Ibid.*, pp 70-1. See also Chapter Three's analysis of layout and photographs.