

Appendix

Analysis of samples of verbal texts: 1987, 1989, 1992.

Trends identified from the detailed analysis of synod and non-synod texts have been outlined and illustrated in Chapter 2.2. This Appendix offers detailed analysis of texts in addition to those cited to illustrate trends in that Chapter and is the basis of the conclusions drawn there. 'Synod' texts are those newspaper articles which arise out of meetings of synods (assemblies of bishops, clergy and parish-elected non-ordained (lay) members of the Anglican Church). The samples chosen report on the 1987, 1989 and 1992 General Synods. Non-synod texts for 1987 and 1989 are taken from the entire year. Because of the plethora of news reports in 1992, reports of specific events have been studied: the intended ordination in the Diocese of Canberra-Goulburn and the first ordinations to the priesthood.

Analysis of news texts: 1987

A sample of 68 news texts, excluding columns and features was analysed for 1987. Of these, 22 were texts from the Special General Synod in August. The trends identified are based primarily on the analysis of these 22 texts, but with reference to others. Texts discussed in detail have been chosen to represent the range of the 1987 sample. They can therefore be taken as typical.

1987 Special General Synod

Female represented participants were constructed as subject with active voice verb prior to the 1987 synod session, in effect, setting the synod agenda. During the synod debate headlines featured women as the object of the action:

"Close vote expected on women priests"	Aust	24.8.87
"Women priests: voting narrows"	Aust	25.8.87
"Fate of women priests in Anglican Church rests on one bishop"	Age	25.8.87
"Synod rejects women priests"	Age	26.8.87
"Synod rejection riles women"	Aust	26.8.87

Following the vote the mental processes of (the) women (or their supporters) featured. This helped to construct them as victims:

"The pain of almost being a priest"	DT	27.8.87
"Women must 'suffer with Jesus' for priesthood"	Aust	27.8.87
"Fury, tears over veto on women (Women lose vote on priesthood)"	DT	26.8.87
"Penman 'appalled' at synod decision"	Age	27.8.87
"Sons for ministry but not daughters (implied pain and rejection)"	SMH	27.8.87

The other category of headline was that which focused on a possible constitutional division - a unity discourse - with varying degrees of heightened vocabulary:

"Ordination of women raises fears of split church"	SMH	12.8.87
"Anglicans plan break over ordination of women"	Age	13.8.87
"Row over women priests revives"	DT	19.8.87
"Ordination of women may divide Anglicans"	DT	25.8.87
"Battle ahead for women's ordination"	SMH	25.8.87
"Women priests: battle is lost"	SMH	26.8.87
"Schism a joke to some, a shock to others"	SMH	2.9.87

The finding from this sample of synod headlines is that "the women" clearly are characterised as protagonists, being in the active voice in headlines prior to the synod. There is also a token of favourable judgment towards them through the reporting of their (or their supporters') affective mental processes after the vote.¹

In headlines in which the women are not the protagonists, the actor is either an existential process (fate) or a proposition (women priests) or through the use of intensified vocabulary, heightened credibility is given to the synod vote ("Synod rejection riles women" Aust 26.8.87). One notes the use of heightened vocabulary in relation to disunity meanings, particularly evident in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. That disunity is expressed as nominalised subject, particularly in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph*, may suggest however, the issue's relatively low news value relative to other issues.

I will now highlight characteristics of 1987 reporting with particular attention to the Special General Synod. For each newspaper, sources for texts will be marked (p) for a pro-ordination participant, (a) for an anti-ordination participant, occasionally qualified by © for a compromise view, and (na) for a view not directly relevant to a 'for' or 'against' position. These markings have been made according to whether participants are overtly or implicitly identified as 'for' or 'against' in the text.

Daily Telegraph

Note the selection of spokespersons and headlines in *Daily Telegraph* reporting on the 1987 Special General Synod.

Headlines:

- 19.8.87 "Row over women priests revives"
- 25.8.87 "Ordination of women may divide Anglicans"
- 26.8.87 "Women lose vote on priesthood"
- 27.8.87 "The pain of almost being a priest"

Sources:

- 19.8.87 Journalist, Dr Pat Brennan (MOW) (p), journalist, Dr Brennan (p but functional)
- 25.8.87 Journalist, Dr Pat Brennan (MOW) (p), Archbishop Robinson (a-unity), Archbishop Grindrod (p but c), journalist
- 26.8.87 Journalist, Ruth Sturmey (MOW) (p), journalist, Dr Pat Brennan (MOW) (p)
- 27.8.87 Journalist, Colleen O'Reilly-Stewart (MOW) (p), journalist, Colleen O'Reilly-Stewart (p), journalist, Colleen O'Reilly-Stewart (p)

All texts had nominalised subject, which detracts from the significance of participants as actors. However, of all the newspapers in 1987 reporting, the *Daily Telegraph* was the one to construct the spokespersons of the Movement for the Ordination of Women with greatest credibility, in that entire texts were constructed around a M.O.W. perspective. This may reflect an uncritical use of press releases. It may also imply a low priority on church, but that feminism was newsworthy.

"Row over women priests revives" (DT 19.8.87) previews the synod through the view of Dr Patricia Brennan for M.O.W.. Credibility is built up through the reporting of its membership numbers (measure):

"The group, which has a membership of about 700 (both men and women) issued statements this week ...".

M.O.W. is also given the last word, through the voice of Dr Patricia Brennan. Her view defines the functions of the priesthood and indicates that it is the presidency over communion which distinguishes it from the diaconate. The concept of a 'conscience clause' in the legislation to be debated is negatively evaluated in the voice of the journalist as the "so-called conscience clause". Thus, what could have been evaluated as conscientious objection was negatively evaluated in line with Dr Brennan's view, but perhaps with some distance encoded. The D.S.P Report maintains that print journalism allows for wider use of such words than other media. However, evaluations such as "row" may discourage reader affinity with either 'side'.

Dr Brennan is also the only voice included in a report on moves within the Church of England UK to allow women priests. In "Hope for women priests" (DT 28.7.87), apart from the journalist, it is Dr Brennan who provides the evaluation and is given the first/last word:

"National President for the Movement for the Ordination of Women in Australia Dr Patricia Brennan believes the British decision will remove local barriers.

"This is fantastic. This is a decision of the mother church, so it's quite significant for us,' she said."

By implication, all other participants and their views are of lower credibility. ²

In "Ruling opens priesthood to women" (DT 6.3.87) the text similarly focuses on the view of Dr Brennan. The final word, however, is that of the journalist referring to Archbishop Robinson as having voted against the canon for women deacons. He is constructed as having credibility as "one of the most outspoken opponents of the ordination of women into the church". However, the space given to Dr Brennan's view is much greater, making it arguably more salient.

The *Daily Telegraph* appears to have been the newspaper more likely to focus on the affective mental processes of intending women priests or deacons, thus promoting social affinity between reader and represented participant as in "The pain of almost being a priest" (DT 27.8.87).³

However, M.O.W. participants are also constructed as radical. The emotion attributed to them is not passive but aggressive. They are not hurt or sad. They are angry and impatient for change. Consider the lead and opening evaluation of the Rev Alison Cheek in "Why Reverend Alison is angry" (DT 23.6.87):

"The question on Alison Cheek's lips is 'How long can a good woman wait?'

"When she was growing up in Adelaide, she thought she belonged to an egalitarian society where she had the same opportunities as her brother.

"Now at the age of 55 she says that anger is an appropriate emotion for a woman."

Later in the text the label of "women's liberationist" is floated, and while the journalist reports Mrs Cheek's rejection of that label ("she favours all liberation"), essentially that evaluation has been implied. Nevertheless, reference to Mrs Cheek's affective mental processes - "if women are denied ordination she feels many will leave the church" - still promotes social affinity and positions the reader to adopt her point of view.

The radical persona is also tempered in part by the most salient part of the text: a photograph of Mrs Cheek placed in the 'ideal' position, and occupies one and one half times the space of the verbal text. With a front-on perspective and equal power relation and direct gaze, the involvement of the reader is invited and social affinity promoted.

Only two texts feature a male participant.⁴ Archbishop Desmond Tutu's credibility is borrowed from his existing media profile and established in the lead:

"Nobel peace prize winner, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, yesterday entered a highly controversial and divisive debate within the Australian Anglican Church by giving staunch support to the ordination of women." ("Tutu gives his blessing to the ordination of women" DT 6.2.87.)

He is described later in the text as "famed anti-apartheid campaigner". This borrowing of credibility from one discourse to another would tend to support my hypothesis, stated in the Introduction and developed in Chapter Two, that a positive evaluation in the truth/ethics modal categories in the judgment system, follows from high credibility in the categories of unusuality, capacity and inclination. I return to this 'carry over' credibility in Chapter Four. Note, however, that the evaluation of the issue as a "highly controversial and divisive debate" implicitly may discourage social affinity between reader and all assumed participants.

In summary, while pro-ordination participants are the most highly credible, the evaluations only in part promote social affinity between reader and female protagonists. There is some ambiguity. There are instances also where the reader is distanced from all participants.

The Australian

The Australian, on the other hand, appears to have been the newspaper most receptive to the view of anti-ordination participants. Consider the choice of spokespersons around which texts are structured in the General Synod reporting.

Headlines:

- 24.8.87 "Close vote expected on women priests"
- 25.8.87 "Women priests: voting narrows"
- 26.8.87 "Synod rejection riles women"
- 27.8.87 "Women must suffer with Jesus for the priesthood"

Three texts place nominalised subject in first position. One atypically constructed women in active voice with a modal. Choice of spokespersons demonstrates receptiveness to anti-ordination views.

Sources:

- 24.8.87 Journalist, members of MOW (p), Dr Patricia Brennan (p), journalist, Dr Patricia Brennan (p)
- 25.8.87 Journalist, Archbishop Robinson (a), Archbishop Grindrod (c), Bishop Dowling (p), Rev Dr Paul Barnett (a)
- 26.8.87 Journalist, Archbishop Penman (p)
- 27.8.87 Archbishop Grindrod (p but c), journalist, Archbishop Carnley (p), Archbishop Robinson (a)

A text that constructs a participant opposed to the ordination of women as highly credible is "Anglican priest defects" (Aust 28.4.87). It records the intention of Anglican priest, Father John Fleming, to leave the Anglican Church to become a lay member of the Catholic Church. Consider the use of evaluative adjectives and adjectival phrases in the journalist's description. He is "one of South Australia's best known ministers of religion"; "a former radio personality and regular newspaper columnist" and "a leading light". This evaluation encodes the modality principle of potentiality. Note in particular the reference to his media activities, a self-referential criterion of credibility. The latter phrase, "leading light" suggests also 'truth' quality and his authoritativeness, both reflective of the modality principle of probability. Fr Fleming is also constructed as "the first South Australian priest to 'defect'". This evaluation encodes the modality principle of uniqueness. His action is rated as historically significant. Consider also the use of nominalisation. Fr Fleming's is "a lifetime of dedication", while leaving the Anglican Church was "perhaps the hardest decision of his life".

Adverbs are also used in the evaluation of Fr Fleming. He is said to have "personally tendered his resignation". The modality principle of inclination has been encoded, and in suggesting the care with which the decision was taken it incorporates an affective mental process component. All of these evaluations, with the exception of the qualification "perhaps", and the term "'defect'", realise high credibility with tokens of positive evaluation for this participant.

The use of heightened vocabulary - 'defect' rather than 'leave' - encodes negativity which may position the reader at odds with the participant. However, any negative impact is softened by the use of 'scare quotes'. That Mr Fleming "announced his decision yesterday in an emotional

address" stresses affective mental processes and further positions the reader to evaluate Fr Fleming positively. One notes also that the headline, "Anglican priest defects", places Fr Fleming in the role of protagonist. That his intention to leave also occupies the lead further constructs his credibility.

By no means, however, are all texts in *The Australian* constructed as giving a more positive evaluation to anti-ordination participants. Consider the text "Women in the priesthood by 1992, says Archbishop" (Aust 7.3.87). Here, Dr Penman is in the active voice in the headline (even if in last position), which is constructed as a prediction. His view is reported extensively in the voice of the journalist, implying some degree of ownership, using the median modality "said". He is also quoted.

The second participant, the Rev Heather Marten is constructed as welcoming the Appellate Tribunal decision which prompted Dr Penman's statement. Both are evaluated as having rejected the view that a 'split' would occur or that ecumenism (a theological 'unity' meaning) would be harmed. Dr Penman is given the last word. Views that may dissent from Dr Penman's or Ms Marten's are not canvassed. By implication they are of low credibility. They are simply "claims by opponents".

This is a text that implicitly encodes high credibility for these (pro-ordination) participants and their 'progress' views while considering 'unity' concerns. It addresses quite a different reading position to the one featuring Fr John Fleming, for example. This may mean that *The Australian* in 1987, on this issue, was addressing two categories of reader.

Unity, however, is the dominant meaning in the Special General Synod text "Women must suffer with Jesus for the priesthood" (Aust 27.8.87). There one finds the unusual presence of a modal in the headline. However, the 'must' is not directed in favour of the ordination of women, but in favour of patience and acceptance that this may not eventuate. The first word is given to the Primate, Archbishop Sir John Grindrod, a participant in favour of women's ordination to the priesthood. However, his prominence here is related to his advocacy of 'patience' on the part of women which serves in effect to support the status quo. Implicit in his view is the importance of unity being preserved. While Archbishop Peter Carnley, a pro-ordination participant, is given second voice, it is an opponent of women as priests, Archbishop Donald Robinson, who is given the last word, confirming the positioning of the reader away from a pro-ordination stance.

Other non-modal features support this analysis. Archbishop Peter Carnley is described as "a strong proponent of women's ordination" and his affective mental processes are recorded:

"A strong proponent of women's ordination, the Archbishop of Perth, the Most Rev Peter Carnley, said yesterday that he had been 'devastated' by the women's reaction."

However, the use of 'but' to introduce the participant, Archbishop Donald Robinson, encourages greater reader identity with his view than that of Dr Carnley:

"But the church faction leader who fought strongly against the ordination Bill, the Archbishop of Sydney, the Most Rev Donald Robinson, said he was "grateful" Synod rejected the legislation."

Thus, while the headline appears to be 'pro' women, and the photograph depicts a pro-ordination participant (Sir John Grindrod), the text's evaluative strategies lean the reader towards the status quo, and possibly an anti-ordination view, on the basis of unity.

A higher credibility is similarly encoded for anti-ordination participants in "Women priests: voting narrows" (Aust 25.8.87). Archbishop Robinson is given first word and Dr Paul Barnett, the last. The reader is positioned also to evaluate Dr Barnett's view more credibly by the use of "but" to introduce it. The text is notable for the absence of pro-ordination Bishop Owen Dowling and Bishop Bruce Wilson's contributions as found in *The Age* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* equivalent texts. However, even in *The Australian*, where anti-ordination participants are more credibly represented, two female church workers who spoke in the synod debate against the ordination of women, Mrs Janis Donohoo and Deaconess Narelle Jarrett, are not represented.⁵

There is ambivalence, if not negativity at times, towards M.O.W. participants. They are credible, but evaluated as radical. They lack positive social affinity indicators, as in "Woman priest offered pastoral work" (Aust 24.6.87). In the synod text "Synod rejection riles women" (Aust 26.8.87) they are "angry women" who "staged a noisy demonstration". Social affinity is discouraged. They are participants who are socially disruptive. However, in "Close vote expected on women priests" (Aust 24.8.87) some social affinity is encouraged through reference to the affective mental processes of M.O.W..

It would appear that social affinity indicators are more often evident in relation to M.O.W. participants in *The Australian* when the journalist is female.

Another kind of ambivalence is found in the text, "Archbishop to ordain women in 1990" (Aust 15.10.87). Archbishop Penman is constructed as highly credible, given that he is in first place in the headline, even with an infinitive. The lead endorses his credibility by focusing on his announced intention to ordain women as priests. The voice of the journalist follows, with anti-ordination participant, Archbishop Donald Robinson, being the first spokesperson quoted. He is followed by Archbishop Penman, and the journalist. Ms Simondson, a deacon in the Diocese of Melbourne in favour of the ordination of women as priests, is, however, allocated the 'last word'.

Given that the headline and last word have preferred pro-ordination participants, can the text be said to incline the reader towards that view? The labelling of the actors implies otherwise. While the Archbishop of Melbourne is described as "Archbishop of Melbourne, Dr David Penman", Archbishop Donald Robinson is evaluated as more effective:

"The most influential Anglican figure opposed to women clergy, the Archbishop of Sydney, Dr Donald Robinson

"Although Dr Penman's advocacy of women clergy has the support of many powerful figures in the Anglican Church including its primate Sir John Grindrod and the Archbishop of Perth, Dr Peter Carnley, it is Archbishop Robinson who has regularly been able to marshall the numbers."

The word 'although' is also crucial. The sentence could be constructed another way:

"Dr Penman's advocacy of women clergy has the support of many powerful figures in the Anglican Church including its primate Sir John Grindrod and the Archbishop of Perth, Dr Peter Carnley. *But* it is Archbishop Robinson who has regularly been able to marshall the numbers."

This reconstruction more clearly indicates the higher credibility of Donald Robinson implicit in 'although'. In this text, while some of the most salient verbal features (headline, lead, last word) implicitly encode greater credibility for the pro-ordination view, the labelling of participants inclines the reader towards an anti-ordination spokesperson. Either both reading positions are being addressed, or the hand of the sub-editor has brought some 'balance' to the text.

These 'balancing' features are seen again in the text "Women deacons face veto" (Aust 16.10.87). The main body of text focuses on Archbishop Donald Robinson and his opposition, in this case, to a bill to enable the ordination of women as deacons in the Diocese of Sydney. Archbishop Robinson is labelled "a powerful figure among those in the Anglican Church opposing women's ordination". His view is reported in the voice of the journalist suggesting some degree of ownership, as well as being quoted. He is the only source for the text, other participants and views thus being evaluated by implication, as less credible. However, the more salient features, the headline, and the subheading "substantial" (support for women's ministries), implicitly incline the reader towards a pro-ordination position.

It is notable that in 1987 reporting in *The Australian*, the participants in the debate opposed to the ordination of women who feature in news texts include those whose position falls within the Sacramental (Anglo-Catholic) tradition and those from the Biblical (Evangelical) tradition. As suggested in Chapter Four, Archbishop Donald Robinson's view finds common ground with the Anglo-Catholic view in the signifier "Apostolic ministry". His statements would appear to be judged compatible with this view as with the media discourse of 'unity', which subsumes the ecumenical discourse within itself, as will be argued in Chapter Four. This may explain his prominence.

From *The Australian* texts for 1987 I conclude tentatively, therefore, that two distinct reading positions on the ordination of women were being addressed; one 'for', the other 'against'.

Spokespersons against the ordination of women were identified usually, though not always, with 'unity' meanings. *The Australian* was the newspaper most likely to evaluate anti-ordination participants as highly credible in the General Synod reporting period.

The Age

Early in 1987, *The Age* reflected a news orientation similar to that of *The Australian*. Fr John Fleming's move to the Catholic Church and the visit of overseas clergy were both newsworthy.

One can compare *The Age* text "Anglican priest and family turn to Rome for salvation" (Age, 27.4.87) on Fr John Fleming's move to the Catholic Church, with *The Australian* text, cited above. Like *The Australian* text, this one encodes Fr Fleming with high credibility not least because of his media work and social involvement:

"After 17 years as an Anglican priest and an influential conservative, Mr Fleming's loss is a big blow to Anglicanism ... member of the Anglican Social Responsibilities Commission ... own radio program and a regular column in an Adelaide newspaper ... a leader among Anglicans opposed to liberalism."

More than in *The Australian* text, there is an interest in theological meanings, and the focus of the text is less towards the women's ordination issue. Fr Fleming was similarly encoded with high credibility in the text "Doom seen in verdict on women priests" (Age 5.3.87). Here, his view in relation to unity was mentioned in the lead and in the last word position.

In the reporting of the visit of Bishop Rutherford, an overseas bishop opposed to the ordination of women ("Ordain women at your peril" Age 21.3.87) one notes his description. He is simply "of the Anglican Catholic Church", there being no labelling of role or status. This lack of status may signify reduced credibility, given that he belongs to a splinter church of the Episcopal

(Anglican) Church of the U.S.A. (E.C.U.S.A.). The concept of consensus is discussed further in Chapter Four. ⁶ Within the texts mentioned thus far, 'unity' meanings were stressed.

In an April news report, Dr Brennan and Archbishop Donald Robinson were constructed as being "at loggerheads" over the ordination of women ("Archbishop, women clash over ordination" Age 23.4.87). Note that in the headline, the archbishop has the first position of higher credibility. Note too, however, that the reference to female opponents is in the plural. This plural construction may encode a gender solidarity. It may also evaluate women's ordination as belonging to the field of feminism.

In the lead, it is Dr Patricia Brennan as President of M.O.W., who is given first position. She is also constructed in the active voice and given the 'first word', her view being reported (rather than quoted) and thus to some degree 'owned' by the journalist:

"The movement's national president, Dr Patricia Brennan, yesterday attacked Archbishop Robinson for his unyielding opposition to the ordination of women deacons and priests. She said Archbishop Robinson was forcing Sydney's Anglican women into a ghetto and preventing those with theological training from using their talents in the ordained ministry."

The text goes on to record the affective mental processes (anger) of Dr Brennan and the Sydney branch of the movement. The following two paragraphs similarly reported Dr Brennan's view in the words of the journalist.

By comparison, Archbishop Robinson is given the last word, but his view is quoted. Thus, although he occupies first position in the headline, and has 'last word', the body of the text implicitly constructs Dr Brennan as the more credible participant. One is left to speculate on whether, while the journalist evaluated Dr Brennan as the more credible participant, the hand of the sub-editor provided a structural construction that favoured the Archbishop of Sydney, possibly to provide 'balance'.⁷ Alternatively, as for *The Australian*, two reading positions were perhaps being addressed: one favouring the ordination of women, the other against.

By the time of the Special General Synod, M.O.W. president, Dr Patricia Brennan, is constructed with credibility in texts both verbally and structurally. One notes that M.O.W. is constructed as active voice subject in one headline prior to the synod.⁸ However, male clerical and episcopal participants are the preferred sources for synod reporting.

Headlines:

19.8.87	"A fighter intent on women being priests"
24.8.87	"Anglican women in candlelit vigil outside synod"
25.8.87	"Fear may be behind ordination debate"
25.8.87	"Fate of women priests in Anglican Church rests on one bishop"
26.8.87	"Synod rejects women priests"
27.8.87	"Penman 'appalled' at synod decision"

Women do not appear as the subject of a verb in any of these headlines. Verbs are absent in the first two headlines, while "women priests" is constructed as nominalised subject in passive voice in another.

Sources:

- 19.8.87 Journalist, Dr Pat Brennan (MOW) (p), journalist, Dr Pat Brennan (MOW) (p)
 24.8.87 Journalist, "a priest" (n/a), journalist, Bishop Hamish Jamieson (n/a), journalist
 25.8.87 Journalist, Ms Diane Heath (n but p), Archbishop Penman (p), journalist,
 Archbishop Carnley (p)
 25.8.87 Journalist, Bishop Owen Dowling (p), journalist, Rev Dr Paul Barnett (a),
 Bishop Bruce Wilson (p)
 26.8.87 Journalist, MOW members (p), journalist, the Rev Bruce Ballantine-Jones (a),
 journalist, Mr David Bleby QC (n/a), journalist, Bishop Owen Dowling (p)
 27.8.87 Journalist, Archbishop Penman (p), journalist, Archbishop Penman (p)

Consider in detail the text, "A fighter intent on women being priests" (19.8.87), a strongly personalised text that marks the beginning of the 1987 Special General Synod. Note the adjectives, adjectival phrases and nominalisations:

- Headline: "a fighter (intensified vocabulary)
 "intent on" (intensified vocabulary)
- Lead: "President of the Movement for the Ordination of Women"
 (noun label, elite actor, modal value of capacity)
 "has a keen sense of humour. She can laugh at herself irreverently and warmly"
 (evaluative adverbs, modal value of inclination)
- "former missionary"
 "mother of three"
 "general practitioner"
 "anchorwoman for an ABC series to be launched in February"

If these evaluative noun labels are given in ascending order of public/social significance (modal value of potentiality), note that Christian ministry rates below motherhood, itself below professional status. Poynton with others has noted the tendency for women coming to public attention to be characterised in terms of "appearance, marital status and fecundity" in newspapers. Here, family status remains, but accompanied by public sphere roles.⁹ The degree

to which the order of labelling here is regarded as discriminatory will depend upon, I suggest, what tradition of feminism one's analysis proceeds from. ¹⁰ Dr Brennan is also "firm and serious" (adjectives), demonstrates "commitment" (nominalisation) which is "stronger than ever (ie. non-concessional)" (adjectival phrase) all reflecting the modal value of inclination. While "other sections of the Anglican Church are hesitant and worried", Dr Brennan is not. Again, credibility is encoded with reference to the modal value of inclination (resolve).

Consider some other more general features of this text. First, there is very little direct quote. The journalist has owned the view of this participant to a greater degree than would be signified by the more 'objective' listing of participant's quoted views and the neutral "she said". Indeed, he has not introduced other participants at all into this news item which, almost incidentally, anticipates the beginning of the Special General Synod in a few days. Rather, the existence of an alternative viewpoint is alluded to (attribution) only through the labels provided by Dr Brennan and owned by the journalist (reported not quoted):

"At the synod, she says, men opposed to women priests will want absolutely no ordination for women. The women and their supporters will be content with nothing less than unconditional ordination."

Thus we have the labels of the protagonists - "the women and their supporters" and the antagonists - "men opposed to women priests". This "men" versus "the women (and their supporters)" provides a clear and simple framework for 'understanding' a complex debate. ¹¹

The protagonist versus antagonist conflict structure is encouraged through the use of the heightened terms "absolutely" and "nothing less". This is both a function of its newsworthiness, and the means by which the issue is made newsworthy. A "discussion" at the Anglican General Synod would not have rated. Consider with this, an earlier paragraph:

"She is annoyed that ordination is being treated as a special privilege for women, but all the allowances are being made for men. Ordination is a right for the whole church, she says."

The reporting of Dr Brennan's emotional disposition - "annoyed" - serves to position the reader against that which annoys her. Her anger is constructed as righteous and does not distance the reader as in some constructions of anger. In the phrases "special privilege for women" and "allowances are being made for men", there is the men versus women dichotomy enhanced by heightened vocabulary. These could have been described as "conscience clauses" in draft bills, designed to allow the ordination of women but in a way that protected those conscientiously opposed to the practice on theological grounds.¹²

The result of accepting "the conditions and concessions to those opposed to women's ordination" is suggested by Dr Brennan to be the separation of the church into "distinct ghettos". The label may be that of Dr Brennan, but certainly the absence of quotation marks, as with the majority of this text, suggests the ownership of her view by the journalist. Again, a non-standard word serves to position the reader against the 'cause' (that is, 'conditions' on women's ordination) that would lead to something socially undesirable.

This is a text that is far from 'balanced' in its coverage of the parameters of the debate to take place in the coming synod. There is veiled reference to the 'other side', but its attribution is through the reported view of Dr Brennan:

"The arguments, the plans for a breakaway church, the departures to Rome have left other sections of the Anglican Church hesitant and worried. But not Dr Brennan."

This paragraph alludes to the Sacramental tradition's (unity) view, but in a way that summarily dismisses its credibility. The reference merely facilitates the construction of Dr Brennan's credibility (modal value of resolve). The Biblical tradition's views are not even mentioned, implying low credibility. The reader is positioned to read this debate from Dr Brennan's perspective, her credibility being enhanced by a salient photograph of Dr Brennan, located in the 'ideal' layout position. Thus, one would construe the issue in terms of equal rights, which have to be fought for resolutely, and to read this particularly in terms of gender discrimination (men 'against' versus the women and their supporters 'for'). This is a text in which 'progress' meanings dominate over 'unity' meanings in the journalists's evaluation.

A construction evident in *The Age* and in the *Daily Telegraph*, but not in *The Australian* or the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1987, is that of female advocates of the priesthood as victims, an alternative credibility construction.

In "Fate of women priests in Anglican Church rests on one bishop" (Age 25.8.87) the subject has been nominalised and while the verb is in active voice, the action is a passive one. The word "fate" also encodes a helplessness to the women which arguably helps to construct the 'victim' role. This is paralleled by the cartoon which depicts a woman being allowed into the pulpit, but disallowed from saying anything. The actor in the lead is the General Synod. The 'first word' however, is given to Bishop Owen Dowling, who in late 1991 and 1992 emerges in news discourse as a crusader for women priests. Here his view is both paraphrased (owned to some degree by the journalist, which implies credibility) and quoted. The meanings represented tended to stress gender equality:

"Bishop Dowling asked why 'those who promote the suppression of women' restricted their efforts to the priesthood. Christ had broken down the divisions and barriers of his own Jewish culture and it was contrary to the Gospel for the church to reserve a place 'for males only'."

A similar mix of quotation and paraphrase characterises Dr Paul Barnett's view in second position. This is a Biblical tradition view against the ordination of women infrequently featured in news texts.¹³ The journalist evaluates the 'headship' view on the basis of its social face:

"Dr Barnett said that St Paul taught that husbands should be heads of their households. 'Husband and wife roles are not interchangeable,' he said. The appointment of a woman as presbyter would overturn the God-given relationship in Christian households."¹⁴

By virtue of its location within the text this view is constructed as less credible than Bishop Dowling's or Bishop Bruce Wilson's which follow, negatively evaluating Dr Barnett's. However, this would appear to reflect the order of debate in the synod. It is notable that the

quotes selected from these pro-ordination synod participants do not advocate pro-ordination meanings, but criticise anti-ordination meanings. This could be seen to imply a self-evident credibility for their view.

A companion text in the same issue of the newspaper directs attention to a psycho-spiritual view which negatively evaluates anti-ordination views ("Fear may be behind ordination debate" Age 25.8.87). Attention will be drawn to this dual text strategy again in subsequent text analysis.

Another text, the following day, constructs women priests as the object of a negative action: "Synod rejects women priests" (Age 26.8.87). This facilitates a 'victim' construction, enhanced by the reporting of affective mental processes and heightened vocabulary. This evaluation is enhanced by a cartoon which laughs at a male church which, in the manner of Christ clearing the temple, would wish women cleared from the church. Those who received the 'serious blow' of the inadequate numbers in synod to pass a priesting of women bill were "the Movement for the Ordination of Women and ... the bishops who have supported their cause including the Archbishop of Melbourne Dr David Penman". The text then focuses on the response of M.O.W. members, their affective mental processes ("many in tears") and that they "pledged" themselves (heightened vocabulary implying modal value of inclination) to a prophetic ministry. Brief mention is made of the response of the Rev Bruce Ballantine Jones, described as "an influential Sydney clergyman" (encoding credibility), but his view is evaluated as of lesser credibility, being summarily labelled as "church unity and biblical authority". The last word, introduced with a conjunction, which inclines the reader towards the participant, is given to

Bishop Owen Dowling. His quoted view combines a historical-progress argument with rejection of sexual discrimination. It is a view that has a social face:

"However, Bishop Owen Dowling of Canberra and Goulburn, said the church could not bar women from one place only. 'Through a large part of Christian history there has been a view of women as deficient,' Bishop Dowling said.

"'The church has been overly comfortable in its position of having only a male ministry.' He said the church would not keep women out of the ministry unless there was a good reason for doing so.

"He said he would continue to support women's ordination. 'We cannot be held up by this kind of selective fundamentalism'."

These sample texts from *The Age* suggest an implicit receptiveness to the position of M.O.W. and its supporters at the time of the 1987 General Synod. Only one text did not place a pro-ordination bishop or a female M.O.W. member in first or last position. There is some attention to theological meanings in these texts but it is still a token consideration. Focus is primarily on the perceived social face/outcome of the theological meaning. Indeed, there is the possibility that women's ordination is being constructed as two issues, perhaps, as in *The Australian*, addressing two separate reading positions, one concerned with women as victims of sexual discrimination (history and progress meanings), the other a social conservatism concerned with the effect on church unity/social stability of women being ordained. However, social affinity has been constructed in *The Age* texts, between readers and pro-ordination participants.

Sydney Morning Herald

The following synod sample has been analysed.¹⁵

Headlines:

- 24.8.87 "Women lobby synod with psalms, 'love' and candles"
- 25.8.87 "Battle ahead for women's ordination"
- 26.8.87 "Church rejects women priests"
- 26.8.87 "Women priests: battle is lost"
- 27.8.87 "Sons for ministry but not daughters"

Sources:

- 24.8.87 Journalist, Dr Pat Brennan (p), journalist, Dr Brennan (p)
- 25.8.87 Journalist, Bishop Owen Dowling (p), Rev Dr Paul Barnett (a), Bishop Bruce Wilson (p), Archbishop Robinson (a), Gerald Christmas (p)
- 26.8.87 Journalist, MOW (p), Archbishop Keith Rayner (p but n/a), Rev Gerald Beaumont (p), Rev Alan Nichols (p)
- 27.8.87 Journalist, Dr Pat Brennan (p)

The synod text "Battle ahead for women's ordination" (SMH 25.8.87) indicates something of the complex nature of evaluations in the *Sydney Morning Herald* for this year. The lead focuses on voting in relation to a canon for the priesting of women. A detailed report of the voting follows. Bishop Dowling is then given 'first word', expressing a view that contains both historical observations and theological meanings in relation to the New Testament pattern for ministry, rather than the 'equality' meanings reported in *The Age* equivalent text (25.8.87). His view is followed by that of Dr Paul Barnett, who expresses a theological view ('headship') that has a 'social face'. Here, unlike *The Age* text, there is a token acknowledgment in the quotation

selected that it is a headship regarded by him to be qualitatively different to domineering patriarchy:

"Dr Barnett said ... 'it's a headship of nurture and caring but a headship nevertheless.'"

Bishop Wilson's view is a negative evaluative labelling of the anti-ordination arguments. The order of participants thus far is the same as in *The Age*, following the synod debate.

Archbishop Robinson's view, excluded in *The Age* text, is given the greatest space, but is located in the middle of the text, encoding lesser credibility. Mr Christmas, another Sydney diocesan participant, but in favour of the ordination of women, is given last voice with an argument based on church history. His view on the parallels between the slavery debate and women's ordination is, probably with some irony, described as a "lighter moment" in the debate. Like *The Age's* selection of news actors, women opposed to the ordination of women are notable for their textual absence. Male pro-ordination participants are encoded with higher credibility, being located in first and last position.

Female supporters of M.O.W. appear very saliently in a large photograph in the 'ideal' layout position. The caption, "Vive la revolution ..." is juxtaposed with the appearance of the women, sitting, knitting. On one hand this could be read as laughing at the women; reducing their credibility as 'radicals'. On the other it may construct a social affinity between readers and represented participants who may read them as 'conservative' or safe 'radicals'. It is an evaluation typical of ambiguities in 1987 *Sydney Morning Herald* texts.

The headline, however, focuses on disunity. Reference to "intense lobbying" by pro-ordination synod members to "get the numbers" heightens the disunity construction. By comparison, *The Age* text evaluated the synod debate as one "conducted calmly and without bitterness". Church synodical processes were evaluated more positively in *The Age* than in the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

Contrary to this example, it would seem that in *Sydney Morning Herald* texts for this year, male pro-ordination participants are evaluated as the most highly credible, along with the synod as a pro-ordination actor.¹⁶ At times a pro-ordination orientation is quite overt in the journalist's definition of the 'positive' and 'negative poles' of the debate. When voting at the 1987 Special General Synod "failed" in the House of Clergy, this result was evaluated as being "worse than the situation two years ago" ("Women priests: battle is lost" SMH 26.8.87).

There is an ambivalence towards M.O.W. participants. They are highly credible, but perhaps in part as a source of the unexpected, as in the "knitting radicals" image discussed above, and as authors of the propaganda poster "Sons for ministry but not daughters" (SMH 27.8.87).¹⁷ Archbishop Donald Robinson also is credible, but he may have greater credibility in Alan Gill's columns than in news texts.¹⁸ The Diocese of Sydney on the other hand would appear to be negatively evaluated in that it is held up to ridicule through the credibility given to rumour.¹⁹

The text "Women deacons for Sydney diocese" (SMH 17.11.87) exemplifies some of these trends. It places Archbishop Donald Robinson in the lead, encoding high credibility.²⁰ The lead indicates his decision to allow women deacons, and employs some poetic licence in constructing cause-effect. There is an element of parody in the "arm twisting" image which has the effect of creating greater credibility for, though perhaps not social affinity with, Archbishop Robinson:

"The decision - despite his publicly stated reluctance - follows vigorous arm-twisting by the synod of the diocese, which has twice voted in favour of the move."

Apart from the journalist's introduction, first word is given to Deaconess Margaret Rodgers, encoded as credible as a "prime mover of the bill in synod". She anticipates the affective mental processes of the potential women deacons. However, the reader is not aligned with them. They are evaluated as either "elderly" by "normal ordination standards" or "closet radicals". Dr Patricia Brennan, for M.O.W., and then Ms Suzanne Glover are quoted, with the latter being given the last word. One notes in particular, the credibility construction for "leaders of M.O.W.":

"Leaders of MOW, though in many respects ideally qualified (for the diaconate) assume that their public utterances have put them *beyond the pale* ... (italics:JB)

"Ms Glover an honours theology graduate from Moore College (where she topped her class) and Sydney University said, 'For the archbishop to ordain me I would have to sign in triplicate that I would shut up for the rest of my life. I think I'll stay outside and shout.'"

They are highly credible, but on the edge of, or outside, the social consensus, unlike Deaconess Rodgers who is highly credible without the radical evaluation.

One notes a similar evaluation of radicalism in relation to the Rev Alison Cheek, visiting priest from the U.S. in "Feminist priest faces battle again" (SMH 8.7.87). The text, more in feature than news style, is worthy of note for its headline's high credibility construction of Mrs Cheek in first place/subject with active voice verb. In another text, "Women lobby synod with love and candles" (SMH 24.8.87), while she is highly credible, this does not extend to a positive evaluation. She is "an Adelaide woman ordained illegally ... in the US" who is one of a number of "demonstrators". It may be, though, that having the status of a priest, she is evaluated more positively than other M.O.W. participants.²¹

Indeed, the journalist distances himself from Dr Brennan's evaluation of the ordination debate in "Anglican Church 'leaking women and credibility'" (SMH 27.10.87):

"Dr Brennan said the bishops justified *what she called their discrimination against women* on the ground of church unity, although the church was losing droves of women." (Ital:JB)

This distancing is repeated in the headline which quotes the criticism of Dr Brennan, rather than owning it.

An intending woman minister of the Presbyterian Church, Mrs Theodora Hobbs, while highly credible in the modal categories of capacity, uniqueness and resolve is not sufficiently so to encode social affinity ("Objectors block woman's path to the pulpit" SMH 8.7.87). Ultimately, the writer abandons his subject and her "strange tale" to her "objectors" (first place/subject in headline).

Poetic license is evident in "Anglicans suspect a breakaway plot" (SMH 6.7.87.), a text that typifies a strand of *Sydney Morning Herald* reporting that focuses on non-consensual ecclesiastical politics in the Diocese of Sydney, heightening the theme of disunity. Consider the lead:

"Documents (later in the text described as being of unknown authorship: JB) prepared for next month's Australian General Synod have fanned suspicions of a 'plot' by Sydney Anglicans to form a breakaway denomination, if and when the synod should decide to ordain women."

The text is constructed in the voice of the journalist, although with reference to the Melbourne-based church newspaper, *Church Scene*, and the opinion of Mr Robert Tong. The latter is implied to have authored ideas of a breakaway denomination, but is recorded in the 'last word' position as rejecting this notion. Through the reporting of rumour the journalist would appear to have positioned the reader against any Sydney Anglican move to break from the 1962 General Synod constitution, at least by virtue of the headline's subject: 'Anglicans' (identity and number unspecified) with whom the reader is positioned to identify.

What may be concluded of *Sydney Morning Herald* texts and reader positioning? It would seem that at times Archbishop Donald Robinson is encoded as highly credible and the reader is positioned to identify with his view. However, the General Synod texts in particular encode male pro-ordination participants as the most highly credible, while the progress of the ordination legislation is the 'positive pole'. There is a tendency for the journalist to distance the reader from M.O.W. participants, at the same time encoding them with high credibility. The reporting of rumour in relation to ecclesiastical politics in the Diocese of Sydney would appear to encourage a negative evaluation of any moves towards 'disunity' in the General Synod. Rather than being positioned with pro-ordination participants via positive social affinity indicators, the *Sydney Morning Herald* texts for 1987 tend to position the reader against 'plotters' (disunity) and 'radicals' (feminism), intensified vocabulary labels that do not promote social affinity. In part, the reader is distanced from *all* participants.

As was concluded in relation to the texts in *The Australian* and *The Age*, it would seem as though women's ordination to the priesthood has been constructed as two issues, being about feminism or progress for women, and about church unity.

Analysis of 1989 texts

The following analysis of texts has been divided into two categories as for 1987: synod texts and non-synod texts of which there were 16 and 51 respectively. Columns and features have not been counted. Analysis relates to news texts except where otherwise stated. Obituaries and news relating to Archbishop Penman are analysed separately in Chapter Four.

First, some general comments. A very clear difference between 1987 reporting and 1989 is the far more positive evaluation given to pro-ordination views. The change is particularly marked in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, while the strand of reporting focussing on progress for women in *The Australian* dominates in this year as well. However, for *The Australian*, there would appear to be a qualification: that ordination for women should be pursued constitutionally. I will consider synod reporting first, drawing comparisons across newspapers, and then identify trends for each of the four newspapers, separately. Detailed analysis of texts mentioned in Chapter Two is not repeated here.

Progress meanings dominate in headlines across all four newspapers in 1989.

1989 General Synod

Headlines for the 1989 General Synod reporting period chart progress on women's ordination to the priesthood. Unity/ disunity themes are notable for their absence.

Women appear twice as the actor in active voice in headlines:

"Women expect synod victory	SMH 21.8.89
"Show of unity as Anglican and Catholic women meet"	SMH 21.8.89

In the latter case, however, a nominalisation - "show of unity" - takes precedence over the actions of the women. Note that both are *Sydney Morning Herald* texts. The only male to appear in active voice expresses his support for the ordination of women ("Anglican head backs ordination of women" Age 22.8.89). The most common construction is the use of nominalisation, sometimes without a verb:

"Fresh vote on women priests"	14.8.89	DM
"Eucharist blocked"	19-20.8.89	Aust
"Show of unity as Anglican and Catholic women meet"	21.8.89	SMH
"Women priests a step closer"	23.8.89	SMH
"Bill to allow women priests fails"	24.8.89	SMH
"Twelve Apostles of protest and song"	25.8.89	SMH
"Women priest vote the best we could get"	25.8.89	Age

Women advocates are not the actors but the objects of the action. In particular, they are the objects of legislative action. Women actors are constructed with the infinitive in one headline ("Women to be priests" DT 23.8.89). They are constructed with verb deletion in one headline ("Women in new bid for priesthood" ST 13.8.89). With supporters they are deleted as subject in the headline in one text ("250 march for women's ordination" DT 21.8.89). Otherwise, the synod or Appellate Tribunal or 'Anglicans' are the actors with active voice in *The Australian* texts. There is justification in seeing 'Anglicans' and the 'synod' as interchangeable agents because of their synonymous use in texts between headline and lead paragraph. Actors in the lead paragraph are bracketed:

"Synod clears way to ordain women" (General synod)	23.8.89	Aust
"Synod fails to vote on bill allowing women to be priests" (Anglican General Synod)	24.8.89	Age
"Tribunal to decide on women priests" (Anglican Church leaders)	24.8.89	DT
"Anglicans dash hopes on women priests" (General Synod)	24.8.89	Aust

In the case of "Tribunal to decide on women priests" there is an instance of the journalist imputing a de-facto decision to the "Anglican Church leaders" of the General Synod by virtue of their having "washed their hands of the issue by throwing out two controversial bills which would have allowed women to be ordained" and predicting the consequences. That is, that the Appellate Tribunal would in effect now make the 'decision' as to whether the original church acts-in-secular-law of the various dioceses would permit them to enact their own enabling legislation without prior legislation from General Synod.

In lead paragraphs there is a slightly increased incidence of the synod as actor, where the headline has been constructed with a nominalisation or infinitive.²²

These findings suggest that church 'news' continues to be regarded as having a lower credibility or status to say, political news, which is far more person oriented in headlines. Against this 'norm' therefore, that there are any women as actors in the first place in headlines at all is significant. That the only three participants in active voice in headlines are in favour of women's ordination indicates the higher credibility constructed for them as compared with those opposed.

This, however, is not the only relevant marker. Consider the nominalised headlines and those with synod as actor. It is notable that what I have termed in the previous chapter the 'positive pole', is a pro-ordination view, which evaluates any non-compliant process a 'blockage' or a 'failure', as in "Eucharist blocked" (Aust 19-20.8.89). This is 'cleared' by a compliant process, as in "Synod clears way to ordain women" (Aust 23.8.89); one that initiates change.

Thus, I conclude that while women are infrequently headlined as actors with first position, active voice, there is an implicit subjectivity which favours pro-ordination participants in these headlines.

Choice and placement of spokespersons

This implicit subjectivity is evident in features other than the headlines. Consider the choice of spokespersons for the texts. They have been marked (a) for an anti-ordination discourse and (p) for a pro-ordination discourse. (n/a) indicates that the view was not relevant to the ordination issue. The pro-ordination meanings expressed relate either to a general 'progress' towards ordination or in relation to legislation to enable this. Occasionally the pro-ordination meaning is a token representation of a theological one.²³ Unity meanings are evident only in two texts.²⁴ The meanings constructed in association with female participants are more inclined to be social meanings or to have a social 'face': the social expression of a theological meaning.²⁵

Sydney Morning Herald:

- 21.8.89 journalist, the Rev Alison Cheek (p), the Rev Kay Goldsworthy (p)
- 21.8.89 journalist, Ms Diane Heath (MOW) (p), Dr Patricia Brennan (MOW)(p), Dr Janet Scarfe (MOW) (p) and Mr John Pomeroy (MOW) (p)
- 22.8.89 journalist, Dr Peter Jensen (n/a), General Synod discussion paper (n/a), Sir John Grindrod (p), journalist
- 23.8.89 journalist, Dr Patricia Brennan (MOW) (p), Bishop Oliver Heyward (p), Archdeacon Alan Nichols (p), the Rev Sue Watson (p) the Rev Bruce Ballantine-Jones (a)
- 25.8.89 journalist, Dr Patricia Brennan (MOW) (p), Ms Diane Heath (MOW) (p), Archbishop Peter Carnley (p)
- 24.8.89 journalist, Archbishop Peter Carnley (p)

Daily Telegraph Mirror:

- 13.8.89 journalist, Bishop Bruce Wilson (p), Ms Suzanne Glover (MOW) (p), Ms Sandra McColl (W.A.O.W.) (a), journalist
- 14.8.89 journalist, Bishop Bruce Wilson (p), Archbishop Donald Robinson (a)
- 21.8.89 journalist only on MOW demonstration (?)
- 23.8.89 journalist, the Rev Erica Mathieson (p)
- 24.8.89 journalist, Archbishop Peter Carnley (p), Dr Janet Scarfe (MOW) (p)

The Australian:

- 19-20.8.89 journalist, the Rev Alison Cheek (p)
- 23.8.89 journalist, Bishop Owen Dowling (p), Dr Patricia Brennan (p), the Rev Bruce Ballantine-Jones (a)
- 24.8.89 journalist

The Age:

- 22.8.89 journalist, Archbishop Sir John Grindrod (p), journalist
- 24.8.89 journalist, Bishop James Grant (p), Archbishop Peter Carnley (p)
- 25.8.89 journalist, Bishop John Stewart (p), Archdeacon Alan Nichols (p), Archbishop Donald Robinson (a), Dr Ian Spry (a)

The selection (and editing processes), apart from one text from *The Age* (25.8.89), has constructed higher credibility for a small number of participants and in particular pro-ordination participants from the Diocese of Melbourne and Archbishop Peter Carnley from Perth. Ironically, this is true more for the *Sydney Morning Herald*, a Sydney based paper, than for *The Age*, a Melbourne based newspaper.²⁶ Apart from *The Age*, the other three newspapers implicitly have constructed high credibility for the Movement for the Ordination of Women, in attributing to the group's spokespersons media status equivalent to that of bishops or 'leading clergy'.

Of the Sydney newspapers, only the *Daily Mirror* in one text gave the quoted (lower credibility than reported) view of Archbishop Robinson the 'last word'. Its sibling newspaper, the *Daily Telegraph*, stood out from other Sydney newspapers in 1987 in giving higher credibility (sometimes with social affinity encodings) to female pro-ordination participants and particularly

M.O.W. spokespersons. In 1989 *Daily Telegraph/Mirror* reporting gave greater credibility to the pro- ordination participant Bishop Bruce Wilson of Bathurst, N.S.W., in two texts, placing him in 'first word' location.

Among those from the 1989 General Synod the only other text to include Archbishop Donald Robinson of Sydney, was one from *The Age* (25.8.89) which reported his view (higher credibility than quoted) but gave it a less credible location (second last).

The only other Sydney diocesan spokesperson to gain coverage was the Rev Bruce Ballantine-Jones. It is notable that in the two texts that feature him, the perspective quoted (SMH 23.8.89) and reported (Aust 23.8.89) is in relation to a resolution with respect to the 'ancient right' of a bishop to ordain whomever he regards to be canonically fit. Whereas M.O.W. saw this resolution as an endorsement by the synod of a bishop's right to proceed with ordinations of women without enabling legislation, Bruce Ballantine-Jones' opinion rejected this. Even though he is given 'last word' in both texts, by virtue of the small amount of space given to his view, his credibility as antagonist is arguably reduced.

The participants given preferred positions (first/last word) are M.O.W. spokespersons (Drs Patricia Brennan and Janet Scarfe), M.O.W. supporters (the Rev Alison Cheek, Ms Diane Heath, Mr John Pomeroy), intending women priests (the Revs Kay Goldsworthy and Erica Mathieson), or the synod advocates of ordination for women, particularly Archbishop Peter Carnley. This is the case particularly in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph*. Only in three texts are persons holding an anti-ordination view, represented as participants.

Labelling

Labelling is one of the linguistic markers used to construct spokespersons' credibility. Archbishop Donald Robinson is referred to in a *Sydney Morning Herald* text, as "one of the strongest opponents of women priests" (high credibility, modal value of capacity) (SMH 21.8.89) but his credibility is not elaborated beyond this. There is no reported or quoted comment, and the original credibility is minimised by the description of him passing an alternative M.O.W. open air service and into the cathedral:

"(he) kept his head down and looked withdrawn" (low credibility modal value of inclination).

Affinity between the reader and the archbishop is minimised.

In *The Age* text he is "a strong opponent of the ordination of women" (Age 25.8.89) encoding high credibility (modal value of capacity) and is reported rather than quoted, but accorded low credibility in placement of his view as second last (to Dr Ian Spry an Anglo-Catholic opponent of the ordination of women). As an opponent he is encoded as less credible than the Melbourne-based opponent of women's ordination, Dr Ian Spry.

The Rev Bruce Ballantine-Jones (SMH and Aust 23.8.89) has higher credibility on the criterion of labelling in *The Australian* text than the *Sydney Morning Herald* text, both because of being reported rather than quoted, and through the adjectival phrase "a staunch opponent ... of Jannali in Sydney" (cf "of Sydney" S.M.H.). Being a Sydney participant, one might expect him, on the basis of geographical proximity, to be constructed as more credible in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (a trend in *The Age*). This is not the case, however.

The representation of female participants is important to consider in terms of whether M.O.W. is seen to be representative of them.

Dr Patricia Brennan is usually given the formal status of an elite actor, being introduced in texts as the "President" (modal value of capacity) or "founding President" (modal value of uniqueness) of M.O.W.. However, on occasion she retains some of the radical persona of 1987 as "the outspoken President of MOW" (ST 27.8.89). In one text she "led the invasion" of the Anglican Chapter House as a group of 12 women staged a protest on the morning following the General Synod vote. The vote concerned whether the bill in question would be treated as an ordinary bill (a faster route) in the process towards enabling legislation (SMH 25.8.89). As an "Apostle of protest" she is given credibility on the modal value of inclination. The juxtaposition of 'good' and 'bad' news constructions in an "apostle", as caretaker and spreader of the good news/gospel, spreading the message through "protest", heightens her credibility, perhaps on the modal value of uniqueness. Within the text the reader is meant to understand her role as one positively evaluated, in spite of the "invasion" label and her 'protest' role. This can be inferred on the basis of the selection and inclusion of spokespersons supportive of the pro-ordination position (Dr Carnley and Ms Heath of M.O.W.) and the evaluation that the protest attracted good support within the synod:

"many synod delegates joined in the singing and applauded them as they marched out".

These are triggers to a positive evaluation by the reader. The protest has been evaluated as a 'righteous' one.

The Rev Alison Cheek's credibility similarly is high by virtue of her presence and labelling in *Sydney Morning Herald* texts and one text from *The Australian*. She is described as "a leading woman priest" (SMH 21.8.89) (modal value of capacity); she is "something Anglican and Catholic women cannot be in this country: a priest" (SMH 21.8.89) (modal value of uniqueness); she has "been celebrating the Eucharist for the past 15 years in the United States" (Aust 19-20.8.89) (modal value of capacity). She is evaluated as a credible role-model.

Affective mental processes,

heightened vocabulary and generalisation

A particular feature of the description of intending women priests generally, is reference to their affective mental processes. Sometimes this is evident in the affective component of adverbs or in verbs. The Rev Sue Watson "*desperately* wants to become one of the first women priests" (SMH 23.8.89); the Rev Erica Mathieson "*dearly* wants to be a fully ordained priest" (DT 23.8.89); while the Rev Alison Cheek is "*saddened*" at being unable to celebrate the Eucharist (Aust 19-20.8.89). Whereas the reporting of affective mental processes was more confined to reporting in the *Daily Telegraph* in 1987, this marker of social affinity is more pronounced across newspapers in 1989. The 'radical' evaluation has declined and social affinity has been constructed between reader and represented participant.²⁷

However, social affinity is more often created between reader and ordained women, usually deacons, than with M.O.W. leaders. One notes in "Woman priests a step closer" (SMH 23.8.89), for example, that there are no social affinity markers in relation to Dr Brennan, whereas there is a token of this in relation to the Rev Sue Watson. While Dr Brennan is more highly credible by virtue of her first word position in text, the reader is positioned to respond positively to Sue Watson through the verbal evaluation and the large salient photograph, positioned in the 'new-ideal' location and employing a level front-on camera angle and direct gaze inviting a reader response.

Heightened vocabulary constructs a 'highly credible' evaluation for pro-ordination advocates in "Anglicans dash hopes on women priests" (Aust 24.8.89). In this text, the synod did not merely 'not pass' or even 'reject' such legislation. It "threw out" the bill, in the process, "crushing the hopes of progressive dioceses such as Melbourne". Here the journalist has amplified the impact of the failure of legislation at the synod by the choice of a heightened term ("crushed the hopes") and given implicit credibility ('obligation' modality) to the Diocese of Melbourne through the evaluative label "progressive". Similarly, in a *Sydney Morning Herald* text Dr Patricia Brennan is not simply constructed as having 'welcomed' the passing of the 'ancient right of a bishop' resolution, but she, in heightened terminology of the journalist, "hailed last night's resolution - after a debate of almost three hours - as a great step forward" (SMH 23.8.89).

In the headline, a pro-ordination view is implicitly associated with (the 'majority') of "Anglicans". Within the text "women claimed a qualified victory". They are not 'M.O.W.'

women, or 'intending women priests', but are constructed as being representative of the whole. Thus Dr Janet Scarfe is evaluated as speaking for women generally and given added credibility in 'last word' position:

"Dr Janet Scarfe, of the Movement for the Ordination of Women, said women were *devastated* by last night's vote." ("Tribunal to decide on women priests" DT 24.8.89). (Ital: JB)

A related strategy is the 'many' construction which suggests majority support and thus credibility without supporting numbers.²⁸ Arguably, this use of generalisation to 'women' constructs women's ordination as belonging to the field of women's role in society (feminism), instead of, or as well as, being in the field of 'church'.

In contrast to the credibility given to women participants in favour of the ordination of women, the one female participant opposed to women's ordination included in a text in this 1989 synod sample, Sandra McColl of Women Against the Ordination of Women (W.A.O.W.), is given only a small mention ("Women in new bid for priesthood" ST 13.8.89).²⁹ Granted, she is given last word, and reported, not quoted. Her view would appear to be secondary to the theme of the divisiveness of the issue introduced in the lead. In occupying only one seventh of the verbal text space, it has also, low salience.³⁰ It is dominated too, by the headline which places 'women' in the role of protagonists, rather than antagonists. Visually, the participants who dominate this text are Archbishop Donald Robinson and Ms Suzanne Glover, the latter being constructed as more credible. It is a very significant text for its relative credibility constructions and is explored in detail in Chapter Three's analysis of visual images.

A summary of trends evident in General Synod texts is given in Chapter Two.

Non-synod texts: 1989

I will turn now to the non-synod sample which numbers 51 texts. Because of the large number analysed, findings are grouped according to newspaper.

Daily Telegraph

All ten non-synod news texts were analysed. The following table indicates the represented participants. As for 1987, where participants are only tangentially related to women's ordination (n/a) is used. Otherwise, participants are categorised (p) where a pro-ordination position is implicitly or explicitly encoded and (a) for an anti-ordination view.

7.2.89	Journalist, the Rev Julia Perry (p)
13.2.89	Journalist, Ms Suzanne Glover (MOW) (p)
13.2.89	Journalist, Mr Best (a)
15.2.89	Journalist, the Rev James Bromley (a), journalist, Mr Bromley
2.9.89	Journalist, Archbishop Donald Robinson (n/a), the Rev Hugh Scott (n/a), MOW (n/a)
7.11.89	Journalist, Ms Suzanne Glover (MOW) (p), the Rev Erica Mathieson (p), Suzanne Glover (p)
8.11.89	Journalist, Bishop Owen Dowling (p)
13.11.89	Journalist, Sr Angela (p)
29.11.89	Journalist, Bishop John Stewart (p), Bishop-elect Penelope Jamieson (p)
24.12.89	Journalist, Dr Janet Scarfe (p), journalist, Dr Scarfe (p), journalist, Scarfe (p)

No Biblical (Evangelical) tradition opponents of ordination are represented in texts. By implication they have been evaluated as having very low credibility. Opponents of ordination (Best and Bromley) are associated with the Sacramental (Anglo-Catholic) tradition.

Female represented participants

Two *Daily Telegraph* texts placed a woman actor in first position, active voice:

"Women take momentous step towards the priesthood"	DT	13.2.89
"Julia has a job to do for God"	DT	7.2.89

One placed a woman participant in first position with infinitive ("First nun to be a deacon" DT 13.11.89) while another constructed a female participant in first position with passive voice in the headline ("Woman bishop welcomed" DT 29.11.89). Another headline omitted a verb ("Women in so churchman out" DM 13.2.89).

Women, generally, are the objects of actions rather than the initiators of them. There is high credibility (modal value of uniqueness) for the Rev Julia Perry as the "first woman in NSW to be appointed as leader of an Anglican parish". There is an implicit writer judgment that she is capable, in the description of the demands of the job:

"She will work six days a week and be constantly on call for anyone who may need her."

This credibility may be echoed in the 'superior' construction in the accompanying photograph through the upward camera angle, a strategy discussed in Chapter Three. The writer has also owned Ms Perry's assessment of the degree of support she is receiving among parishioners, by reporting this rather than quoting her words. However, there is a distancing in the attribution "she says":

"She says people are excited at the idea of a woman leading a church. And although some in the church don't like the idea of having a woman in charge, she says most are for it."

In contrast to the active construction in the headline, the sub-heading used the passive: "Woman appointed leader of parish". If passive constructions suggest a negative evaluation, then her appointment is being questioned. However, the passive may encode approval of women submitting themselves to constitutional church processes, while at the same time deleting bishops and their ecclesiastical authority.

Similarly, Sr Angela of the Sisters of Clare at Stroud is encoded with high credibility as the "First nun to be a deacon" (DT 13.11.89). Her credibility arises from her inclination: "this spritely woman of God", "who has spent her life praying for the needs of those who visit her ministry at Stroud". There is also her uniqueness as she "tends the garden and drives a tractor". The sub-heading has her "ploughing into history" while the headline stresses her place in history.

There is reference also to Sr Angela's affective mental processes, her longing and hope to be priested. Her belief that the ordination of women to the priesthood, is expressed in heightened terms by the journalist, as "vitally important for the survival of the church". This evokes the modal value of obligation. These features position the reader towards a positive evaluation of this participant and her view.

Appearing to reflect a trend identified in 1987 *Daily Telegraph* texts, the reference point for the evaluation of the enthronement of the first woman diocesan bishop ("Woman bishop welcomed" DT 29.11.89) was M.O.W., cited in the lead:

"The Movement for the Ordination of Women priests sees the ordination of a woman bishop in New Zealand as a 'shout of encouragement' from God."

However, a reading of the text indicates that the source is actually Bishop John Stewart, vicar general (acting archbishop) of Melbourne:

"'We see it as a shout of encouragement from God in the midst of our own disappointment,' Melbourne's vicar-general, Bishop John Stewart said yesterday."

Perhaps he spoke for women deacons (and supporting clergy) in Melbourne, and this has been transformed into an 'M.O.W.' view. At the very least this suggests a mixing (up) of the authority of M.O.W. and synodical and diocesan structures. The result is high credibility for a M.O.W. view, but not for their leaders as represented participants.

The text's evaluation of Bishop Jamieson is very much a 'private sphere' credibility construction ("a 47 year old mother of three"). This may reflect the perceived reading position of *Daily Telegraph* readers, but it also meets Poynton's observations mentioned earlier in this chapter. The passive construction in the headline is noted. While, following Kevelson, one might conclude that this is a token of negative evaluation, again, it may encode the preferred resolution of the issue: that women submit themselves to constitutional church processes.

It is also M.O.W.'s evaluation that dominates the admission of the first women to the diaconate in the Diocese of Sydney. Significantly, the headline "Women take momentous step towards priesthood" interprets the diaconate as leading to the priesthood, a view not endorsed by the Archbishop of Sydney who conducted the ceremony. This may suggest forced consonance, evident more clearly in *The Australian* text for the same event.³¹ Clearly, these texts and their headlines focus on progress for women.

Male represented participants

Unlike those in 1987, some 1989 non-synod texts constructed male participants opposed to the ordination of women as deacons, also as highly credible. Their credibility would appear to facilitate the emergence of church disunity as a theme in *Daily Telegraph* texts. However, these anti-ordination participants are not those from the Sydney diocese who hold a "headship" view. A case in point is the text "Women in, so churchman out" (DM 13.2.89). Unlike the *Daily Telegraph* text for the same day, the lead paragraph in this text constructs an opponent of the move with higher credibility. Although this is established more clearly by a comparison of accompanying photographs, I will focus here on verbal components:

"A leading Anglican has quit the church in protest at the ordination of women deacons in Sydney."

The significance of this construction lies in the description "leading". This word attributes some sort of elite status to Mr Best, a status usually reserved for bishops or clerical or lay contributors to a synod debate. Mr Best's role as "former parish secretary" and "sacristan" (custodian of sacramental vessels and vestments at his parish church) could be seen to provide a source of local status, but not at the representative level usually required for recognition by a metropolitan newspaper. His action of leaving the Anglican Church is also constructed as a conscientious one. It is highly credible and invites reader affinity:

"Mr Best said he had *vowed* (affective mental process) to leave the church once the first woman in Sydney was ordained."

The photographs invite at least the same degree of reader involvement for Mr Best as for the women deacons, while allocating his photograph more positively in the 'ideal' location, as compared with the 'real' for the women deacons.³² The high credibility given to this opposition may relate to an emerging media discourse on unity/disunity. Apart from this apparent exception, conscientious objection to women's ordination is not evaluated positively until 1992 texts.

However, *Daily Telegraph* texts did not in 1989 completely reverse their 1987 construction of the ordination issue.

Two non-synod texts construct male participants in active voice, first word position. One of these gave credibility to bishops favouring the ordination of women as priests, the other encoded as credible a dissenter, but with negative evaluation. Fr James Bromley, the "rebel" priest, was one of a few Anglo-Catholic priests, who, dismayed by the trends in Anglicanism of which the women's ordination issue was one, separated to establish an Anglican Catholic Church ("Rebel priest plans to open new church" DT 15.2.89). The headline may suggest the working out of a social 'consensus' that Fr Bromley, as a 'rebel' is outside of. This matter is taken up in Chapters Four and Five.

The use of the modal "may" in "Bishops may defy women priest ruling" (DT 8.11.89) qualifies the active voice component somewhat. It is a text, however, that encodes persons committed to the priesting of women with high credibility. The main participant in the text is Bishop Owen

Dowling of Canberra/Goulburn, who, with "four senior Anglican clergy in Melbourne" is encoded as highly credible in the lead through the use of non-standard and heightened vocabulary:

"Anglican bishops supporting the ordination of women priests will hold a special summit meeting with legal advisers in a determined attempt to proceed."

It is not simply a meeting but a "special summit meeting" which encodes political significance. Their efforts are not merely an "attempt to proceed" but a "determined attempt". The Melbourne clergy are also "senior", an imprecise term that could mean seniority in age or experience or de-facto church leadership or none of the above. Thus there is high credibility on the modal values of uniqueness and inclination and capacity for these participants as they proceed to look for a way around the ruling of the Appellate Tribunal against the validity of Melbourne diocesan legislation. This was a 'test case' to see if dioceses could proceed to ordain women without General Synod enabling legislation.

Synod/Anglicans as news actor

'Anglicans' are constructed as actors in headlines in two texts, and in these texts, like the 1987 trend, one sees the high credibility attached to M.O.W. participants.

In "Anglicans reject moves to have Pope as their head" (DT 2.9.89), Archbishop Donald Robinson is given high credibility with the use of the conjunction "but" to introduce his

rejection of the Pope as leader of the Anglican Church. One notes that like the *Sydney Morning Herald*, this text has placed "Sydney Anglicans", or Dr Runcie, before the Pope where they are mentioned together. More significantly, though, the last word is given to a spokesperson for the Movement for the Ordination of Women. This organisation's credibility, by implication, has now extended beyond women's role in the church to other church matters. Implicitly too, women's role in the church (progress) has been evaluated more positively than reunification of Anglicans and the Church of Rome(unity).

The decision of the Appellate Tribunal against the Melbourne diocesan legislation, in November 1989, as mentioned previously, was represented primarily through the view of M.O.W. spokesperson, Mrs Suzanne Glover, ("Church rules out women priests" DT 7.11.89). Prominent in this text are the use of heightened vocabulary and reference to the affective mental processes of "Anglican women" affected by the decision. The only mention of persons who would have approved the Appellate Tribunal decision comes through the words of Mrs Glover:

"Mrs Glover said some people 'would be jumping up and down with glee' about the decision".

Couple this with the "devastating setback" for Anglican women, and one sees the heightened vocabulary components of a villain / victim construction, accentuated by the description of dioceses as having been "poised" (rather than ready, for example) to proceed.

Trends evident in *Daily Telegraph* 1989 non-synod texts are summarised in Chapter 2.2.

The Australian

All twelve non-synod news texts have been analysed.

Sources:

- 13.2.89 Journalist, the Rev Janis Donohoo (p - deaconing), the Rev Keith Condie (p - deaconing), the Rev Narelle Jarrett (p - deaconing and priesting = consonance)
- 13.2.89 Journalist, Mr John Jamieson (a), Bishop Edmund Browning (p), the Rev David Johnson (p), journalist
- 7.4.89 Bishop Hughes (a), journalist, Bishop Hughes (a) journalist
- 23.5.89 Journalist, Mrs Terry Milne (p), journalist
- 3.10.89 Joint declaration (Pope and Archbishop of Canterbury) (n/a), journalist
- 5.10.89 Journalist, Dr Janet Scarfe (p), Archbishop Peter Carnley (p), Dr Janet Scarfe(p)
- 23.10.89 Journalist, the Rev Pam Halbert (p), journalist
- 7.11.89 Appellate Tribunal decision (a), journalist, Ms Angela Grutzner (p)
- 8.11.89 Journalist, four 'senior' Melbourne clergy (p), Dr Pat Brennan (p), Ms Angela Grutzner (a- irregular ordinations)
- 9.11.89 Bishop John Stewart (p), the Rev Adrienne Simondson (p) Bishop Stewart (p), journalist
- 9.11.89 Journalist, Archbishop Robert Runcie (a), Bishop of Durham (p) journalist
- 10.11.89 Bishop John Lewis (p), Mr Robert Orr (MOW)(p), Dr Ian Spry (a), Bishop Lewis (p), the Rev Shirley Turley (p but accepting of a)

It is notable that no non-synod text in *The Australian* in 1989 featured a participant from within the Evangelical Biblical tradition opposed to the ordination of women. Opponents express 'unity' meanings more typical of the Sacramental (Anglo-Catholic) and Broad Church traditions.³³

Female represented participants

Only one among 12 non-synod texts in *The Australian* in 1989 placed women in first position in the headline with active voice: "Aussie rebels threaten to quit" (Aust 9.11.89). Another constructed female participants in passive voice with agent deletion: "Touched by the spirit of equality" (Aust 13.2.89). These are the only two female-first headlines. Let us consider them in detail.

The first headline construction gives high credibility to the "Aussie rebels". This is a non-consensual label. However, a number of features moderate a possible negative evaluation of this credibility. There is the use of the conjunction "but" to introduce the view of these of women deacons, a marker that I suggest positions the reader in favour of that which follows:

"*But* several rebel women deacons indicated yesterday that they may not be prepared to wait that long (until 1992)." (Ital:JB)

Also, apart from the Rev Adrienne Simondson, one of the 'rebels', the only other participant, Bishop John Stewart, was in favour of the ordination of women to the priesthood. There is reference also in the voice of the journalist to the women deacons' "dream of joining the priesthood (having been) shattered". Thus, non-standard vocabulary which has an affective mental processes component, points also to a positive evaluation, or at least a 'victim' construction.

A crucial indicator, however, is the use of the possessive pronoun "our" in the subheading:

"Ordination as soon as 1992 is not soon enough for *our* women deacons." (Ital:JB)

As female clergy they appear to be 'owned'. However, the possibility exists that their behaviour is being set up for ridicule, the possessive pronoun being used ironically. Intensified language constructs them as "*rebel* women deacons" in entertaining ideas of "defecting" to another church. On first analysis this seems unlikely given the layout position of the photograph in the 'ideal', and its upward camera angle construction, encoding 'superiority'.³⁴ However, the photograph does not invite social affinity between the viewer and subject. Instead, the camera angle and shadows tend to alienate the viewer from the subject. The superiority may have been constructed for the purpose of irony. It would seem that the reader is positioned to evaluate negatively, any non-consensual action.

Let us turn to the text "Touched by the spirit of equality" (Aust 13.2.89). Only participants supportive of the admission of women to the diaconate were included in the text. The most significant feature to note, however, is that the reported view of the Rev Narelle Jarrett is represented as a pro-ordination view:

"She said she hoped the move could smooth the way for women to become priests in the Anglican Church."

While approving the ordination of women as deacons, Ms Jarrett did not, during that press interview, express support for the ordination of women to the priesthood. I will note for the moment that it is she, to whom is attributed a pro-priesting view, whose photograph appears to the left of the text. Visual significances have been explored separately.

The passive construction and agent deletion linguistically constructs the actors as less credible than if women had been made actors in active voice. Neither the women, nor the bishops who ordain them, have been credited with the act. Again I suggest the possibility that the passive, when applied to a human subject, encodes not a deviant evaluation of the subject, but a characteristic of the preferred resolution of the debate: that women subject themselves to constitutional church processes. This would seem a likely possibility given the absence of M.O.W. actors, as compared with the *Daily Telegraph* or *Sydney Morning Herald* texts.³⁵ It is consistent also with the evaluation of any unilateral action on the part of women deacons in the text above.

A passive is used also in "Challenge issued for women to be ordained priests" (Aust 8.11.89), with agent deletion (subject and object). Note that if the challenge to non-constitutional action is negatively evaluated, this does not extend to the agents of the challenge. It is another text that inclines the reader towards a constitutional resolution of the debate.³⁶ Consistent with this, Dr Patricia Brennan "echoes the call". M.O.W. participants are not as credible as male church actors.

Social affinity is promoted between the reader and women deacons, however, in the construction of the Appellate Tribunal ruling as a "bitter blow (heightened vocabulary) for Australia's 90 women deacons". While quite a few women deacons may have been members of M.O.W., it is the institutional church (and their accredited role within it) that is given the higher credibility as the reference point, rather than the lobby group, M.O.W.. It is notable that the text gives last word (apart from that of the journalist) to a female participant whose view favours ordination by constitutional means. This is reported in the voice of the journalist which encodes higher credibility than for quotation:

"A spokeswoman for the Melbourne diocese, Mrs Angela Grutzner, said it would be a very painful process for an Australian bishop to follow the path of the Anglican Church in the United States.

"While women priests were now accepted in the US, she said that they had suffered persecution for years and Australian women would face a long struggle and a great deal of uncertainty if they took the same course."

So, in this text, as in the majority of *The Australian* texts during 1989, credibility appears to be highest for those who advocate women's ordination by constitutional means.

Male represented participants

Male clergy are constructed in first position-active voice in headlines in two texts. "UK bishop wages war on women priests" (Aust 7.4.89) is consistent with the strand of reporting identified from 1987, as constructing as more credible, participants opposed to the ordination of women. Dr Hughes is "gentle but emphatic in his conviction that female ordination would break the Anglican Church" (modal value of inclination) quite apart from the credibility encoded in the first position-active voice in the headline. Whereas predictions of when women would be ordained as priests, encoding high credibility, are more typical of the print debate as a whole, here a prediction is constructed to the opposite effect:

"Dr Hughes *believes* ordination will *not go ahead* in Melbourne." (Ital: JB)

The word 'believes' is worthy of attention at this point. In their model, Kress and van Leeuwen identify the word as signifying a cognitive mental process.³⁷

However, it is possible, I suggest, that it may encode an element of affective mental process as well, in the sense of passionately holding to a rational proposition; conviction. Alternatively, it could encode an element of scepticism: 'He believes this, but I don't'. The former would promote social affinity; the latter would discourage it. How the word is decoded may depend upon the reading position of the individual reader, but context suggests the writer's intention.

Given the social affinity component of his description and the use of the term "conviction" in relation to Dr Hughes elsewhere in the text, the 'conviction' meaning (positive affective mental process component) is more likely in this case.

More typical of *The Australian's* reporting in 1989 is "Frontier bishop vows to blaze a trail for women priests" (Aust 10.11.89). The lead constructs the 'hope' of Bishop Lewis to ordain women to the priesthood in spite of the Appellate Tribunal ruling. He is given first word, followed by Robert Orr a M.O.W. lawyer, Dr Ian Spry, "a vehement opponent", and then Bishop Lewis. The last word is given to a female deacon whose attitude on the matter is one of hope but also patient acceptance of church processes, either way. This could be read as affirmation of the constitutional realisation of ordination, and a subtle advocacy of women participants submitting themselves to those processes.

Synod/Anglicans as news actor

The synod or 'Anglicans' are constructed as actors in two texts. The first of these ("Synod ruling opens way for women priests" Aust 23.10.89) records the "landmark" decision of the West Australian Anglican synod to allow the ordination of women. High credibility is accorded to Dr Carnley as a "keen supporter", while the only quoted and reported participant is the Rev Pam Halbert. Social affinity is encouraged by reference to affective mental processes:

"For one eligible deacon, the Rev Pam Halbert, ordination would fulfil an ambition of more than 40 years".

The last word, given in writer voice, records the proportion of votes at the West Australian synod for and against. The perspective is implicitly a pro-ordination one. Those who opposed the vote are "dissenters".

The second of these two texts ("Tribunal finds woman priest move unconstitutional" Aust 7.11.89) similarly constructs female advocates of women's ordination as credible. Ms Angela Grutzner, "Anglican Church" spokeswoman, is constructed as expressing "'a lot of anger' among Anglican women over the move" (affective mental process) in 'last word'. However, the journalist also negatively evaluates the debate (with regard to its effects) as "an issue which has repeatedly split the church in recent years". It also gives credibility to the Appellate Tribunal, describing it as "powerful" in the lead, quite apart from the high credibility implicit in the headline construction placing the tribunal in active voice. This, then, is a text that gives credibility to a female participant, but more so to the constitutional processes of church, or unity. Women deacons and their hopes for ordination are credible, but synodical processes are more credible.

Trends evident in 1989 non-synod texts in *The Australian* are summarised in Chapter 2.2.

The Age

A clear feature of the selection of spokespersons in *The Age* is that most are Melbourne-based, or at least Victorian, as in the 1989 synod sample. It will be seen shortly that geographical relevance was not so evident in selection of news actor in the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

10.2.89	Journalist
13.2.89	Journalist
13.2.89	Journalist, the Rev Clementine Woods (p), Sir Frank Woods (p), journalist
21.3.89	Journalist, the Rev Caroline Pearce (p)
21.3.89	Journalist, Dr Pat Brennan (MOW)(p)
4.4.89	Journalist
15.6.89	Journalist, Archbishop David Penman (p), the Rev Heather Marten (p), Mr John Denton (n/a)
27.6.89	Archbishop David Penman (p), the Rev Barbara Darling (p), the Rev Angela Carter (p)
29.6.89	Journalist, Archbishop David Penman (p) journalist, Archbishop Penman (p), journalist
30.8.89	Journalist, Dr Janet Scarfe (p)
25.9.89	Journalist, Canberra-Goulburn spokesperson for Bishop Owen Dowling (p)
2.10.89	Journalist, Pope (a), Archbishop of Canterbury (a)
7.11.89	Journalist, Archbishop Peter Carnley (p), Ms Susan Sandford (MOW) (p), Bishop John Hazlewood (a)
8.11.89	Journalist, the Rev Heather Marten (p), the Rev Barbara Darling (p) Four senior Melbourne clergy (p)
9.11.89	Bishop John Stewart (p), journalist, Bishop Stewart (p), Bishop John Lewis (p)
23.11.89	Journalist
28.11.89	Journalist
20.12.89	Journalist, Ms Heidi Dixon (MOW) (p)

Female represented participants

Women are constructed in first position in headlines in six of the 18 non-synod 1989 texts in *The Age*. One headline has a verb in active voice, one in passive voice, two are constructed with an infinitive, and two with verb deletion.³⁸ There is also nominalisation of subject ("Noisy ascension for female bishop" Age 10.2.89) and agent deletion ("Watching women in the diaconate" Age 27.6.89) in headline constructions. Let us look at some texts more closely.

A number of stories focus on intending women priests or advocates of the priesting of women, using only the one source. One text focuses on the Rev Caroline Pearce ("Australian woman priest in waiting" Age 21.3.89), constructing her with high credibility on the basis of qualifications and pastoral experience (modal value of capacity). While the headline does not use a passive verb that would suggest a victim construction, within the text, Ms Pierce's victim-like situation is spelled out:

"The Reverend Caroline Pearce, priest of the Anglican Church, *is torn between* a wary hierarchy in Australia, a receptive bishop in the (US) and US immigration authorities." (Ital:JB)

Another constructs as highly credible the role of Patricia Brennan as founding president of M.O.W., at the time she announced her intention not to stand for re-election. Note in particular the order of role credibility:

"a mother of three, a general practitioner, broadcaster and former missionary."

One notes that her missionary status is evaluated here as being of greater public significance than her media work. This observation is based on the assumption that the order of labellings implies a hierarchy of significance. In a 1987 synod text ("A fighter intent on women being priests" Age 19.8.87), missionary status rated less highly than her medical work. This may be a subtle indicator of a change in evaluation. It is possible that the women's ordination issue is constructed more in the field of 'church' in *The Age*, after the 1987 General Synod.³⁹

"Church deprives women says Anglican activist" (Age 30.8.89) similarly focuses on the view of a female participant, Dr Janet Scarfe, second president of M.O.W.. Apart from her position in the headline (albeit in last, not first position), she is positioned prior to the bishop in the lead paragraph and is given the first word. Dr Scarfe is also given last word. The journalist then interprets the vote of the gathering at the debate as "overwhelmingly" (heightened vocabulary) in favour of the ordination of women: an additional 'last word' and functional affirmation of Dr Scarfe's view. Although Dr Scarfe and Bishop Hazlewood were given approximately equal text space, the structure of the text constructs Dr Scarfe's view as the more credible. There is, however, some distance encoded between Dr Scarfe and the reader. One notes in the headline that her view is rated more credible than she as participant. It has not been 'owned' by the newspaper. Moreover, the label "activist" does not invite social affinity.

Another text that focuses on female participants is "Church's women down but not out" (Age 8.11.89). This text encodes the Revs Barbara Darling and Heather Marten with very high credibility through labelling. They are "two prominent members of Melbourne's Anglican clergy". The word 'prominent' in one sense is meaningless. Yet, it creates its own meaning in the modal value of capacity. The women are not prominent unless they are constructed as such (and in the composite text this is aided by a large and salient photograph). One might note with irony that their prominence is measured in relation to men, but the construction would appear to have been designed to make the point that the system is already dependent upon them. In one sense they are de-facto priests:

"The one is minister in charge of a parish, the other is about to become so. One trained men to serve as priests, and the other served as personal assistant to the late Archbishop of Melbourne, Dr David Penman."

The construction of emotion promotes affinity between reader and represented participants:

"Ms Darling ... said she was *very upset* by the Tribunal's decision ... But Ms Darling said she *had been encouraged* by the support of her parishioners." (Ital: JB)

Another feature of the text worthy of note is that not only is the Rev Heather Marten's prominence measured against that of Dr Penman, but so too her view. Quoted as hoping that somewhere in the Australian church there would be a "brave bishop who is prepared to act on his own conviction and his own conscience on this matter", the journalist implicitly encourages evaluation of her view in the light of Dr Penman's constitutional approach:

"She said she believed that Dr Penman, with whom she worked this year, would have continued to pursue constitutional means to ordain women priests."

While the last word is given to the "four senior Melbourne clergymen" who stated that the Tribunal's decision did not rule out the possibility of a bishop ordaining women in his own right, their opinion is quoted rather than reported. As in *The Australian*, this distancing may imply preference for a constitutional approach.

Male represented participant

One notes the order of participants in "Pope and archbishop differ on reunification of churches" (Age 2.10.89) which, like *The Australian*, places the Roman Catholic Pope first. However, in *The Age* text, this is reversed in the lead. The only other male active voice headline is "Bishops plan for synod vote on ordination" (Age 23.11.89) in which the Victorian bishops, both for and against the ordination of women, are credible as they work towards a legislative compromise.

Apart from Archbishop Runcie, Archbishop David Penman of Melbourne is the only participant to be given the distinction of his own name in a 1989 headline: "Penman concerned at legal threat to female ordination" (Age 29.6.89). This realises high credibility for Archbishop Penman. The passive construction may be an 'adversative passive', which, according to Kevelson, signals an undeserved action.⁴⁰

Two other constructions of male as actor are "Be patient, bishop urges" (Age 9.11.89), in which the point of view is presented as a proposition, and "Father and daughter of the cloth share solemn moment" (Age 13.2.89), which places the male, and in this case, the more elite

participant, first. "Hope in controversy: bishop" (Age 4.4.89) nominalises the subject with verb deletion, which gives greater credibility to the view than to the participant.

Simply on the basis of headline construction, women more frequently appear as actors, but with infinitives, and less commonly with an active or passive verb. Women are eclipsed in headline credibility (active voice) only by the Pope and the Archbishop (of Canterbury), Victorian bishops as they pursue compromise and Archbishops Penman and Runcie (use of names).

Synod/Anglicans as news actor

The action of the Appellate Tribunal is made the nominalised subject in one text ("Ruling against women priests" Age 7.11.89) while the synod, church or Anglicans is a significant actor in headlines (in active voice on two occasions and with modal qualification on one).⁴¹

These headlines suggest that, like *The Australian*, *The Age* placed high credibility on the constitutional processes of church (synod as actor), and therefore the actions of individuals who promote this. Even in the text "Anglicans could ordain women this year" (Age 23.10.89) it is made clear that Dr Carnley intended to proceed "conditional on a ruling by the Appellate Tribunal".

Findings from non-synod texts in *The Age* are summarised in Chapter 2.2.

Sydney Morning Herald

There were 12 non-synod *Sydney Morning Herald* texts. A very clear feature is that non-Sydney/N.S.W. sources have been preferred. This is at odds with the news value of geographical proximity so evident in *The Age's* selection of participants and implies low modality for the predominant Sydney diocesan (anti-ordination) view in the Biblical tradition. ⁴²

5.1.89	Journalist, spokesperson (p), journalist
13.2.89	Journalist, Bishop Edmund Browning (p), Mr John Jamieson (a), the Rev James Cupit (a), Bishop Browning (p)
13.2.89	Journalist, Inset: journalist, Mr Brian Best (a)
27.3.89	Journalist, Mr Christopher Hill (Arbp of Canterbury's secretary)(a), journalist
29.4.89	Journalist, Pope's letter (a), journalist, Pope's letter (a), Archbishop Runcie (a), Ms Caroline Davis (MOW)(p)
20.9.89	Journalist, Dr Michael Cowan (Catholic)(p), journalist
2.10.89	Journalist, Archbishop Runcie (n/a), Archbishop Robinson (n/a)
4.10.89	Journalist, the Rev Ian Paisley (n/a), Archbishop Runcie (n/a), Joint Declaration (Pope and Canterbury) (n/a), Runcie (n/a)
23.10.89	Journalist, Archbishop Carnley (p)
9.11.89	Bishop Lewis (p), supporters of wo (p), Bishop Lewis (p), Mr Robert Orr (MOW)(p), Archbishop Carnley (p)
7.11.89	Journalist, Ms Angela Grutzner (n/a)
13.11.89	Journalist, Sr Angela (p), journalist, Sr Angela (p)

Female represented participants

The *Sydney Morning Herald*, slightly more so than the other newspapers, constructed individual women actors in non-synod texts in the first position, active voice in headlines.⁴³ Another text also constructed a woman actor in first position in a headline but with verb deletion ("Woman priest angry at church indifference" Sun H 11.12.89 (feat)), while another deleted the first woman bishop, The Rt Rev Barbara Harris, as actor. There was one significant instance of a headline construction with women in first position, passive voice ("Our first female deacons ordained" SMH 13.2.89). Again, headlines with women as actors focussed on progress (for women) meanings. Let us consider one of these texts in detail.

"First female deacon aiming for priesthood" actually encodes an error in evaluation. Sr Angela was not the "first woman deacon" but the first Anglican nun to be made a deacon (modal value of uniqueness). Reference to affective mental processes build affinity between reader and represented participant. Sr Angela is undaunted by ill health or the prospect of criticism and thus is credible on the basis of inclination. Unlike the equivalent *Daily Telegraph* text, this text explicitly associates 'equal rights' with ordination for women:

"A strong advocate of equal rights, she regards her ordination as a stepping-stone to the inevitable - ordination as a priest."

The text later gives attention to a socio-cultural argument also absent from the *Daily Telegraph*:

"Sr Angela blames the local (Australian) church's reluctance, in part, on the Australian macho tradition." ⁴⁴

More is said about evaluation by social and historical parallels in Chapter Four. The *Sydney Morning Herald* text also constructs as highly credible, Sr Angela's criticism of the Anglican Church as irrelevant to society, placing this in the lead, as compared with a late location in the *Daily Telegraph* text. The credibility encoded by the verbal text could be seen as paralleled by the upwards camera angle of the photograph, a strategy explained in Chapter Three. However, overall, less social affinity is created between reader and subject in the *Sydney Morning Herald* text than in the *Daily Telegraph*.

Similar, but additional, verbal strategies are used to encode high credibility for the Most Rev Barbara Harris, consecrated an assistant bishop in the US in February. Heightened vocabulary, constructing emotion, characterises the lead:

"In a *deeply moving* three hour ceremony, marked by *loud and joyous acclamation* as well as strong protest, the Rev Barbara Clementine Harris, 55, a black priest, yesterday became the first woman bishop of the Episcopal Church." (Ital: JB)

Heightened vocabulary and measure encode the uniqueness to the point of other-worldliness of the event:

"*Thousands of guests and 55 episcopal bishops* joined in the service in Boston that *broke a barrier* for all the main branches of Christianity that recognise that bishops have a divinely mandated authority as successors to the apostles.

"Four choirs, two soloists, two organists and a brass band set the hall ringing with Handel, Mozart and the spiritual 'Ride on, King Jesus'." (Ital:JB)

Heightened vocabulary continues in the news report. The high credibility given to the woman bishop in the headline, using active voice verb, is endorsed by other verbal features. One is the placement of participants, in which opponents are centred (lower modality) with small space allocation, as compared with first and last word to the ordaining bishop. Clearly, even without regard to the salient photograph of Bishop Harris, the reader has been positioned to evaluate Dr Harris and her supporters as highly credible, while the emotion encoded promotes social affinity between reader and these participants. A point taken up in Chapter Four is that the writer's evaluation of ecclesiastical matters would seem to be in terms of "the main branches of Christianity".

One very significant *Sydney Morning Herald* text constructed women in first position in the headline but with passive voice ("Our first female deacons ordained" SMH 13.2.89). It is significant because of its use of the possessive pronoun 'our' encoding ownership of ordained status for women. This construction ensures, however, episcopal actors are not credited with the action. It ensures also that the women are not credited with their own ordination. In Kevelson's terms, the passive may signify a 'bad news' construction. This understanding would be at odds with the ownership of the women deacons. Rather, it is the newspaper that has, in a sense, 'ordained' the women by textually constructing their ordination without any other agent.

Let us proceed to the lead. With characteristic use of poetic licence, the journalist/columnist attributes high credibility - indeed inevitability - to the event (probability modality). He also mocks the impact of the event on the church:

"The solid sandstone walls *withstood the shock*, the stained glass windows *didn't even crack*. Women in clerical collars waved and, in a few cases blew kisses to friends and relatives as they lined up for the solemn procession. *Tourists wondered what it was all about*.

"It had to happen - *even* in Sydney." (Ital:JB)

The reader is thus positioned at a distance from a not-quite-credible church. It is one evaluated (as less credible) in the light of progress on the issue in other countries:

"*But* Sydney still has *a long way to go*. The ordinations took place the day after the consecration in the US of the Rt Rev Barbara Harris as the Anglican Communion's first woman bishop." (Ital:JB)

The article is constructed entirely in writer voice, with further 'intuitive' insights, which tend to construct Archbishop Robinson as less credible, a figure of parody:

"Before it (the ceremony) began, Archbishop Robinson posed with the women (and men) for a group picture, smiling broadly. Possibly, he was gritting his teeth."

In an inset, "Church member leaves for 'spiritual wilderness'", high credibility is accorded to one parishioner in the Diocese of Sydney, Mr Brian Best (also featured in the *Daily Telegraph*). He is made actor with active voice in the headline, thus being more highly credible than the ordained women. There is a social affinity component in the description of him as "a gentle person" and "Church of England from the cradle". "Like many others" he is depicted as regarding women in the priesthood as "theologically impossible".

Thus, the composite verbal text gives high credibility to a participant against the ordination of women (Sacramental tradition). However, the credibility given to the women deacons is supported by the photograph's creative construction within and its size, enhancing the positive evaluation implicit in the possessive pronoun 'our'. With some ambivalence - arising from conflict between the main verbal text and the photograph - the reader is thus inclined towards the women deacons.

This is the only *Sydney Morning Herald* non-synod news text to record the view of a participant opposed to the ordination of women during 1989. While Alan Gill's column continued to recognise opposition to ordination to the priesthood for women within the Sydney diocese, news texts focused on pro-ordination participants.⁴⁵

Male represented participants

The only male clergyman to rate as actor with first place position in the headline was Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie.⁴⁶ It is notable that it is the Archbishop of Canterbury (by name) who precedes the Pope, whereas in *The Age*, it is the Pope (by role) who is given first position. This may suggest that Protestant participants are evaluated as more credible by the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Alternatively, it may indicate a leaning towards the U.K., based on a perception of cultural proximity.⁴⁷

It should be noted that at this stage Archbishop Runcie was opposed to the ordination of women as priests on the grounds of ecumenical links with the Church of Rome. Therefore, the headline positioning cannot be taken as indicative of a positive evaluation on the basis of supporting the ordination of women as priests.

The unity theme is taken up in another text, "Women as priests a block to unity" (SMH 29.4.89) again in relation to international news, the Church of England - Rome relationship, in this instance constructing the Pope and his threat as the more credible participant in the lead. However, the last word is given to a M.O.W. (U.K.) spokesperson.

Another male actor was given first position in a headline, but with an infinitive. Bishop John Lewis, a Queensland bishop, announced intention to ordain women in his diocese without enabling legislation from General Synod ("Queensland bishop to ordain women" SMH 9.11.89). This appears to encode high credibility to a supporter of women as priests, whatever the means, unlike *The Australian* and *The Age* evaluations. Certainly, progress is the implicit theme, as opposed to constitutionality and patience in *The Australian* equivalent text. Other represented participants evaluate Bishop Lewis positively, or at least neutrally.

The headline "Moves likely for women priests in the US" (SMH 30.9.89) is notable for its prediction constructed as nominalised subject (high credibility), that pressure to admit women to the Catholic priesthood would intensify. It is noteworthy also for its ownership of Dr Michael Cowan's evaluation that women were already leading 2000 American parishes without priests. High credibility is thereby encoded for progress meanings.

Synod/Anglicans as news actor

Only one text places a synod/Anglicans in first place in the headline, but with partial agent deletion ("WA to ordain women" SMH 23.10.89). Constitutional processes are not as highly credible as the actual ordination of women, or individuals' advocacy of it.

Trends identifiable among non-synod texts in the *Sydney Morning Herald* are summarised in Chapter 2.2.

Conclusion: 1989 synod and non-synod texts

Conclusions in relation to synod and non-synod texts for 1989 are presented in Chapter 2.2.

Analysis of verbal texts, 1992

January-February 1992: Bishop Dowling intends to ordain

The sample consists of 47 texts, from 9 January to 8 February. Whereas past samples have been labelled (p) and (a) for pro-ordination and anti-ordination participants, the labelling for this sample prior to 2.2.92 is specific to the irregular ordination planned for 2 February in the Diocese of Canberra and Goulburn. One or two spokespersons holding to a pro-ordination view were opposed to this ordination because the General Synod had not secured enabling legislation. For legal counsel (p) marks their approval of the ordination proceeding - that is they are the defendants - while (a) indicates the taking of action to prevent the intended ordination, on behalf of the plaintiffs. The labelling (nic) will be used to indicate a view of non-intervention by the civil courts in a church matter, while (n) encodes neutrality. (P but c) indicates advocacy of ordination by constitutional means, (qual) indicating 'with qualification'.

Both unity and progress meanings are evident in headlines during this reporting period. During the court case (24 January-early February) both are temporarily subsumed under the question of whether a secular court should be deciding upon a church matter. There would appear to be a further redefinition from 2 February, the day the ordinations were to occur. Henceforth the issue returns to ordination to the priesthood and clerical rather than legal participants are positioned in more salient positions (first/last word).

In particular, in texts for 3 February, the affective mental processes of the women and their supporters are focussed upon, producing a partial victim persona, but also constructing righteous anger. ⁴⁸ I have noted in Chapter Two the verbal strategies used, and the differences between newspapers, in reporting on the ordination service at the Goulburn Cathedral on the day (2 February) at which 11 women were to have been ordained. These differences are mentioned, briefly.

Daily Telegraph Mirror

The *Daily Telegraph Mirror* texts numbered fewest at seven.

Headlines:

"Don't ordain women: archbishop"	21.1.92
"Bishop to test law on women"	22.1.92
"Court rules today on women priests"	28.1.92
"Women to be priests"	29.1.92
"Women priests to 'split church'"	30.1.92
"The tears of defeat"	3.2.92
"Church bid to end row on women"	6.2.92

One notes in this sample of headlines, two instances of nominalisation, one instance of male actor, but in last position in headline with deletion of verb, one instance of male actor with infinitive, and two instances of female actor(s) with the infinitive. The only actor to be constructed with verb in active voice - thus encoding the highest credibility given to actors in *Daily Telegraph Mirror* texts - was the (Supreme) Court (of N.S.W.). Both unity and progress meanings were evident in headlines.

Represented participants:

21.1.92	Archbishop Robinson (Sydney) (a), journalist, Archbishop Robinson (a) journalist
22.1.92	Bishop Bruce Wilson (Bathurst) (p), journalist
28.1.92	Journalist, the Rev Daphne May (p), journalist
29.1.92	Journalist, Bishop Owen Dowling (p), Justice Andrew Rogers (nic), Bishop Dowling (p), Archbishop Robinson (a), the Rev Sue Pain (p/nic)
30.1.92	The Rev David Robarts (a), journalist, Fr Robarts (a), Archbishop Rayner (p but c), the Rev Margaret Streathfield (p), the Rev Dawn Kenyon (p), Mr Jeremy Saxton (plaintiffs lawyer) (a)
3.2.92	Journalist, Bishop Owen Dowling (p), journalist, Bishop Dowling (p), the Rev Sue Pain (p)
6.2.92	Archbishop Keith Rayner (p but c), journalist

One notes in "'Don't ordain women': archbishop" (DTM 21.1.92) that Archbishop Donald Robinson's view has been made the major focus of the text. He advocated not proceeding with the ordination of the 11 women deacons, expressing 'unity' meanings. However, in the headline, 'archbishop' is positioned last, and the verb is deleted. It was his point of view, an "eleventh hour appeal" that the newspaper rated as most credible, rather than he as participant. It would appear also that the aspect of the Archbishop's view judged credible was not non-ordination, but non-irregular ordination.⁴⁹

In "Court rules today on women priests" (DTM 28.1.92), the actor in the headline is the (Supreme) Court, encoded with active voice. The lead and text focus on the Rev Daphne May, a deacon waiting to be priested. The emphasis of this strongly personalised text is the time Ms May has waited to be priested - the lack of progress - which facilitates a partial victim construction. The journalist also attributes to her a confidence that the Supreme Court would not prevent her ordination, an attributed (but reported and therefore 'owned', not quoted) pro-ordination prediction (high credibility).

In "Women to be priests" (DTM 29.1.92), both unity and progress are addressed and held in tension, but again with greater credibility for the pro-ordination participants than those opposed.⁵⁰ The *Daily Telegraph Mirror* text is similar to the *Sydney Morning Herald* text, as will be revealed below.

An injunction granted by the N.S.W. Court of Appeal preventing the ordinations from proceeding lawfully, is evaluated in terms of the impact on the intending women priests. The construction of emotion renders them victim-like ("The tears of defeat" DTM 3.2.92) while the large photograph visually makes that emotion more salient.⁵¹ Bishop Dowling is given the first word and the Rev Sue Pain, on her assessment of the degree of support for women priests in the community, the last. Points of view that opposed the ordination are realised only through the journalist's dismissive label as "the vocal minority". The 'issue' has returned to the rightness of/ support for, women's ordination (progress).

The Australian

The Australian texts for this period of the debate number thirteen. Headlines were:

"Women deacons to be frocked despite split risk"	9.1.92
"Groups seek ban over women priests"	10.1.92
"Bishop risks court for women priests"	18-19.1.92
"Loophole enables women to be priests"	22.1.92
"Women priests"	23.1.92
"Women deacons court elusive justice"	24.1.92
"Judge to leave way open for ordination of women"	25-26.1.92
"Court lets ordination of women proceed"	29.1.92
"Give women priest vote to dioceses"	30.1.92
"Court blocks women priests"	1-2.2.92
"After the cold hand of the law ... a time to weep"	3.2.92
"Plans to ordain ten women on hold"	4.2.92
"Archbishop offers peace plan on women priests"	6.2.92

Represented participants:

- 9.1.92 Journalist, Bishop Dowling (p), the Rev Jill Mendham (p), the Rev Vicki Cullen (p), Bishop Dowling (p)
- 10.1.92 Mrs Phyllis Boyd (WAOW) (a), journalist, Dr Ian Spry (a), Mrs Boyd (a), Primate's spokesperson (p)
- 18-19.1.92 Journalist, Bishop Dowling (p/nic), Mr Jeremy Saxton, lawyer (a)
- 22.1.92 Archbishop Carnley (p), Archbishop Ian George (p), the Rev Susan Straub (p), journalist
- 23.1.92 Bishop Bruce Wilson (p)
- 24.1.92 Journalist, Justice Rogers (nic), journalist, Bishop Dowling (p) journalist, Archbishop Robinson (a), Dr Lawrence Scandrett, plaintiff (a), Archbishop Robinson (a), journalist, Bishop John Reid (p but unity), journalist, Archbishop Peter Hollingworth (n but unity)
- 25.6.92 Journalist, Justice Rogers (nic), Bishop Dowling (p/nic), Archbishop Robinson (a), Bishop Dowling (p), the Rev Margaret Streathfield (p), the Rev Vicki Cullen (p), journalist
- 29.1.92 Journalist, Mr Jeremy Saxton (a), Justice Rogers (nic), journalist, Bishop Dowling (p), the Rev Sue Pain (p), Justice Rogers (nic)
- 30.1.92 Journalist, Archbishop Keith Rayner (p but c), Bishop John Hazlewood (a), Bishop Harry Goodhew (a), Archbishop Robinson (a), journalist
- 1-2.2.92 Journalist, Bishop Dowling (p), Justice Murray Gleeson (Court of Appeal) (n), the Rev Bruce Ballantine-Jones (a), Archbishop Keith Rayner (n), Bishop Dowling (p), the Rev Sue Pain (p), the Rev Ian Wright (ordinand) (p), Ms Eileen Baldry (MOW) (p), Bishop Alfred Holland (N'castle) (p), Archbishop Ian George (Adelaide) (p), Bishop Bruce Wilson (Bathurst) (p)
- 3.2.92 Journalist, the Rev Anne Dudzinski (p), the Rev Vicki Cullen (p), Bishop Alfred Holland (p/nic), Bishop Dowling (p), journalist, Bishop Dowling (p), journalist, Bishop Dowling (p), Archbishop Peter Hollingworth (p/nic)
- 4.2.92 Archbishop Carnley (p), journalist, Archbishop Carnley (p), MOW (p)
- 6.2.92 Journalist, Archbishop Rayner (p but c), Dr Ian Spry (a), Arbp Rayner (p but c)

Who is selected as news actor suggests an implicit credibility for pro-ordination participants and legal actors. The (N.S.W. Supreme) Court is actor in first position with active voice in the headline in two texts, with another text constructing as actor in active voice a (legal) "loophole". A bishop is actor in first position, active voice, in another two headlines. It is notable that pro-ordination participants are quoted in relation to legal meanings and social meanings or those with a social 'face'. One notes the high credibility given to Justice Andrew

Rogers (first or last word in three consecutive texts 24-30 January), who stressed the inappropriateness of the church bringing a dispute to be resolved by secular law.

Second, one notes the frequent inclusion of a woman deacon or women deacons, who, in this sample, express meanings more 'social' and affective than legal or theological. This credibility is evidenced in one headline ("Women deacons court elusive justice" Aust 24.1.92) which places them in first position with active voice. However, first/last word is given usually to pro-ordination bishops (Dowling, Carnley, Wilson).

Third, there is one text in which a female opponent of women's ordination, Mrs Phyllis Boyd of Women Against the Ordination of Women (W.A.O.W.), is featured ("Groups seek ban over women priest" 10.1.92 Aust.)⁵² Dr Ian Spry, a lawyer and member of the Association for Apostolic Ministry (A.A.M.) is quoted also, and equally unusually, there is a hint of his theological discourse, characteristic of the Sacramental tradition. However, how these participants are introduced in the lead is crucial to their likely evaluation by readers:

"Anglican groups *opposed to church laws clearing the way* for the ordination of women ..."(Ital: JB)

Another way of expressing "clearing the way" (a good removal of a bad blockage) would be 'facilitating progress'. This discourse is implicit in the evaluation on the basis of polarity. In Chapter Four I suggest that the notion of 'groups' is one means by which the media identify who is not part of society's consensus. Suffice for the moment to point out that these two participants are followed by a spokesperson for the Primate, the Archbishop of Melbourne. The spokeswoman, given the last word, suggests that ordination for women was "only a matter of

time" and the "minority" opposed to ordination were "traditionalists". Such labelling arguably detracts from any theological or other distinctiveness that the discourse may have been constructed as having, marginalises these "groups", and positions the reader away from them.⁵³

In the previous discussion of *Daily Telegraph Mirror* texts, I focused on a text for 29 January. *The Australian's* equivalent text is "Court lets ordination of women proceed" (Aust 29.1.92). This text would appear to attempt quite successfully a balancing of the legal processes to stop the ordination as having high credibility (headline, first/last word), with the pro-ordination participants as having high credibility (visual constructions, lead, centred verbal text). The newspaper could be understood as having positioned the reader to retain commitment to legal processes (but the inappropriateness of taking a church dispute to secular law) while not opposing the ordination of women.⁵⁴

One notes a change in the participants selected for the texts after the reporting for 2 February. The focus returned to advocates of women's ordination, such as Bishop Dowling, who is reported to have called upon other bishops throughout Australia, not under the same constitutional restrictions as he, to proceed (Aust 3.2.92). Even more so than in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* equivalent text, there is mention of the affective mental processes of the intending women priests, both quoted and reported. Note that it is also "their priesthood" as though the status/role by natural rights belonged to them.

Reader identification with these participants is encouraged, having been established in the lead through the affective mental processes of the women and the ownership of them again as

belonging to the nation:

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

Focus is placed also on Bishop Owen Dowling. Note the affective component in the choice of verbs and adjectives, increasing the credibility of the utterance and inviting reader affinity:

"Although *refusing* to break the law, Bishop Dowling was *defiant and angry*.

"He *pledged* to challenge the court order restraining him from ordaining the women in the High Court and *hoped* the first woman would be ordained as a priest later this year." (Ital:JB)

This text's positioning of the reader with the emotions of the female ordinands and their bishop, reveals something of the subtle political 'Opposition' role the press plays at times. The press do not provide a blueprint for what should happen, but evaluate what has happened without the necessity of a consistent critique.

I have suggested already that *The Australian* appears implicitly to have favoured a constitutional/legal resolution of the issue. An injunction imposed by a secular court was one means of achieving this, but it was a means that appears to have been evaluated negatively by *The Australian*, given the prominence accorded to Justice Rogers as participant (and therefore the implicit credibility attached to his view). Then there was the possible 'deviant' construction given to the "groups" who pursued legal action.

In the 3 February text ("After the cold hand of the law ... a time to weep"), the agency of the action in the headline has been hidden, as noted in Chapter Two's comparison of texts across

newspapers. The legal action has, however, been evaluated negatively through the view of Archbishop Hollingworth. Here, a kind of 'attributed modality' has functioned. Archbishop Hollingworth has been constructed with very high credibility as "Australian of the Year", heightening the authority of his reported (not quoted) evaluation of the legal action as "a 'tragic' move that could have grave consequences for the future of the Anglican Church". Archbishop Hollingworth goes on to reiterate his pro-ordination view, which is given the 'last word' position. This carry-over credibility from one discourse to another is addressed in Chapter Four.

The Australian would appear to have evaluated negatively the means by which the ordination of women was kept 'constitutional' (the inappropriateness of appealing to secular law) but not the outcome. A text the following day it appears to have evaluated positively, Bishop Dowling's decision to abide by the temporary injunction granted subsequently by the N.S.W. Court of Appeal (See "Court blocks women priests" 1-2.2.92). The focus on pro-ordination participants immediately following the church service at which the women were to have been ordained, implicitly encodes high credibility to the renewed pursuit of ordination for women (progress). It is not until mid February that a text takes up the 'unity-disunity' theme again, this time in a text that focuses solely on the view of Archbishop Donald Robinson, and atypically of news reporting in general, represents his theological view beyond a token recognition.⁵⁵ However, there are no social affinity markers and much of the report is based on quotation, encoding lesser ownership of the meanings than through reporting.

The Age

The sample analysed numbers fourteen texts. Headlines are:

- 17.1.92 "Priest row goes to supreme court"
- 21.1.92 "Archbishop warns against ordinations"
- 22.1.92 "Archbishop of Adelaide to ordain women"
- 24.1.92 "Church faces chaos says bishop"
- 29.1.92 "Court clears ordinations"
- 29.1.92 "Deacon can't understand the angst"
- 30.1.92 "Opposing priest unrepentant on eve of court appeal"
- 30.1.92 "Time of joy becomes an extravaganza"
- 3.2.92 "Bishop wants Anglicans to defy court injunction"
- 3.2.92 "Amid tears and anger burns a candle of hope"
- 3.2.92 "Vicar seeks new unity in divine discrimination"
- 4.2.92 "Bishop plans to ordain women priests"
- 6.2.92 "Bishop keeps options open"
- 6.2.92 "Allow dioceses to decide: Rayner"

Represented participants:

- 17.1.92 Journalist, "the plaintiffs"(a), Bishop Dowling (p), Dr Janet Scarfe (p), Mrs Phyllis Boyd (a)
- 21.1.92 Archbishop Robinson (a), the Rev Dalba Primmer (a), Archbishop Robinson (a), spokesperson for Archbishop Rayner (n), journalist
- 22.1.92 Journalist, Bishop Ian George (p)
- 24.1.92 Archbishop Robinson (a), Justice Rogers (p), Bishop Dowling (p), journalist, Bishop John Reid (p but c/unity), Mr Keith Mason (legal counsel for Bishop Dowling) (p), Mr Barry O'Keefe (legal counsel for plaintiffs) (nic), journalist
- 29.1.92 Journalist, Bishop Dowling (p), Mr Justice Rogers (nic), Mr Jeremy Saxton (a), Mr Justice Rogers (p/nic), MOW (p)
- 29.1.92 The Rev Jill Mendham (p)
- 30.1.92 Journalist, Fr Robarts (a), Bishop Dowling (p), Archbishop Keith Rayner (n; p but c), Bishop Goodhew (a)
- 30.1.92 Journalist, Bishop Owen Dowling (p), Dean Ron Moon (p), journalist
- 3.2.92 Bishop Dowling (p), Bishop Alfred Holland (p), journalist, Ms Eileen Baldry (p), journalist
- 3.2.92 The Rev Sue Pain (p), the Rev Jill Mendham (p), journalist, the Rev Ruth Mills (p), journalist, Bishop Owen Dowling (p), Bishop Alfred Holland (p), the Rev Ruth Mills (p)
- 3.2.92 Fr Robarts (a)
- 4.2.92 Archbishop Peter Carnley (p), journalist, Archbishop Carnley (p), Dr Ian Spry (a), journalist, Dr Spry(a)
- 6.2.92 Archbishop Carnley (p), Archbishop Rayner (n)
- 6.2.92 Archbishop Rayner (p but c; nic), Dr Janet Scarfe (p but c; qualified)

The clearest difference between *The Age's* reporting and that of the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* or *The Australian*, lies in the degree to which male participants (usually bishops) are constructed as actors in first position with active voice in *The Age's* headlines. Male clerical/episcopal actors are constructed with active voice in five texts. Two of these are anti-ordination participants (Archbishop Robinson and Fr Roberts). The other three instances of active voice pertain to male pro-ordination participants (Dowling and Carnley). The infinitive is used in one other headline with male participant (the Archbishop of Adelaide). In two headlines, the utterances of bishops are constructed as more credible than the actor (24.1.92 and 6.2.92), as signified by the source being mentioned in last position in the headline.

A female deacon is actor in the headline only in one text, as is the (Supreme) Court (active voice).

Like the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* and *The Australian*, there is a change of focus after 2 February, towards pro-ordination participants, and women deacons in particular. Before then, it is notable that in four out of eight texts, either the plaintiffs, or Archbishop Robinson, who had requested that Bishop Dowling not proceed with the ordinations of the eleven women, are given first word. Participants quoted or reported include persons from the Diocese of Sydney, either opposed to ordination for women (Bishop Goodhew), or opposed to an irregular ordination while favouring ordination for women (Bishop Reid). This contrasts with the generally low credibility given to participants from the Diocese of Sydney (apart from Archbishop Robinson) implicit in their virtual non-appearance in the samples studied after 1987 texts. Whereas *The Australian* focused on the legal actors (judges and solicitors) as the most

credible participants (first word) during the court case, *The Age* has focused more on the clerical/episcopal actors (first word), rating them as the more credible participants.

This slight, but important, difference in reporting is evident when one compares *The Age* text for 29 January, "Court clears ordinations", with those of *The Australian* and the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* as analysed above. *The Age* is slightly more clergy-oriented, and implicitly inclined towards pro-ordination participants, than is *The Australian*.⁵⁶

The Age's 'post-mortem' of the Goulburn Cathedral service at which the eleven women would have been ordained, is worthy of note. There are three texts, each one constructing high credibility for a different actor in the saga. "Bishop wants Anglicans to defy court injunction" focuses on episcopal actors, Bishop Dowling and Bishop Alfred Holland, as well as a M.O.W. participant, Ms Eileen Baldry, who by implication, is given equivalent status. Reference to an affective mental process in the headline ("wants") invites reader affinity. However, this text otherwise constructs less emotion than in other newspapers.

In "Amid tears and anger burns a candle of hope", while Bishops Dowling and Holland are given voice, their perspectives are positioned with lower credibility than those of intending women priests: the Rev Sue Pain (first word), the Rev Jill Mendham, and the Rev Ruth Mills (last word). It is in part a 'victim' construction text (note the nominalisation in headline), which constructs the vulnerable emotional state of the women kept from ordination, which is implicitly defined as progress for women. The text also constructs their anger and places it perhaps so as to initially shock the reader. However, the reader is also positioned to evaluate

the anger as just. Social affinity is constructed between reader and participant through evaluations such as the following:

"The Rev Ruth Mills, 57, a woman called to the priesthood 30 years ago, and whose legs crippled by polio only just keep her walking ... reading from Luke (she) cried when she said the words 'and a sword will pierce your own soul too'.
"Many wept ..."

"Vicar seeks new unity in divine discrimination" (Age 3.2.92) in the same newspaper focuses on the view of Fr David Robarts, one of the three plaintiffs who at this stage had been successful in gaining a temporary injunction that prevented Bishop Dowling from ordaining the eleven women. He is made credible in the first position, active voice headline. "Seeks" also invites some reader affinity. The entire text is devoted to his view, implying lower credibility for alternative participants. Note in particular, however, the use of the signifier "believes":

"Fr Robarts ... *believes* there is a history of 'divine discrimination' ... Fr Robarts also *believes* that people who accuse the church of being incorrigibly patriarchal are wrong ..."

In Chapter 2.2 I suggest two possible meanings for this word. Either it may encode scepticism ('He thinks this but I don't') or conviction ('he thinks this with passion'). The former would imply high credibility but negative evaluation, the latter, high credibility with social affinity derived from the affective mental process component, and thus a positive evaluation. In this case, the other markers in the text marginally suggest a 'scepticism' rather than a 'conviction' meaning. One notes the use of scare quotes around 'divine discrimination' in the headline, the extensive use of quotation, encoding less ownership of meaning, but the otherwise unmarked use of 'said'. While only Fr Robarts, and not the other two plaintiffs, is featured, this may be 'defensible' on the grounds that he was the only Melbourne-based member of the three.

On the basis of these three texts, one could see *The Age* as endeavouring to provide a balanced 'high credibility' construction for all the main actors: clergy/bishops in favour of ordination for women, women (victims) seeking ordination, and persons opposed to ordination for women, through the three text strategy.

However, some of the features of the texts suggest an implicit subjectivity favouring pro-ordination participants. One notes the shock tactics of the writer in "Amid tears and anger burns a candle of hope", placement of spokespersons and attribution. The reporting of anti-ordination participants comes only through the negative evaluations of pro-ordination participants, Ms Eileen Baldry and Bishop Alfred Holland, and the more subtle scepticism evident in relation to Fr Robarts.⁵⁷

The 'victim' construction is less marked than in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror*, *The Australian*, and especially the *Sydney Morning Herald* in this period of the debate. Rather, in *The Age*, the women are credible on the basis of capacity for action and anger, as evident from the evaluation of the Goulburn protest. They are credible also on the basis of their support, the measurement of which is second only to the *Daily Telegraph Mirror's* on a cross-newspaper comparison.

Headlines affirm the credibility of bishops as participants.

Sydney Morning Herald

There were thirteen texts for this period of reporting. Headlines are:

"Threat won't deter bishop's feminism"	11.1.92
"Legal threat to prevent the ordination of women"	18.1.92
"Bishops plan to ordain women despite court challenge"	23.1.92
"Archbishop fears split if women ordained"	24.1.92
"Court may stay out of unholy fight"	25.1.92
"Just one last hurdle for women priests"	29.1.92
"Women priests face new threat"	30.1.92
"Bishop obeys court with sorrow"	1.2.92
"Dowling refused to negotiate: QC"	1.2.92
"Reverend women must wait, say judges"	1.2.92
"Anglican women wait in men's wake"	3.2.92
"Threat of split in Anglican Church"	6.2.92
"Ordination case centred on law not eligibility"	8.2.92

Represented participants:

- 11.1.92 Bishop Dowling (p), Dr Ian Spry (a), Bishop Dowling (p, nic), Dr Ian Spry (a)
- 18.1.92 Journalist, Bishop Owen Dowling (p), Mr Jeremy Saxton (a), Bishop Dowling (p), journalist
- 23.1.92 Journalist, Bishop Wilson (p, nic), Archbishop Ian George (p, nic), Jeremy Saxton (a), journalist
- 24.1.92 Archbishop Robinson (a-disunity), Bishop John Reid (p but unity), Dr Lawrence Scandrett (a-unity), Bishop Dowling (p), journalist
- 25.1.92 Journalist, Justice Rogers (p, nic), journalist, Justice Rogers (n/a), journalist, Keith Mason (p), Justice Rogers (p), Mr Barry O'Keefe (a-unity), Bishop Dowling (p-unity), Lawrence Scandrett (a), Justice Rogers (nic)
- 29.1.92 Senior church figure (p), journalist, Justice Rogers (nic), Archbishop Carnley (p), Archbishop George (p), Justice Rogers (nic), the Rev Sue Pain (p), the Rev Vicki Cullen (p)
- 30.1.92 Journalist, Jeremy Saxton (a), Dr Ian Spry (a), Mr Ian Gillespie-Jones (p), Archbishop Rayner (p but c), journalist, Archbishop Rayner (nic), Dr Janet Scarfe (p), Fr David Robarts (a-unity), Mrs Phyllis Boyd (a-unity)
- 1.2.92 Journalist, Bishop Dowling (p), Court of Appeal (n), journalist, Justice Gleeson (n), journalist, Eileen Baldry MOW (p), the Rev Bruce Ballantine-Jones (a)
- 1.2.92 Dr Ian Spry (a), Bishop Holland (p), Bishop Wilson (p), Bishop Hearn (p), Bishop Newell (p), Bishop George (p)
- 1.2.92 Journalist, Bishop Dowling (p), journalist, the Rev Ruth Mills (p), the Rev Pamela Phillips (p), the Rev Vicki Cullen (p)
- 3.2.92 Journalist, the Rev Anne Dudzinski (p), journalist, Bishop Dowling (p), Bishop Holland (p), the Rev Ruth Mills (p)
- 6.2.92 Journalist, Archbishop Rayner (p but c), the Rev Bruce Ballantine-Jones (a), Archbishop Rayner (p but c), Dr Janet Scarfe (MOW) (p but c, qualified)
- 8.2.92 Journalist, Justices Gleeson, Meagher and Samuels (a)

This sample of texts in general is characterised by its focus on legal and social meanings and affective mental processes of pro-ordination participants. Unity meanings, while evident in some texts, are generally less prominent.

Male participants are constructed with active voice in four headlines. The male actors are "bishops", "archbishop" and "bishop" with the use of Bishop Dowling's surname in one headline, encoding high credibility. One may recall the very low incidence of the use of names noted in earlier discussion, with Archbishops "Runcie" and "Penman" being the only exceptions. Female participants are constructed with active voice in first position in two headlines. However, the action is an involuntary one (30.1.92, 3.2.92).

Nominalisation occurs five times. The subject nominalised ranges from a "threat/legal threat" to the intended ordinations, suggesting a holding back of progress for women - or "last hurdle" as renewed hope of progress for women - to unity meanings such as the "threat of split" and "unholy fight" in the Anglican Church. Progress meanings only slightly outnumber unity meanings in headlines. The (Supreme) Court, as in *The Age*, has lower credibility as actor, featuring in a headline with passive voice only once.

The object of the "threat" in the text of 11 January is worthy of particular note. Bishop Dowling is encoded as having or professing "feminism". That this is positive construction rather than one viewed with some ambivalence, as in "Feminist priest faces battle again" (SMH 8.7.87) is evident in the choice of verb with affective component in the lead:

"The Anglican Bishop of Canberra and Goulburn yesterday *vowed* to go ahead with the ordination of 11 female priests next month despite the possibility of legal action against him by church groups." (Ital:JB)

'Feminism' is a word that rarely appears in texts. The field is however present implicitly as texts chart the 'progress' of women's place within society. The media 'progress-historical' discourse is discussed further in Chapter Four. Also notable is the description of opponents as church "groups", which may marginalise their authority.⁵⁸

Consider the text "Just one last hurdle for women priests", (SMH 29.1.92). The headline constructs the issue as an achievable goal; indeed, imminent. It is noted that this is not the construction in *The Australian* text, which takes the anti-(irregular)-ordination point of view and constructs it as the "failure of the historic action".⁵⁹ The selection of participants and use of heightened vocabulary positions the reader towards pro-ordination views. The scepticism of the Rev Sue Pain, followed by the pro-ordination view of the Rev Vicki Cullen, both quoted, tends to parallel the headline: a hurdle remains, in the face of the 'rightness' of women being ordained.

The emotional state of the women participants receive major attention in "Anglican women wait in men's wake" (SMH 3.2.92), facilitating strong reader-subject identification. While the voice of the verb in the headline is active and not passive, the action of the women is passive. Arguably, when combined with the reporting of their affective mental processes, this constitutes a partial 'victim' construction. The event (the ordination ceremony at which the women were to have been ordained) is personalised through the experience of the Rev Anne Dudzinski in the lead. Yet, her emotions are generalised and objectified as a self evident reality, which gives heightened credibility to them:

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

"It was also one of the proudest.

"The ceremony she was attending before a capacity congregation of 2000 was to have been her ordination, a moment she had worked towards for 10 years.

"When three Appeal Court judges ruled on Friday that she and ten other deacons hoping to become the country's first Anglican women ministers could not proceed, she was 'totally, utterly, completely devastated'.

"Yesterday, her mood and that of her colleagues had changed to one of open defiance ...

"Despite the pain and anger felt by the women and their supporters, the atmosphere felt at yesterday's ceremony was not one of defeat, but of righteousness."

The construction is very positive in relation to the women, with the credibility of the bishops being secondary to theirs, and derivative of theirs, as their "supporters" or "colleagues". A large photograph makes even more salient the pain of the defeated women and facilitates reader affinity.

1992 General Synod (July/November) and related texts

Having analysed a 'non-synod' sample of texts for 1992, I turn now to the July 1992 General Synod, called into session again in November. Brief reference will be made to the first ordination of women to the priesthood in the Diocese of Perth in March and ordinations in other dioceses in November.

Daily Telegraph Mirror

The July General Synod debate was represented in four *Daily Telegraph Mirror* texts, and the November special sitting in one. During this period of reporting, the newspaper demonstrated an increased 'receptiveness' to 'unity' concerns, but continued to evaluate pro-ordination participants, including M.O.W. spokespersons, as having highest credibility. Three texts focus on the first ordinations of women as priests, and it is these women who are the main sources.

Headlines:

"At last, women priests"	8.3.92
"Women rejoice" / "Tears of joy at women's mass"	9.3.92
"Church crisis looms"	6.7.92
"Church to vote today on women"	7.7.92
"A close call but still 'no' to women priests"	8.7.92
"Devolution move on women priests"	10.7.92
"Church vote means women can be priests"	22.11.92
"First woman priests ordained"	20.12.92

Represented participants:

8.3.92	Journalist, Angela Grutzner (p), journalist, the Rev Joyce Polson (p), the Rev Elizabeth Amley (p), Angela Grutzner (p)
9.3.92	Journalist, the Rev Catherine Pinner (p), journalist, the Rev Teresa Milne (p), the Rev Robert Milne (p), journalist, Archbishop Peter Carnley (p)
6.7.92	Dr Janet Scarfe (MOW) (p), journalist
7.7.92	Journalist, Bishop Bruce Wilson (p), the Rev Rob Forsyth (a)
8.7.92	Journalist, Mr George Fisher (n/a), 'one delegate' (a), Archbishop Hollingworth (p), the Rev Barbara Darling (p)
10.7.92	Journalist
22.11.92	Journalist, Archbishop Keith Rayner (p), the Rev Barbara Darling (p) Archbishop Rayner (p)
20.12.92	journalist

It is notable that for the General Synod texts, four of the five headlines are nominalisations, while the other constructs the "church" as actor with infinitive. Among the three 'first ordination' texts chosen, two texts use a nominalisation, while the alternative headline of one text places women in active voice (March). The other (December) headline places women priests in passive voice. These encodings may imply a low priority for the issue as news in general, but high credibility and positive evaluation in the field of feminism for the March ordination. The December ordination of women priests within N.S.W. carried a passive construction.

In the lead paragraphs, the "Anglican General Synod" is actor in one text (DTM 10.7.92) and similarly, the "Anglican Church of Australia" in another text (ST 22.11.92). "Supporters of the

ordination of women in the Anglican Church" is actor in another (DT 8.7.92). There is nominalised subject in the lead in one text, "the future of the divided Anglican Church and how it is controlled" (DT 7.7.92), while in the other text (DT 6.7.92), the actor is the spokesperson, Dr Janet Scarfe, whose view is that failure to resolve the issue of women's ordination will mean that the church is in 'considerable crisis'.

The most complex of the five General Synod texts is "Church to vote today on women" (DT 7.7.92). Its construction on the surface suggests balance. There are two spokespersons, one 'for', the other 'against' ordination for women. Bishop Wilson (for) is given first word, after that of the journalist. The Rev Robert Forsyth (against) is given second word, which is also 'last'. So, there is equal prominence of position. Both are reported/quoted at similar length. 'Balance' is pursued.

In spite of this, the reader is inclined towards the view of Bishop Wilson. In the headline, the 'issue' is voting "on women" (legislative discourse). However, the lead defines the 'issue' as the "future of a divided Anglican Church" (unity discourse). Two proposals to be debated by the synod are outlined. The first is described as asking the synod to give individual dioceses power to make decisions about ordaining women. The second is described as a "more radical proposal" of the "anti-ordination Sydney Diocese" that would give dioceses "wider powers over theological philosophy".

One is then left to consider whether "radical" and the reference to the author as "the anti-ordination Sydney Diocese" constitute labels that carry negative evaluations. The weight of other features tend to incline the reader towards this evaluation. The lead carries a 'bad news' construction that focuses on disunity and control. This is carried on in the focus on the second proposal (far less so the first). The "but" that precedes the last word given to the Rev Robert Forsyth tends also to place more emphasis on what follows than what the preceding quote says: "But he added, 'Diversity and confusion could be a good thing for the church, allowing dioceses more freedom.'"

Such a view is implicitly placed at odds with the concerns expressed in the lead about division in the church and control of it. So the construction of the "last word" of Robert Forsyth's is implicitly evaluated with scepticism. If the journalist had wished to construct Mr Forsyth's view about "diversity and confusion" as a 'positive', thus reinterpreting the concerns expressed in the lead, then one would have expected the last word also to have been reported (encoding 'ownership') rather than simply quoted (encoding distance).

Three of the other four texts are clearer in their implicit leaning towards a pro-ordination discourse. In "Church crisis looms" (DT 6.7.92), Dr Janet Scarfe, President of the Movement for the Ordination of Women, is the only reference point regarding the ruling of the N.S.W. Court of Appeal that there was no legal impediment to women's ordination.

In "A close call but still 'no' to women priests" (DT 8.7.92) the reference point established in the lead is "supporters of the ordination of women". The result of the vote did not achieve the required majority for this first proposal to pass as an ordinary bill, which would have meant immediate effect. This is interpreted in the light of a reported prediction. Preceded by the conjunction "but", the view receives added credibility:

"But church spokesman George Fisher said ordinations were likely to be approved by the end of the year."

The prediction has been constructed as more newsworthy than the actual vote which is the ostensible "news" being reported.

High credibility for pro-ordination participants is achieved in other ways. Affective mental processes play a part:

"The lack of commitment from the synod upset bishops and senior church officials who had wanted an end to 15 years of bitter division."

Anti-ordination participants implicitly become responsible for the existence of the "15 years of bitter division". They also are encoded with less credibility through the modal component in the verb choice:

"One delegate *claimed* pro-ordination forces were blackmailing the rest of the church."

(Italics :JB)

Last word is given to the Rev Barbara Darling who spoke to the synod on behalf of the 160 female deacons in Australia and the 10 women priests ordained by Perth's Dr Peter Carnley. Her view, essentially a progress-historical discourse, in the face of no progress (as the headline implies) suggests a victim status for the women concerned. It is notable however, that she is quoted, rather than reported. Synod supporters (the bishops, clergy and lay representatives who voted for ordination) are encoded with greater credibility (as in the lead) than the women who seek ordination.

The March ordinations attracted greater interest than the December ones, and were typified by constructions of emotion. The resulting three texts are discussed in Chapter 2.2.

The text recording the special sitting of the General Synod in November to consider provisional legislation for women priests, focuses on the affective mental processes of female deacons. It also encodes high credibility to Archbishop Keith Rayner, whose view (first and last word) played down divisions in the church. The text is particularly notable for its photographs, mentioned in Chapter Three, and its verbal evaluation of the legal enabling of ordination as "the right to be ordained" (journalist's voice). A text the following day characteristically recorded the view of M.O.W., negatively evaluating the anti-ordination vote of the Sydney delegates at the General Synod ("Sydney stand condemned" DTM 23.11.92).

The Australian

News texts produced by *The Australian* for this General Synod period numbered seven. They are less marked in favour of pro-ordination participants than in 1989 texts. Headlines use active voice in relation to clerical or episcopal actors whose actions are conducive to constitutionality and compromise. Church unity/disunity is the dominant discourse and would appear to have facilitated renewed interest in anti-ordination participants. Four texts from the November special sitting and subsequent ordinations will be considered also.

Headlines:

9.3.92	"Unlikely militants celebrate liberation"
3.7.92	"Diocese to pay costs in row over ordination"
4-5.7.92	"Synod to rule on women's ordination"
6.7.92	"Ordination opponents support compromise"
7.7.92	"Women priests debate harms church: Primate"
8.7.92	"Minority stalls women priests for another four months"/ "Synod approves women priests, but crisis continues"
9.7.92	"Bishops delay ordinations"
10.7.92	"Bishops vote to review constitution"
21-22.11.92	"Anglicans expected to vote for women priests"
23.11.92	"Church to ordain 82 women"
24.11.92	"Anglicans divided on church split"
5-6.12.92	"Big day arrives for five women (and four men)"
7.12.92	"Another 80 women priests on the way"
14.12.92	"Applause and objection as 12 women ordained"

Represented participants:

- 9.3.92 Journalist, the Rev Kay Goldsworthy (p), Archbishop Peter Carnley (p), journalist, Dr Hewson (n/a), Mrs Ros Kelly (n/a) Tim Fischer (n/a), Sth Aust Minister for Employment (n/a), Mrs Kirner (n/a)
- 3.7.92 Journalist
- 4-5.7.92 Journalist, Justices Mahoney, Hope and Priestly (n/a), Bishop Dowling (p), Justices Hope and Priestly (n/a) Justice Mahoney (n/a), Bishop Bruce Wilson (p), the Rev Ruth Mills (p), journalist
- 6.7.92 Journalist, the Rev Bruce Ballantine-Jones (a), Dr Janet Scarfe (p), Bishop John Hazlewood (a), journalist
- 7.7.92 Journalist, Archbishop Keith Rayner (p), Bishop Bruce Wilson (p), the Rev Robert Forsyth (a), Bishop Bruce Wilson (p), "members of the anti-ordination bloc, such as the Bruce Ballantine-Jones" (a), journalist
- 8.7.92 Journalist, Archbishop Peter Hollingworth (p), Archbishop Donald Robinson (a), journalist
- 9.7.92 Journalist, the Rev Kay Goldsworthy (p)
- 10.7.92 Journalist
- 21-22.11.92 "Opponents of women's ordination", journalist, "spokeswoman for the Anglican Church", Archbishop Donald Robinson (a) Equal But Different group (a)
- 23.11.92 Journalist, Archbishop Donald Robinson (a), Ms Di Selden (a), Dr Janet Scarfe (M.O.W.)(p), Archbishop Keith Rayner (p but c), journalist
- 24.11.92 Mr Gerald Christmas (p), journalist, the Rev Robert Forsyth for R.E.P.A. (n/a), journalist
- 5-6.12.92 Journalist, Archbishop Ian George (p), journalist
- 7.12.92 Journalist, Dr Janet Scarfe (p), Dean David Richardson (p), Archbishop Ian George (p)
- 14.12.92 Journalist, Archbishop Keith Rayner (p), Fr John Potter and Fr David Roberts (a), Archbishop Rayner (p), journalist

Choice of sources in General Synod reporting, atypically for the 1987-92 period, shows a numerical balance between 'pro' and 'anti' ordination participants, that extends also to evenness in first and last word positioning. Anti-ordination participants, at least in terms of selection, were encoded as having equal credibility with pro-ordination participants. One notes in particular, a more significant presence of Sydney diocesan participants, apart from Archbishop Donald Robinson, than for 1989.⁶⁰

In "Diocese to pay costs in row over ordination" (Aust 3.7.92), the Archbishop of Sydney is made actor in first position in the lead (with modal verb "will pay"), whereas the actor in the headline, with the infinitive, is the "Diocese (of Sydney)". The whole text, in reported speech apart from the view of Justice Young, moves on to survey the legislation to be considered by the synod and so attention is deflected from this issue. His constructed credibility is not reaffirmed later in the text.⁶¹

In a text from later in the year, however, the issue is revived. In "Church paid to help halt ordination" (13.10.92) the archbishop is portrayed as highly credible. He is credible on the basis of meeting the needs of the media for comment: "the often *outspoken* archbishop" (JB:italics). He is said to "warn" of the disintegration of the Anglican Church and is described as a "long time opponent of the ordination of women". Similarly, the Sydney Diocese is encoded as having "strong" support for a breakway movement opposed to women priests.

It would appear that late in the debate, the strand of *The Australian* reporting that addresses an anti-ordination position resurfaced with renewed credibility.⁶² However, it is quite possible that the photograph in this 13.10.92 composite, encourages a negative evaluation of the archbishop for having been associated with the legal action in the N.S.W. Supreme Court. This may encourage a negative reading of the verbal credibility encodings.

In "Church to ordain 82 women" (Aust 23.11.92) an anti-ordination view, advocated by the Equal But Different group of women, gained recognition verbally, and visually in the photograph of Di Selden. However, any theological content is placed second to a unity discourse established saliently in the sub-heading "Vote divides Anglicans".⁶³

Other texts for this General Synod tend to construct persons advocating the need to find a constitutional way forward with highest credibility. This is reflected in the headlines with active voice in relation to synod participants and bishops.⁶⁴ In "Women priests debate harms church" (Aust 7.7.92) it is the Primate, Archbishop Keith Rayner, who is given first word, and who appears in the headline. However, that he appears in last position and with verb deletion suggests that here his view has been rated as more credible than he.

In one headline attached to the 8 July text, those who voted against the bill to enable the priesting of women to proceed as an ordinary bill are constructed as a "minority" that "stalls women priests for another four months". This is a high credibility construction for the "minority" who are given first position with active voice. It is one that may carry an implicit negative evaluation - that is, a 'bad news' construction - supported by the description of bill having "failed" to achieve the necessary 75 per cent majority. It is of interest that this headline was changed either to, or from, "Synod approves women priests but crisis continues" which more characteristically for *The Australian* in 1992, focuses on the legislative discourse and unity issues, and legal actors, rather than social progress for women.

In "Bishops delay ordinations" (Aust 9.7.92), the bishops are again given high credibility as actors in first position, with verb in active voice in the headline. That this is a 'good news' construction, rather than a 'bad news' one is suggested by the description of the bishops:

"At least four of the key bishops from the 16 who support ordination agreed yesterday that to proceed with ordination at this stage would be an act of bad faith."

Note that this paragraph is written from the perspective of the "four" who are given added support by the addition of "at least", rather than from the perspective of the other twelve. They are also from among the "key" bishops, which encodes an undefined credibility, giving added weight to their decision not to proceed with more irregular ordinations.

It is notable that the photograph that accompanies this verbal text depicts the Rev Kay Goldsworthy, one of the women priested by Perth's Archbishop Peter Carnley. While implicitly encoding preference for constitutional action (unity), the photograph positions readers not to lose sight of the goal (progress). This may be a 'balancing' strategy. The caption invites reader affinity with the emotions of the visually represented participant ("what happened is pretty sad"). Some personalisation to a woman deacon in "Synod to rule on women's ordination" (Aust 4-5.7.92) similarly keeps the issue alive. However, this personalisation to Ruth Mills, and to the Rev Kay Goldsworthy, above, does not extend to the heightened victim-like construction in texts relating to the intended Canberra-Goulburn ordinations on 2 February.

It is *The Australian's* preoccupation with unity that gives rise to the text "Women's ordinations invalid, claims bishop" (21.12.92). The text follows the ordination of women in the Dioceses of Bathurst and Canberra-Goulburn in N.S.W., and appears to construct positively the objections of Archbishop Donald Robinson, introducing him in the lead and giving him first word. The photograph similarly constructs him as credible through the size and positioning of the text. However, I suggest that the headline is a crucial indicator. It distances the reader from Archbishop Robinson's legal opinion, but by default allows the unity/"disintegration of the church" concerns to stand.

The Australian's concern for constitutionality of action/ unity with regard to women's ordination would appear to have continued to the 'end' of the issue. This may explain why the December ordination event ("Applause and objection as 12 women ordained" Aust 14.12.92) appears to be constructed more in the field of church and less in the field of feminism than the March ordination text ("Unlikely militants celebrate liberation" Aust 9.3.92), which evaluated the legal, though irregular, Perth ordination ceremony.⁶⁵

The Age

Four texts for the July meeting of the synod and two for the November meeting are considered. Choice of participants for this reporting period is less specific to Melbourne than in late 1987 and in 1989. The dual text balancing strategy continues. It is noted in Chapter 2.2 that *The Age* was less critical of the irregular March ordination than the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

Headlines:

"After women's ordination, a celebrant"	9.3.92
"High court threat on ordination"	5.7.92
"Primate wants dioceses to rule on ordination"	7.7.92
"Women priests a step closer"	8.7.92
"Politics and religion meld in synod debate"	8.7.92
"Disunity fears over women priests"	23.11.92
"No more back steps for women"	23.11.92
"First communion for woman priest"	15.12.92

Represented participants:

9.3.92	Archbishop Peter Carnley (p), journalist, the Rev Catherine Pinner (p), the Rev Dawn Kenyon (p), Archbishop Carnley (p), journalist, Fr David Roberts (a), journalist
5.7.92	Journalist, Archbishop Hollingworth (p but c), journalist, Dr Muriel Porter (p), journalist, Fr Roberts (n/a), Muriel Porter (p), journalist, Archbishop Rayner (p but n/a), Archbishop Hollingworth (c)
7.7.92	Journalist, Archbishop Rayner (c), journalist, the Rev Bruce Ballantine-Jones (c)
8.7.92	Journalist, Bishop Bruce Wilson (p), Archbishop Donald Robinson (a)
8.7.92	Mr Robert Fordham (n/a), journalist, Archbishop Peter Hollingworth (p but c), Archbishop Donald Robinson (a)
23.11.92	Journalist, Archbishop Donald Robinson (a but c), journalist, the Rev Dr Peter Jensen (a), Dr Muriel Porter (p), Archbishop Rayner (c)
23.11.92	Journalist, the Rev Dr Peta Sherlock (p), journalist, Dr Sherlock (p) journalist, Dr Sherlock (p)
15.12.92	Journalist, the Rev Barbara Darling (p-unity), the Rev Willy Maddock (p)

There is a greater presence of non-Melbourne participants in this sample than in previous years.⁶⁶ One notes also the high incidence of nominalisation in headlines and the continuation of the dual text strategy.

This is the case for the dual texts of 8 July and 23 November. "No more back steps for women" (Age 23.11.92) focuses on the affective mental processes and view of a woman deacon, the Rev Peta Sherlock. It pursues mainly a progress discourse, evident through the words of the journalist in such phrases as "the next step" and "there are many changes to come". This is heightened by emphasis on perceived incongruities of present practice, in the first half of the text. "Disunity fears over women priests" (Age 23.11.92) on the other hand, pursues unity/disunity. The participants urging moderation, Archbishops Robinson and Rayner, are given first and last word, respectively.

The same strategy is evident in the reporting of the July General Synod, but with the result that there is some ambiguity in the evaluation of the synod. High credibility is given to synod processes, reported in detail in "Women priests a step closer" (Age 8.7.92). Last word is given to Archbishop Donald Robinson, an opponent of the legislation. However, spatially, the text gives greater credibility to pro-ordination participants. The accompanying photograph also places Archbishop Robinson in deference to Archbishop Hollingworth, an advocate of women priests by constitutional means. This text stresses progress meanings.

However, in another text of the same day, "Politics and religion meld in synod debate" (Age 8.7.92), the synod is evaluated with some negativity as being no better than a state parliament

for its longwinded, adversarial procedures. Archbishop Robinson is given the last word and his credibility would seem to have been enhanced by the photograph of a "posse of prelates" who happen to be those opposed to ordination. On balance, the synod is negatively evaluated, while those opposed, with the aid of the photograph, are realised more credibly. Unity meanings are stressed. This dual text strategy provides an oblique means of pursuing 'balance'.

Sydney Morning Herald

There were eight news texts on the July General Synod in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Two texts will be considered from the November special sitting and one each are noted from the ordination of women in the Diocese of Perth in March and in Adelaide in December. In a striking departure from previous reporting, the *Sydney Morning Herald* in General Synod texts for 1992, emphasised a unity theme and gave renewed credibility to anti-ordination participants.

Headlines:

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 9.3.92 | "Anglican 'cowboy' hailed by West" |
| 4.7.92 | "Anglicans face a final breakup" |
| 4.7.92 | "Church's future rests with synod" |
| 4.7.92 | "Relief comes at a price" |
| 6.7.92 | "Anglicans fear differences will turn into split" |
| 7.7.92 | "Critical for church to accept differences, warns Primate" |
| 8.7.92 | "United in faith women remain divided in views" |
| 8.7.92 | "Synod vote clears the way for women priests" |
| 9.7.92 | "Synod debate rages over delegating power" |
| 23.11.92 | "Anglicans prepare for split: Synod allows women priests" |
| 23.11.92 | "Patricia couldn't wait so she switched" |
| 7.12.92 | "Praise, protest greet new Reverend women" |

Represented participants:

- 9.3.92 Journalist, Archbishop Carnley (p), Fr David Robarts (a), Archbishop Carnley (n/a), journalist, Archbishop Carnley (p), journalist, the Rev Catherine Pinner (p), the Rev Dawn Kenyon (p)
- 4.7.92 Dr Lawrence Scandrett (a), Justice Priestly (n/a), Ms Patricia Hayward (M.O.W.) (p), Archbishop Donald Robinson (a), journalist, Justice Priestly (n/a), Dr Lawrence Scandrett (a)
- 4.7.92 Journalist, Archbishop Peter Hollingworth (p), Archbishop Peter Carnley (p), the Rev Bruce Ballantine-Jones (a)
- 4.7.92 The Rev Jill Mendham (p), the Rev Vicky Cullen (p)
- 6.7.92 Journalist, St Andrew's Wahroonga parishioner (p), the Rev Terry Dein (a but realised as p?), Mrs Norman Gorham (n) Mrs Norman Gorham with Ms Libby Gill (n/a)
- 7.7.92 Archbishop Keith Rayner (p and c), journalist, the Rev Robert Forsyth (a but c or n/a), Bishop Bruce Wilson (p), journalist
- 8.7.92 Journalist, Mrs Marion Gabbott (a), the Rev Val Graydon (p), Mrs Marion Gabbott (a but c)
- 8.7.92 Journalist, the Rev Robert Forsyth (a), Archbishop Donald Robinson (a), Archbishop Keith Rayner (p but n/a), Archbishop Peter Hollingworth (p but c), journalist, Mrs Marion Gabbott (a)
- 9.7.92 Journalist, Archbishop Peter Hollingworth (p but n/a), Archbishop Keith Rayner (p but n/a), the Rev Robert Forsyth (a but n/a), journalist
- 23.11.92 Archbishop Donald Robinson (a but n/a), journalist, Archbishop Robinson (a but n/a), Bishop Donald Cameron (c), Archbishop Robinson (a), Archbishop Hollingworth (p but n/a), journalist
- 23.11.92 Journalist, Patricia Hayward (M.O.W.)(p), journalist, Patricia Hayward (p), M.O.W. (p), Dr Janet Scarfe (c)
- 7.12.92 Journalist, Bishop Lionel Renfrey (a), Mrs Elizabeth Hammonds (a), Bishop Ian George (p), the Rev Joan Claring-Bould (p but n/a)

Especially in the latter reports, the carrying discourse is a unity one, rather than a progress (feminism) one. Therefore, participants who would normally have been identified as (p) or (a) have been labelled (n/a) because their ordination views have not been drawn upon in this context. (c) indicates a compromise view.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* reporting is significantly different for this period of reporting than previously. Sydney participants against the ordination of women were constructed as significantly more credible in these 1992 texts than in 1989 and even 1987. That there were women opposed to the ordination of women as priests was finally 'recognised' through the inclusion of the Equal But Different view of Mrs Marion Gabbott. It is likely, however that, as suggested in relation to *The Australian's* reporting, they have become 'relevant' to illustrate the 'disunity' (differences) within the church, rather than for their theological content. The media discourse that cements the reports and quotations together is a unity discourse, about which more is said in Chapter Four. A strategy most evident in *The Age* in reporting from 1987-92, that of dual texts which focus on different participants, is evident also in this sample. Another notable characteristic of reporting in this sample is the consistency with which "Anglicans" or the "synod" are made the actors in first position in headlines, with active voice. This contrasts with the greater incidence of nominalisation in *The Age* and *Daily Telegraph Mirror* and the presence of bishops as actors in first position in *The Australian*.

"Anglicans face a final breakup" (SMH 4.7.92) is a text complex in its markings. In the headline it is Anglicans who are the most credible actors. In the lead it is the N.S.W. Court of Appeal which is the most credible actor, in spite of the view adopted here being that of Dr Lawrence Scandrett:

"A NSW Court of Appeal ruling yesterday which gave the go-ahead for the ordination of women priests may destroy the national Anglican Church, according to layman, Dr Lawrence Scandrett."

The point of view of Dr Scandrett has been encoded as highly credible, rather than he as a participant. This construction, interestingly, would appear to be paralleled in the photograph. In Chapter Three, I outline the components of visual composition. At this time, therefore, the point will just be made that while the vertical camera angle used for Dr Scandrett encodes respect in relation to the viewer, the placement of his photograph as an inset in the real/new (bottom/right) location, compared with the salience (large size) and given/ideal (upper/left) relation of the main photograph, would seem to encourage a negative evaluation of this 'superior' interpersonal construction. This is an important indication that a 'superior' relation may be can be evaluated negatively through means of layout.

It is notable that Dr Scandrett's reported and quoted point of view (lead and 'last word') is in relation to the constitutional unity of the church, and not theological issues.

Ms Patricia Hayward for M.O.W. is positioned as third speaker with a pro-ordination view that welcomes the decision of the N.S.W. Court of Appeal that there was no legal impediment to ordinations proceeding without General Synod enabling legislation. Hers is a more credible location than the position given to Archbishop Robinson, whose theological and legal view is given token consideration:

"(He) said the judgment had not advanced the 'theological discussion' of the issue, which could be determined only by the church.

"We are in one way back where we started, but we do know a little more about the Anglican Church constitution'.

"He would continue to reject the notion that women could become priests as being 'against the traditional order of our church'."

Ms Hayward's credibility is enhanced considerably by the photograph. However, she is constructed as being in submission to the legal processes (submissive demeanour and gaze towards the cartoon), which are caricatured as being god-like in the cartoon to the left of the photograph. The N.S.W. Court of Appeal is thus encoded visually as being the most credible actor, as well as in the verbal (lead) text. The humour created in the cartoon implicitly would seem to be at the expense of the plaintiffs who put the N.S.W. Court of Appeal in that role, or perhaps at the Anglican Church generally.

On the same day, located side by side, two other texts focus on the issue. One stresses unity meanings, the other, progress meanings. "Church's future rests with synod" (SMH 4.7.92) provided a guide to the synod debate that would occur the following week in the light of the N.S.W. Court of Appeal's decision. Participant given first word was Archbishop Peter Hollingworth, described as "an outspoken supporter of the ordination of women", which encodes credibility (modal value of capacity). Second word was given to Archbishop Peter Carnley, whose labelling is probably less positive: "who ordained ten women in March in the face of legal action". One could understand this as a marker of credibility on the basis of bravery (modal value of inclination), but this is not clear. A more likely possibility is that it is a neutral-negative evaluation, given that his' was an irregular, but not illegal, ordination. A negative (or at least 'less credible') evaluation is more likely also, given the use of "but" to introduce the Rev Bruce Ballantine-Jones, given third/last word:

"But a member of the General Synod, the Rev Bruce Ballantine-Jones, said more than dealing with the ordination of women, the decision served to 'bring to light what powers of the General Synod always were and no-one knew' ...

"Compared with the long-term ramifications of the decision, he said, the question of women's ordination would 'recede into irrelevancy'."

The point of view offered by this spokesperson is clearly related to legislative discourse, and not a theological viewpoint on the ordination of women. The credibility given to him as a speaker is not an indication that the *Sydney Morning Herald* has changed its mind on the credibility of pro-ordination participants.

The companion text "Relief comes at a price" (SMH 4.7.92) is more clearly marked as favouring pro-ordination participants: two intending women priests. The markings include the following: the description of the Rev Jill Mendham as being one of 11 women "denied" ordination; the use of heightened vocabulary to describe the decision of the N.S.W. Court of Appeal as having "scrapped those constraints"; the reporting of the affective mental processes of Mrs Mendham and Ms Cullen. This dual text strategy was typical also of *The Age's* reporting, as noted above.

Again in the text "Anglicans fear differences will turn into split" (SMH 6.7.92), the renewed interest in Sydney diocesan participants as textual sources does not indicate a change of orientation in the debate, but their credibility in relation to a 'unity' debate rather than a 'progress in women's status' debate.

The parishioners of St Andrew's Wahroonga are encoded as being fearful that there will be a split in their denomination. The implied causes of the split are constructed as very credible:

"The tensions, courtroom manoeuvres, theological division and outright anger in the debate over the ordination of women have been impossible to ignore, although ordinary Anglicans say that they've tried - 'but it's been awful', was a typical parishioner's comment."

Of particular interest is the text's definition of what the debate is about:

"There have already been indications that the synod, which will meet in Sydney until Friday, is likely to decide that individual dioceses should choose whether women can be ordained as Anglican priests and have *equal status in the ministry with men*." (Italics: JB)

Rarely in the debate do texts define the debate, except in an assumed way, as here.⁶⁷ The participant given first word is a parishioner whose point of view stresses that acceptance will come from the experience of women priests. That is, experience of a woman minister will lead to a pro-ordination view. It is an argument grounded in 'the social'.

The rector of the parish is given second position and his view is constructed as one of concern about the church's perceived credibility, rather than being realised as a pro-ordination or anti-ordination discourse on theological grounds. Last word is given to two parishioners who advocate pew jumping as a solution to the 'split', which assumes a plurality that provides for pro-ordination and anti-ordination preferences. The text is atypical for its 'grass-roots' non 'elite actors' approach, typical for its construction of a 'split', and atypical for the credibility marking it places on a solution that addresses parish circumstances more than seeing legislative decision making at diocesan-synodical level as the measure of 'reality'.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* construction of the debate as primarily a unity issue at this stage is evident also in "Critical for church to accept differences, warns Primate" (7.7.92). The Primate, less credible than his view in the headline, is actor in first position in the lead:

"The Primate of the Anglican Church of Australia has implored the General Synod to recognise 'conscientious differences' in finding a resolution to the 'crisis' over the ordination of women and the threat of a breakdown in the church's constitution."

High credibility is given to his utterance through the use of the heightened "Primate implores", rather than "asks", or another less marked word.

Degrees of credibility for participants are achieved both through labelling and positioning. The Rev Robert Forsyth, described as "a proponent of the second bill", and not as an opponent of women's ordination, is given second position. The third participant-in-text, the Bishop of Bathurst, Bruce Wilson, is constructed as relatively more credible, both through the use of "but" to introduce him and through the description of him as a "long-time supporter of the ordination of women" which invokes the modal value of inclination. Less credible too is the Archbishop of Sydney as simply an "opponent of women's ordination".

Even more significant than in *The Australian* is the attention given to women opponents of the ordination of women from the Diocese of Sydney. In the texts "United in faith women remain divided in views" (SMH 8.7.92) and "Synod vote clears the way for women priests" (SMH 8.7.92) Mrs Marion Gabbot is given a credibility construction atypical of previous *Sydney Morning Herald* reporting of persons opposed to the ordination of women. These texts are considered in the course of discussion in Chapter Four in with respect to the Equal But Different group, its limited anti-feminism, and its relationship to one expression of the theological 'headship' view in the Evangelical Biblical tradition. There it is argued that the view was evaluated as 'relevant' because dis/unity was now the dominant theme pursued by journalists.

In "Synod vote clears the way for women priests" (SMH 8.7.92), the Sydney diocesan view is again, very atypically given a credible construction. The Rev Robert Forsyth is described as "an outspoken opponent of the canon" (modal value of inclination), while the Archbishop of Sydney's view is reported, albeit in token form, as indicating the bill to be "morally and theologically wrong", the anticipated cause of "disunity in the church". The diocese is evaluated thus:

"The Sydney Diocese, which has been a consistent objector to the ordination movement, is expected to go against the decision but will be a voice in the wilderness."

The "wilderness" would appear to be the expected majority view in favour of the ordination of women by means of a particular draft bill. If "wilderness" is a negative image, then this text encodes explicit credibility to the 'headship' anti-ordination majority view (Evangelical Biblical tradition) held in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney. This credibility would appear to be repeated in the last word, given to Mrs Gabbott. However, the newspaper's belated interest in an anti-ordination perspective did not extend to the Sydney diocesan preferred legislative solution.⁶⁸

The construction of women's ordination as more a unity issue than a gender equality issue at this stage in the *Sydney Morning Herald* is suggested also by the text "New Anglican group aims to heal ordination rift" (SMH 25.7.92).⁶⁹ Similarly, that the newly appointed Dean of St Andrew's Cathedral, a clergyman opposed to the ordination of women on theological grounds, was constructed as credible in the text that announced his appointment, would appear to be a product of his professed pursuit of "reconciliation" (unity) and a compromise that allows people's consciences to be honoured (women's ordination permitted).⁷⁰ His point of view on this occasion coincided with the newspaper's implicit evaluations in other texts.

So what of the *Sydney Morning Herald's* construction of the eventual ordination of women? The evaluation of the irregular, though legal, ordination in March was at best, ambivalent, while the evaluation of the November ordination was more positive. These texts are discussed in Chapter 2.2.

A further 'about turn' from 1989 reporting is the 'bad news' construction in dual texts that record the special sitting of the General Synod in November and its passing of enabling legislation. The headline "Anglicans prepare for a split" (SMH 23.11.92) covers both texts and the one photograph. The sub-headline "Synod allows women priests" gives high credibility to the view of Archbishop Donald Robinson (first word and more than half the textual space). It is a view very pessimistic of Anglican unity. The 'last word' of the journalist is remarkable in the light of 1989 reporting, but consistent with the dominant theme during 1992:

"The subdued response from all church members to the decision indicated that both sides recognised the seriousness of the split."

It is also a sharp contrast to the reporting of the event in the *Daily Telegraph Mirror* text studied earlier, which played down divisions in the church as a result of the decision.

More remarkable again, but also consistent with the dominant trend in 1992 *Sydney Morning Herald* reporting, is the construction of reconciliation between pro-ordination and anti-ordination women's groups: M.O.W. and Equal But Different in the companion text ("Patricia couldn't wait so she switched"). It is a construction that trivialises the issue, placing Dr Janet Scarfe's comment in 'last word' position:

"'We could talk about all of this over cups of tea,' said Dr Janet Scarfe of the Melbourne diocese."

It understates the divergence of the points of view, somewhat ironic, given the 'disunity - split' theme. However, at this late stage in the debate, it does note a point of apparent commonality between the Evangelical Equal But Different view, and a utopian or woman-centred element in the feminisms of the Movement for the Ordination of Women:

"The Movement for the Ordination of Women agrees with its female opponents in the Church that women are different."

Taken together with the photograph, the verbal text conveys some ambivalence towards the sole represented participant, Patricia Hayward, who "couldn't wait" for Anglican ordination:

"(Joining) the Uniting Church where she could study towards ordination, leaving behind a reservoir of loyalty to the Anglican parishioners at her local Concord West Church that her husband and two sons still attend."

The evaluation of this participant is based in unity concerns: the 'split' in the church, and in her family worship as suggested visually in the photograph. The passive verbal construction in the headline may indeed suggest a negative evaluation of this participant.

In contrast, the *Sydney Morning Herald* report on the first post-General Synod ordination in Adelaide on 5 December, carried the typical markings of credibility.

Conclusion

Trends evident across the 1987-92 period are listed at the end of Chapter 2.2.

Endnotes to appendix

1. See for example, the text of "The pain of almost being a priest" 27.8.87., which constructs reactions to the vote in terms of affective mental processes and in other ways constructs the emotion suggested in the headline.
2. Note my later discussion of two possible meanings of 'believes'. Here I suggest that the non-critical context implies a 'conviction' meaning.
3. See for example, "Why Reverend Alison is angry" 23.6.87; "The pain of almost being a priest" 27.7.87; "Fury, tears over veto on women" (front page headline) "Women lose vote on the priesthood" (p 9) DT 26.8.87.
4. The other is "Synod says 'no women deacons'" DT 16.10.87, in which Mr Keith Mason, N.S.W. Solicitor General and General Synod participant in favour of women's ordination, features.
5. See, for example, Janet Nelson and Linda Walter, *Women of Spirit: Women's Place in Church and Society* (Canberra, St Mark's Theological College, 1989) pp 150-151. This account implies the women spoke in the afternoon. It is likely that they addressed the synod somewhere between 3pm and 5pm, prior to journalist's story deadlines.
6. See also "Division is painful, US archbishop warns" Age 8.6.87.
7. Note that in the texts in *The Australian* analysed above, the body of the text favours anti-ordination participants, and the headline, pro-ordination participants; that is, vice versa. (Aust 15.10.87, 16.10.87).
8. See "Movement refuses to compromise on the role of women priests" Age 17.8.87.
9. Cate Poynton, *Language and Gender: Making the Difference* (Geelong, Deakin University Press, 1985) p 58. This evaluation shows a progression from *The Australian's* construction of a visiting New Zealand priest in 1985 as a "diminutive blonde". See "NZ woman marks church first" Aust 2.6.86.
10. See Chapter Four for an outline of three traditions of feminism.
11. See Chapter Four which suggests the complexity of the theological debate.
12. It will be noted below that the notion of conscience or conscientious opposition really only enters the newspaper debate in 1992.
13. Cf Donald Robinson whose view is Evangelical but carries an additional unity meaning compatible with the Anglo-Catholic tradition. See Chapter 4.2.
14. See Chapter Four's discussion of 'headship'.

15. A difficulty with the analysis of SMH texts is the separation of Alan Gill's news texts from his column. This may lead to an under-representation of the *Sydney Morning Herald* in this 1987 sample. Where he is described as "Religious affairs writer" the text is taken to be a news text whereas the logo "Religion" often with photograph, is understood to signify a column and therefore is not analysed.
16. See "Women priests: battle is lost" SMH 26.8.87; "Challenge to Robinson from his own synod" SMH 16.10.87.
17. Compare "Sons for ministry but not daughters" SMH 27.8.87, which has a style reminiscent of the DTM, with "Objectors block women's path to the pulpit" SMH 8.7.87., for example.
18. See for example, "Will Australian Anglicans rebel?" SMH 7.3.87 cf "Battle over women priests looming" in which greater credibility is given to Archbishop Penman cf SMH 13.10.87.
19. See SMH 6.7.87. This evaluation may be related to the priority given by the journalist to unity meanings.
20. See also "Robinson firm on women priests" SMH 13.10.87.
21. See SMH 17.11.87.
22. See "Women to be priests" DT 23.8.89; "Women priests a step closer" SMH 23.8.89.
23. See "Twelve apostles of protest in song" SMH 25.8.89. There is token attention to the headship view through the journalist's report of Diane Heath's reaction.
24. See "Synod clears way to ordain women" Aust 23.8.89, "Fresh votes on women priests" DM 14.8.89.
25. See "Twelve apostles of protest in song" SMH 25.8.89 (misogyny meanings), "Women expect synod victory" SMH 21.8.89 (justice meanings), "Women to be priests" DT 23.8.89 (equality/ordination meanings).
26. Cf the news value of proximity, discussed in Chapter Five.
27. See "The pain of almost being a priest" DT 27.8.87; "Women lose vote on priesthood" DT 26.8.87; also "Synod rejection riles women" Aust 26.8.87.
28. Thus, "*many* in MOW ..." (SMH 21.8.89); "*many* synod delegates joined in the (MOW protest) singing" (SMH 25.8.89).
29. See Chapter Four's analysis of the feminist traditions evident in the debate, in the context of which is mentioned W.A.O.W..
30. Note that the unity-disunity theme is generally less evident for this reporting period.
31. See "Touched by the spirit of equality" Aust 13.2.89 and discussion in Chapter Four.

32. The significance of these locations is explained in Chapter Three.
33. See Chapter Four for an outline of the theological traditions evident in the debate.
34. See Chapter Three.
35. Cf the verbal, but not visual, prominence given to Dr Janet Scarfe in "Pope's stand 'blackmail'" but with agent deletion in the headline (Aust 5.10.89).
36. See also across newspaper analysis of Appellate Tribunal ruling texts for 7.11.89, below.
37. See Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, (Burwood, Deakin University Press, 1990) p 67.
38. (74) (See "First woman episcopal bishop is ordained" Age 13.2.89, "Women gain a victory with Anglican Church verdict" Age 15.6.89 (active); "Australian woman priest in waiting" Age 13.2.89; "Church's women down but not out" Age 8.11.89 (verb deletion); "Campaigner for women's ordination to step down" Age 21.3.89, "Second woman to be enthroned as bishop" Age 28.11.89 (infin).
39. It is noted that Mark Brolly succeeded Edmund Doogue as religious reporter around this time.
40. Roberta Kevelson, *The Inverted Pyramid: An Introduction to a Semiotics of Media Language*, (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1977) pp 14-15.
41. "Canberra synod votes to ordain women" Age 25.9.89; "Church deprives women says Anglican activist" Age 30.8.89; "Anglicans could ordain women this year" Age 23.10.89.
42. See Chapter Four.
43. "First woman bishop breaks hallowed ground" SMH 13.2.89; "First female deacon aiming for the priesthood" SMH 13.11.89.
44. Cf "First nun to be a deacon", DT 13.11.89.
45. Alan Gill's column ceased publication in 1990. See endnote 1, Chapter 2.2.
46. "Runcie to hold talks with the Pope" SMH 27.3.89 (infin); "Runcie and Pope sign joint declaration on unity" SMH 4.10.89 (active); "Runcie under siege for deference to the Pope" 2.10.89 (verb deletion).
47. See Chapter Four.
48. See also analysis of photographs in Chapter Three.
49. See also Chapter Three's discussion of the portrayal of Archbishop Robinson in photographs during 1992.

50. See analysis in Chapter 2.2.
51. See Chapter 2.1: Affective mental processes and the construction of emotion.
52. See Chapter Four.
53. Note that the media associated the plaintiffs in the legal action with the Association for Apostolic Ministry.
54. See Chapter 2.2
55. "Archbishop says bible backs court action" Aust 17.2.92.
56. See Chapter 2.2
57. See "Bishop wants Anglicans to defy court injunction" Age 3.2.92.
58. See 0040040/92 Supreme Court of NSW Court of Appeal, Scandrett v Dowling and Ors, Statement by Justice CJ Gleeson when granting an interim injunction against Bishop Owen Dowling, 31.1.92.
59. This evaluation preceded the Court of Appeal's granting of an interim injunction. See evaluation across newspapers in Chapter 2.2.
60. They were the Rev Bruce Ballantine-Jones, the Rev Robert Forsyth, Equal But Different.
61. See also "Licensing of woman priest angers critics" Aust 2.7.92.
62. This was in fact evident earlier than 1992. See for example, "Women claim 'God's calling' to priesthood" Aust 3.5.91.
63. See Chapter Four's discussion of the Equal But Different anti-ordination view.
64. See Aust 6.7.92, 9.7.92, 8.7.92, 10.7.92.
65. See discussion in Chapter 2.2.
66. See for example, Dr Peter Jensen (Sydney), Archbishop Peter Hollingworth (Brisbane but ex Melbourne) and Bishop Bruce Wilson (Bathurst NSW).
67. This will be taken up in Chapter Four.
68. See "Synod debate rages over delegating power" (SMH 9.7.92).
69. See further discussion of this text in Chapter Four.
70. See "New dean aims to heal Anglican rift" (SMH 29.7.92).