

Chapter 3

News photographs

3.1 Visual image analysis

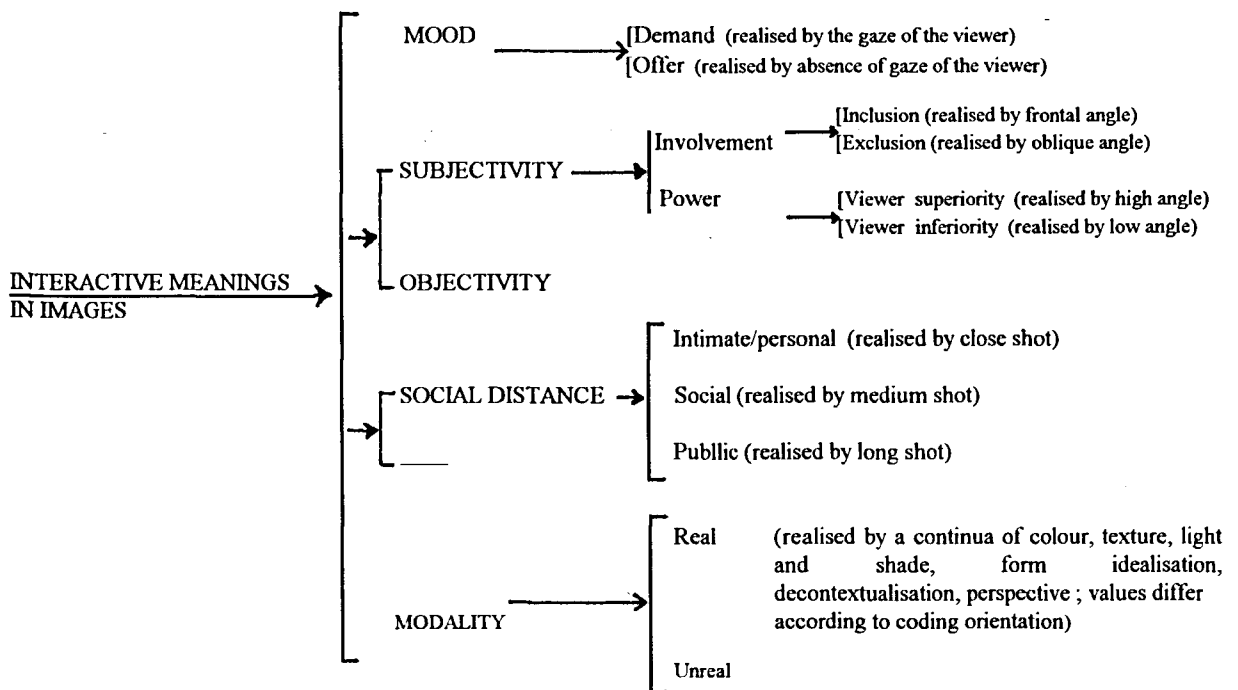
This chapter will look at the visual images in the reporting of the women's ordination issue. In so doing it will outline the theory developed by Kress and van Leeuwen in relation to interactive meanings in images, the theoretical background to which was traced in Chapter One. It will consider mood, subjectivity/ objectivity, social affinity/distance and modality as 'realness'. These strategies will be illustrated with reference to sample texts. The following chapter will identify patterns of representation in the photographs for the period 1987-92. Then, other visual images - caricatures and cartoons - will be noted. Conclusions will be drawn and a critique made of aspects of Kress and van Leeuwen's model.

As with the analysis of verbal text, my line of inquiry is to identify the strategies that encode credibility and create social affinity between viewer and visual image, with the result that some participants and their views are constructed as being more highly credible and evaluated more positively than others.

Visual grammar

The theoretical basis of the methodology is the linguistic concept of modality (and mood) as defined by the functional linguist, Halliday, but also other interpersonal and evaluative meanings.

Diagram 9



(Figure 2:26 *Reading Images* p 61.)

Kress and van Leeuwen stress that the visual component of a text is an independently organised and structured message. They regard language and visual communication as:

"both realising the same more fundamental and far reaching systems of meaning that constitute our culture, each by means of its own specific forms, and independently." ¹

I will now consider the components of their visual grammar.

Mood

These authors see mood as being realised by the gaze of the subject. If it is directed at the viewer, then a 'demand' is made of the viewer to respond by entering into an imaginary social relation. Where the viewer is not targeted in this way, an 'offer' is made to the viewer. That is, an offer of a represented participant as an object for contemplation.²

Subjectivity/objectivity

The second component of the model is subjectivity/objectivity. The two components of subjectivity are identified as 'involvement' and 'power'. Involvement is realised differentially according to whether the angle of the camera is front-on or oblique. This realises degrees of inclusion. That is, whether the reader is positioned so as to be involved in the social practice depicted.³ Power, on the other hand, is realised by the upwards - level - downwards camera angle. According to the model, this realises degrees of superiority (upwards) to inferiority (downwards).⁴

Social distance

This is encoded by camera distance. The closer the shot, the more intimate is the social relationship between the reader/viewer and the subject. Conversely, the more distant the shot, the more public and formal is relationship between the viewer and the text.⁵

Real/unreal

Kress and van Leeuwen propose that diverse strategies ranging from variations in perspective to decontextualisation, to form idealisation, colour, texture, light and shade construct the real/unreal dimension, which is the visual realisation of modality.

However, as in verbal texts, layers of subjective evaluation in visual images could be seen to realise modality in an oblique way, drawing what would not be regarded theoretically to be a precisely or narrowly modal strategy, into the modal system of meaning.

Each of these strategies will be explored in turn, but firstly I will outline some of the wider theoretical debate and consider what Kress and van Leeuwen call 'coding orientation' in relation to visual images.

Visual modality and the realism/naturalism debate

Modality in the visual text is a measure of credibility as 'realness'. Kress and van Leeuwen argue that our society has an implicit belief in the objectivity of the photographic image. Hence an equating of truth/reality with photographic naturalism:

"A certain standard of photographic naturalism, dependent upon the state of photographic technology and on current photographic practices (and hence ever evolving, perhaps in the future to be replaced by standards which will be drawing on electronic images), has become the yardstick for what is perceived as 'real' in images, even when these images are not photographs. Underpinning this is the belief in the objectivity of the photographic vision, a belief in photography as capable of capturing reality as it is, unadulterated by human interpretation. Behind this is, in turn, the primacy which is accorded to visual perception in our culture generally."⁶

Christopher Williams outlines the components of the debate on realism versus naturalism in relation to film, but with relevance also for still photography.⁷

The first area of debate is the filming process. He notes that film tells "truths within the framework of the particular set of languages available" utilising sometimes staged events and being subject to editing and the technology that produces the product.⁸

The second main area of debate centres on the use of narrative. This then raises all the issues to do with the development of the narrative form. To this we must add the pleasure or other reaction that the narrative engenders in the viewer, and the constructed 'world' of the film in being self referential, but also having inter-textual relationships:

"What film does is to reshuffle, through the operation of its self-referential characteristics, the basic data of human experience: basic data which are already conventionalised and often 'idealised' before the various modes of film-making re-manipulate and re-idealise them. This process of reshuffling makes something different of the basic data. Thus one can plausibly say that film uses or constructs images of human behaviour and institutions. But how these images relate to actual behaviour is problematic ...the processes of the medium cannot be transcended. The real world can never be 'restored' or 'correctly' rendered in the cinema."⁹

Williams conceptualises the debate as contrasting 'mere appearances'; that is, "the reality of things as we perceive them in daily life and experience", and 'true reality', "an essential truth, one which we cannot normally see or perceive, but which in Hegel's phrase is 'born of the mind'".¹⁰

However, in everyday life, people in our society function as though seeing, as Kress and van Leeuwen point out, is understanding. They suggest that standards for what is real, vary with

context. They therefore propose a number of 'coding orientations':

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

They differentiate between scientific/ technological coding orientations, sensory coding orientations (as in advertising, fashion and certain kinds of art) and abstract coding orientations (as in 'high art' and academic criticism). They maintain, however, that the naturalistic coding orientation is the dominant one in our society, shared by 'all members of our culture' regardless of level or kind of education.¹¹

It is assumed, therefore, that the naturalistic coding orientation is also the dominant one in relation to media circulated images, in that the media (re)construct and interpret our society to us. In the course of analysis, however, the coding orientation appropriate to advertisements will be referred to, as well as the coding orientation of news cartoons. In a previous chapter it was argued that there is not a separate 'religious' coding orientation in relation to news. Readers/viewers of news texts about 'church' approach them as any other text in news discourse.

Having outlined in general the components of a grammar of images it is necessary to place this within the theory of composition also offered by Kress and van Leeuwen.

Composition and meaning

Using the term 'layout', they see the code of spatial composition as integrative, not just within composite texts (of photograph and verbal text) but also within individual visual images. Basing their theory on the work of Arnheim as well as their own understanding, they propose six principles of layout, explained summarily below, apart from where indicated otherwise: ¹²

salience	hierarchy of importance among meaningful elements; akin to rhythm in music eg. size
balance	concerned with visual weight and consequent balancing centre of composition
vectors	actual or implied lines that direct the eye
reading paths	"a particular trajectory of the movement of the hypothetical reader within and across the different elements"
framing	actual or implied, full or partial
perspective	positioning of the viewer in relation to the components with evaluative consequences ¹³

Along with these concepts, their model of compositional meaning (layout) has regard for the horizontal and vertical axes. These axes they regard as providing "basic organising principles in visual composition, and fundamentally important principles of meaning in Western cultures". ¹⁴

Two important structural meanings are argued for by Kress and van Leeuwen. First, it is argued that left-right structures (the horizontal axis) deal with what is known and accepted or 'given' and what is 'new':

"Generally, then, the meaning of the left-right structure is that the left equals the well-established, known, understood, implicitly held, the Given; and the right equals the to-be-established, presented as not yet known, not taken for granted, to be made explicit, the New." ¹⁵

Kress and van Leeuwen have noted a parallel between the horizontal structure in layout and 'the sequential information structure in language'. They interpret this not to mean that linguistic structure is in some way more fundamental, or "prior to the structure of other semiotic codes", but as pointing to the existence of "deeper, more abstract coding orientations which find their expressions differently in different semiotic codes".¹⁶

Second, they argue that on the vertical axis, the top/bottom division is the "space of the ideal" as opposed to the "space of the real, the 'here and now'". Because they see what is most highly valued to be a social/cultural construct, they acknowledge that what is most highly valued "will vary from group to group", across disciplines, coding orientations, age and so on. ¹⁷

In its entirety, the Kress - van Leeuwen model of composition can be explained via the following diagram: ¹⁸

Diagram 10

COMPOSITIONAL MEANING

The ideal/most highly valued	The ideal/most highly valued
the given	the new
medium salience	high salience
modality:	modality:
is/not is; to be	not is; to be
The real/less highly valued	The real/less highly valued
the given	the new
low salience	medium salience
modality:	modality:
is	is/not is; to be
<i>(Reading Images)</i>	

While the model explains a visual image, the principles are also relevant to mixed presentations of visual and verbal text, with the following meaning possibilities.

Left picture: right text

"If the left side contains a picture and the right side verbal text, the picture will be presented as the Given, as a well-established point of departure for the text, and the (verbal) text as the New, as for example, an instantiation of it, or an application of it to the reader, a visual 'you too'.¹⁹

Left text: right picture

"If the relation is reversed, however, the text will be most significant, and the picture will be treated as an illustration of the text, added, perhaps, to photographically 'prove' the reality of the propositions contained in the text, or to add detail that cannot easily be rendered in words."²⁰

Top picture: bottom text

"If the picture occupies the top section, on the other hand, it is bound to contain the 'ideal' (and most apparently ideological) core of the message, and the verbal text will, for example, anchor and fill out this message with 'down-to-earth' factual specification and explanation."²¹

In subsequent analysis of sample texts, and identification of trends across visual texts, particular attention will be given to the given/new and ideal/real locations. Attention will be drawn also to size of a photograph in relation to verbal text, an aspect of salience.

These principles of visual grammar will now be outlined in more detail and illustrated by reference to some textual examples. The words 'photograph' and 'visual image' will be used synonymously.

Sample texts: subjectivity and social distance

I will begin by looking at how subjectivity and social distance are realised in texts from the women's ordination press debate. My interest here, then, is in horizontal camera angle (front-on to oblique) encoding degrees of involvement; vertical camera angle (low upwards angle to high

downwards angle) encoding degrees of power; along with camera distance, encoding intimacy (close), social distance (medium) and public distance (long range). I will explain possible realisations and then analyse some texts to illustrate them.

A front-on camera perspective suggests relevance or involvement, a slanted view, less involvement or partial familiarity, and an angular view, irrelevance or relational distance.

Diagram 11

HORIZONTAL CAMERA PERSPECTIVE

Interactive meaning - Involvement

front - on	relevance/involvement
slanted view	less involvement/familiarity
angular view	irrelevance (distance)

(Reading Images)

The vertical camera perspective conveys the relationship of the reader/viewer to the object/person. It is a measure of power or influence. It is argued by Kress and van Leeuwen that if the camera angle causes the viewer to look up at the subject, then an attitude of respect is encouraged. A level camera angle would encourage an attitude of equality, while a "looking down" angle would facilitate the view that the subject is indeed subject to, or inferior to, the viewer.

Diagram 12**VERTICAL CAMERA PERSPECTIVE**

Interactive meaning - Power

viewer looks up	superiority
level gaze	equality
viewer looks down	inferiority

(Reading Images)

An important variation may exist in how Australians (as compared with say, Europeans) read this aspect of visual images in news discourse. This may be related to our alleged egalitarianism and opposition to 'establishment' authority. This possibility is explored in more detail below.

Camera distance also plays a part in subjectivity. A close-up shot conveys relational intimacy; a mid-range one, social distance, and a distant shot, only public familiarity. Thus, in the terminology of Kress and van Leeuwen, there is a range of association from intimate distance to public distance. Camera distance thus measures, or interprets, social distance.

Diagram 13

CAMERA DISTANCE

Interactive meaning - Social distance

close-up	intimacy
mid-range	social distance
distant shot	public distance

(Reading Images)

Kress and van Leeuwen have already noted how church/religion has been marginalised in some representations through the use of the public distance and angular view camera positions, creating an "objective, outsider's view of the Christian religion".²² This observation will be kept in mind as findings from the analysis of visual images are discussed below. First, however, these three strategies will be illustrated in some sample texts.

Consider the photograph that accompanies the verbal text headlined "A seemly silence is broken and history is made" (Age, 2.6.86) (Figure 28). This composite text recorded the visit to Melbourne in early June, 1986 of the Rev Susan Adams, a priest from Auckland, New Zealand who presided over the celebration of Holy Communion at All Souls Church, Sandringham on 1 June. This was the first occasion on which a female priest had performed this function in an Australian Anglican Church. Muriel Porter records that it had been Archbishop Penman's instruction that no filming take place within the church. However, this prohibition did not prevent photography or filming with the aid of long distance lenses.²³

"The next day the nation saw the flesh and blood reality of the sacramental ministry of women splashed across newspaper front pages. Adams, dressed in a chausuble, the traditional vestment of priesthood, held aloft the Host (the communion bread) in the central act of the Eucharist, the consecration. It was no wonder that the controversy over women priests was sparked once again. To Anglo-Catholics, nothing is more central to the priesthood than the moment of consecration in the Eucharist. Not only had MOW members 'seen the future', as their newsletter declared, but so too had the opponents. If that future looked 'very good indeed' to one side, it was anathema to the other."²⁴

In the resulting image in *The Age*, the camera distance is between close-up and mid-range, showing a waist-up image. The distance between viewer and represented participant is therefore no more than social. The vertical angle of the camera is between a level and an upward gaze. The viewer is positioned to respond to the subject perhaps as an equal, but with some respect associated with a superior. The camera angle is front-on, and so the viewer is positioned to be involved with the represented participant.

Consider too, the composition within the photograph. The Prayer Book is the 'given' whereas the woman priest is the 'new'. This could be seen to parallel the most prominent verbal text, the headline, in which the "silence" is the 'given' while "history made" is the 'new'. When the text as composite (visual and verbal) is considered, the woman priest is the 'most highly valued'. Her sacramental activity is the 'new/ideal' when compared with the 'silence' headlined in the lower left 'given/real' verbal text, which is the least salient layout position.

The total effect of these strategies is the realisation of involvement with social proximity. That is, social affinity between represented participant and reader, and a relationship of slight superiority of subject to reader. However, the meaning of the image does not end there. I will return to this text when considering strategies for the realisation of mood and visual modality.

Another text, "Ordination opponents support compromise" (Aust 6.7.92) (Figure 29) depicts Bishop John Hazlewood with face turned away from the camera (reader involvement excluded). The viewer is positioned so as to look up slightly (in between the 'equal' and 'superior' positions), while the camera distance places the bishop between intimate and social distance. This visual construction suggests his social 'relevance', but falls short of inviting reader involvement either through gaze (mood) or camera angle.

This Anglo-Catholic bishop, who stood so staunchly against the ordination of women to the priesthood, here is depicted in July 1992 when the General Synod was faced with compromise draft bills that would allow individual dioceses to pursue some individual differences in church practice. The headline implies that Bishop Hazlewood supported compromise that would allow plurality. Thus an opponent had temporarily been transformed into a supporter. Yet, in the photograph, there is some ambivalence. He gazes up and slightly back, as though longing that this compromise had not come about.

His support for 'compromise' would explain the higher than 'normal' (for him) social affinity realised by camera distance in this photograph. Bishop Hazlewood, throughout the period 1987-1992, was rarely the subject of a visual image (low modality), but functioned in some verbal texts as an antagonist (credibility but with negative evaluation).²⁵ At this time, however, his view became relevant to 'unity'. This new 'relevance' is encoded visually in this text.

Note for the moment that in this text Bishop Hazlewood is depicted in full episcopal regalia, against a background of a stained glass window, a common photographic backdrop.

I come now to a third illustration from a text to which I have referred previously. A photograph depicting Dr Patricia Brennan is part of a composite text that immediately preceded the 1987 Special General Synod, called to debate the sole issue of women priests ("A fighter intent on women being priests" Age 19.8.87)(Figure 30). The photograph has a level vertical camera angle (equality); direct gaze at the viewer (mood inviting a response) and a front-on horizontal camera angle (encoding viewer involvement). Taken together, these layers of subjectivity construct high social affinity between reader/viewer and Dr Brennan. The photograph is also salient. It is large relative to the verbal text (at least equal to the verbal text in space) and occupies the most salient layout position: the ideal/new location. I note for the moment that the background includes stained glass windows.

Sample texts: mood

Mood realises a visual offer or a visual demand.

Diagram 14

M O O D

Visual offer or visual demand?

Demand	participant gazes at viewer
Offer	absence of eye contact with the viewer

(Reading Images)

Intending women priests are sometimes depicted looking directly at the viewer, seeking a response from the viewer. This is particularly the case during or immediately prior to General Synod sessions as in 1987, 1989 and 1992. In the text mentioned above, "A fighter intent on women being priests" (Age 19.8.87), Dr Patricia Brennan's gaze was direct.

Some photographs, as in "Women in new bid for priesthood" (ST 13.8.89)(Figure 34) show the women smiling. Others, particularly following votes which did not provide the necessary majority for the passing of enabling legislation, show the women with particularly melancholy or dejected expressions, or with gaze averted.²⁶ The former construction invites participation, while the latter invites contemplation. The former would then contribute to the 'crusader' protagonist role, the latter to the 'victim' role.

Reflect also on the text "A seemly silence is broken and history is made" (Age 2.6.86)(Figure 28). Here the participant does not have eye contact with the viewer. The participant is offered to the viewer as an object of contemplation (mood). This is consistent with the role this woman priest played in 1986 as an overseas visitor, acting out a 'reality' for which those in favour of women's ordination, and M.O.W. in particular, were striving. The impact of this visual representation was not primarily in having the reader enter into an imaginary social relationship - that is, in becoming an imaginary supporter of a would-be woman priest - but as a role model for a desired future reality.

Note some other characteristics of the photograph. The background is darkened, omitting naturalistic detail. The participant has been decontextualised apart from the implements involved in the act she is carrying out. Arguably, the focus of this text was in bringing the central symbolic act of the priesthood, emphasised in the Anglo-Catholic and Broad Church traditions of Christianity, as performed by a woman, into social 'reality/normality' through the pages of the newspaper. This is related to the image's ideal/real and given/new construction.

Sample texts: ideal/real and given/new

In "A seemly silence is broken and history made" (Age, 2.6.86) the image occupies the top two thirds of the composite space. The 'ideal' of the practising woman priest thus dominates. One notes that the Rev Susan Adams is to the right of the photograph. She occupies the position of highest visual modality and salience. Her sacramental, priestly act is the visual ideal.

Within the photograph the prayer book is the 'given' whereas the woman priest is 'the new'. When the text as composite is considered, the headline, the "silence" is also in the given. As 'the new' she parallels "history made", having "broken" that "silence". There is consistency of meaning between visual image and verbal text.

The photograph accompanying "New threat to women clergy" (SMH 3.7.90) (Figure 31) offers an interesting example of the given/new structure. Verbal text occupies approximately one quarter of the space (left) while the photograph occupies three quarters (right). The verbal text

outlines the 'for' and 'against' of the debate over women's ordination within the Presbyterian Church.

The photograph depicts the new Moderator of the Presbyterian Church, the Rev Bruce Christian.²⁷ Mr Christian is shown from a low upwards camera angle, and from a public distance. He is to the right (bottom) of the visual image, the location of 'the new' and the 'less highly valued'. The 'ideal' is the church building, perhaps a symbol for God or 'good' authority. The 'real' is Mr Christian astride a motorbike, who is against the ordination of women, so the caption indicates.

The position and visual function of the motorbike deserves attention. The verbal text indicates that Mr Christian "wears civvies and rides a motorbike". However, there is an implied 'but'. Mr Christian may look 'new' but the message and attitude he brings is old or 'given'. In the visual composition, the motorbike is centred. Perhaps, to the journalist, it is deceptively 'new'.

A note should be made of intertextual meaning that may be brought to a reading of this image. Protestant Christians (and possibly others) may look at this photograph and bring to mind the ministry of John Smith, known for his non-denominational ministry with the God Squad, a group of Christian 'bikies' who chose to minister within that sub-culture. A reader with that intertextual knowledge may look at the representation of Mr Christian and decipher a parallel, attributing to Mr Christian credibility in terms of social concern activities. It is possible also, given the media attention that John Smith has attracted over the last 20 years, that the cleric - with - motorbike has become (or is becoming) a stereotype via which to evaluate clergy.

If this intertextual knowledge is assumed, or the journalist has a comparable expectation that church should be more 'relevant' to society or less 'traditional', then the motorbike construction might be read more positively than the other elements. Accordingly, the text would communicate an evaluation something like: "Well you look different - relevant and energetic - but there is a suspicion that you are still one of 'them'; institutional clergy who don't like women in your territory. The 'ideal' is the church, but the 'real' is the attitude of this male cleric.

The other possible intertextual meaning that may be drawn upon in the construction of this photograph is that of a moral crusader in the style of Batman. The clerical dress and the 'social action' component of meaning suggested by the motorbike evoke this, but the evaluation here is a negative one. The represented participant is placed in a superior relation to the viewer but the verbal text - in the headline - labels Mr Christian as a 'threat to women clergy'. If one assumes agreement in meaning between visual image and verbal text, then this article provides an example of the full meaning contained in the photograph only being able to be deciphered in the light of the verbal text. This is consistent with the layout position of the photograph and the meaning encoded according to the Kress-van Leeuwen model. The photograph serves as an illustration of the verbal text, visually 'proving' and adding detail to the propositions contained in the verbal text.

A third possible way of understanding the cleric - astride - a - motorbike construction in this photo is to see these elements as a creative construction via the naturalistic news discourse 'coding orientation'. I have suggested above that a creative construction carries a positive evaluation. The total meaning would then be something like: We like the fact that you are more

real and human in that you wear ordinary clothes and are 'different' and perhaps less stuffy and more relevant, in that you ride a motorbike, but the fact remains that you are still one of 'them'.

A similar construction of Archbishop Donald Robinson astride a motorbike appeared in "Reverend revs up for (street: JB) kids" (Parramatta Mercury 3.12.91). Here the vertical camera angle was level (equality). This is consistent perhaps with a positive evaluation within the fields of social justice and welfare.

In the light of Kress and van Leeuwen's theory of composition, the *Sydney Morning Herald* visual image as a whole, given its right-hand location, may be understood as proving the meanings relating to Mr Christian contained in the verbal text, and highlighted in the headline: "New threat to women clergy".

The text "Church's women down, but not out" (Age 8.11.89) (Figure 32), features a large photograph (two thirds of space, vertically) of two women deacons, located on the left-hand side of the verbal text. Within the photograph, the two women are located in the 'real', while an architectural feature of what appears to be a church (a window?) is located in the 'ideal'. The women are depicted from a level camera angle (equality) but from an angled perspective (non-involvement) and from a social distance. There is no gaze directed at the reader (mood); the women are offered for the contemplation of the reader. They are contextualised with naturalistic detail, outside a church building, the 'outsidedness' perhaps providing a pun on the headline. The text as a whole does not encode high social affinity between viewer and represented participants, but it does encode a very important evaluation in layout position.

The left-hand location of the photograph, in the Kress-van Leeuwen theory of composition, encodes these two "prominent members of Melbourne's Anglican clergy" as a 'given'. Their participation in church was a well established point of departure, a reality outlined in the verbal text.

Sample texts: visual modality

Kress and van Leeuwen propose that what is 'real' or 'unreal' is encoded by "continua of colour, texture, light and shade, form idealisation, decontextualisation, perspective" with values differing according to coding orientation.²⁸ In the case of news texts, colour and texture are not relevant, the medium being black and white news print. I have established already that the coding orientation of news texts is the naturalistic coding orientation.

Consider some factors that construct 'realness' in this naturalistic coding orientation. Absence of a setting lowers modality.²⁹ Central perspective encodes highest modality.³⁰ Naturalistic, rather than reduced or exaggerated detail, encodes high modality. Kress and van Leeuwen conclude:

"Modality is realised by a complex interplay of visual cues. The same image may be 'abstract' in one of several dimensions and 'naturalistic' in others ... Yet, from this diversity of cues an overall assessment of modality is derived by the viewer."

Consider a photograph that is entirely naturalistic in its construction ("Praise, protest greet new reverend women" SMH and Age, 7.12.92) (Figure 33). It records the first ordination of women

in the Diocese of Adelaide (the first in Australia following the passing of General Synod legislation). The photograph in the left-hand layout position encodes the ordination as a 'given', visually affirming the ordination of the "new reverend women" (and gender distinctiveness, or male clergy as the linguistic norm, it would seem).

Whether intentionally or by default, the photograph has almost a medieval artistic quality, especially in relation to the depiction of the Rev Joan Claring-Bould who acquires an air of madonna-like spiritual submissiveness. She is diminutive against the regalia and size of the Archbishop (Ian George). Embraced by him amid the symbols of his episcopal (and king-like) office - the crook, mitre and cope - it is as though she is embraced by the Anglican Church, through its episcopal representative (a recognised role of bishops).

On this occasion 'the church' is realised positively. The archbishop is within the intimate social distance of the viewer. He faces front-on (involvement/relevance) with his head turned only slightly. The viewer looks at the participants from a level gaze. They are equal with the viewer in terms of power. Has the will of the 'the church' been brought into line with the will of the viewer, as constructed by the press, in the light of mediated social ethics?

Ms Claring-Bould is an object of the viewer's contemplation (mood-offer). She looks away from the camera, whereas the archbishop looks at the viewer, seeking a response, perhaps of recognition that at last things have been put right (mood - demand). This is not an image of the overt triumph of a feminism. It is compatible with a view that the ordination of women to the priesthood should be achieved by constitutional means. These two participants, in being

foregrounded in the photograph, with a level front-on perspective, intimate-social framing distance, and naturalistic detail, have been constructed as 'real'. High credibility and social affinity have been constructed between reader and represented participant.

The candid photo can encode even higher credibility, but not necessarily a positive evaluation for its subject(s). An example is found in a text discussed previously: "Women deacons court elusive justice" (Aust 24.1.92). The photograph depicts a grimacing Archbishop Donald Robinson. The impact of facial expression of a subject on evaluations in the verbal text is suggested in the next section of this chapter.

Non-naturalistic features of photographs are discussed in more detail below.

Sample texts: differential visual constructions

Differential evaluations can be encoded in composite texts where more than one visual text is present. The photographs that are part of the composite text "Women in new bid for priesthood" (ST 13.8.89) (Figure 34) realise different modalities, degrees of social affinity ('involvement' and 'power') between reader/viewer and each of the represented participants, and different evaluations through layout.

Archbishop Robinson, an opponent of women's ordination to the priesthood, looks up at the viewer, which positions him in a relation of inferiority. The close camera distance realises

intimacy between the viewer and the subject. However, the camera angle is slanted, encouraging only partial involvement from the viewer. The photograph is also decontextualised in an unflattering 'passport' style. Significantly, he is located in the left-bottom of the composite visual-verbal text, in the given/real area, the position of lowest salience.

In the top-right of the combined text, the layout position of highest salience and modality, is depicted an advocate of women as priests. Sydney spokesperson for the Movement for the Ordination of Women, Ms Suzanne Glover, is depicted at a distance in between close-up and mid range, thus being located in a relation of less intimacy than is Archbishop Robinson. However, the distance facilitates contextualisation. Included is a significant visual symbol of the pastor/teacher Evangelical view of priesthood, a Bible, along with a cross.

Within the photograph the Bible is located to the left ('the given') and she, as its interpreter (holding the Bible open), is realised as 'the new'. Both she and the Bible are located in the 'real' bottom section of the text and the cross in the 'ideal' location. Of the three elements, the Bible has been located in the least salient position and Ms Glover's head in the most salient. Her head is positioned also as a kind of visual link between the Bible and the cross. She, and her interpretation of scripture, would appear to be encoded with high credibility. She is shown from a slight angle (promoting the partial involvement of the reader) and from a slightly raised camera perspective (equality plus respect). She looks directly at the viewer (visual offer), unlike Archbishop Robinson, who is positioned to look upwards (from a position of inferiority) in her direction. Thus he is depicted in contemplation of her, as her inferior. As one looks at the archbishop one's viewing path is directed also to Ms Glover.

Consistent with the headline construction of "women" as actors in the first position, which promotes reader identification with this actor as protagonist, the photograph has evaluated the female actor, Ms Glover, far more positively than the archbishop. This can be argued because on a number of criteria higher social affinity is promoted between the viewer and Ms Glover than between the viewer and the archbishop. The location of her photograph in the ideal/new position in layout also encodes her with highest credibility and the most positive evaluation. The reader has been positioned with Ms Glover, and hence against the archbishop.

Having illustrated the concepts in Kress and van Leeuwen's 'visual grammar' and demonstrated the potential for a photograph to position the reader with selected represented participants, I will next make some observations in relation to the Kress-Van Leeuwen model, and then outline the more general trends in texts.

Endnotes to Chapter 3:1

1. Kress and van Leeuwen, p 4.
2. Ibid., p 28.
3. Ibid., p 36.
4. Ibid., p 40.
5. Ibid., p 44.
6. Ibid., p 52.
7. Christopher Williams (Ed.) *Realism and the Cinema*, (London, 1980).
8. Ibid., p 6.

9. Ibid., pp 9, 10-11.
10. Ibid., p 11.
11. Kress and van Leeuwen, p 54.
12. Kress and van Leeuwen, pp 94-8 citing R Arnheim, *Art and Visual Perception*, (London, Faber, 1956) and R Arnheim, *The Power of the Center*, (Berkeley, UCLA Press, 1982).
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., p 95.
15. Ibid., p 104.
16. Ibid., p 105.
17. Ibid., p 101.
18. Ibid., p 108.
19. Ibid., p 105.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., pp 105-6.
22. Ibid., p 37.
23. See Porter, pp 125-6 for a non-media text account of this.
24. Ibid., p 126.
25. See for example, "Church deprives women, says Anglican activist" Age 30.8.89.
26. See for example, "Women down but not out" Age 8.11.89.
27. A clergyman is elected for a one year term at each Assembly and functions as a representative of that denomination for the year.
28. Kress and van Leeuwen, p 61.
29. Ibid., p 55.
30. Ibid., pp 37, 56.

Chapter 3

News photographs

3.2 Modifications and additions to the model of visual grammar

In this section I will outline some observations and suggest some additions to Kress and van Leeuwen's model of visual grammar that arise from my analysis of newspaper articles.

Mood and intertextuality

I suggest that the facial expression of the represented participant encodes an evaluative component in a photograph. A smile can invite a positive evaluation of credibility encodings - social affinity - while a scowl or glare (more typical of a candid photo, perhaps) can invite a negative evaluation of credibility encodings. An attitude of melancholy, on the other hand may encourage a positive evaluation of credibility in a negative context, thus promoting a 'victim' image.¹ Such possibilities are complicated when a participant is depicted smiling in the photograph (inviting reader affinity), while the verbal text encodes high credibility (as, for example, through labelling), but with a possible negative evaluation at some point (as, for example, in the headline). In such a case there is potential intra-textual conflict.

Consider the text "Archbishop says no women priests" (feature, ST, 3.9.89) (Figure 35). In the verbal text, Archbishop Robinson, on whom the article focuses, likens all humans to "she's" from God's perspective. The journalist constructs this concept as less credible/unreal when compared with the "'REAL she's' who want to be priests". Added to this is a juxtaposition of the Archbishop's "royal" vestments in which he is said to enjoy "dressing up", and his convict ancestors. Both affinity with the Archbishop's theological viewpoint and relational identification with the Archbishop himself, are discouraged. He is depicted as a conservative figure of eccentric inconsistencies. He is characterised as being far from the cleric whose practice is progressive and whose theology is socially realised (as say in the evaluation of Archbishop Penman's ministry in obituary texts). Yet the visual text depicts a smiling cleric who, with a direct gaze, seeks a positive response (social affinity) from the viewer (mood).

There are intra-textual considerations here. I propose that if the facial expression is consistent with the overall evaluation in the verbal text, then it reinforces that view. If facial expression is neutral, then the visual image neither adds to, nor detracts from, the overall evaluation. If the expression is inconsistent with the weight of the verbal text, then there are competing evaluations. I suggest a number of interpretive possibilities.

If the subject in the photograph is smiling, the impact of the verbal text or part thereof may be reduced. That is, one might read the text as saying that even though someone is against the ordination of women, assuming that pro-ordination participants are most highly credible in that newspaper at that time, he is still a pleasant, likeable person. The lower credibility may be offset by social affinity.

Alternatively, where the subject in the photograph is smiling, but the verbal text contains negative evaluations, it is possible that the credibility of the subject may be enhanced, but in a negative way. A smiling subject might be interpreted as assenting to the unfavourable evaluation in the verbal text. This would parallel the situation in audio texts where camera 'noddies' are edited in where interviewer's or presenter's labels are applied to the participants interviewed. I will digress for a moment.

Consider an A.B.C. *7.30 Report* episode during the August 1989 General Synod in which, in the presenter's introduction, a Sydney diocesan participant opposed to the ordination of women, Dr David Petersen, seemingly assented to the presenter's label that he represented the "fundamentalist" Diocese of Sydney. He did not at the time of the taping of the interview, actually assent to that label. Nor did the other participant, Dr Muriel Porter, assent to her label as being from the "progressive" Diocese of Melbourne, although a reading of her book suggests that this would not have been an unwelcome label to her.

My point, however, is that 'noddies' were edited into the presenter's introduction, recorded at a different time from the interview, and that this served to make the participants appear to affirm the evaluations implicit in the labellings.

In narrative terms, I suggest that the participant who in a visual image seemingly assents to a negative label, is realised as the villain (antagonist). ² The converse, positive evaluation in the verbal text and negative expression in photograph, is less likely to occur. I suggest also that the larger the visual image, the more pronounced would be the impact of subject's expression

relative to the evaluation in the verbal text. The interpretive possibilities in relation to the subject's expression in visual images may be represented in summary as follows:

Diagram 15

S U B J E C T ' S E X P R E S S I O N

(Mood and intratextuality) (Oblique modal component)

expression flattering (willing subject)	+ve verbal text	icon	protagonist (credible) +ve evaluation assented to
	-ve verbal text	villain	antagonist (credible) -ve evaluation assented to
expression neutral	+ve or -ve verbal	verbal evaluation prevails	
expression unflattering (unwilling subject)	-ve verbal text	verbal evaluation enhanced by high modality of candid photo	

Consider another text, "Women deacons court elusive justice", (Aust 24.1.92) (Figure 36). This arose out of the action of three plaintiffs opposed to the ordination of women seeking an injunction in the Supreme Court of N.S.W. to prevent Bishop Owen Dowling from ordaining 11 women in the Diocese of Canberra-Goulburn.

In part one of the text the visual image dominates spatially over the verbal (completed some pages later in the newspaper). It depicts a sheepish looking Archbishop Donald Robinson against the backdrop of the Supreme Court. He is not large against this background but active within it. His expression suggests one who is ill at ease, perhaps wishing that he had not been caught visually in this situation. The glare realises a 'demand' for the viewer to go away. The viewer is meant to be alienated from the subject. The caption reinforces the image: "Archbishop Robinson slips into court yesterday".

Spatially, the non-headline verbal text relating to the Archbishop is centred in the text (median to low credibility) and does not dominate it. However, the overall effect is that the visual image is juxtaposed with the headline. One is thus inclined to 'blame' the Archbishop for the inability of the women deacons to secure justice (implicitly equated with ordination). The visual image, a candid photograph which has high modality/'realness', has accentuated the negative evaluation of the archbishop beyond the proportions of that contained in the verbal text.

Visual 'realness' (modality) in news texts

I will now make some observations in relation to the realisation of visual modality, building on Kress and van Leeuwen's model. They propose that what is 'real' is constructed from a diverse range of strategies from perspective to decontextualisation, to form idealisation, colour, texture, light and shade.

I have established already that the general coding orientation of news texts is the naturalistic coding orientation, but that it is restricted to black and white images. Some sample texts from the women's ordination debate indicate, perhaps not surprisingly given this limitation, that there are features in some texts that do not appear characteristic of this orientation.

Consider four of the more unusual photographs and a fifth text.

The composite text, "Our first female deacons ordained" (SMH 13.2.89)(Figure 57) records the first ordination of women as deacons in the Diocese of Sydney.³ A line of deacons in clerical dress with their backs to the viewer raises the expectation that they are male. However, one is pictured with *her* head turned to the camera. The element of creative surprise accentuates the realness (modality) of the participant within the naturalistic coding orientation.

Another text appears to have used a star filter to achieve a special visual effect. The occasion was the General Synod of the Anglican Church, called into special session to vote on a bill to enable dioceses to ordain women as priests ("Church vote means women can be priests" Sunday T 22.11.92) (Figure 37). The viewer looks down on the synod chamber (which is thus rendered inferior to the viewer). The human figures are very remote (more than a public distance), and the wide-angle perspective places the scene well within the power of the viewer. Individuals are not the focus of this photograph, but rather, the synod.

The star filter effect at the top of the photograph gives the entire image an other-worldly quality. Has this special effect signified an historic event, or a supernatural one? Or, has the event been encoded with such high credibility, that the photographer has borrowed from the techniques of advertising to realise this in the text? In the previous chapter I have noted the tendency for all newspapers during 1992 to carry a unity-constitutionality discourse. It is consistent with this observation that the moment of the constitutional decision of the Anglican Church in favour of the ordination of women should be evaluated (and constructed) so positively.

Note too, though, that below the main photograph is the inset photo of a woman deacon. Barbara Darling is depicted in intimate social distance from the viewer. She is crying and her head is slanted. She is an object of contemplation for the viewer (mood). The reader is positioned to identify with the female deacon's feelings. This visual image has paralleled the verbal recording of her affective mental processes, thus promoting high social affinity between reader and represented participant. Her photo is positioned in the quarter of the composite text that in the Kress - van Leeuwen model signifies highest credibility (both 'ideal' and 'new'), but it is less 'ideal' than the synod. The woman deacon is the visual 'real' in relation to the synod decision, and 'the new' in relation to the headline, but still an 'ideal' in relation to the verbal text.

Consider a text that features Bishop Owen Dowling at the time when he faced allegations of having solicited for the purposes of prostitution ("Friends rush to support a bishop who stands condemned" SMH 10.4.92) (Figure 38).

The image is decontextualised, which would encode low modality in the naturalistic coding orientation. Yet, the size of the photograph carries high salience, dominating visually over the verbal text, and ordering the other elements of the text as being of lesser significance. It thus serves a relatively positive evaluative function. If the decontextualisation is to be read as a low modality encoding, then there is some ambiguity in the text. However, if it is understood as facilitating a focus on the person of the bishop, and his isolation at this time, then the photograph could be understood to complement the encouragement given to the reader in the headline to identify with the "friends" (first position, active voice) of Bishop Dowling who rallied to support the bishop in his time of need.

The decontextualisation therefore may be understood as drawing on a high modality indicator from the abstract coding orientation to enhance the reader's perception of the need of the bishop for support. With a lack of direct gaze from the subject (mood-offer) it is an image offered for contemplation. It is a 'victim-like' construction that may encourage the reader/viewer to see the bishop in some sense as 'typical'. That the verbal text relates the allegations against the bishop to the women's ordination debate tends to support this analysis. He too, is a victim of the debate.

One notes also that the location of the photograph on the right-hand side. This realises the photograph as an illustration of the propositions contained in the verbal text - the physical and emotional vulnerability of the bishop - and by implication, his need for the viewer to respond sympathetically, like his friends.

Let us now consider a text from 1989: "Women expect synod victory" (SMH 21.8.89) (Figure 7). This text was part of the reporting of the 1989 General Synod, at which it was hoped by those in favour of the ordination of women that there would be the necessary numbers for a draft canon to be passed for this purpose.

The verbal text accords high credibility to "women" and their supporters. In the lead paragraph one sees the use of the modal, "Women *will* be on their way to a qualified victory" (italics: JB), a high credibility indicator. The participant, The Rev Alison Cheek, is described as "a *leading* woman priest" (italics: JB); the synod session is described in anticipation of victory as "the *historic* debate" (italics: JB); the alternative service held by women outside St Andrew's Cathedral while the opening synod service proceeded within is constructed in terms of "women" having "upstaged the opening service". The very fact that the text records part of the liturgy of this alternative service rather than that of the 'official' service reflects news values: the 'new' the 'unusual' and so on is preferred over the 'given'. The result is that the views of M.O.W. participants are judged more credible than that of the 'official' church.

The visual image also suggests something about how those participants and their viewpoint have been evaluated. To the left (bottom) of the text is the Rev Alison Cheek. To the right of the photograph ('most highly valued' layout position) would appear to be a silhouetted Dr Patricia Brennan. Neither subject looks at the camera, and so they are offered for the contemplation of the viewer (mood). Dr Brennan's form is silhouetted by light against a darkened background: a non-naturalistic form.

This construction of 'other-worldliness' could be understood perhaps as a construction within a sensory coding orientation restricted to black and white images. Understood in this way it is, I suggest, a very high credibility construction. One might see some irony here in that in a news text about one aspect of women's role in society, a woman advocate of ordination has been constructed as a visual 'advertisement' of the cause. So 'highly credible' is she, that it has been necessary to go beyond the naturalistic coding orientation, yet in a news text that ostensibly reflects reality objectively.

Consider the photograph's other features. It would seem to have been taken from a low angle, looking upwards at the women from behind, and to their right. The viewer therefore looks upwards at them, at least slightly (respect). However, they are decontextualised and so one does not read their position of superiority in structural, organisational terms. In "Bible talk" one could read this as a visual realisation of a media recognised 'prophet'.⁴ More will be said about the upwards camera perspective and authority, and Australian egalitarianism below.

Finally, I will turn attention to a text that does not have a photograph as visual image, but rather, a line-drawing, a caricature. "Carey, the people's Archbishop" (SMH 27.7.90) (Figure 39), is a composite text that has a left-image and right-text construction. It is one that can be seen to relate the given ("Carey") to the new (his role as Archbishop of Canterbury), with an evaluation that he is "the people's archbishop".

Dr Carey here has been constructed with credibility in relation to the ordination of women and environmentalism. In the lead the ordination of women is mentioned first, but later in the text

environmentalism is mentioned before his ordination position. He is labelled as being "a strong supporter of women priests" a high credibility rating according to the modal value of inclination in the judgment/evaluative system. In the verbal text a promise to "speak out" on moral and social issues also would seem to be a source of his high credibility. He will be a good media source in the construction of news on the 'social'.

The caricature takes up three quarters of the composite text on the left-right axis. As suggested above, the role of Archbishop of Canterbury is a given, but the information contained in the verbal text, that he is a socially concerned green-feminist (as well as being relatively young and self-made), is definitely 'new'. Interestingly, the headline may also be seen to echo this division. "Carey" is a given, but that he is "the people's" (that is, the media interpretation of 'the people's') archbishop is new and a source of high modality. Notably, the caricature is level and front-on, the visual perspective that, I suggest below, constructs the highest credibility, realising involvement and equality.

Consider the top/bottom axis. The 'hand of God' and the face (character) of the archbishop are in the realm of the 'ideal'. The regalia of church office (the institutional church) is more in the 'real' along with a medallion that grounds his authority, not in the Cross (often worn by bishops in this way) but in a 'relevant' social concern, the banning of chlorofluorocarbons. The caricature would seem to present a blueprint of the most credible attribute of this archbishop as paralleled in the verbal text (but omitting his women's ordination stance). In this sense, the newspaper could be seen to have drawn on characteristics of the scientific/technological coding orientation. These are the 'essential qualities' of a "people's archbishop".

There is room also for parody. The verbal text has highlighted his "God is green" image in the lead and early in the text. It has rated him as credible on this basis. In the caricature, however, this credibility is exaggerated, possibly to the point of parody. One expects to see an archbishop wearing a cross. Instead he wears a 'green' badge.

The newspaper may have played 'devil's advocate'. It has owned environmentalism as an evaluative criterion, but then ridiculed (in humour) an advocate who has perhaps too closely embraced their evaluative framework. The visual text has introduced an ambiguity to the headline's praise of him as "the people's archbishop". More will be said about humour and cartoons on women's ordination in a later chapter.

In all, the text reflects an evaluation 'in the public interest'. The evaluation, however, is not of his theology, but of how it is socially realised. It will be suggested later in this thesis that the debate over the ordination of women has produced a set of modal values - a modal litmus test - via which church persons are henceforth evaluated. That is, a 'mediated theological orthodoxy' is visible in the media. But it is in the realm of the 'social' and not theology.

Based on these examples, I suggest that some visual images in news discourse need to be viewed as eclectic in relation to coding orientations. In such cases, meanings can be less clear and the images need to be read less in a stand-alone form and more in relation to the verbal text. The following diagram suggests the range of strategies used, and their coding orientations, in the media texts. It should be noted that these sample texts discussed above are representative of the more unusual ones in the debate.

Diagram 16**PHOTOGRAPHIC CLARITY and EFFECTS**

('Realness' according to news discourse borrowings
from non-naturalistic coding orientations)

special sensory effects	star filter (high modality, sensory c.o.) illuminated silhouette (high modality, sensory c.o.)
symbolic abstraction	deep etching (high modality, abstract c.o.) decontextualisation (high modality, abstract c.o.)
caricature	analysis of attributes (high modal, scientific c.o.)

('Realness' in the naturalistic coding orientation)

creative composition	very real (high modality, naturalistic c.o.)	elements of surprise
strong definition	very real (high modality, naturalistic c.o. especially candid photos)	foreground and b'ground
poor definition	less than real (low modality, naturalistic c.o.)	'mug shot'/out of focus

Such devices are confined to what one might call in narrative terms 'crisis points' in the debate (from a 'progress' perspective), such as when legislation was expected to be passed in the General Synod in 1989 and when the General Synod finally did achieve this in November 1992, as well as ordination ceremonies. It should be noted too, that while there is some symbolic abstraction of male participants, special effects are not offered in equal quantity in relation to male participants. ⁵

Let me now turn to what I suggest is a cultural feature of the coding orientation of Australians in relation to news discourse, egalitarianism. I will consider it now in relation to the vertical camera angle's realisation of visual subjectivity.

Social affinity, contextualisation, Australian egalitarianism

I propose, expanding upon the model offered by Kress and van Leeuwen, that a level camera angle (power encoding) has an inbuilt social affinity component in Australian contexts between viewer and represented participant. 'Power' is not as socially significant as 'equality'.

The findings of my analysis of the photographs in the women's ordination media debate, outlined in the next chapter, will indicate that an equal power relation is used more uniformly in visual images that depict women. It is noted, however, that some women as represented participants are realised with an upwards (low) camera angle. ⁶

With regard to male subjects in text, the equal power relation (level camera angle) also is used frequently. Meaning - significance is lessened however, in texts of small size (less than one sixth of the total composite text space). I will return to trends across the period, later, but at present consider some of the larger photographs with this equal power relation construction.

A text depicting the installment of Bishop Ian George as Archbishop of Adelaide in July 1991 suggests that the level camera angle was a more positive construction than an upwards camera angle.⁷ The visual image shows a head/shoulders representation of the archbishop complete with mitre and other regalia of office. However, the camera angle is level, realising mediated equality with the viewer, (with the archbishop's gaze directed at the viewer - mood - inviting a response).

The verbal text gives high credibility to the archbishop in the modal categories of uniqueness:

"Archbishop Dr Ian George is likely to be anything but orthodox"....."(he) shunned the regalia that goes with the job and was simply installed" ... "His relaxed approach to life has already upset some of the traditionalists in the City of Churches").

However, low modality is attached to his change from atheism to Christianity. The headline, by contrast, contains no modal signifier of scepticism.⁸

The other defining characteristics mentioned in the text are his background as a lawyer with the Supreme Court of South Australia and his position on the ordination of women which he is reported to regard as a "tired" issue but definitive in his election as archbishop. Indeed, his evaluation of this matter occupies the 'last word' position in the text which I have argued in a previous chapter to be a spatial position, along with the lead, which realises higher credibility for that participant or viewpoint.

The journalist's verbal evaluation of Archbishop George on the basis of demonstrated egalitarianism and a pro-women's ordination stance, may be understood as paralleling the visual image features. I note that the position of the visual text is in the ideal/new top right area

of the combined texts; the layout position carrying the most positive evaluation ('highly valued') according to the Kress - van Leeuwen model; and that accompanying indicators of high modality, is the level camera angle combined with intimate camera (social) distance, which invites social affinity. This is a positive evaluation, assuming that values between the newspaper and reader are shared. Presumably, if the upwards camera angle facilitated a more positive construction, it would have been chosen.

Turning to another participant in the debate, Archbishop David Penman, it is notable that among the texts collected for the 1987-89 period, he was rarely depicted in a superior relation (upwards camera perspective). Yet, his obituary texts indicate the very high regard in which he was held by the media.⁹

Photographs characteristically showed him from a close-up to mid range (social intimacy), and a level camera angle (equality). There was some variation as to whether he was depicted front on or from a slanted, sideways, view (involvement). However, it is the level camera angle 'equality' relation to which I draw attention.

I will digress for a moment for the purpose of comparison. Professor Fred Hollows, was characterised by the media as a secular moral leader, to the point of 'sainthood'.

Obituaries in the *Sydney Morning Herald* described him as "the people's hero" ("Final farewell to the people's hero" SMH 16.2.93). The photograph attached to his 'official' obituary had a level, though angled, perspective ("Foresight: the Fred Hollows Story" SMH 11.2.93). A news

item on the front page the following day ("Tears for Fred Hollows in eyes that would be blind" SMH 12.2.93) used a level, front-on photograph. A feature article only two weeks before his death depicted him from a level, angled perspective ("A very public dying" SMH 30.1.93). His receipt of a Rotary International Award for his ophthalmic work in the Third World that same month was acknowledged with a level front-on photograph, albeit, small in size ("Hollows wins award for eye programs" SMH 11.1.93). Some earlier texts again, used that level, front-on perspective, but with a heightened intimacy: only eyes, nose and mouth, not a full facial perspective. Social affinity, it would seem, was to be maximised (Figures 40 and 41).¹⁰

The *Sydney Morning Herald* used the upwards camera angle only three times. One photograph with a slight upwards perspective was taken with Mrs Hazel Hawke at the launching of his autobiography ("Story of a man who aims to share his vision" SMH 24.9.91). Another incorporated symbolic abstraction in a very large and salient image, with more-than-naturalistic detail of Professor Hollow's hair, taken from an angled perspective at very close distance, and with a darkened, decontextualised background ("Living with death adds piquancy to Fred's days" SMH 4.9.92). The media discourse in this text applies the label of 'living saint' to Professor Hollows. Non-naturalistic strategies were resorted to, so positive was the media evaluation of him, it would seem. It is of interest that a smaller version of the same photograph was used by the newspaper to record his funeral ("Don't worry about not being here, Dad, because you still are" SMH 16.2.93). Perhaps by then he had become a media 'saint'. Certainly the labels applied to him - "genuine Anzac hero", for example - suggested that he could have not been evaluated more positively, in all the modal evaluative categories, but especially that of 'uniqueness'.¹¹

The same use of level camera angle, and front-on perspective, or close, intimate distance, to the point of photographing only part of his face, characterised *The Australian's* photographs. Verbal evaluations were similarly very positive, stressing his uniqueness, and juxtaposing his "larrikin" and "visionary" nature (Figures 42 and 43).¹²

My point in suggesting this comparison, is that the level camera angle on the 'power' continuum, in the news discourse coding orientation of Australians, should perhaps be understood as carrying an inbuilt social affinity component. That is, it carries at least as positive an evaluation, if not a more positive evaluation, than the upwards camera angle that encodes 'superiority' in the Kress-van Leeuwen model.

It is possible that the *Sydney Morning Herald* is slightly more inclined towards this construction than *The Australian* in relation to highly valued persons; while *The Australian* (and to a lesser extent the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*) is slightly more inclined towards the upwards camera angle with large (salient) photograph. I base this suggestion on *The Australian's* largest photograph depicting 'Weary' Sir Edward Dunlop in commemoration of his death in July 1993.¹³ It is a possibility that would need to be tested in the light of other persons and texts, and in other 'fields'. It will be commented upon in relation to Archbishop Donald Robinson in the next chapter (Figure 44).

Should this be the case, then one might regard the *Sydney Morning Herald* as being slightly more egalitarian than *The Australian* in evaluative framework (but only a matter of degree within a general Australian egalitarianism in news discourse).

A further possibility is that the 'superiority' encoded between reader/viewer and represented participant, as an interpersonal meaning, may mean something slightly different from text to text according to the context depicted and from field to field. I suggest the possibility that the upwards camera angle with church building in the background encodes 'authority-superiority'; that the subject depicted is authoritative in an institutional sense in relation to the reader/viewer.

This 'superiority' could be encoded between viewer and represented participant on a person-to-person basis or between viewer and represented participant on a person to representative - of - institution basis. If this authority is negatively evaluated, then the authority encoded could be understood as 'authoritarianism'.

Other textual features: visual feminism?

As mentioned in the previous chapter's discussion of the verbal texts, female advocates of women's ordination are often described as "the women", a more general labelling. One sees this collective identity realised visually as well. Women are frequently depicted in a *group*, shown normally against a background that signifies the institutional church, but sometimes more creatively.

The collective image of women is one that brings to mind events in the history of what is generally known as the Women's Movement. One thinks of the collective presence of women at

Greenham Common (UK), for example. The collective image would seem to be one appreciated by M.O.W., given their 'protests' at the time of General Synods in particular. Then there was the 1988 Lambeth Conference of Bishops (UK). ¹⁴ Later came protests at the consecration/installation of bishops/archbishop in the Diocese of Sydney, opposed to the ordination of women as priests. ¹⁵

It is notable that when women were ordained in the Diocese of Perth in 1992, the event was linked in media texts with the large group events relating to International Women's Day ("Unlikely militants celebrate liberation" Aust 9.3.92) (Figure 24). If the 'group' photograph in relation to women is to be understood as encoding the field of feminism, or women's progress in society, then a group of women photographed in a church context could visually encode 'Christian feminism' or feminism in the field of church. At times the collective may be in the ascendency (protagonists) as here; at other times it is the object of injustice (victims).

A feature article on the position of women in the legal profession ("The invisible bar: how women lawyers are kept out in the cold" SMH 28.11.92) (Figure 45) provides further insight. The sub-heading identifies "women lawyers" as the subject, but the lead focuses on the proportion of law students who are "women" and takes "sexism" as the theme. Clearly, the media discourse in this article is to do with an equal rights feminism.

The photograph, large and therefore salient, is located in the 'ideal' position. It depicts three women lawyers from a level camera angle (equality relation to viewer) and at an intimate to social camera distance. Their gaze (mood) invites a response. Their expression suggests

determination while the background of bookshelves encodes a context of learned authority. Depicted standing abreast in an "Avengers" style formation, theirs is a united, determined presence. The photograph is perhaps a restatement of an 'ideal' in spite of being subjected to injustice ("kept out in the cold").

A photograph from the women's ordination debate, interestingly, bears a strong resemblance. The composite text "Women miss out on ordination by one vote" (Aust 7-8.12.91) (Figure 46) has two photographs. Occupying the top half of the combined text in the 'ideal' location, is a photograph of three women. One finds out from the verbal text that they are deacons and intending priests, though this is suggested in the photograph by their clerical collars. The caption identifies them as "campaigners". Their facial expressions suggest determination; their physical stance, like that of the women lawyers above, something of "The Avengers" or some such fighters for justice. Reading intertextually, one might also identify overtones of a feminist trinity; a creative construction, encoding high credibility, in the naturalistic coding orientation.

The verbal text indicates that the occasion is the release of a judgment by the Appellate Tribunal, the highest body of legal opinion on canon law, that it was not legally possible for individual dioceses to proceed to ordain women without enabling legislation from the General Synod. So, it is an occasion on which one might expect a 'victim' image. And yet these three women appear strong, resolute, determined (modal value of resolve). Given that the photograph is in the realm of the 'ideal', the text may constitute a restatement of the ideal in spite of the setback, to the point of injustice, caused by this legal judgment ("missed out on ordination by one vote"). Social affinity is not invited, however.

The inset image is of additional interest. Being located to the right side of the composite text, the Archbishop's photograph is in the realm of the 'new'. In this case what is 'new' is the ruling of the Appellate Tribunal, a ruling which he interprets to the reader in the verbal text, and previously ("yesterday") to the female deacons at Bishopscourt where the photograph was taken. His image is taken at close distance, face on, from a level camera angle. He is thus located in an equal relation to the reader, which may facilitate identification with him and his view. The size of the image and its location suggests that he has not been valued as highly as the three female represented participants who are depicted far more saliently and creatively. His eyes are cast upwards to the image of the three women who are thus positioned in a relation of superiority to him. He is evaluated, however, as the 'new' link between the cause of the women and the decision of the Appellate Tribunal. Visually, Archbishop Rayner has deferred to, and adopted, the view of intending women priests, who are encoded with higher visual credibility than he.

It is possible that not only can one speak in terms of differential visual evaluation of participants in this composite text, but differential evaluation of their views as well. The labelling of the women deacons in the headline as "women" suggests that their view has been evaluated as a 'feminist' one and rated as more credible, in this instance, than the legal view of Archbishop Rayner and the Appellate Tribunal. The visual 'group' construction and use of the general term "women" suggests that in this instance, women deacons, like women lawyers, have been evaluated as being participants in a discourse of progress for women.

The degree to which the group visual construction and the verbal reference to "women" (rather than a more specific category of 'women deacons, for example) is characteristic of reporting, may therefore indicate the degree to which the women's ordination issue has been evaluated as being part of a debate over feminism. The degree to which this is also linked to a media discourse on legislation will imply the degree to which this 'feminism' can be understood to be an equal rights feminism achieved through legislation, as opposed to other traditions of feminism.¹⁶

Attention may be drawn to one further point. In a text mentioned previously ("A fighter intent on women being priests" Age 19.8.87) (Figure 30) it was noted that the background included stained glass windows. These, although not church windows, but probably those in Dr Brennan's home, provide a symbolic context for Dr Brennan akin to that of the features of many photographs depicting clerical participants in the debate. This construction, I suggest, serves, whether by default or intention, to encode Dr Brennan as authoritative within that context/field, and thus as having an equivalent-to-clerical credibility, equal to that of other elite actors in the media debate, who more often than not, are bishops. Her equivalent-to-clerical contextualisation could be seen as pre-empting the capacity of women to claim this authority.

Consider the newspaper text about women lawyers, above, which visually locates them in law chambers (Figure 45). This is a reflection of a current reality for them. They are lawyers. In the case of Dr Brennan, the contextualisation could be understood as the construction of a yet to be realised social reality: ordination. What was not yet reality, but constructed as an idealisation, was able to become visually 'normal'.

Another way to view the contextualisation would be to see it as a significant instance of a lay/clergy distinction not being emphasised.

If this visual contextualisation can be understood in this way, one may note with some irony that while the Anglican Church at an international level was discussing the 'reception' of women priests as a normalisation process to occur over some years, the press may have been already facilitating it photographically.

Having outlined and illustrated the components of Kress and van Leeuwen's visual grammar, I have also made some observations in regard to particular texts. I have drawn attention to the 'power' encoding and suggested a clarification of meaning in an egalitarian Australian context. I have suggested also, an addition to the model in relation to the intra textual reading of a represented participant's facial expression and the verbal text.

I will turn now to my analysis of the visual images in the women's ordination debate, noting patterns of representation over time. Photographs will be considered and then cartoons.

Endnotes to Chapter 3:2

1. See Kress and van Leeuwen, p 27, for similar suggestions.
2. See for example, "Ordination of women may divide Anglicans" DT 25.8.89 and "New threat to women clergy" SMH 3.7.90.
3. See across newspaper comparison of texts for 13.2.89 in Chapter 3.3. The photograph is included there.

4. Historically, prophets in the pre-Christian era often spoke from outside authority structures. Dr Brennan does not appear to have rejected the 'prophet' label.
5. That there are fewer instances of the use of special effects in relation to male participants provides a curious parallel with gender difference in advertising.
6. See for example, "Julia has a job to do for God" DT 7.2.89; "Why the deacon's friend will not be at church", ST, 19.2.89; "ordinations as soon as 1992 is not soon enough for our women deacons" Aust 9.11.89.
7. See "From atheist to Archbishop" Aust 1.7.91.
8. "As an undergraduate at Adelaide University he *claimed* to be an atheist before finding his way back to the Christian faith" (italics: JB).
9. See for example, "Archbishop Penman, witness to the Gospel and a social commentator" Aust 2.10.89; "Champions of multiculturalism and women" Age 2.10.89; "Dr David Penman, leading churchman" SMH 2.10.89. Reference will be made to these texts again in Chapter Four.
10. See "Hollows pulls out of the AIDS debate" SMH 27.3.92, "Fred's blind faith" *Sun Herald*, 29.11.92.
11. See Chapter Two's discussion of modal categories in the judgment system in relation to verbal texts.
12. See "4000 pay tribute to larrikin, visionary" Aust 16.2.93; "State farewell to a great fighter" Aust 16.2.93; "Hell-raiser whose vision lit the world" Aust 16.2.93; "Hollows: the last interview" Aust 11.2.93.
13. See "Humble heroism beyond the call of duty", *Weekend Australian*, 3-4 July 1993 cf. smaller / social distance photographs in SMH: 25.4.91; 3.7.93.
14. See "Anglicans demonstrate genius for compromise" Aust 3.8.88.
15. See for example, Aust/ DTM/ SMH 30.4.93 texts relating to the inauguration of Bishop Harry Goodhew as Archbishop of Sydney, succeeding Archbishop Donald Robinson.
16. See later chapter on feminist traditions.

Chapter 3

News photographs

3.3 Patterns of representation in photographs depicting female participants 1987-92

Kress and van Leeuwen note that in the analysis of composite (visual and verbal) texts, the question arises as to whether the parts should be analysed separately, or together in an integrated way. They regard the visual component of a text as "an independently organised and structured message", connected with, but not dependent upon, the verbal text.¹ They advocate also, however, the existence of a code of composition which integrates textual components.²

In this section I will analyse photographs depicting female participants in the debate using the model of visual grammar, and taking into account my observations in relation to the model outlined above. Attention will be paid also to who is depicted and how the women are contextualised. Because, with very few exceptions, the women depicted were leaders in the ordination debate or sought ordination to the priesthood for themselves, their photographs could be seen to carry a discourse of progress for women on the issue.³ I therefore considered it worthwhile to experiment with a more 'quantitative' approach to see how this discourse has been evaluated visually over time. In effect, this analysis will treat the photographs as if they are

separate texts. Findings particularly in the next section of this chapter, however, will add weight to the view that photographs need to be read with the verbal text for full meaning to be accessed.

I will look first at those that feature women across the period 1987-92, and then at those that feature male subjects. It should be noted that *The Sun Herald* texts were counted with the *Sydney Morning Herald* and similarly, the *Sunday Telegraph* with the *Daily Telegraph-Mirror* (*Daily Telegraph/Daily Mirror*). Weekend newspaper texts were a minority of the total.

I collected for analysis some 150 photographs featuring women, some newspaper items having more than one photograph accompanying the verbal text. The breakdown is *Sydney Morning Herald* (48), *The Age* (27) *The Australian* (32) and *Daily Telegraph / Mirror* (40). Most of these were attached to news texts, but some to features or columns.⁴

Represented participants

There were 51 different female participants depicted. In the early period, 1987-89 and before, there were more overseas women priests portrayed, usually when visiting Australia.⁵ It would seem that once clerical role models were available (deacons) they were preferred. M.O.W. leaders were depicted less after 1989, consistent with this.⁶ In the next chapter I will relate this tendency to the demands of news discourse for readily identifiable 'elite actors'.

The most frequently depicted participant was Dr Patricia Brennan, Founding President of the Movement for the Ordination of Women. She appeared in eleven photographs attached to news texts from 1987-89 inclusively.⁷ It is notable that *Sydney Morning Herald* coverage of her was primarily confined to 1989, rather than the whole period. By comparison, Dr Brennan's successor as President of M.O.W., Dr Janet Scarfe, appeared visually in only four texts from 1989-92 inclusively, three of which were in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*. This is consistent with my finding in verbal text analysis that the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* reporting was consistently, and often exclusively, receptive to M.O.W. participants until 1989.

Next most frequently depicted was the Rev Theodora Hobbs, a Presbyterian minister. She appeared in nine texts from 1987-92 inclusively, five of which were in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Equal third in frequency of representation was the Rev Barbara Darling, a deacon in the Diocese of Melbourne. She appeared in two texts in 1989 and five during 1992.⁸

The Rev Sue Pain, a deacon in the Diocese of Canberra-Goulburn until March 1992, after which she transferred to the Diocese of Adelaide, often appeared in group contexts with other Canberra-Goulburn women deacons. However, she is depicted also by herself, or as the most prominent participant. Her coverage was from 1990-92, with five of the seven photographs being for January-February 1992.⁹ Exceeding that of individual participants was the concentrated coverage of female deacons in the Diocese of Canberra-Goulburn.¹⁰

While Dr Patricia Brennan is constructed in active voice (protagonist) or labelled in a way that constructs her as such, the Rev Theodora Hobbs' construction varies between protagonist and

victim. The Revs Sue Pain, Barbara Darling and the Canberra-Goulburn deacons, prior to their ordinations as priests, often were presented as objects of contemplation for the viewer. This extended to a victim-like construction for the Canberra group and Sue Pain. This was achieved visually by a combination of facial expression, the group image, and the visual depiction of emotion, particularly in the case of the Rev Sue Pain. They are at times, however, pictured as victors, as through visual depictions of elation.¹¹

Size of photographs

In my analysis I divided photographs into those that occupied an area equal to, or greater than, the verbal text ('large'), those that occupied between one fifth and one half of the total area ('medium') and those that occupied one sixth or less of the composite space ('small'). I found that photographs peaked in number in 1989 and 1992.

In 1989 in three of the four newspapers (not *The Australian*) there were a significant number of large photographs.¹² There were few large photographs in 1990 and 1991, except in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1991.¹³ The incidence of large photographs reached its peak in 1992 in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and in *The Australian*.¹⁴ One may recall that 1992 saw the legal action brought to the N.S.W. Supreme Court to prevent the Bishop of Canberra-Goulburn from ordaining women as priests without General Synod legislation, the first ordinations in the Diocese of Perth, the subsequent General Synod and then other ordinations of women to the priesthood in December. The high number of large photographs suggests that these events were highly newsworthy in particular for the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Australian*.

That many of the large texts were situated in the 'ideal' layout location may suggest a positive evaluation of the particular female participants depicted, the majority of whom sought ordination, but more probably of what they were evaluated as representing: progress for women.¹⁵

Vertical and horizontal camera angles

('power' and 'involvement')

The majority of female-as-represented-participant photographs across all four newspapers were constructed with a level camera angle. The downwards camera angle was very much the exception and an upwards camera angle was infrequent.¹⁶ The level camera angle was a typical feature.

The front-on and the slight angle were equally preferred perspectives across the four newspapers. The angled horizontal perspective was present in a minority of photographs.¹⁷ Involvement or partial involvement would seem to have been the most commonly realised relationship between viewer and text.

Ironically, 1992, the year which saw the ordination of women to the priesthood following the passage of enabling legislation in General Synod, saw a return to angled representations and thus a social distancing of viewer from represented participant.¹⁸ At a practical level one might argue that the number of women standing abreast at their ordination in 1992 required that

perspective. However, whether by design or in effect, the angle has the effect of distancing the reader/viewer from 'church', with a construction that made the viewer the uninvolved observer, once the goal of ordination has been achieved.

Camera distance (framing)

A 'public' distance between female subject and viewer was constructed in only ten percent of texts across newspapers, with less than that in *The Australian*. An intimate to social distance is the preferred relationship between viewer and represented participant, with some minor variations across newspapers. *The Australian* used the intimate camera distance (face only) or the intimate-social (above waist) most often in 1987.¹⁹ However, these tended to be small photographs, less salient when compared with the accompanying verbal text, and of the poorly defined 'passport' variety. Thus, the high credibility of the intimate camera distance is lessened by the size and quality of the photograph. Indeed, it may be that a visual image is only meaning-significant when it is equal or greater in spatial area to the verbal. I will consider this again in relation to texts depicting male participants.

The intimate/ intimate-social distance was more common in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* than for the other three newspapers in 1989.²⁰ However, half of these were 'passport', small photographs as compared with the generally larger images of the other newspapers for that year. One possible interpretation of this finding for the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* is that the issue was of less importance/newsworthiness for that newspaper than for the other three, in that year.

The social camera distance was adopted with almost equal frequency by the *Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Australian* and the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* in approximately one quarter of photographs in 1992. One possible interpretation of this finding is that less social affinity was encouraged between readers and female participants for that year. This may parallel my finding in the analysis of verbal texts that almost equal attention was given to 'unity' meanings as to 'progress (for women)' meanings in that year as compared with 1989. Discussion in Chapter Four will suggest that this might be understood in terms of the press in 1992 more clearly defining a legitimate consensus on the issue.

Layout

While there are exceptions, there are recognisable trends in the construction of photographs across the four newspapers with some patterns specific to particular publications.

In the 1987-92 period, photographs of women priests or women deacons are far less frequently in the layout position of the 'new' (right position) in relation to the composite text, than the 'given' (left position) or the 'ideal' (top position). The 'ideal' was the most chosen layout position across all newspapers surveyed.²¹

Returning to the theory of visual grammar, the visual placement of women participants in the top layout position constructs them as 'most highly valued', the "ideal and most apparently ideological core of the message". How then, does one interpret the more significant presence of

visual images in the 'given' position in the *Sydney Morning Herald* than in *The Age*, *Daily Telegraph Mirror* and *The Australian*? Do the photographs construct a transition period between an older paradigm in which public roles for women/women as priests were not part of the 'well established' in our society, and a new paradigm in which they are?

Two points need to be made. First, it would seem that the 'given' is more the layout location of the Presbyterian women's ordination participants, rather than for female protagonists in the Anglican debate, especially in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, although this is by no means a uniform pattern.²² This could be seen to reflect the *existence* of Presbyterian women ministers. Protagonists in the Presbyterian debate were endeavouring to *preserve* their access to the office of minister/ teaching elder, rather than to gain entry to the office of priest, as in the Anglican debate. Ordination for Presbyterian women was an *established reality*. However, not all 'given' location photographs related to the Presbyterian debate, and so this does not explain their increase over the period.

In the Anglican debate, an ordination event in Australia, such as the deaconing of women in the Diocese of Sydney in February 1989, or the first time an Anglican nun was made a deacon, occasioned photographs of represented participants which were located in the 'ideal', or in the 'given' position. Some were placed in the 'given-real' especially in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *Daily Telegraph*. The priesting (or consecration of women as bishops) overseas as in the Episcopal Church of the U.S.A. or the Anglican Church of Ireland, saw photographs of female participants placed in the 'given' position.²³ Their 'given-ness' may construct a historical order: a U.S. woman is a bishop while Australian women are yet to be priests.²⁴

One photograph representing Mrs Jean Penman's intention to seek ordination placed in the 'given' layout position in *The Age* provides a very interesting exception to this pattern.²⁵ She, as an archbishop's widow, was evaluated as a 'given', but her announcement to seek ordination was 'new'.

Consider a sample of texts from early in the debate: 1985/6. It was at this time that women were first deaconed in Melbourne and there was a visit by a New Zealand woman priest to that city. The verbal texts conveyed the newness of these events through such labellings as "A seemly silence is broken and history made" (Age 2.6.86) and "NZ woman marks church first" (Aust 2.6.86). The accompanying photographs were typically located in the 'ideal' or the 'ideal-new' layout position, more so than later 'firsts' in the ordination debate.²⁶ Notable exceptions were two 'given' constructions ("Women ordained in spite of bomb hoax" SMH 10.2.86; "A church first for the Rev Susan Adams" SMH 2.6.86) (Figures 47 and 48). Either a paradigm shift was already under way in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, or at least this newspaper's evaluative perspective was more oriented to the construction of historical order, and thus progress/change.

There are, however, some variations in the evaluations of female participants whose photographs are placed in the 'given' or the 'ideal' layout positions, across newspapers. Possibly this reflects the culture or market characteristics of the newspapers. In 1988, for example, two *Daily Telegraph* texts constructed a photograph of the newly deaconed Kate Prowd in the 'given-ideal' on the occasion when her daughter Phoebe was born (Figures 49 and 50). The verbal texts indicate that Ms Prowd was the 'first' woman deacon to give birth to a child while

in deacon's orders in Australia.²⁷ In the case of "The Rev Prowd's pride and joy" (DT 2.12.88) within the photograph the baby is in the 'given' relation and Ms Prowd in the 'new'. The photograph as a whole is located in 'the given' layout position in relation to the verbal text about Kate's family and ministry. It functions also in the 'ideal' layout position to another news text: "Anglican Church assesses stereotype roles". "Deacon's Prowd to be a mum" (DT 22.11.88) also located the photograph in the 'given' layout position. The 'given' evaluation would appear to be one of historical order. Notably, women deacons are not generally depicted in familial contexts, especially outside the Daily Telegraph Mirror.²⁸ Emphasis on a partnership between husband and wife in ministry is similarly rare, and is recognised only when both are ordained.²⁹

These examples highlight that there are some texts at least for which a reading of photograph and verbal text together is necessary for full meaning to be accessed and 'inconsistencies' in general patterns to be explained. A further example is found at the end of the debate in November 1992, when the synod voted through legislation to enable the priesting of women, and a constitutional way forward was thus found. The synod then was evaluated as more 'ideal' than female participants.³⁰ In the Presbyterian debate, too, a new angle on the debate can bring a revised layout evaluation.³¹ This reaffirms the textual realisation of meaning. One must allow for the possibility also that verbal and visual components of text could be in conflict. This may be the case for "Patricia couldn't wait so she switched" (SMH 23.11.92).

Contextualisation/visual symbols

I come now to the range of visual symbols used in texts. I have analysed for the presence of the following:

- clerical dress (ordination ceremonies not counted)
- windows/light,
- setting outside a church building,
- setting inside a church building,
- the presence of sacramental symbols such as a cross, holy table/altar, sacraments of bread and wine or liturgical acts;
- a Bible or pulpit;
- a group of women rather than the individual.

On the one hand one might argue that these symbols are simply included by photographers to visually construct 'church'. However, one must not ignore the fact that what might be dismissed as visual clichés nevertheless carry meanings. Moreover, the symbols may suggest one pro-ordination discourse over another.³²

All four newspapers were strong on clerical dress. One quarter of texts for each newspaper had women appearing in clerical dress. (This tally excludes ordination ceremonies which would have increased the incidence). A possible conclusion is that the assumed meaning of 'church' is strongly a clerical one. This is paralleled by the selection of clerical/episcopal participants as sources for the verbal texts.³³

Perhaps this contributes to the relatively lower credibility accorded to those in the Diocese of Sydney who would advocate Lay Presidency ("Anglicans back lay communion" SMH 14.3.94). It also may contribute to the relative invisibility of those non-conformist denominations which

have a more 'lay' view of church and ministry or at least incorporate such a view - the congregational churches such as Baptists, Reformed Churches, independent community churches, Salvation Army (apart from their welfare face) and the Presbyterian Church, apart from the ordination of women.

The stained glass window was another visual feature. The *Sydney Morning Herald* was the newspaper more inclined to construct texts using the stained glass window, or window arch, as the backdrop.³⁴

The church building, inside or out, was a typical background in photographs. *The Age* and the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* appear to have been equally as likely to construct a photograph with women either inside or outside a church building. The *Sydney Morning Herald* less commonly pictured women outside a church building, and *The Australian* less inside. The few texts that construct women against a backdrop of a church with an upwards low camera angle are spread across the four newspapers with a slight Sydney and *Daily Telegraph Mirror* bias.³⁵

It is possible that there is a qualitative difference in the way female represented participants are constructed in relation to the viewer compared to male participants, and vertical camera angle is one feature where the difference exists. More will be said on this possibility in the course of analysis of male represented participants.

Visual representations of the sacrament of Holy Communion/ Eucharist, a cross or the female subject depicted acting out a liturgical function, were equally common in photographs depicting

women in *The Age* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*, slightly less so for the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* and *The Australian*.³⁶ The liturgical-sacramental symbols, I suggest, realise meanings emphasised in the Sacramental (Anglo-Catholic) and Broad traditions, less so but with some variation in the Biblical (Evangelical) tradition.³⁷

Within some photographs, a cross is depicted in the 'ideal', with a woman or women in the 'real', realising the ideal of church/Christianity, arguably a very positive evaluation (Figure 51).³⁸ A variation on this is the representation of the Rev Sue Pain ("Ordination of women to proceed" Aust 29.1.92.) The 'ideal' is a poster - 'A woman's place is in the house of bishops' - while Sue Pain is the 'real' that intersects with the 'ideal'.

Visual depiction of a Bible or a pulpit, on the other hand, is suggestive of what I call the Biblical (Evangelical) tradition in Chapter Four's discussion. This construction was present in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* (Figure 52).³⁹ However, it was totally absent from *The Age* and almost entirely so from *The Australian*. *The Age's* contextualisation could be understood to be consistent with the greater range of churchmanships in the Diocese of Melbourne, as compared with the more monochrome Evangelical character of the Diocese of Sydney.⁴⁰ As for *The Australian*, this finding may imply a more sacramental orientation and view of the priesthood.

However, in the Sydney-based newspapers, the Bible as contextual symbol is present more in association with the Presbyterian debate than the Anglican one. This leaves the Anglican debate to be understood, visually, as a debate over whether women can exercise the sacramental

function of presiding over the Eucharist. The Broad-Middle Church to Anglo-Catholic-High Church sacramental view is, at least by default, the preferred visual construction of the Anglican debate in theological terms. This is an important finding to which I will return in discussion of media discourses.

One might well ask, however, to what degree the visual images have defined the debate as being over theology and church practice, as opposed, say, to women's social role. As suggested previously, the tendency to depict women in groups must bear consideration here.⁴¹ The 'group of women' construction is evident across all four newspapers from 1989 to 1992 inclusively. It is occasional prior to 1992 and frequent in 1992, being most evident in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, where half the texts depicting women were 'group' photographs.⁴² An evaluation of the issue as being within the field of feminism was strongest, visually, therefore, in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Its frequency may lead one to conclude that feminist (progress for women) meanings were under debate from 1989 (Figure 53).⁴³

I have noted in a previous chapter that in 1992 as compared with 1989 verbal texts, newspapers to some degree, and particularly the *Sydney Morning Herald*, did an 'about turn' in the sense that 'unity' meanings were given equal prominence with 'progress' meanings, evident in a more even selection of anti-ordination and pro-ordination participants. While in verbal texts 'progress' for women gave way to 'unity' meanings, through photographs 'progress' for women continued, at least in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, to have a strong and salient presence with possibly a positive evaluation where the photograph was located in the 'ideal' position.

The 'group' construction might also be seen to facilitate the appearance of a consensus view amongst "the women". Consensus, however, is not borne out by an analysis of female participants' views, as I will establish in the next chapter. Indeed, one might ask whether the media construction of a consensus had a circular effect of strengthening the credibility of the pro-ordination discourses, playing a part in an indirect way, in bringing about a legislative consensus through the Anglican General Synod.

Significantly, actual ordinations of women to the priesthood in 1992 were linked both visually and verbally with protest images of the women's movement, but not necessarily with a positive evaluation.⁴⁴ At least one other text that year linked women's ordination to the priesthood with other advances for women in society (Figure 18).⁴⁵

These layout and photographic characteristics would seem to confirm that the women's ordination debate has been understood by the press as belonging to the field of women's place in society, and generally evaluated positively on this basis but within a consensus 'band'. An unusual visual construction of the limits of consensus is found in a text from *The Australian* ("Aussie rebels threaten to quit" Aust 9.11.89)(Figure 54).⁴⁶

Across - newspaper comparison: texts for 13.2.89

I will focus now on some sample photographs to illustrate findings identified above, and relate them to the verbal texts. I have chosen those that recorded the first admissions of women to the diaconate in the Diocese of Sydney in February 1989. It will be suggested that 'church' is constructed as a more socially 'owned' practice for readers of *The Australian*, and particularly *The Age*, than for readers of the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

In "Women take momentous step toward priesthood" (DT 13.2.89) (Figure 55) a large, salient photograph occupies the top three quarters of the combined text. The women have been evaluated as the 'ideal', the most typical layout location for photographs depicting women, on the occasion of their admission to the diaconate. The female deacon in the foreground centre is depicted with head to the side (oblique camera angle) looking towards the 'new' - "toward priesthood". Reader involvement is not invited. However, a level camera angle (also the typical vertical camera angle for female subjects) creates intimacy between reader and represented participant.

To the bottom left of the combined text is a partially deep-etched photograph of the Rt Rev Barbara Harris, the first woman to be consecrated an assistant bishop. That her photograph extends into the more salient photograph, provides a link between the 'ideal' and the 'real'. The deep-etching constitutes a symbolic abstraction of the subject (abstract coding orientation). The newspaper has borrowed from a non-naturalistic coding orientation to emphasise the 'more than real' status of this woman. Her photograph similarly has a level vertical camera angle (equality)

with gaze averted (mood:offer) in the direction of the 'new'. She is offered for the contemplation of the viewer.

The 'ideal' and also the most salient element of the text is that ordination to the diaconate for these women should be followed by their admission to the priesthood. The 'real' (small inset photograph) is that not only ordination to the priesthood, but consecration to the episcopate *has* happened to an American woman. The 'real' is related to the 'ideal'. In the bottom left position, Barbara Harris also functions as the 'given'. Her consecration (which presupposes prior priesting) has already occurred, just some hours previously. The 'given' location thus constructs a historical order.

In the headline "women" are 'the given'. They are highly credible as actors in first position, active voice. The view of Suzanne Glover is 'new' and 'real':

"This is not only a victory for women's equality but a victory for every woman who had to leave the church through discrimination, who has felt alienated by the church, and who has been put down in any situation."

'Church' has been subsumed into the field of women's place in society and associated with 'discrimination' meanings. To this point I will return, later.

The identification, verbally, of the newly deaconed women with M.O.W. through Suzanne Glover glosses over the reality that some women deaconed on that occasion opposed ordination to the priesthood. It also fails to recognise that the women in this ordination group who may have supported ordination to the priesthood, are unlikely to have subscribed to the

breadth of feminist theology embraced by M.O.W., as evident in the writings of founding members or in published papers of M.O.W..⁴⁷ It is possible that for the *Daily Telegraph (Mirror)*, theological meanings were of very low credibility as news, and that this predisposed it to an evaluation of the women's ordination debate primarily as a feminist issue.

The Australian's construction of the event, on the other hand, focussed on the *act* of setting the women 'apart' as deacons. The most salient photograph shows three male bishops laying hands on the kneeling women. It is the act of ordination involving male episcopal participants that is the 'ideal'. One notes that these actors are deleted in the headline, and that there is a passive construction ("Touched by the spirit of equality" Aust 13.2.89) (Figure 56). In Chapter Three I suggested that this passive verbal construction may encode the preferred resolution of the issue. That is, that women subject themselves to church authority/processes. That subjection is constructed here visually.

The level vertical camera angle encodes equality between viewer and the four participants in text, a relation paralleled by the words in the headline, "the spirit of equality". The event has been evaluated as an expression of gender equality, but it has been received by the women, from 'the church' (clergy), rather than achieved by their own efforts (as encoded in the active voice construction in the *Daily Telegraph* text).

The inset text located in the lower left ('given-real') has been cropped from the main photograph appearing in the *Daily Telegraph*. The Rev Narelle Jarrett is shown from level camera angle (equality) at close distance (social affinity) but with head turned at an angle

(non-involvement of viewer) towards 'the new', the "spirit of equality". As in the *Daily Telegraph* layout, this photograph extends into the 'ideal'. It is related to it. Her ordering as a deacon has been evaluated as a social 'given'. I will return to this text in the next chapter.

In the *Sydney Morning Herald* text a large salient photograph again occupies the 'ideal'. It is one that utilises a creativity (dramatic surprise) in the naturalistic coding orientation. Earlier verbal analysis pointed to the ownership of the women deacons (possessive pronoun) in the headline: "Our first women deacons ordained" (Figure 57). An equality of status meaning is introduced in the caption: "Shoulder to shoulder with the men". The equality is realised also between reader and text through the level camera angle. No episcopal actor is depicted. The photograph focuses on the state of being ordained, rather than the authority behind the act of ordination. There is an egalitarian quality to this image. However, framing constructs a social-public distance, and there is a slight angle (horizontal camera angle) in the depiction of Janis Donohoo. A significant event, at societal level, has been positively evaluated. In a sense the newspaper itself has 'ordained' the women. Distance, rather than non-involvement as in *The Australian* and *Daily Telegraph*, is encoded between reader and text, but this image does not carry the contextual features of the field of 'church'. It would appear to be more concerned with gender equality.

The Age text focuses on the deaconing of women in the Diocese of Melbourne on the same day ("Father and daughter of the cloth share solemn moment" *Age* 13.2.89) (Figure 58). The focus of the report is the family succession in ministry between a former archbishop of Melbourne, Sir Frank Woods, and his daughter, Clemence. One credibility label used in relation to Sir Frank is

that he had been in favour of women's ordination for 25 years. The viewer is invited to identify with the family focus of the combined text through the photograph's intimate camera distance, but as an uninvolved (angled perspective) observer (no gaze, mood: offer).

Notably, this text has not constructed either event as primarily relating to women's role in society. It has not evaluated the Diocese of Melbourne as being 'progressive' in practice in the headline, and women are neither the actors, nor those acted upon. In spite of the absence of visual contextual features of church, this text is constructed more in the field of 'church' than that of either the *Daily Telegraph* or the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

The findings from this comparative sample support some findings from the analysis of verbal texts. That is, that the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *Daily Telegraph* encoded women's ordination to the priesthood as belonging to the field of feminism, while its evaluation as belonging to the field of church was strongest in *The Age* and *The Australian*. *The Age* photograph invited more reader involvement, however, than did that in *The Australian*. One might speculate, therefore, whether this means that 'church' is perceived to be, and mediated as, a more socially 'owned' practice for readers of *The Age* than for readers of *The Australian*.

Presbyterian debate cf Anglican debate

In 1991 and 1992, the Presbyterian debate received considerable attention in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, alongside the Anglican debate. Let us consider some of the visual features of 'Presbyterian' texts.

Some photographs that represent the Presbyterian debate are constructed totally in the naturalistic coding orientation, as in "Bitter row over Church women" (Sun Herald 8.9.91). This photograph depicts husband and wife, Arnold and Joy Bartholomew, in a predominantly front-on (involvement) photograph, with direct gaze (mood), close camera distance (intimacy) and level vertical angle (equality with viewer). In all, it is a construction that invites social affinity between reader and represented participants.

In some photographs there is decontextualisation as in "'Disappointed' ministers to stay on" (Aust 13.9.91). In that text, the Rev Theodora Hobbs, in a creative construction that borrows from the sensory coding orientation, is depicted against darkened background. This acts to highlight a cross which appears to stand by itself, illuminated. It is as though, in contemplating the cross ('the given'), she ('the new') seeks that status.

As in the Anglican debate, Presbyterian women participants are depicted against a backdrop that has symbols of church practice, and often within a church building. For example, in "Women ministers vow to stand and fight" (SMH 11.9.91) (Figure 59) the Rev Joy Bartholomew is depicted in silhouette, praying, with a stained glass window behind. In "Rev

Hobbs preaches to the converted" (SMH 16.9.91) (Figure 60) the Rev Theodora Hobbs is depicted in clerical dress, behind the elders' table, inside a church. This is appropriate to the debate, in that it could be seen as more a reflection of ecclesiastical reality, than a construction of a desired reality (as at times in the Anglican debate). The women concerned are already ordained teaching elders of the Presbyterian Church, 'fighting' for that ministry to continue to be open to women as well as men.

Ministry is not conceptualised as 'priesthood' in the Presbyterian Church of Australia. Rather, there is an ordained ministry of both 'ruling' elders and 'teaching' elders. The Presbyterian ordained teaching elder's ministerial role, like the understanding held by Conservative Evangelical (Biblical tradition) Anglicans is based on New Testament teaching on the 'presbyterate'. However, interpretations of these roles vary from person to person in degrees of 'clericalism'.⁴⁸

The press visually contextualise female participants in the Presbyterian debate, often by the presence of a book. This is most likely a Bible because, while like Anglicanism the Presbyterian Church has a prayer book, the *Book of Common Order*, it is not used as uniformly as the *Book of Common Prayer*/ *An Australian Prayer Book* in the Anglican Church.⁴⁹

The visual construction in "We are not supposed to exist" (SMH 13.8.92) (Figure 61) is particularly interesting. The Revs Joy Bartholomew and Theodora Hobbs are depicted behind the elders' table. They, with an open book which is foregrounded, are in the 'real'. A cross hanging on a wall is in the 'ideal'. The composite text has a left-text, right-photograph layout.

The 'extinction' of Presbyterian women ministers is a 'new' concept, as is their preferred translation of the Bible, one that uses inclusive language (mentioned in 'last word' in verbal text). Understood in this way, the photograph illustrates the verbal text, which is in the 'given' - left-hand side location. Only when the visual image is read in the light of the verbal text is full meaning accessed.

Only one text about the Presbyterian debate depicts a congregational view ("Church joins the women's rebellion" SMH 26.10.91) (Figure 62). In this text, parishioners are pictured with their teaching elders. However, they are in an unequal relation: the parishioners seated and the ministers robed and standing. This is the closest that any visual image comes in the debate to narrowing the gap between 'lay' and 'clergy', as distinct from photographs that construct female lay participants in equivalent-to-clerical contexts. Note that it is a "women's rebellion".

'Church' is encoded as 'clerical' both in the Anglican and Presbyterian debates, either by dress, contextualisation, or labelling ('the Rev'). This is consistent with my previous analysis of a text from 1994 about the lay presidency debate within the Anglican Diocese of Sydney, in which views that favour clericalism are encoded as more credible than those advocating the option of lay presidency at Holy Communion.

Conclusions: photographs

Analysis of photographs for the period 1987-92, with some reference to earlier and later texts, reveals the following:

First, there is a significant tendency towards group constructions, which I have suggested encode the issue as belonging to the field of women's role in society, or 'feminism' with variations between newspapers. Indeed, in general it is evident from sample texts that the issue is defined visually most in relation to 'church' in *The Age* and *The Australian*, and least in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* or the *Sydney Morning Herald*, where it is evaluated more as a feminist issue. I have suggested too, that the group construction may imply a consensus between women on the issue of ordination that, the next chapter will suggest, does not exist at the theological level.

Second, the majority of photographs depicting women participants are located in the 'ideal' position in relation to the verbal text: the location of 'the most highly valued'. This may encode a positive evaluation of women's ordination as a proposition. This possibility will be taken up again in discussion in Chapter Five. A notable variation is found in texts that record significant 'firsts' such as the consecration of a bishop, or the making of a woman deacon, and female participants already ordained as ministers in the Presbyterian Church. A number of these were positioned as 'given'. In the Anglican debate I have suggested, consistent with Kress and van Leeuwen, that this 'given' construction most likely constructs historical order and could thus be seen to evaluate 'progress'. Cumulatively one might ask whether it constructs, along with the

incidence of 'ideal' constructions, evidence of a paradigm shift in which ordination for women, once 'new' and 'ideal' is in process of becoming the 'given'.

Third, contextualisation of women is generally a clerical, or clerical-like one. They are associated with the same clerical settings as male priests, and arguably, therefore, constructed as being of equal status.

Fourth, the 'equal' relation (level vertical camera angle) is the most frequently used in relation to women participants. The degree to which male clerical participants are depicted from this angle, as opposed to a 'superior' angle, will suggest whether the ministry of women has been represented as the same or different from that of men in status.

Fifth, the tendency to draw on characteristics of coding orientations other than the naturalistic one points to the very high visual credibility construction of female participants advocating ordination; so high that the construction borrowed from features of the sensory coding orientation which includes the visual 'language' of advertising. The use of these encodings tends to coincide with crisis points in the debate. The latter encoding implies a very positive evaluation of a pro-ordination discourse.

Sixth, some visual texts require a reading in the light of the verbal text to make sense of their layout position and meaning constructions. This inclines one back towards a Barthian 'relay' / 'anchorage' view of image-text relations, which is incorporated in part in the Kress-van Leeuwen model.⁵⁰

Seventh, the Anglican debate, where an in-church context permits, tends to be constructed visually in terms of the sacraments, and the clerical status of participants is made evident. This is particularly so in texts that record the eventual first ordinations of women in 1992. This visual contextualisation, at least by default through visual non-recognition of other definitions, has lowered the credibility or modality of the Evangelical Biblical tradition, whether for or against the ordination of women. This will be discussed more fully in the next chapter. It would seem that on this issue at least, journalism can only cope with religious definition by denomination, and not by theology. If so, journalism will be ill-equipped to interpret trends towards Christian post-denominationalism.⁵¹

Endnotes to Chapter 3:3

1. See Kress and van Leeuwen, p 4.
2. Ibid., p 94.
3. Note, however, that women expressing an Equal But Different view are represented as participants from July 1992. See discussion in Chapter Four.
4. The breakdown across the years is suggested by the following tallies for photographs depicting women: 1987 - 18; 1989 - 32; 1992 - 61. Cf 'Male' photographs: 1987 - 27; 1989 - 31; 1992 - 59.
5. For example, the Rev Elisabeth Kilbourn, Canada, and the Rev Alison Cheek, USA.
6. Most of the women deacons were Australian. In counting, I regarded those persons who usually appear together to be 'one' participant. Therefore, the Canberra-Goulburn women deacons, who regularly appeared as a group during 1992, were counted as 'one'.
7. DT (2); Age (4); Aust (2); SMH (3).
8. Age(3); Aust (2); SMH (1) ST (1).
9. DT (2); SMH (3); Aust (2).
10. Of 15 photographs, two appeared in 1990 and one in late 1991, leaving seven for the January-February events in 1992, and five for the remainder of the year.

11. See for example, "Rev women must wait, say judges" SMH 1.2.92; "The tears of defeat" DT 3.2.92; "Victory in church row" DTM 29.1.92.

12. SMH:6; DTM:7; Age:5. As well there were medium and small photographs.

13. There were 4 photographs.

14. SMH:17; Aust:15.

15. Cf "United in faith women remain divided in views" SMH 8.7.92. I will return to what the 'ideal' evaluation means in discussion in Chapter Five.

16. SMH 11:48; Age 1:27; Aust 6:32; DTM 11:40.

17. SMH 7:48; Age 4:27; Aust 7:32; DTM 7:40.

18. SMH:3; Age:2; Aust:4; DTM:5.

19. 6:32 photographs.

20. 10:40 texts.

21. There were twice as many 'ideal' photographs as 'new-ideal' in the years 1987, 1989 and 1992. In 1989 the 'given' and the 'given-ideal' counted together equalled the 'ideal'. In 1992 there were as many 'given' photographs as 'new ideal'.

Taking 1992 as a sample year, in that year the *Sydney Morning Herald's* photographs in the 'given' relation photos (7) almost equalled those in the 'ideal' relation (9) and the 'new-ideal'(6). 'New' and 'real' were not significant categories on their own. There were three 'given-real' texts in 1992. The ordination of women to the priesthood in 1992 was rarely constructed as 'new' in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in that year.

In *The Australian* in 1992, nine photographs depicted women priests or intending women priests were located in the 'ideal' layout position. Three photographs were placed in the 'given', the remaining varying between the other constructions.

In the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* the most frequent layout relation was the 'ideal' (8 photographs) with two photographs being located in the 'new ideal' relation and one each for the 'given', 'given-real' and 'new-real'.

In *The Age* in 1992 there were five photographs in the 'ideal' relation, three in the 'new ideal' and one each in the 'given', 'new' and 'given-new'.

22. See for example texts in the ideal/new relation, "We are not supposed to exist", SMH 13.8.92.

23. See "Women take momentous step towards the priesthood" DT 13.2.89 and "UK ordains first women priests" DT 26.6.90 cf. verbal structure of headline.

24. See Kress and van Leeuwen, p 109. See for example, texts in *The Australian* and the *Daily Telegraph* for 13.2.89. However, these are complex 2 photo constructions that need to be read with the verbal text. See below.

25. "Penman's widow to answer the call" Age 7.11.91 but cf. "Another Penman to spread the word" Age 15.2.93.
26. See "Archbishop ordains first women deacons in Australia" Age 10.2.86; "A seemly silence is broken and history made" Age 2.6.86; "Another bastion crumbles" DT 10.10.85; "The turbulent priest wonders at all the fuss" Aust 27.10.86; "Communion service taken by a woman" DT 2.6.86; "Legal move may delay women's ordinations" Age 5.2.86; "Deacon Kate even swears a tiny bit" SMH 12.2.86. There were one or two exceptions, however: "NZ woman marks church first" Aust 2.6.86; "A church first for the Rev Susan Adams" SMH 2.6.86; "Women ordained in spite of bomb hoax" SMH 10.2.86. The latter two were 'given' constructions.
27. See "Deacon's Prowd to be a mum" DT 22.11.88; "Phoebe a holy first" DT 2.12.88. Note the differences in 'given' and 'new' in the headline constructions.
28. But cf "Bishop ready to ordain 11 women" DTM 26.12.91; "The Rev Marcia 'feeling a bit like Moses'" Sunday T 27.8.89; "Deacon Kate even swears a tiny bit" SMH 12.2.86.
29. "Man joins women on frontline of ordination battle" Aust 27.2.92; "Bitter row over church women" SMH 8.9.91.
30. See "Church vote means women can be priests" ST 22.11.92.
31. See "We are not supposed to exist" SMH 13.8.92.
32. Evidence for the existence of more than a single 'pro-ordination' discourse will be given in Chapter Four.
33. This is consistent also with my own media liaison experience with the Anglican Church. The assumption behind journalists' requests for comment is that 'the church' equals clergy. Where a layperson is offered as a commentator, they seek an 'equivalent to clerical' label with which to justify them as source, such as membership of a committee. My experience, too, was that journalists frequently requested that Archbishop Donald Robinson 'robe up' for photographs.
34. I have drawn attention already to the text "A fighter intent on women being priests" (Age 19.8.87) (Figure 30) in which the stained glass window was in all probability a window in a home, and not a church, but may have functioned visually to construct a future reality.
35. See "Why the deacon's friend will not be at church" Sunday T 19.2.89; "Women to be priests" DT 23.8.89; "Forgive me father but I disagree" SMH 15.5.92; "Settle women priests issue: Hollingworth" Aust 25.6.92; "Row looms over women priests" Sunday T 2.9.90; "Priesthood not for women say their sisters" DTM 12.10.92.
36. However, a comparable definition of the priesthood is found for example in the headlines "Eucharist blocked" (Aust 19-20.8.89) and "Communion service taken by a woman" (DT 2.6.86).

37. See for example, "Ambition to become a bishop" Age 17.8.87; "First woman bishop breaks hallowed ground" SMH 13.2.89; "First woman priests in February, says bishop" SMH 26.12.91; "After women's ordination, a celebrant" Age, 9.3.92; "Women rejoice" DTM 9.3.92; "Unlikely militants celebrate liberation" Aust 9.3.92.
38. See "Men's sexuality fears big problem for the church, Anglicans told" Age, 2.3.87; "Reverend women must wait, say judges" SMH 1.2.92 - stained glass window and cross in 'ideal' with a group of women in the 'real'.
39. See for example "Marjorie waits quietly for the church to catch up" SMH 3.2.87; "Rev Marcia feeling 'a bit like Moses'" Sunday T 27.8.89; "Tribunal to rule on women priests" SMH 4.5.91.
40. See Chapter Four. Also see Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable, *Sydney Anglicans*, (Sydney, AIO Press, 1987).
41. 'Groups' of women is defined as two or more with counting excluding texts depicting an ordination service in progress, but not 'afterwards' photographs.
42. Cf DT 5 photographs out of 12; Age 4:11; Aust 6:16.
43. See for example the following texts: "Bishop gives go-ahead for the ordination of women" Aust 1-2.9.90; "Women miss out on ordination by one vote" Aust 7-8.12.91; "Women deacons to be frocked despite split risk" Aust 9.1.92; "Just one last hurdle for women priests" SMH 29.1.92; "Why 11 women want to be priests" Sunday T 2.2.92; "In his (or her) image?" Age 19.2.92.
44. See "Unlikely militants celebrate liberation" Aust 9.3.92.
45. See "Victory in church row" DT 29.1.92 which is located to the right of an article on women in the armed forces.
46. See comments later this section and discussion of 'news discourse' in Chapter Five.
47. Only one or two may have been M.O.W. members. The majority of women deaconed on that occasion would have trained through the Evangelical (Biblical tradition) training institution Deaconess House.
48. See Presbyterian Church of Australia, Code, Sections 4.01 to 4.40, pp 45-49.
49. See for example, "Rev Hobbs preaches to the converted" (SMH 16.9.91), "Now, ordination challenge to Presbyterians" (SMH 7.9.92) and "'We are not supposed to exist'" (SMH 13.8.92).
50. See Kress and van Leeuwen, pp 4, 105.
51. That is, a regrouping according to theology within denominations, as in the separation of the Episcopal Church of the U.S.A. and the Lutheran Church in the U.S.A. each into two parallel synods.

Chapter 3

News photographs

3.4 Patterns of representation in photographs depicting male participants 1987-92

The quantity of photographs depicting male participants was comparable with those depicting women, at 160.¹

Represented participants

Overwhelmingly, male represented participants are clergy. Exceptions are either church lawyers (Robert Tong and Keith Mason Q.C.), plaintiff in the 1992 court case and Standing Committee of the Diocese of Sydney member, Dr Lawrence Scandrett, or Gerald Christmas, former Registrar of the Diocese of Sydney. Such persons are constructed as equivalent-to-clerical. Discussion in Chapter Five will relate this finding to the nature of news discourse.

Among clergy or bishops, who is depicted? A notable characteristic of *Sydney Morning Herald* reporting, especially until and including 1989, is the tendency to feature persons in the ordination debate in the UK; persons such as Bishop Hughes, Bishop Leonard and Archbishop Runcie. The ordination debate was evaluated as overseas news.²

The Age, perhaps predictably, was inclined to depict Victorian bishops - Archbishop Penman or Bishops Hollingworth (later Archbishop of Brisbane), Stewart or Grant - with Archbishops Carnley (Perth) and Robinson (Sydney) occasionally. There was interest, also, in the overseas visitor: Bishop Michael Nazir Ali, Bishop Hughes (U.K.), Bishop Falk (U.S.A.); all of whose visits were made 'relevant' by their views on the women's ordination debate.

Findings indicate a tendency for the *Sydney Morning Herald* to depict N.S.W. bishops - Owen Dowling (Canberra-Goulburn), Alfred Holland (Newcastle), Howell Witt (Bathurst) - and lay persons from the Diocese of Sydney.

During 1992, Bishop Owen Dowling (Canberra-Goulburn) was the preferred visual subject (from among N.S.W. clergy) of texts in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Daily Telegraph Mirror* and *The Australian*. This may indicate a significant orientation towards his pro-ordination views and actions. However, there are more factors to consider. The number of texts depicting him is exaggerated slightly because of the personal legal allegations he faced and the press tendency to relate the matter back to the ordination issue.³ This does not, however, account for him as preferred visual subject in 'ordination debate only' texts or those primarily focusing on the ordination issue.

One must contrast the Sydney Metropolitan press preference for him as photographic subject with the low number of texts that visually depict Archbishop Robinson in 1992, let alone other Sydney bishops.⁴ Here one sees evidence of higher credibility being encoded for pro-ordination bishops as in *Sydney Morning Herald* verbal constructions of the debate. Archbishop Robinson

was equally 'relevant' to the state of the ordination debate in 1992, especially given the renewed interest in 'unity' meanings which formed part of his view, as will be outlined more fully in the next chapter. Moreover, his geographical location as Archbishop of Sydney gave him greater proximity to the Sydney metropolitan press. However, it is Bishop Dowling who appears more regularly in photographs, usually in the 'ideal' or 'ideal/new' position as in "Threat won't deter bishop's feminism" (SMH 11.1.92) (Figure 63).⁵

It may be that Bishop Dowling was the focal point of three discourses: as defendant in the Supreme Court Case (as victim), as advocate of women's ordination (as crusader) and as threat to Anglican unity (as villain).

Size of text

As for the photographs depicting women, I have categorised photos into three sizes: those occupying one sixth or less of the composite text (small, 'passport' style); next, those occupying between one fifth and up to, but not including, half of the total space (medium); and finally, those occupying half or more of the composite space; that is, equal to, or greater than, the verbal text (large). In some composite texts there was more than one visual image. A significant number of photographs - and especially those before 1992 - were of the passport style in which backgrounds are either absent or indistinct.

Small photographs were most typical of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, particularly from 1987 to 1989.⁶ This may suggest a low priority on religious news (low newsworthiness), both in the

space allocated for visuals and on time - expenditure on photography for the religious round. *The Age* and *Daily Telegraph Mirror* come next in their frequency of use of small photographs, followed by *The Australian*.⁷

Mid-size photographs were most typical of *The Australian* followed by *The Age*, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*.⁸ Large photographs were most typical of *The Australian* especially from 1990, followed by the *Sydney Morning Herald* from 1989 and *The Age*, and then the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*.⁹

One may conclude from the above, that if size of visual image is an indicator of news value or newsworthiness, then the women's ordination issue was consistently newsworthy in *The Australian* and across newspapers increased in newsworthiness from 1989. It may be relevant to note that this was about the time in the *Sydney Morning Herald* when the religious round was collapsed and religion became part of the general round. The result may have been that in the *Sydney Morning Herald* the women's ordination issue was no longer evaluated as a separate field of discourse, but from the perspective of the 'social'.

Having surveyed the press coverage of the late Professor Fred Hollows as a point of comparison, I suggest that size of the photograph is an important component in the realisation of a positive evaluation of a represented participant, given its capacity to magnify encodings of credibility and social affinity. It is a very significant criterion where the size of the visual image exceeds the verbal text. Size contributes to salience. Salience shapes reading/viewing path and therefore the overall evaluation in the composite text.

I will now outline general trends for each newspaper and give particular attention to photographs that equalled or exceeded the size of the verbal text.

Vertical camera angle (power)

The upwards camera angle is more commonly found in *The Australian's* photographs. A slightly raised camera angle is sometimes found in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*. The upwards camera angle is a significant exception for the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Age*, for which the level camera angle is the norm. These are not trends without exception, however.¹⁰

The level camera angle is the most frequently used in mid and large photographs. It is found evenly across *The Australian*, *The Age*, the *Sydney Morning Herald* and less so in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*.¹¹

The downwards camera angle is by far the exception.¹² Archbishop Donald Robinson was the subject of three of these six photographs while another anti-ordination participant, the Fr David Robarts, was the subject in another photograph.

Daily Telegraph Mirror

In the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* it would seem that when male church persons appear they are encoded as being superior to readers.¹³ Readers are not placed in an equal relation with them.

This may encode 'respect'. Equally, it may communicate the remoteness of the clergy and church in the life of the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* reader. This would tend to be supported by the overall low number of male clergy as visual subjects for this issue in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*, even including the small photographs.

This would parallel findings from recent church surveys that Anglicanism has fewer 'constituents' in lower middle to the lower socio-economic and educational groups, and in circular fashion possibly affirm that perception by readers.¹⁴ The absence of male participants in photographs supports also my earlier finding that women's ordination to the priesthood was constructed both visually and verbally within the field of feminism rather than church.

The Australian

Having noted that the upwards camera angle is most typical of *The Australian*, I will turn now to some specific examples. It will be seen that visual 'superiority' is not necessarily synonymous with 'high credibility' but may be more so in *The Australian* than in other newspapers. It will be shown that changes in 'power' encodings or contrasts between participants' constructions can suggest changes in or differences in credibility evaluations.

Consider "Politics on high" (Aust 2.7.92) (Figure 64), a feature article on the Anglican Church League, a 'party' within the Anglican Diocese of Sydney, comprised of lay and clerical members. There are two visual images. The larger, in the ideal/new position, depicts the Rev Victor Cole in non-clerical dress from a low upwards camera angle against the backdrop of a

church steeple. He is shown face-on but with gaze averted, from a social distance.

A smaller inset photograph, depicting the ordinations of women to the priesthood in the Diocese of Perth in March 1992, is located in the ideal - ideal/new position in relation to the larger photograph. Mr Cole is therefore put in an inferior relation to the ordination event, which, visually, is distinctly clerical and episcopal by comparison, and constructed from a level camera angle.

When these meanings from the photographs are read together with the verbal labellings, there is an interesting corroboration. Consider the following evaluation by the journalist:

"With a shock of white wavy hair and an absence of clerical collar, Reverend Cole does not look like a cleric. And the activities of the league are in many ways distinctly unclerical."

It is arguable, therefore, that the aspect of church that *The Australian* evaluates as 'superior' is its clericalism. In the case of this participant, the visual image suggests a superiority, but it is judged to be inferior to a clerical-episcopal comparison. Perhaps Mr Cole is evaluated as having fallen short of his clerical status, the 'superior' construction thus being used with irony.

Where issue definition is constant, a charting over time of the use of the vertical camera angle may also suggest changes in a participant's evaluation. Archbishop Robinson, in being party to the court action to stop the Diocese of Canberra-Goulburn ordaining women without a General Synod enabling canon, would appear to have incurred a visual loss of superiority in relation to the reader. From February 1992 Archbishop Robinson was no longer constructed visually with the upwards camera angle. This is a change in *The Australian's* constructions of Sydney

Anglican clergy.¹⁵ In the case of the 'watershed' Archbishop Robinson text ("Women deacons court elusive justice" Aust 24.1.92) (Figure 65), the photograph had a slightly downwards camera angle, public camera distance, and the candid grimace, against the background of the court of law. Significantly, Archbishop Robinson atypically then retained a level vertical construction in the majority of *The Australian's* photographs until his retirement at the beginning of 1993.¹⁶ In "Archbishop says bible backs court action" (Aust 17.2.92)(Figure 65) there are no verbal social affinity indicators, and while the photograph constructs an intimate distance, the facial expression discourages reader affinity.

Further comparison is provided in *The Australian's* obituary on Archbishop David Penman. The verbal text evaluated the archbishop not only on his social reform profile ("laudable and courageous support for the ordination of women to the priesthood"), but was the only text to evaluate him in terms of his moral and pastoral/ministerial role, ("A witness to the Gospel" Aust 2.10.89) (Figure 66).

In relation to one of the accompanying photographs, the archbishop is depicted in the 'given' position. The photograph is in the 'ideal' in relation to other verbal text. Read with the verbal text, there would seem to be good reason for the construction. Dr Penman's emphasis on the doctrine of the Incarnation is highlighted, and a quote from Philippians 2:5-11 included, a passage that points to Christ's lowering of himself to become a human. The visual image would seem to echo that servant-like lowering on the part of Archbishop Penman. Interestingly, the caption emphasises his ordained (clerical) status: "Dr David Penman in 1987 on the 25th anniversary of his ordination".

This text is important in pointing to the limits of 'visual grammar'. It suggests that even though an image can be significant in size (equalling the verbal text in spatial terms) and therefore salient, its meaning may not be read with complete clarity except in relation to the verbal text (if one is to assume that there is consistency of meaning between verbal and visual components of the news item).

A photograph such as this also confirms that a simple tally of 'given' or 'new' or 'ideal' constructions over time may not be a reliable indicator of visual evaluation. In other words, the methodology may be at its best when applied holistically (visual and verbal functional grammars) on a text-by-text basis, and when used to compare texts from different newspapers for the same event (as will be shown below).

The Age

Only two photographs from *The Age* use the low upwards camera angle.¹⁷ The level camera angle is preferred.

The election of Archbishop Keith Rayner of Adelaide as Archbishop, by the synod of the Diocese of Melbourne, provides texts that facilitate a comparison across newspapers, in this case, between *The Age* and *The Australian*, the two newspapers which, I have suggested, encode the women's ordination debate more in the field of church than feminism (Figures 69 and 70).

The photograph in *The Age* text, "Rayner elected archbishop" (Age 31.7.90), uses the level, front-on construction in the 'ideal/new' position. It is salient, being twice the size of the verbal text. The archbishop is depicted within a church building. *The Australian* has a similar setting ("Rayner takes top Anglican post" Aust 31.7.90). The vertical camera angle, however, provides a slightly upwards perspective, while the horizontal is still front-on. It is similarly twice the size of the verbal text, but located in the 'ideal' position. The differences therefore are in viewer-participant superiority encodings and layout.

A comparison of the verbal texts is insightful. The headlines establish a variation in macro theme. To *The Age*, that Archbishop Rayner was elected (democratic legal-procedural discourse), is significant. To *The Australian*, the emphasis is an authority one ("Rayner takes top Anglican post"). This may suggest that *The Age* is more egalitarian, or at least political/democratic in its evaluative framework, than is *The Australian*. The latter might be understood as accepting traditional authority/hierarchical relations. The differences are evident in the choice of vertical camera angle.

Sydney Morning Herald

By comparison with *The Australian*, it is notable that the upwards camera angle is found very rarely in the *Sydney Morning Herald's* depiction of male subjects.¹⁸ Its use in an inset photograph depicting Dr Lawrence Scandrett, a plaintiff in the 1992 Supreme Court action, is particularly interesting for its possible negative evaluation via the layout location in the 'given-real' ("Anglicans face a final breakup" SMH 4.7.92) (Figure 67). The reader may be

meant to read Dr Scandrett's 'superiority' as 'arrogance'.

I have demonstrated already that the photograph of the admirable secular moral leader - based on the press construction of Professor Fred Hollows - is typically taken from the level camera angle, with intimate camera distance, frequently front-on, and in a large visual text relative to verbal. The example above shows how the *Sydney Morning Herald* used the low upwards camera angle, possibly to facilitate a negative evaluation. This is not always the case, however. Consider some further examples.

In the composite text headlined "Good heavens! Tony's axed" (SMH 26.2.88) (Figure 68), the visual image is twice the size of the verbal text, and thus is highly salient. The vertical angle is very low (upwards) while the horizontal angle is front on. Tony McCarthy, one learns from the verbal text, was said to have been dropped from among the Diocese of Sydney's General Synod preferred candidates because of his pro-women's-ordination views.

The verbal text evaluates Mr McCarthy as highly credible ("a *prominent* Sydney layman" and "a *leading* educationalist"). Visually, he is contextualised against the backdrop of the cathedral tower, perhaps encoding ironically, 'institutional' church superiority. He is 'superior' and yet he is a victim (passive verbal construction) according to the most salient verbal text: the headline. There is a martyr image: the upwards angle heightening his goodness. Indeed, the photograph would seem to illustrate the verbal text of the Rev Don Meadows, who describes the authority of the Sydney Diocese as "'totalitarian rule'", paraphrased, and thus 'owned', by the journalist as "how good men are sacrificed".

As such, one sees confirmation of the Kress - van Leeuwen model with respect to layout: the location of the visual in the "new" signifies that it is an illustration of the verbal text. Here, the visual adds detail that cannot easily be realised in the verbal text. That is, the irony of a 'good man' being sacrificed by an institution that would claim moral authority. The upwards camera angle would appear to have been used by the newspaper for the purpose of constructing irony.

The most positive *Sydney Morning Herald* evaluations (high credibility plus social affinity and highly-valued layout location) would appear to use the level camera angle in a large photograph, as for example in "Friends rush to support a bishop who stands accused" (SMH 10.4.92) (Figure 38). The *Sydney Morning Herald* would appear to value most highly, male participants who are 'victims' of 'the system' or who help 'the underdog'.

The level (vertical) camera angle encoding equality between represented participant and reader/viewer would seem to be a characteristic of positive evaluations in *The Age* and *Sydney Morning Herald* texts. For *The Australian*, less so for the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*, the upwards camera angle possibly does not detract from social affinity.

Horizontal camera angle

Analysis shows that the front-on camera angle is used with equal frequency across small, medium and large photographs. However, this total disguises important differences in construction across newspapers.

Daily Telegraph Mirror

The *Daily Telegraph Mirror* produced the greatest number of front-on small photographs.¹⁹ It was also the newspaper least likely to construct a front-on angle in mid-size and large texts. It would seem that the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* encoded male subjects with reduced credibility by the preference for small photographs that are less salient. A slightly greater inclination to use the part-angled construction in mid-sized photos, and a significant inclination towards angled constructions in large photos, discourages reader involvement. This is not the case for the other newspapers. In the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*, social affinity is minimised visually.

The four large *Daily Telegraph Mirror* photographs that invited reader involvement by the front-on camera angle are worthy of note. They were "Archbishop is a greenie" (DTM 27.7.90), which focused on Archbishop George Carey and depicted him with his family, and "Turmoil and tradition" (DTM 3.4.93) which also depicted a newly elected Archbishop Harry Goodhew (Anglican Diocese of Sydney) with his wife. Both texts display a 'family' orientation, infrequent in coverage of the issue and confined to this newspaper.²⁰

Another depicted two subjects, one for and the other against the ordination of women prior to the final synod vote to provide for a compromise solution (DTM 7.7.92). In the latter, the 'involvement' may have encoded an element of approval that the issue was at last to be solved, legislatively. Some light-heartedness and even 'clowning around' between the two participants may construct approval justifying 'involvement'.

A further text inviting reader involvement, "The consumer church: parting caution by an outspoken archbishop" (ST 31.1.93), marked the retirement of Archbishop Robinson. One notes the front-on and upwards camera angles, encoding 'involvement' and 'superiority'. The gaze is not direct and so Archbishop Robinson is offered for the contemplation of the reader. In the verbal text the archbishop was constructed with high credibility, one criterion being his voicing of and maintaining an opinion. Persistence may be a modal value that rates highly for the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* readership. It may be more simply that his persistent 'no' on women's ordination provided the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* with a ready focus for copy or facilitated the construction of a 'unity' theme. One recalls other texts in which the photograph shows a smiling Archbishop, while the verbal text records his anti-ordination view.²¹

By contrast, the two large photographs encoding non-involvement (horizontal camera angle) were "Easy rider all set to be a big wheel in church" (DT 29.6.90), a text representing the Presbyterian debate, and one marking the death of Archbishop David Penman (DT 2.10.89).

The *Daily Telegraph Mirror* would appear to encode as positive, people of authority who behave 'like people of authority' (social status quo), and who don't attempt to be 'like me'. This would seem to be the message conveyed by "Easy rider all set to be a big wheel in church" (DTM 29.6.90) (Figure 71). While Mr Christian is evaluated as highly credible (modal value of unusuality) in the verbal text, there would seem to be an underlying expectation that clergy should look like, and behave like, 'clergy'. That is, according to a clerical stereotype. Consider the journalist's evaluation (and hypothesise the question that may have been behind it):

"For the past 32 years he has done most of his travelling around the city on a 250cc Suzuki but he said he was prepared to leave his bike in the garage and don the official robes for official occasions."

Mr Christian's answer possibly saved him from being evaluated in the verbal text as totally 'unclerical' but the visual image has ensured that he is 'not like' the reader, anyway. Mr Christian might have been newsworthy on 'unusuality' but any potential 'relevance' or 'like me' meaning in the 'cleric on a motor-bike' representation would certainly appear to have been short-circuited. For the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* reader, it seems that 'not like me' can be realised by the horizontal camera angle (non-involvement) or the vertical camera angle ('superior' to me).

This text provides an interesting contrast in visual construction to its *Sydney Morning Herald* equivalent ("New threat to women clergy" SMH 3.7.92) (Figure 31) which used the upwards camera angle to encode superiority, then evaluated negatively in the verbal text.

Having considered the use of the horizontal camera angle in *Daily Telegraph Mirror* texts, I now turn to *The Age*, the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Australian*. In the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Australian*, the use of the front-on camera angle appears to be associated in part with text size. The larger the photograph, the more likely camera angle will be front-on. Text size and front-on angle could be regarded therefore as related features of a positive evaluation. Let us consider minor differences between these three newspapers.

The Australian

The Australian, while conforming to the trend in general, actually constructed more mid-size photographs with male as represented participant with a front-on perspective than large or small ones.²² Among the large photographs, *The Australian* also had a significant number with a slight-angled or angled construction.²³ The number of angled representations exceeded significantly, those of the other newspapers. The year 1992 occasioned the majority of angled representations in large photographs.²⁴

The photograph with the most angled perspective is part of "Church paid to halt ordination" (Aust 13.10.92) (Figure 72). The verbal text revealed that the Diocese of Sydney had approved payment of court costs for the plaintiffs (and defendants, which was declined by them). Interestingly, as with the vertical camera angle, one can trace the origin of Archbishop Robinson's horizontal angled construction (non-involvement) (with slightly downwards and not upwards vertical camera angle) back to the text "Women deacons court elusive justice" (Aust 24.1.92) in which he was visually associated with the legal action, outside the law courts. If one assumes consistency of meaning between visual image and verbal text it would seem that *The Australian's* implicit negative verbal evaluation of a church matter having been taken to the secular courts, is encoded also in photographs.

I noted earlier the dominance of Bishop Dowling as a visually represented participant during 1992. In *The Australian*, he as defendant, appears to be evaluated more positively than Archbishop Robinson, who is visually associated with the plaintiffs. One sees this in the text

"Ordination row bigger than any court" (Aust 13.2.92) (Figure 73). There Bishop Dowling is depicted from level vertical camera angle, and, although given a slight-angled horizontal construction, social affinity is created through the close, intimate camera distance, as the bishop is caught wiping (a tear from?) his eye. The lack of contextualisation fosters some symbolic abstraction as well, suggesting a 'victim' construction, which is consistent with the verbal text's attention to his affective mental processes.

For *The Australian*, the low upwards camera angle would seem to accompany clergy otherwise constructed with high credibility. However, at times the level camera angle, if combined with large text size and a visual suggestion of social affinity, can encode an equally positive evaluation. *The Australian* would appear to value most highly, male participants who are usually 'superior' to the reader.

The Age

Photographic constructions in *The Age* in large-front-on texts do not reveal any clear leaning towards either pro-ordination or anti-ordination participants. A range of persons have an 'involvement' construction. These 1989/90 texts mark either new appointments, or visiting priests, with the exception of one, which depicts a group of bishops.²⁵

In 1992 *The Age* would appear to have stressed 'unity' meanings, like *The Australian*, in a 'reconciliation' photograph at the time of the July General Synod (Figure 74). Archbishops Hollingworth and Robinson are shown together from a level camera angle in both *The*

Australian and *The Age* photographs. In *The Australian*, they are depicted front-on, in an equal relation to each other and the viewer. In *The Age*, however, Archbishop Robinson (against ordination) appears to defer to Archbishop Hollingworth (for ordination). The visual difference between the two photographs is paralleled in the headlines. *The Age's* headline evaluates the situation as "Women priests a step closer" (Age 8.7.92) (progress meaning), while *The Australian's* headline stresses unity.²⁶

Sydney Morning Herald

In the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the front-on angle is preferred both in mid-size and large photographs. In small photographs there is a more even spread.²⁷ I note again the large number of small photographs, some composite texts having more than one. Interestingly, the subjects of large (salient) photographs with the front-on horizontal angle tend to be, though are not exclusively, the male clerical and episcopal supporters of women's ordination.²⁸ Two exceptions are the Rev Bruce Christian (SMH 3.7.90), evaluated in the headline as "New threat to women clergy", a text discussed earlier, and Dean Boak Jobbins, newly appointed to St Andrew's Cathedral.

Dean Jobbin's construction in "New dean aims to heal Anglican rift" (SMH 29.7.92) (Figure 75), marks a change in *Sydney Morning Herald* evaluation of clergy, possibly consistent with a media 'honeymoon' period for a new appointee. Also atypical is the non-clerical dress and contextualisation with a Bible.

It would seem possible that Mr Jobbins has been constructed as credible and evaluated positively (through social affinity and involvement encodings), because his view has been evaluated as coinciding with that held by newspapers generally in 1992. That is, that the resolution of the ordination issue should be pluralistic and achieved constitutionally. That the construction is more 'positive' than 'negative' is further implied by the size of the photograph, which is approximately three times the spatial area of the verbal text.

Conclusion

The following conclusions can be drawn following analysis of photographs depicting male subjects.

First, men are usually depicted alone. Group constructions are the exception. This contrasts with the group construction often chosen for women participants. Bishops seeking to ordain women are sometimes depicted with women deacons, as is Bishop Dowling in 1992.

Second, the low upwards camera angle would seem to accompany other evaluations of high credibility in *The Australian*, and to a lesser degree in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*, than in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, in relation to male clerical participants. In the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the most positive evaluations would seem to be realised by level front-on camera angles within a large photograph (equal-to or greater in size than the verbal). This is argued on the basis of photographs of Professor Fred Hollows as a comparison. The participants so

depicted in the *Sydney Morning Herald* are generally participants with pro-ordination views. The *Sydney Morning Herald* did use the low upward angle, but an example has been given where this facilitated a highly credible but negative evaluation and a more complex 'martyr' evaluation.

Analysis of this sample of texts suggests that *The Australian* evaluates most positively, men who are clergy (except when they take a church matter to a secular court). Bishops have highest credibility in *The Age*. The *Sydney Morning Herald* on the other hand reserves social affinity and high credibility encodings for men who are 'victims' of 'the system', or those who help 'the underdog', including it would seem, women. Male clergy have low credibility in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*, but are nevertheless expected to behave 'like clergy'.

Third, the layout positions for participants are not constant, but appear to change according to current definition of the issue. This contrasts with the more constant 'ideal' position for women deacons or female advocates of women's ordination, whose image could be understood to carry more consistently, a 'progress' for women meaning. Thus, analyses over time using the Kress - van Leeuwen model may not in general be as revealing (or valid) as comparative analyses for the same event across newspapers, as some of my analysis has shown.

Fourth, some photographs more obviously than others require a reading with the verbal text to 'make sense' of the construction. This is the case particularly with constructions that use irony, and ones that challenge cultural expectations, as in the case of the downwards camera angle in relation to Archbishop Penman, probably to realise his servant-like ministry role. Thus, there

are limitations, both to the model as a grid to decipher the ideology behind the construction of the photograph, and in the ability of photographs to encode independent stand-alone meaning.

It is possible, moreover, that 'evaluation' and involvement/ power depictions are not the same, but linked. I will suggest in Chapter Five that news discourse has structuring characteristics. It is to these values that some of the features of visual images may relate rather than to an ideological or ethical judgment of represented participants.

Before identifying participants with their views on women's ordination in non-news discourse form, and contrasting those with their representation in the mediated debate, I will look briefly at cartoons.

Endnotes to Chapter 3.4

1. Numbers for the main years studied were as follows: 1987: 27; 1989: 31; 1992: 59.
2. That *Sydney Morning Herald* religious reporter, Alan Gill, is English may predispose him to the British connection, but this is just one factor, another one being access to ready-made overseas news through newsagencies. It is important to note that the Anglican Church of Australia is not connected to the Church of England in Great Britain in terms of ecclesiastical authority. They are simply two provinces in the Anglican Communion. This predisposition to regard British Anglicanism as newsworthy may, however, encourage in the reader a mistaken belief in a link via legislative reality. Or, it may reflect a media preoccupation with legislation. See further discussion, Chapter Five.
3. Of 16 composite texts, 4 related non-ordination matters back to the women's ordination debate.
4. Only five texts represented Archbishop Robinson visually in 1992.

5. See for example, "Friends rush to support a bishop who stands accused" SMH 10.4.92; "Threat won't deter bishop's feminism" SMH 11.1.92; "Court may stay out of unholy fight" SMH 25.1.92 ; "Court rules today on women priests" DTM 28.1.92; "Bishop risks court for women priests" Aust 18-19.1.92.

6. SMH: 23 texts.

7. Age: 12, DTM: 10, Aust: 7.

8. Aust: 17, Age: 13, SMH: 12, DTM: 6.

9. Aust: 23, SMH and Age: 13 each, DTM: 6.

10. 28 upwards angled photographs in total: Aust (15), DT (7), SMH (3), Age (3). As an interesting aside, in *The Australian* and *Daily Telegraph Mirror*, the upwards camera angle is also more common when the journalist is male.

11. 62 photographs in total: Aust (22), DT (4), SMH (17), Age (18).

12. Only 6 photographs in total: Age (2), Aust (2), DTM (1), SMH (1).

13. There were seven photographs in total that depicted male participants from a low upwards camera angle cf four from a level camera angle.

14. Peter Kaldor, *Who Goes Where, Who Doesn't Care*, (Sydney, Anzea, 1988). The higher the education and income levels, the greater the likelihood of Anglican attendance.

15. See "Bishop defying church in plan to ordain women" Aust 4.9.90; "Clergy gives Archbishop of Canterbury mixed blessings: concern over Jesus in jeans attitude" Aust 25.4.91.

16. This is a clear contrast to *The Australian's* tendency towards the upwards vertical camera angle when depicting him, as in, with angled horizontal construction, "Bishop defying church in plan to ordain women" (Aust 4.9.90). Cf "Archbishop says Bible backs court action" Aust 17.12.92; "Church split turmoil" Aust 18.4.92; "Synod approves women" Aust 18.7.92; "Retiring archbishop pines for harmony in God's house" Aust 30-31.1.93.

The exception was a large photograph, that depicted him from an upwards camera angle, and carried an ambiguous evaluation in a 'superior' visual construction, but with low verbal modality ("claims") attached to his view in the headline ("Women's ordinations invalid, claims bishop" Aust 21.12.92). The theme of the text was the archbishop's evaluation of the ordinations of women to the priesthood that took place in November - December 1992, and which he regarded as being invalid. It is a text that continues an anti-ordination discourse (unity meanings), evident in *The Australian* throughout the period but less so in 1989.

17. "First women priests in 1990 Penman decides" Age 15.10.87; "Women priest vote the best we could get, says bishop", Age 25.8.89.

18. See "Moves likely for women priests in US" SMH 20.9.89 ; "New threat to women clergy" SMH 3.7.90 ; "Anglicans fear differences will turn to split" SMH 6.7.92; "New Anglican group aims to heal ordination rift" SMH 26.2.92.
19. DTM:10 cf SMH:9, Aust:2, Age:5.
20. Refer to earlier discussion of texts that focussed on two-clergy marriages.
21. "Ordination of women may divide Anglicans" DT 25.8.87; "'Don't ordain women' archbishop" DTM 21.1.92.
22. Large:9, mid:11, small:2.
23. Six photographs for each category.
24. Of those six large photographs with an angled construction, four arose out of the 1992 debate, one belonged to a 1990 and one to a 1987 text.
25. See Age 21.3.89 "A Bishop who met Jesus in the Koran" (Bishop Nazir Ali); Age 4.4.89 "Hope in controversy" (Bishop John Hughes UK); Age 27.7.90 "Bishop smiles a trip from East End to Canterbury" (Archbishops Runcie and Carey); Age 31.7.90 "Rayner elected archbishop" (Archbishop Rayner); Age 1.8.90 "A journey of faith" (Archbishop Rayner); Age 20.11.90 "Bishops divided on use of ordination power" (group).
26. See "Women priests a step closer" Age 8.7.92 cf "Church unity as elusive as decisions" Aust 8.7.92.
27. Mid size: 7 front on, 2 slight angle, 3 angled; large: 8 front on, 4 slight angle, 2 angled; small: 9 front on, 9 slight angle, 5 angled.
28. See SMH 26.2.88, Tony McCarthy (Sydney layman); SMH 20.9.89 Roman Catholic US priest forecasting women priests; SMH 4.10.89 Archbishop Runcie (front-on) with Pope (angled); SMH 27.7.90 Archbishop Carey; SMH 10.4.92 Bishop Owen Dowling.

Chapter 3

Cartoons: a special category of visual image

3.5 Evaluation through cartoons

Cartoons in a sense, 'blueprint' an issue. Just as a caricature represents the 'essential' characteristics of a participant, borrowing from the scientific coding orientation as suggested in Chapter 3.2, so do cartoons. They, however, take the evaluation a step further by introducing verbal text. Newspaper cartoons about women's ordination to the priesthood are therefore of particular interest because it is possible that they are more ideologically transparent than the verbal news texts. Indeed, van Dijk argues that "if arguments fail, ridicule is a potent strategic move to discredit one's opponents".¹ For these reasons they demand attention.

Cartoons about the women's ordination for the 1987-92 period in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Age* were usually inset type cartoons that accompany photographs and verbal text in the news section of the paper. Those in the *Daily Telegraph (Mirror)* and *The Australian* were in large format and found on the same page as the editorial. The latter were thus stand-alone opinion texts. Given this, to be consistent, one would need to analyse all opinion texts, including editorials and columns, along with free-standing cartoons. I will therefore make only a few brief comments and leave analysis of 'opinion' texts to other researchers.

In the *Daily Telegraph/Mirror*, while humour was constructed at the expense of intending women priests on occasion, it very clearly laughs at church: a *male church* (DT 27.8.89; DTM 24.1.92). This is consistent with my suggestion that 'church' is generally not very evident, or highly credible, in the pages of this newspaper, and my finding that women's ordination is constructed in the field of feminism rather than church.

Humour constructed around the 1992 Supreme Court of N.S.W. case is common to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* and *The Australian*. The fact of the matter having gone to court is seen to be onerous and inappropriate (Aust 29.1.92). Justice Rogers' protestations about a church matter being brought to secular law, and his desire that he not go down in history as the judge who presided over the breakup of the Anglican Church, occasioned a cartoon in which the judge fails to show up at the hearing having "gone fishing". This is compatible with *The Australian's* focus in verbal texts on legal actors, particularly Justice Rogers.

In the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the law is seen to have been forced to act like God (SMH 31.1.92) with the unfortunate judge resorting to a do-it-yourself lightning rod strike kit. This draws intertextually on earlier humour over a lightning strike during a Lambeth Conference of bishops in Britain, humorously interpreted by those present, and picked up by the press, to signify God's wrath on Durham Cathedral and its liberal bishop. If the purpose of the cartoon is ridicule, then the (Sydney) church is implicitly evaluated negatively for having allowed scripture to be interpreted by the judiciary. Male clerics are evaluated as hypocritical in not practising what they preach ("Reverend women must wait, say judges" SMH 1.2.92).

Later in the debate (SMH 4.7.92), when the N.S.W. Court of Appeal finally handed down its decision that bishops in N.S.W. could legally ordain women without General Synod enabling legislation, the court is again given 'god-like' attributes, its decision being welcomed with open arms by a woman. This may be more a comedy of situation than strong ridicule. *Church* is the butt of the joke.

In *The Age* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* cartoons framed within news texts, the women are a credible threat. The male clerics are depicted as being embattled and suspicious of the aggression and activism of the seemingly pious women (Age 31.1.92). After initial refusal of the N.S.W. Supreme Court to grant an injunction to stop Bishop Owen Dowling (although this was granted later following an appeal), God is depicted as being on the side of the women (Age and SMH 29.1.92). Feminism has the upper hand.

Indeed, the women participants have been constructed as credible in all cartoons. They are capable, resolute and effective even if church/Christianity is evaluated as silly. In one cartoon so credible are they that they even outsmart God (ST 8.3.92). In other instances they are pious, but also sneaky and unpredictable. Such evaluations rest on stereotypes. The cartoons in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* in particular gain mileage out of the stereotyped appearance of the women as either matronly or underweight (DTM 9.3.92).

However, there is also a male clerical stereotype: balding, usually wizened and ageing. By comparison, the male clerics are not at all credible. They are out of touch. They have been outwitted. Where both 'church' and 'feminism' have been evaluated as 'silly', the female

participants usually survive the humour as more credible than their male counterparts (DTM 24.1.92; 29.1.92).

I conclude that the evaluations in cartoons are largely consistent with those constructed verbally in texts but allow for humour at the expense of church as a whole not so evident in verbal texts. I will turn now to the identification of discourses (and associated participants) in the debate from non-news text sources. The relationship between verbal and visual evaluations and ideology will be then be discussed.

Endnotes to Chapter 3.5

1. Teun A. van Dijk, *Racism and the Press*, (London, Routledge, 1991) pp 192-3.