

Framing the Future:

Propositional Journalism and the Construction of Leadership in 'New Tasmania'

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Abstract

The future is a world that communication constructs in the present; a world populated by leaders and propositions that, before materialising, are often mediated by journalists' everyday decisions concerning newsworthiness, source selection and framing. This category of reporting, that I term 'propositional journalism', is thought to represent a more constructive and engaging role for journalism in public life (Beers, 2006; Bornstein, 2007; Nielson, 2015) and has been given a variety of titles in recent years such as 'future-focused journalism' (Beers, 2006, p. 121), 'development journalism' (Bowd, 2003; Xiaoge, 2009) and 'solutions journalism' (Bansal and Martin, 2015; Benesch, 1998; Huffington, 2015). However, propositional journalism has also been subjected to criticism. According to David Beers (2006, p. 121) the propositions which become news tend to reflect the interests, visions and opinions of an exclusive class of corporate-aligned sources. This research examines these dichotomous aspects of propositional journalism to extend academic understanding of the mediation of the future and works towards a more nuanced appreciation for the utility and liability of propositionality in the construction of news texts.

Tasmania, Australia's southernmost island province, presents an interesting case study because its political discourse has tended to fixate on controversial propositions for development. Conservationists have fiercely and often successfully opposed a range of development propositions in Tasmania, often voicing their dissent through local news platforms (Lester, 2007). For critics such as Jonathan West (2013, p. 55) these anti-development movements are an obstacle preventing Tasmania from addressing poor economic and employment outcomes. However, examining whose propositions are featured in reporting may reveal, contrary to West's criticisms, that 'anti-development' sources are denied a more constructive role in Tasmanian debates beyond mere opposition.

A central concept in this analysis is, therefore, leadership and the explicit and implicit evaluation of leadership legitimacy in news texts. Following Pierre Bourdieu's sociolinguistics (1999; 1991a; 1998) and more recent applications of his approach by Ghassan Hage (2012; 1996), this research considers leadership as comprised of markers of distinction and symbolic capital within 'the governmental field' (Hage, 1996, p. 468-469) that legitimise the propositions of a limited range of news sources. This research adopts an integrated field and frame analysis and, in particular, identifies metaphorical language as key framing devices which structure the evaluation of leadership and naturalise prevailing patterns of news access (Lakoff, 1996; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999; Lakoff and Johnson,

2008). Over a six month sample in 2014 comprising 1,172 proposition-centred articles from the three major, local news outlets - *The Mercury* (Hobart), *The Examiner* (Launceston) and *ABC Tas* (state-wide) - the research found that politician and business sources together represented 71% of all sources. The research found that patterns of news access corresponded with five common metaphorical frames of leadership evaluation: Navigational leadership, construction leadership, nurturing leadership, gambling leadership and showcasing leadership. It is argued that these served to valorise dominant entrepreneurial and political leadership styles and delegitimise alternative sources. Ultimately, the research recommends that journalists have a role in formulating new schemas of leadership evaluation and criticism to reflect changed economic and social contexts in a 'New Tasmania' characterised by democratisation, social inclusion and diversification of economic development (Baird, 2006; Stratford, 2006).

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This thesis was written and researched on the land of the Mouheneenner People. Always was, always will be, Aboriginal land.

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Declaration of originality

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for a degree or diploma by the University or any other institution, except by way of background information and duly acknowledged in the thesis, and to the best of the my knowledge and belief no material previously published or written by another person except where due acknowledgement is made in the text of the thesis, nor does the thesis contain any material that infringes copyright

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The research associated with this thesis abides by the international and Australian codes on human and animal experimentation, the guidelines by the Australian Government's Office of the Gene Technology Regulator and the rulings of the Safety, Ethics and Institutional Biosafety Committees of the University.

Signed: William Manning Dodd

Date: Monday, 3 September 2018

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Tasmania, the heart-shaped island to the south of mainland Australia, is home to a relatively small and mostly rural population. With its three daily newspapers, three commercial broadcasters, one public broadcaster and emerging online media platforms, this island provides a tidy delimitation for a peculiarly limitless research topic: what is journalism's role in framing the future, and disseminating and contesting propositions for change? Like many communities in the developed world that have historically relied upon primary industry and manufacturing, Tasmania is facing challenges and negotiating fiercely contested visions of the state's future, often through the local Tasmanian news media. This type of reporting, that I term propositional journalism, plays a vital role in democratic societies by providing the public with a range of options and alternatives to consider. It is also an important source of public optimism – counteracting disaster, crime and corruption reporting that often pervades news bulletins.

Controversial propositions have long been a staple of Tasmania's political discourse and represent key flashpoints in debates over conservation and development. In 1972, the quartzite beaches of Lake Pedder in Tasmania's South West were submerged after the controversial damming of the Serpentine and Huon Rivers (Beresford, 2015, p. 19). In their disappointment activists formed the world's first environmental political party, The United Tasmania Group; later known as The Tasmanian Greens (Stephens et al., 2006, p. 77). The conservation movement has since opposed many propositions in Tasmania and provided a counterpoint to the development of extractive industries. The subsequent dam proposal for the nearby Franklin River was famously prevented as a result of strong local and national protests (Doyle, 2005, p. 100). In 1989 the proposed Wesley Vale pulp mill was stopped (Beresford, 2015, p. 64). Most recently, Gunns Limited's proposed Bell Bay pulp mill became the object of what historian, Quentin Beresford, described as "the environmental equivalent of 'total war'" (Beresford, 2015, p. 283). From 2007 to 2011, a coalition of local, national and international activist organisations cooperated and ultimately frustrated construction of the mill after a long and bitter campaign. Shortly afterwards, the prospect of a pulp mill in Tasmania largely evaporated when Gunns Limited went into receivership in September 2012 (Beresford, 2015, p. 364).

These historical disputes have etched themselves into the political discourse in Tasmania and have led to the common characterisation of Tasmania as polarised between conservationists and developers. The positions taken by conservationists – across issues as diverse as forestry, fish farms, trawlers, cable cars, mines, road construction, Aboriginal heritage, tourism development and

agriculture – are frequently derided as obstructionist and anti-development (Ryan, 2013; Barnes, 2013). Conservationists are seen as impervious to the poverty and unemployment suffered by Tasmanians who might benefit from these propositions and the jobs and investment that they bring, just as pro-development advocates are perceived as blind to the ecological, spiritual and tourism value of Tasmania's famously pristine environment. This dichotomisation is evident in a critique of Tasmania's under-development by prominent economist, Jonathan West:

In Tasmania, we have arrived at a situation in which if any interest group regards itself as disadvantaged by a development proposal – whether materially or in terms its values – there is insufficient weight on the pro-development side to push through resistance to change. (2013, p. 55)

This research seeks to unpick this overly simple and unconstructive polarisation of propositional discourse to better understand the underlying power imbalances and constructions of leadership that decide who is empowered to propose an idea and who is excluded. It approaches this task by examining universal ideas of leadership and morality rather than merely conceiving of each party according to preconceived ideas about their supposed ideology and political persuasion. In so doing it aims to create spaces of consensus and debate, and to add clarity to journalism's responsibilities and practices while reporting proponents and propositions for the future.

1.1 Propositional journalism

Despite the apparent centrality of propositions in political discourse, and journalism's important role in packaging, disseminating and contributing to debates about propositions, media scholarship has rarely examined how journalists report this type of story. Numerous studies have examined the reporting of specific propositions and their associated news framing, primary definers and symbolic constructions, however, media scholarship has rarely examined propositionality as a style and genre of journalism that is deployed when reporting solutions, developments and best practice alternatives. This type of reporting is characterised by a limited repertoire of habitual journalistic practices, evaluations, frames and sources.

This thesis seeks to contribute to existing research into the mediation of the future (Beck, 2009; Beck, 1992; Lester and Cottle, 2009; Beers, 2006) through a focus on propositional journalism. Existing media research has largely focused on the reporting of potential problems and risks, particularly problems of a large global scale. The threats of global warming (Lester and Cottle, 2009), biotechnology (Caygill, 2000), nuclear technologies (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989) and terrorism (Katz and Liebes, 2007) are examples of issues that endanger the future and have come to feature

heavily in research into the mediated future. While there is an obvious rationale for doing so, there is an absence of theoretical and empirical research concerning journalism's role in reporting constructive propositions for change that are characterised by optimism rather than fear and uncertainty. Taking propositions as the primary object of analysis, therefore, is intended to deconstruct and localise the unwieldy concept of 'the future' and to make it useful within the following study of the small Australian island-state of Tasmania. A proposition, at its most basic level, is a prospective solution that an individual or individuals seek to implement (Bansal and Martin, 2015; Benesch, 1998). Such ideas are pragmatic not fanciful. They are, to use Ernest Bloch's distinction, concrete rather than abstract utopias relating to the way one thinks the future should and realistically could be (Bloch and Plaice, 1995, p. 197).

However, propositional journalism is difficult to untangle from other forms of news reporting as nearly all articles reference the future and can imply desirable solution. Even reporting of past or current events can suggest possible future solutions or, as in Robert Entman's (1993, p. 52) definition of news framing, a particular "treatment recommendation". For instance, framing of terrorist attacks is cited as justifying militaristic solutions (Livingston and Bennett, 2003) and reporting of Hurricane Katrina helped to raise the profile of climate change as a possible contributor to the disaster and promoted future carbon saving measures (Lester, 2010, p. 72). In this sense, it could be argued that many news articles recommend (albeit implicitly) a proposition for the future. However, where propositions appear obliquely in news about the present they often lack detail and evaluation of their practical application. This creates a niche category for media coverage where the proposed idea for the future forms the core of the story, making the problem appear less inevitable and providing the reader with information about how such problems can be resolved.

This kind of reporting has been widely celebrated as a more constructive and engaging role for journalism in public life (Beers, 2006; Bornstein, 2007; Nielson, 2015). As a genre of news, it has been given a variety of titles in recent years such as 'future-focused journalism' (Beers, 2006, p. 121), 'solutions journalism' (Bansal and Martin, 2015; Benesch, 1998; Huffington, 2015), and as part of the 'public journalism' movements in citizen engagement (Voakes, 1999; Merritt, 1995; Rosen, 1997; Rosen, 1996). However, as Chapter 6 will explore in detail, these three terms denote normative rather than descriptive ideas about how the future might be reported. These are reform movements in journalism and do not seek to describe and critically analyse how the future is currently reported, which is the aim of this research. Accordingly, for the purposes of this research, the term 'propositional journalism' will be used to identify news about the future as it is reported imperfectly in traditional news outlets: newspapers, television, radio bulletins and their corresponding online platforms. The definition of propositional journalism will be explored in the following chapters and in

the methodology, however, for the purposes of the study I define propositional journalism as: *local proposition-centred stories where an idea for the future prompts journalistic reporting; whether that idea is an expansion or diminution of an existing pattern of behaviour or practice or an entirely new proposition, development or practice*. It is a type of reporting that is presented to the audience with the assumption that the audience cares about their locality and will form an opinion about the merit of the proposition and whether it ought to go ahead.

This classification of news is inspired by David Beers' definition of 'future-focused journalism' as news that answers the question: "What might go right tomorrow and who is showing the way?" (Beers, 2006, p. 121). This type of reporting, according to Beers, performs a vital role in democracies by providing the public with 'sign posts' which allow the public to democratically decide their collective future. Propositional journalism is also a response to readers' anxieties and questions regarding the future. Questions such as: 'Where are the future jobs coming from?', 'How can education best prepare young people for the future?', or 'What kind of place do we want to live in?'. While there are no easy answers, the interest and passion that these questions provoke encourage news-makers to canvass solutions. Reporting on examples of effective responses, innovations and opportunities can be an engaging and pragmatic new form of journalistic practice, breaking away from the profession's traditional preference for negative and conflict-driven news (Bornstein, 2007, Huffington, 2015).

While demand for news about the future is prevalent this genre presents journalists with a number of challenges. Ideas for the future are largely immaterial, requiring journalists and sources to visualise the proposal and actively construct possible futures in the present. As the constructivist school of social sciences has long maintained, society's expectations and hopes regarding the future are constructed in the same way as public knowledge of the past (Stråth, 2008, Castells, 2011). Accordingly, they require an anticipatory effort, which Ulrich Beck terms 'staging', for the public to grasp the potential opportunities and risks associated with new initiatives (Beck, 2012: 34). Possible futures that have yet to occur and may not occur invite the media to visualise the invisible and make the development 'real' for their audience. Accordingly, propositional journalism often employs 'localised 3D visualisations' (Schroth et al., 2014) of the proposal in reports to give a sense of the aesthetic values of a given proposal. Instructional videos, maps, and blueprints appear in the news to demonstrate a development's design features, functionality and safety. Likewise, the media provide advocates of an idea with a platform to publicise their vision, cultivate a favourable public response and achieve what is often called a social licence for their idea (Leith et al., 2014). The 'visibility' of an idea in the public domain is vital for protagonists, without which they may be consigned to a type of "death by neglect" (Thompson, 2005). Journalists' selectivity about the types of ideas to report,

however, raises important questions which have motivated this study and will be addressed in the following section. This study intends to contribute to knowledge in this area through a 2014 case study of propositional journalism in Tasmania.

1.2 Motivations

Propositional journalism may represent a new form of constructive public journalism and an opportunity to deepen democratic engagement over key public decisions. Intriguingly, however, what some consider a democratic opportunity, others condemn as a central form of hegemonic control over public life. Indeed, one of the principle motivations for this study was an encounter with Beers' (2006) critique of corporate monopolisation of ideas for the future and their dissemination:

Going back to Habermas' ideal, democracy is best served by a public sphere where competing visions of the future can be expressed and subjected to debate without skewing or censorship to fit the agendas of capitalist media owners or government officialdom. Rarely, however, are truly experimental, much less radical, visions of the future given in-depth exploration by corporate media. In those forums, the ones given space to frame our collective future tend to be denizens of corporate-funded think tanks, public relations experts paid by corporations, advertising experts selling us the shape of the new, and government officials beholden to corporate lobbyists. (2006, p. 121)

In this passage Beers usefully brings attention to the limitations of propositional journalism and a tendency of journalists to finesse reporting to fit corporate interests and limit alternative visions for the future. In this view, experts, economists, governments and corporations are routinely granted a privileged role in forming and enacting plans for the future over citizens. For instance, Sophie Knowles and colleagues have found that forewarnings about financial crises have been suppressed due to financial journalists' "reliance on overarching narratives and official sources, including public relations and those who are directly implicated in the crisis", a tendency that "must have serious ramifications for the public, which uses mainstream media for its financial information, and larger implications for democracy and the shaping of economic policy" (Knowles, Phillips & Lindberg, 2017, p. 335-336). Often referred to as 'indexing' (Bennett, 1990), journalists have been found to tailor their accounts in favour of official, expert and elite sources. As Stuart Hall and colleagues observed (2013, p. 71), journalists' preference for 'official' news sources allows elite sources to become the 'primary definers' of an issue; frequently defining problems in ways that reflect their own political or economic interests. However, as well as defining problems, elite sources are also able to define solutions that are more readily accepted by journalists.

Tasmania presents a particularly convivial case study to test Beers' claims because, as Chapter 2 will elaborate, the charge of corruption and conspiracy has been often and angrily levelled at the apparent clique of powerful insiders who have, since colonisation, shaped the state's future for their own benefit. According to the noted Tasmanian historian, James Boyce (1996), the colonial project of recreating England in the antipodes has continued to inform governmental attitudes towards Tasmania's future:

This is mainly the story of one group, that of a small but powerful elite who seized economic, social and, eventually, political control in this island from black and white alike during the 1820s and 30s, and to a significant extent have held onto it since. Theirs was an experience of place, linked to conquest of land and people, which is inextricably connected with class, profit and power. We have allowed our history to be defined by the authors of this small group of very powerful men whose direct experience of living here was buffered by capital and privilege. (1996, p. 40)

For Boyce, historians have rightly drawn attention to this historical accumulation of influence and capital. However, in doing so, alternative experiences and connections between people and place have been hidden; experiences that hold the key to new, more grounded constructions of the future direction of Tasmania. In a passage that brings his critique into contact with contemporary studies of news media and communication Boyce identifies a continuing suppression and denigration of Tasmanian alternatives to the dominant narratives of progress:

There is a lot of money and power dependent on the lie that there is no other way than the present 'practical path' of 'growth' and 'development'. An important part of this ideology is the historical claim, or assumption, that there has never been a realistic alternative. Early sustainable farming practices, for example, despite easily meeting the needs of the people involved, have become defined as 'misguided', 'irrelevant to... real needs' and blamed for having 'produced stagnation in Van Diemen's Land', in language that is reminiscent of the clearfellers' condemnation of small-scale selective logging operations or agribusinesses' dismissal of the benefits of self-sufficiency today. As long as the past is presented in this way, those who profit from the present exile can misrepresent alternative economic and social structures, which might reconnect us with the earth and each other, as the impractical, untested dreamland of a crazy few. [Such ideas present] a challenge to an ideology which, by defining what is 'normal' and 'realistic', protects powerful economic interests today. [Emphasis added] (1996, p. 57-58)

From a media and communications perspective, Boyce's reference to ideas becoming defined as

variously misguided, normal or realistic due to the way they are presented, invites news frame analysis. Indeed, these comments can form a range of testable and consequential hypotheses about the ‘framing’ of propositions and alternatives, and the ‘framing’ of the legitimacy of sources to make such propositions. Framing, according to Robert Entman (1993, p. 52), “essentially involves *selection and salience*. To frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described” [Original emphasis]. Entman’s reference to ‘treatment recommendation’ is especially relevant here. In the context of Tasmanian deliberations over how to solve various educational, environmental, employment and health problems, the photographic and linguistic framing of these problems may narrow what kinds of future solutions (treatment recommendations) can be considered normal and natural and what type of person is qualified to posit them. As I argue in Chapter 4, we may wish to turn Entman’s definition on its head and consider the ways that the framing of the solution implies who is best placed to suggest and administer it.

In the context of cynicism regarding Tasmanian propositional journalism, 2014 presents an interesting case study. In September 2012 the Tasmanian timber company Gunns Limited declared bankruptcy and went into voluntary administration. Formerly Tasmania’s most successful business and the southern hemisphere’s largest woodchip exporter, the company’s spectacular demise intensified pessimism regarding the state’s economy and left a hole in Tasmania’s understanding of its purpose and destiny. It was, according to Will Bibby (2013, p. 66), “as much a psychological shock to Tasmanians as it was economic”. Besides the recriminations that accompanied Gunns’ demise and the downturn in forestry generally, the question began to be asked; what now?

The current period, with its diversification of industry, economy, higher education and civil liberties is often referred to as ‘New Tasmania’ (Altman, 2003b; Baird, 2006; Stratford, 2006). In contrast to the political turmoil surrounding the forestry and electricity industries and their controversial propositions, this period is thought to correspond with greater innovation, deeper democratic consultation and a de-centralisation of leadership. Indeed, ideas for the future do appear to have played an expanded and more constructive role in Tasmanian discourse with many stakeholders and prominent locals coming forward to advocate new ways forward. This was evident in *The Griffith Review*’s edition, ‘Tasmania: The Tipping Point’ (Schultz & Cica 2013), a collection of critical reflections on Tasmania’s uncertain future and the debate that this collection precipitated (*The Conversation* 2013). Similarly, local and interstate media outlets have covered ideas from a range of notable individuals in Tasmania. Gambler and gallery owner, David Walsh, has successfully placed his constantly evolving project, The Museum of Old and New Art (MONA), at the forefront of efforts to

revitalise the state's economy. Its transformative potential has been described as 'the MONA effect' (Franklin, 2014). In Tasmania's north-west, an area badly affected by the forestry downturn, bold urban renewal programs have been suggested; notably, the rebuilding of Devonport into a 'Living City' according to the 'Living City Master Plan' (Martin 2017). But in perhaps the most symbolic development, the Triabunna woodchip mill, formerly a monument to Tasmania's woodchip export industry, was purchased by environmental philanthropists and dismantled with the intention of replacing it with a tourism and arts-friendly precinct (Van Tigglen, 2014). Within this period of transformation 2014 represented an especially important moment in Tasmanian deliberations about the future because it corresponded, firstly, with the election of two conservative National and State Governments who sought to re-frame the future of Tasmania and, secondly, a period of optimism as Tasmania recovered from an economic recession in 2012-13 (Andrews, 2012). While 2014 represented, perhaps, a more optimistic moment in Tasmanian history, the old antagonisms regarding development and the future of the state continued to occupy news reports and propositions continued to form important nodes in political discourse.

1.3 Gaps, aims and research questions

With this new context in mind, a key motivation for this study is to test whether the ideals of New Tasmania are reflected in propositional journalism and the framing of these stories. This thesis finds, on the contrary, that there remain ongoing discrepancies regarding news access and the relative prevalence of sources who propose and comment upon propositions in Tasmania. This thesis found that compared to every other profession in society, including scientists, teachers, doctors, students, planners and economists, politicians and business people constituted the vast majority of quoted sources in propositional journalism. In addition, these sources were predominantly older, non-migrant men. The study found that the evaluation of leadership was a common theme in editorials and opinion pieces, and that these evaluations corresponded with evaluative schemas (frames) which, it is argued, police and circumscribe which sources are legitimately entitled to an opinion in propositional journalism.

In arriving at these findings, this thesis contributes to knowledge in the area both in terms of its subject matter (propositional journalism), and its approach (a combined field and frame analysis). In terms of the first gap, there have been a number of studies which have examined how controversial science and technologies have been framed in media (Phillips et al., 2012, Priest, 2002), or how global risks have been 'staged' in news reports (Beck, 2009, Lester and Cottle, 2009). However, these studies tend to limit their samples to news concerning predetermined proposals or proponents of interest. For example, news about climate change might feature carbon reduction, energy and

mining propositions and involve scientists, activists, industry, governments as proponents and news sources. Less commonly do studies examine the macro scale and consider, for instance, how news about risk and technology fit within the entire field of propositional journalism, which includes any proposition-centred story put forward by any proponent. This study addresses this gap in media sampling by examining, specifically, a six month sample in 2014 comprising 1,172 proposition-centred articles from three Tasmanian local news outlets: *The Mercury* (Hobart), *The Examiner* (Launceston) and *ABC Tas* (state-wide).

Secondly, while this research presents a critical analysis of propositional journalism, its particular political and normative argument differs from previous studies. Beers' critique of corporate-owned news media drew causal links between the content of news and the corporate ownership of news businesses, the manipulative use of promotional industries and corporate lobbyists. While these are undoubtedly important factors, more recent studies have tended to nuance this view with a greater appreciation journalists' agency in counteracting corporate spin (McNair, 2006; Entman, 2004; Thompson, 2013b; Thompson, 2013a; Lawrence, 2010). Source indexing, as Regina Lawrence suggested (2010), is dependent upon context where, in some circumstances, journalists' reliance on elite sources for information gives way to more democratic participation. In particular, sudden events and disasters can wrong-foot official sources and create space for citizens to enter the debate (Lawrence 2010, p. 275). In addition, there has been a 'dialogic turn' within media studies where public participation in decision making is now widely expected in policy and development discourse (Phillips et al., 2012, p. 3). Accordingly, while this study shares Beers' concern for the maintenance of a democratic public sphere, it will take a different approach by employing a sociological understanding of power and influence that, it will be argued, allows for a more nuanced understanding of how certain proponents and propositions come to dominate the 'governmental field' (Hage 2012, p. 46). In particular, following the influential French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, this study does not conceive of power as monolithic but, rather, as differentiated into currencies of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1989; Bourdieu, 2011) that proponents can accumulate and exchange in a way that is analogous to the exchange of economic capital.

In addition, this thesis employs a novel frame analysis by considering metaphors as cognitive frames for reasoning about the legitimacy of proponents and the utility of propositions. Considering the objective mandate of journalists, it is interesting to note that news texts regularly employ rhetorical flourishes, idiomatic and metaphorical expressions. This was also a notable feature in propositional journalism where headlines and leads were remarkably metaphorical. For example, this lead from an article in *The Mercury* newspaper references at least five metaphorical expressions (italicised):

"INVESTORS are ready to pounce to be part of Devonport's \$250 million revival now a master plan to steer the bold vision has been unveiled, Mayor Steve Martin says". [Emphasis added] (Kempton 2014c)

Translated into similes this sentence implies that: investors are like cats, the development is like life-saving medicine, by investing in something you become part of it, a plan is like a vision that can be revealed, and a leader is like a ship's captain. A significant amount of subjective, normative and interpretive information can be implied in one sentence through the mechanism of metaphor. Following recent collaborations between cognitive linguistics and news framing scholarship (Lakoff, 1996; Lakoff and Johnson, 2008; Lakoff, 2010b), this thesis will organise these metaphorical expressions into coherent frames of meaning.

Overall, this research examines a 2014 sample of Tasmanian journalism to determine whose propositions were reported, how their proposals were framed in the media through the use of metaphor, and what underlying ideas about leadership and morality inform the selection of news sources in propositional journalism. In order to tie both these gaps together and contribute to academic knowledge regarding the role of journalists in reporting the future, this research explores the following research questions:

1. Whose voices were most prominent in Tasmanian propositional journalism and which professions were most represented in the sample?
2. How did journalists:
 - a. Frame propositions for the future?
 - b. Frame proponents' legitimacy?
3. To what extent did the news framing of propositions and proponents correspond with patterns of news access in propositional journalism?
4. How did editors and journalists select proponents and proposals and what evaluative schemas were deployed in these routine decisions?

After discussing the findings of this research, this thesis will ultimately argue that the persistently antagonistic political discourse is partly attributable to the lack of diversity in the sources of propositions. In a situation where a minority of elite actors make the majority of propositions for the future, the public is denied a more constructive role in the political discourse beyond mere obstructionism. Broadening the range of sources of ideas and using more inclusive moral language is recommended in order to encourage constructive discussion of options and alternatives for

Tasmania and ultimately find new spaces of consensus and social license for key developments in the public interest.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This chapter has given examples of public attitudes to highlight democratic concerns surrounding propositional journalism, however, in general, the study was limited to exploration of journalists' opinions and news content and did not canvass public opinion. Attempting to discern the media's effects on public opinion remains a contentious and, according to Nick Couldry (2012, p. 36), an irresolvable problem for media studies. Limiting this study to the empirically observable data concerning journalists' opinions and news content is intended to avoid these methodological dilemmas. While journalists' practices, opinions and content can be assumed to have effects on public opinion, this study will not attempt to specify what those effects are in a linear way. Rather, this study will seek to determine how public contributions to propositional journalism are mediated and evaluated by journalists and, overall, how journalists' professional practices determine whose voices are heard.

More generally, while the study seeks to address the research questions through a Tasmanian case study, it also aspires to build upon and extend existing knowledge in the area with significance beyond its local context. Many communities and states in Australia and beyond face uncertain futures due to a transition out of resource-based industries and a decline in employment prospects as manufacturing industries move offshore (Brett 2011). Such uncertainties and anxieties form the context in which anomalous leaders such as Donald Trump and spurious policies such as Brexit can occur. Even illusory pathways and flawed leaders appear able to provide hope for communities that are desperate for solutions and certainty.

In the face of ecological and economic challenges it is widely accepted that societies around the world must consider technological alternatives and grasp new opportunities. In this context, ideas for the future are especially important, as is the media's role in disseminating them. This thesis examines news coverage about Tasmania's future in order to better understand how the future is reported generally. Whereas studies have often explored news coverage relating to crises and risks such as global warming, nuclear power and terrorism there are comparatively less studies that examine how the media canvass prospective solutions and ideas for the future. This PhD seeks to address this gap in the literature and extend theoretical knowledge in the area.

The findings from this research will therefore assist policy makers, entrepreneurs and social actors to advocate for their ideas with a clearer understanding of the media's role in publicising alternative

futures. It is a firmly held view of the author that good ideas are an invaluable commodity in our society and a vital plank in participatory democracies generally. With many challenges facing communities around the world, humanity's ability to invent solutions and implement them is essential and will be assisted by an improved understanding of how they are communicated.

1.5 Thesis structure

In addressing these research questions, this thesis aims to provide a detailed case study of Tasmanian propositional journalism while also contributing to ongoing refinement of scholarly approaches to the question of power, legitimacy and framing. **Chapter 2** discusses in detail Tasmania's unique historical experience with proposition-centric political discourse and, in so doing, provides essential background information for the case study. It begins with an appraisal of Tasmania's economic and political position prior to 'New Tasmania', paying especial attention to the historical disputes over the Gunns Pulp Mill. It then proceeds to illustrate the transformation of the Tasmanian economy, social policy, and political culture, which has been interpreted as signalling a 'New Tasmania'. It notes, in particular, that new populist political movements and continuing ecological disputes foreshadow ongoing cynicism regarding Tasmania's political culture.

Chapter 3 examines the scholarly literature concerning the reporting of the future. Building upon key theories from risk mediation, the chapter examines how these might be relevant for the study of propositional journalism. The importance of sources in the construction of collective futures and the 'staging' of the future in the present are considered as especially relevant. The chapter then considers new normative arguments for reporting constructive reporting of solutions before concluding with a thorough definition of propositional journalism as located within the governmental field.

Chapter 4, as the final background chapter, provides a discussion about the study's chosen methodological approach and a detailed description of the research methods undertaken. In particular it discusses the relationship between Pierre Bourdieu's field analysis sociology and news framing analysis. It argues that field analysis is an especially useful theoretical toolkit for examining propositional journalism and the construction of leadership legitimacy. In particular, Bourdieu's theory of 'habitus' provides a foundation for considering news frames as linguistic habits produced within fields of action. It also discusses this proposed integration of field and frame analysis in relation to the cognitive linguistics of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1999; 2008) who argue that the cognitive unconscious is structured according to habituated metaphorical reasoning. Metaphors, then, are considered as the primary unit of analysis for the framing analysis. The chapter concludes

by detailing the strategic and technical methods employed to collect the sample, conduct the content analysis and arrive at key metaphorical frames.

The quantitative data from the content analysis is presented in **Chapter 5**. The distribution of sources according to profession and gender is discussed. The identification of the most quoted sources are discussed as are the most prominent proposition in the sample. The sample also provides breakdown of the prevalence of different kinds of conceptual metaphor in the sample.

Chapter 6, presents qualitative findings from direct observation and interviews with editors. These findings are then used to explain recurrent themes in newspaper editorials in the sample. In particular, navigational metaphors are discussed and correlations made between this pervasive metaphor and some salient features in the source analysis.

Chapter 7, argues that evaluations of leadership in Tasmania appeared to be changing with new conservative pro-business leaders taking power at a State and Federal level. This corresponded, it is suggested, with a valuation on business-minded sources and a number of new metaphorical constructions that captured the new ideological climate of Tasmania in 2014.

Chapter 8, provides a counterpoint by examining progressive metaphors of leaders as nurturing parents and how this metaphor can be appropriated in public relations campaigns to soften the public image of leaders who are, in reality, anything but progressive. Returning to interviews and observation of editors, it is suggested that a nurturing ethic of community care and pride present in journalistic conceptions of their social role, providing the basis for new models of news access and leadership evaluation.

Chapter 9, the study's conclusion, reflects on the findings in light of a full term of Liberal majority government and offers some further comments on possible revaluation of leadership values. It is concluded that leadership value must go beyond institutional sources to consider the opinions and visions of experts who are recognised for diligently pursuing best practice solutions to social and environmental problems.

Part I

Background and Context

Chapter 2: Background to Tasmanian Study

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a background to the Tasmanian study and the historical context in which ideas for the future were proposed, reported and contested. Because this study is concerned with propositions generally rather than specific propositions or economic sectors such as forestry or mining it is necessary to provide a relatively broad background which explains the economic and social challenges facing the state which, in many cases, motivated and justified the propositions in the sample. This chapter seeks to justify the choice of Tasmania as a suitable case study for examining propositional journalism. As the introduction alluded, the political discourse surrounding development proposals in Tasmania has been notably divisive. This chapter will examine conflicting perspectives on the processes and proponents behind development politics in Tasmania. It will consider these peculiarities in Tasmanian politics in the context of broader trends. In particular, there is a globally observable disenfranchisement with mainstream politics evidenced, most recently, in America with the election of President Donald Trump, but pre-empted in Tasmania with the election of populist outsiders such as Tasmanian Jacqui Lambie to the Australian Senate and, in 2016, the election of a number of ultra-nationalist One Nation senators. These controversial figures, it will be suggested, are symptomatic of a new disenfranchisement from mainstream political discourse and, particularly, a popular disenchantment with the direction of society and the visions offered by politicians and 'elites'. This adds new poignancy to the question of how journalists report propositions and the sources they rely upon.

2.2 Lagging Tasmania

Tasmania is Australia's smallest and most isolated state, located 230 kilometres south of the mainland's east coast. Despite occupying roughly the same land mass as the Republic of Ireland, Tasmania's 68,401 km² of largely mountainous terrain remains sparsely populated with only 519,000 residents living in Tasmania at the time of writing (ABS, 2016). The state's population is also uniquely rural compared to other Australian states. According to The Australian Bureau of Statistics' (ABS) 2014-2015 report, "Of all states and territories, Tasmania had the highest proportion of its population residing outside the Greater Capital City at June 2015 (57%)" (ABC, 2015).

Despite its isolation, Tasmania was one of the first parts of Australia to be 'discovered' and colonised by European settlers. Van Diemen's Land, as it was then known, was sighted by the explorer Abel

Tasman in 1642 and subsequently colonised by the English in 1803 for use as a penal colony for English and Irish convicts (Boyce, 2008; Shipway, 2005). The island's early history under colonial rule was marked by violence; both in the brutal treatment of its convicts but also in the massacring of Aboriginal land owners culminating with 'The Black War' of 1824-1831 (Clements, 2013; Reynolds, 2013; Shipway, 2005). This was the first and only war fought on Australian soil which, according to historian Nick Clements (2013, p. xiii), "all but wiped out" the formerly extensive Aboriginal population.

Tasmania is sometimes seen through this blackened lens as a backward community and, perhaps, not a likely choice for the study of ideas for the future. According to the historian Jesse Shipway, there is an uncomfortable juxtaposition between Tasmania as a site of genocide and imprisonment and Tasmania as a site of modernity epitomised by the construction of enormous and impressively engineered hydroelectric dams (Shipway, 2005, p. 190-195). While there is a need to contemporise this stereotype, in some respects, Tasmania does appear to have been more resilient to the waves of social progress and modernisation that swept through the rest of Australia in the 20th Century. Tasmania was the last state to decriminalise homosexuality in 1997 (Croome, 2013, p. 31) and remains the least multicultural state in Australia (ABS, 2011). However, this cultural inertia is coupled with more material discrepancies between Tasmania and the mainland states relating to consistently poor outcomes in employment, health and education (West, 2013).

2.2.1 Economic recession

Tasmania has, for geographic and demographic reasons, always carried a competitive disadvantage economically compared to its mainland counterparts. It is further away from national and international markets and reliant on expensive shipping of its export goods, which cuts profits and dampens investor enthusiasm. In addition, Tasmania's small and aging population (Jackson and Kippen, 2001) means that there are fewer taxpayers (Denny and Polkan, 2015), a limited local market for goods and a shortage of skilled labour in some areas (McInerney, 2013, p. 160). Citing these inherent disadvantages, Tasmania, as part of the Federation of Australia, appeals to the Federation's foundational commitment to "provide the same standard of services to its population" regardless of where they live in Australia (Searle, 2002, p. 1). Accordingly, the Commonwealth Grants Commission returns tax revenues to the states in order to equalise state revenues where some states, such as Tasmania and the Northern Territory, have less capacity to raise revenues themselves (Stratford, 2006, p. 578). In 2014, Tasmania received \$1.63 back for every \$1 dollar of Goods and Services Tax (GST) revenue raised, whereas Western Australia (in the midst of a lucrative mining boom) received only 0.38 cents per dollar raised. Tasmania is also the recipient of a freight

subsidy called, the Tasmanian Freight Equalisation Scheme, which seeks to provide a level playing field for Tasmania's export market by subsidising the cost of shipping (Truss, 2015). This effective subsidisation of the poorer states of Australia has been the source of some friction within the Australian Federation with Western Australia's Premier describing Tasmania as a 'mendicant state' and overly reliant on welfare payments (in Wood, 2013, p. 155; Denny, 2013).

These policies have, until recently, been effective in supporting Tasmanian industries in areas such as mining, metallurgy, hydroelectricity, forestry, tourism, aquaculture and agriculture. However, in recent decades, Tasmania's stagnant unemployment figures and growth have left the state vulnerable to economic recession and rising unemployment. In 2012, global and national trends coincided with local events to produce a sharp drop in employment and state government revenues. The Global Financial Crisis (GFC) of 2008 continued to hamper consumer confidence and reduced GST revenues. In April 2012, prominent Tasmanian economist Saul Eslake declared that the state was officially in recession after recording two consecutive quarters of negative growth (in Andrews, 2012). This led the state government to make cuts to health, education expenditure and public service jobs (Alessandrini, 2012, p. 660).

The economic problem in Tasmania was examined in a widely read 2013 edition of *The Griffith Review* titled, 'Tasmania: The Tipping Point'. The collaborative project with Queensland's Griffith University and The University of Tasmania featured essays that sought to reposition Tasmania in the context of the economic challenges and emerging opportunities of the 21st Century. The crux of the economic problem was established by Julianne Shultz (2013, p. 8) in an introductory essay titled, 'Oscillating wildly: learning from the past to create the future':

The warning signs are clear - about a third of Tasmania's population depends on benefits, a third is employed by the public sector, a fifth in the services sector and only a tenth in the private wealth creation sector.

This perceived imbalance in Tasmania's economy, with its higher proportion of welfare recipients and much lower levels of employment in the private sector, singled Tasmania out from northern states and territories. The comparison with mainland states was also observed by the business and innovation professor, Jonathan West:

Tasmania's unemployment rate in October 2012 stood at 7.7 per cent, by comparison to the Australian average of 4.9 per cent – a difference of nearly three percentage points or, expressed more starkly, a rate of joblessness more than a third greater. (2013, p. 51)

West attracted controversy with his forlorn explanation of the state's problems by arguing that

Tasmania's financial reliance on subsidisation from the mainland had created a culture of obstructionism:

The reality is that Tasmania has bred a dominant social coalition that blocks most proposals to improve. Problems and challenges are debated endlessly, with no resolution. Most discussion avoids mention of the uncomfortable truths at the source of under-performance. (2013, p. 51)

For West, the answer is simply that, "Tasmania doesn't change because its people don't really want to. They don't *need* to..." [original emphasis] (p. 51). The hard truths that West aired in this essay did not go unchallenged. Demographer Lisa Denny (2013) took issue with West's "less than flattering description of Tasmania and its people" and argued that "both South Australia and the Northern Territory (and until recently, Western Australia) receive a greater proportion of GST receipts than they contribute" (Denny, 2013). Tasmania, argued Denny, was not alone in its dependence on government subsidisation and was leading other states in innovation and education. Other respondents, such as Fred Gale (2013), challenged the classical economics model on which West's critique relied. Gale observed that, while unemployment in Tasmania sits below the national average, by comparison to the rest of the world Tasmania is in an enviable position, especially compared to Europe and, "that paragon of market virtue", the United States (Gale, 2013). Moreover, Gale points to surveys revealing a high level of happiness and satisfaction in Tasmania, a scale that is excluded from classical economics' focus on GDP figures and growth.

However, as will be explained, this caricature of a lagging Tasmania is becoming harder to maintain. This was reflected in the redemptive tone in *The Griffith Review's* essays that ultimately recommended an optimistic outlook. Many contributors employed metaphors alluding to the exciting potential of the state: "The cracks are where the light gets in" (Cica, 2013, p. 9); "churning the mud [from which] something truly remarkable again springs forth" (Croome, 2013, p. 38); or "a dry forest [where] a spark could set off all kinds of things" (Bibby, 2013, p. 73). Historically, economic downturns and recoveries are not unprecedented in Tasmania and, casting a look back at recent slumps and recoveries, there was cause to expect another revival in the state's prospects. For example, a previous bout of pessimism regarding Tasmania's economy occurred in the late 1990s when, with unemployment hovering at 11 per cent (McCall, 1998, p. 304), the Booker Prize winning Tasmanian author, Richard Flanagan (in Croome, 1997), likened the collective gloom to post-war desolation. "It's as though the war's ended," he wrote, "and we're left standing in the rubble and nobody knows where we are to go now, nobody's got any maps for the future" (p. 136). Yet Tasmania duly emerged from the downturn in the early 2000s, leading Natasha Cica (2005) to

characterise the local economy as 'Turbo Tassie'. It would seem that the bumpy road of development in Tasmania, much like its landscape, is characterised by steep and unexpected change.

2.2.2 Forestry collapse

Concern surrounding Tasmania's stagnant economy was intensified by the liquidation of forestry company Gunns Limited on 26 September 2012 (Beresford, 2015, p. 365), resulting in the loss of more than 300 Tasmanian jobs (Bibby, 2013, p. 66). This episode is worth unpacking in detail because it illustrates the fragility of Tasmanian democracy, especially regarding powerful government-backed proponents like Gunns Limited. This history of disenfranchisement makes Tasmania an interesting case study for examining propositional journalism and how the public are variously invited or refused entry into discussions regarding the future, and how the question of leadership quality is framed in news reports.

Depending who was asked, Gunns was alternately a rare, home-grown success story, a family business that made good or, according to its detractors, a rogue corporation that ultimately fell victim to its own hubris. Since the 1980s, Gunns Limited had been the face of Tasmania's timber and woodchip industry, accounting for nearly 85 per cent of all forestry operations (Krien, 2012, p. 158). According to Beresford (2015), after buying out several competitors in 2001, the company boasted a gigantic portfolio of businesses and properties including:

Five sawmills; three veneer factories; four woodchip export ports; six Mitre 10 hardware stores; a building construction arm; a nursery capable of handling 13 million tree seedlings a year; and almost 170,000 hectares of private land, of which 100,000 hectares were under hardwood plantation. (p. 24)

As a proportion of the Tasmanian workforce, forestry workers only accounted for one per cent of total employment, however, these workers tended to be concentrated in rural areas with few alternative industries, making the job losses all the more conspicuous (West, 2013, p. 53). Outside of forestry towns the demise of Gunns was more symbolic than material and, according to Will Bibby (2013, p. 66), "as much a psychological shock to Tasmanians as it was economic". The company's bankruptcy, writes West (2013, p. 51), was 'emblematic' of the economic conditions facing extractive industries nationally: the high Australian dollar, tightened environmental restrictions and fierce international competition.

For conservationists who had fought the wood chipping and clear-felling industry for decades, the event was cause for celebration (Beresford, 2015, p. 368). Senator Bob Brown, the former leader of The Australian Greens party, expressed relief that, "a great millstone had been lifted off Tasmania's

neck” (in Beresford, 2015, p. 368). The ‘millstone’ presumably related to the ecological burden of forestry practices in Tasmania, but it is also likely that a democratic burden was inferred by Brown. In making its case for a Pulp Mill, Gunns had been ruthless in its condemnation of critics and activists. In 2004, Brown, along with 19 other critics of the company, were targeted with a defamation suit worth \$6.3 million, days before the company announced a feasibility study into the controversial Tamar Valley Pulp Mill (Beresford, 2015, p. 207). While these legal challenges, often termed ‘SLAPP suits’ (Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation), were ultimately overturned, nonetheless, the company’s “relentless pursuit and near limitless resources did intimidate its defendants and other potential critics in the wider community” (Krien, 2012, p. 172).

While supporters of Gunns and its pulp mill condemned activists for “dancing on the grave” of the company (ABC, 2012), it was apparent that, even outside of activist circles, mainstream opinion had turned against Gunns’ heavy-handed approach to consultation and development under the leadership of CEO John Gay. According to author Richard Flanagan (2012), “opposition to Gunns long ago outgrew any conservation group and Gunns was in the end undone by the many, many people who refused to give in to its threats, lies and intimidation”. In addition to the infamous SLAPP suits, Gay had controversially leveraged great influence with Tasmanian politicians; most notably the then Premier, Paul Lennon, but also former Liberal Premier, Robin Gray, who was a Gunns board member (Denholm, 2013). Forestry had long been a cooperative effort between government and business with the state-owned Forestry Tasmania responsible, by law, for supplying the industry with no less than 300,000 cubic metres of resource each year which, according to West (2012, p. 2), was an inherently unsustainable volume. In 2007, the close association between forestry and government became controversial when, in attempting to push the company’s controversial pulp mill through environmental assessment, Gay was able to secure an exception from the standard process with the introduction of the ‘Pulp Mill Assessment Bill’, to ‘fast track’ approval of the project (Beresford, 2015, p. 275-276). According to the Tasmanian correspondent for *The Australian* newspaper, Matthew Denholm (2013), this special treatment “further undermined mainstream public support for the project” with the charge of corruption and cronyism impacting the company’s efforts to secure financial investment and public support for the project. Forestry contractors, investors and owners of plantation forests also felt betrayed by the mismanagement of the company under the leadership of CEO John Gay (Beresford, 2015, p. 367). Flanagan (2012) summarised the case against Gunns in an essay titled, ‘Gunns’ demise lifts a darkness over Tasmania’:

The story of Gunns is a parable of corporate hubris. You can, as they did, corrupt the polity, cow the media, poison public life and seek to persecute those who disagree with you. You

can rape the land, exterminate protected species, exploit your workers and you can even poison your neighbours. But the naked pursuit of greed at all costs will in the end destroy your public legitimacy and thus ensure your doom. Gunns was a rogue corporation and its death was a chronicle long ago foretold. The sadness is in the legacy they leave to Tasmania – the immense damage to its people, its wildlands, and its economy. (Flanagan, 2012)

One benefit of Gunns' capitulation, however, was that it provided an opportunity for Tasmania to have a more thorough discussion about the state's economic future outside the myopic focus on the company's proposed pulp mill. For Eslake, this future involved a shift away from extractive industries towards "the production of highly differentiated goods and services, embodying higher intellectual content which can be sold at higher prices" (in Beresford, 2015, p. 368). Post-Gunns Tasmania was indeed characterised by a reinvigorated discussion of propositions and possibilities, forming part of the 'New Tasmania' discourse, which will be explored in the following section. However, democratic cynicism also remained a feature of this new propositional discourse.

2.3 'New Tasmania'

The local neologism¹, 'New Tasmania', refers to a deliberate reform of Tasmania's image, economy and social policy; away from the state's historic association with social conservatism and heavy industry, and towards modernisation and a reorientation towards the burgeoning tourism, hospitality, gastronomy, real estate and arts industries (Stratford, 2006; Altman, 2003b). The discourse was spearheaded by the Australian Labor Party (ALP) Premier, Jim Bacon, and followed a series of speeches and articles in 2003 (Baird, 2006, p. 971; Stratford, 2006; Stratford, 2008). In his first term as Premier, Bacon had succeeded in securing a number of key infrastructure projects that, in his view, would encourage a diversification of economic development. These included the installation of an undersea gas pipeline, an undersea 'Basslink cable' to connect Tasmania to the national energy grid and two new ferries to transport goods and tourists. The delivery of these projects along with the increased uptake of internet technologies, promised to transform Tasmania's isolation from a disability to a resource by diminishing the costs of distance (communication, energy and export access) and increasing the opportunities associated with distance (clean air, wilderness, fresh produce, ocean views and artistic excellence). Bacon, in *The Australian's* special report, 'The New Tasmania', celebrated these changes and the possibility that "Tasmania really is, at long last, starting to benefit from where we are geographically, where for so long that was seen as a disadvantage" (in Altman, 2003b).

¹ The term 'New Tasmania' is not necessarily new. In his dissertation on the Tasmanian colony, the historian Henry Reynolds (1963, p. 259) used the term 'New Tasmania' to refer to the relatively prosperous post-Federation period that began in 1901.

In addition, Bacon's tenure was also marked by advances in social policy, most prominently, the introduction of legislation to recognise and give legal entitlement to lesbian and gay couples (Baird, 2006, p. 965). Having been one of the last Australian states to remove sodomy laws and decriminalise homosexuality, this world leading policy complimented the infrastructure developments of 'New Tasmania' with social progress (Baird, 2006, p. 965; Croome, 2013, p. 31). According to the economist, Saul Eslake, this reform would encourage artists and creatives to move to Tasmania and participate in new cultural industries (in Altman, 2003a). While it would be cynical to explain the legislation as purely instrumental and motivated by the pursuit of 'creative migration' (Verdich, 2010), progressive social policy does fit within current trends in urban planning and economics that place a high value on tolerance and liveability. This school of thought is often associated with Richard Florida's valorisation of 'the creative class' (Florida, 2006) and Charles Landry's 'creative city' (Landry, 2008). Here, creativity is not intended in its usual artistic sense but refers broadly to energetic communities of innovators and technology professionals who, in their view, constitute the engine room of 'new economies'. According to Florida, the contemporary world is "shifting from an economy based on physical inputs – land, capital, and labour – to an economy based on intellectual inputs, or human creativity" (Florida, 2006, p. 22). This creates a global demand for innovative people and a global competition to attract these desirable migrants (Florida, 2006). As Florida suggests, a prerequisite for attracting talented and creative people is 'tolerance':

Tolerance... is the key variable. The regions that are most open to different lifestyles and to people who think differently or who express their creativity differently have the kind of ecosystem that attracts talented and entrepreneurial people across the board. (Florida, 2006)

Accordingly, the imperative of local governments is to market their region (its liveability, lifestyle and tolerance) to this international group of change makers. In the instance of 'New Tasmania', as Stratford (2006) suggests, this involves an increasing emphasis on progressive social policy and Tasmania's cosmopolitan credentials as opposed to its isolation which had traditionally been used to attract government subsidies.

The retention of educated, young people has long posed a problem for Tasmania with governments developing strategies to attract and retain skilled young people (Easthope and Gabriel, 2008, p. 175). However, critics of the 'New Tasmania' discourse argue that, rather than attempting to retain talented students on the island, the newly cosmopolitan and professional Tasmania aimed to attract professionals from abroad seeking a tree-change from mainland cities. This preference for outsiders' ideas over those of locals, according to some, was alienating and discouraging. Writer Richard

Flanagan complains of a cultural cringe associated with Tasmanian ideas and innovations:

There is also a new economy forming in Tasmania. It is an economy in which distance is no longer a tyranny. [However,] one of the great problems for Tasmania is the belief of those in power that if something is Tasmanian it is mediocre. You come across this belief again and again: if Tasmanians have done it, it's no good. But if someone comes in from outside with a proposal or a business there's an implicit faith that it must be good. (in Croome, 1997, p. 138)

Rejection of Tasmanian originality is, according to other writers (Cica, 2005), making Tasmania the same as everywhere else and unwittingly discouraging people from visiting and living there. As Natasha Cica relates, "I don't like a lot of the look, smell and taste of New Tasmania because it's making Tasmania look, smell and taste more like everywhere else" (Cica, 2005, p. 14). This globalising effect, according to Stratford, is "simultaneously homogenizing and destabilizing" (Stratford, 2006, p. 577). There is a self-defeating contradiction in the terms of 'New Tasmania' which both celebrates the island's uniqueness but instrumentalises this uniqueness to pursue development in ways that are homogenising and devaluing of Tasmanian originality. In a globalised world that is increasingly homogenised, Tasmania's isolation became a valuable commodity in the eyes of tourists and property developers; "an open and accessible island imaginary of global international desire" (Stratford, 2006, p. 577).

There is, likewise, a tendency to dismiss the concept of 'New Tasmania' as masking processes of gentrification and disguising the state's ongoing reliance on destructive forestry practices (Cica, 2005; Flanagan, 2004). As the previous chapter alluded, in the early 2000s, Premier Bacon's vision of Tasmania had forestry and mining industries as assumed and non-negotiable parts of the economy. Outside pro-forestry circles, however, the discourse of 'New Tasmania' often corresponded with a disparaging attitude towards the state's traditional industries in favour of the burgeoning tourism, niche agriculture and knowledge-based industries. Human rights lawyer, Greg Barns, described this binary of new and old as an economic fiction. For Barns, the notion "that we are moving or "transitioning" from an "old" industrial economy into a "new" clean, green and clever economic nirvana" (Barns, 2013) is an economic myth. The term 'New Tasmania' conceals a view that "Tasmania should be hip and cool and it is embarrassing to have a zinc processing plant in Hobart" (Barns, 2013). Indeed, the juxtaposition between creative and heavy industries in 'New Tasmania' is geographical as well as cultural. The Nyrstar Zinc Works, alluded to by Barns, is located on the Derwent River, only a few kilometres upstream from The Museum of Old and New Art (MONA). Their proximity, and the absence of mutual embarrassment, would appear to support Barns' assertion that

these industries can work in concert. In fact, rather than representing a new exclusive high culture, in parallel with primary industry, MONA purports to be an amalgam of high culture, anti-elitist hedonism and working-class sensibilities. In 2011 the professional gambler, millionaire and art collector, David Walsh, opened his outlandish art museum in the outer suburb of Berriedale, not far from the street where he grew up. Hewn into the river's sandstone cliff embankments and perhaps borrowing a brutalist aesthetic from its industrial neighbours, MONA has planted itself at the forefront of Tasmania's new tourism and arts economy. 'The MONA effect', like the Bilbao Effect, brought international renown to Hobart when, in 2015, the institution was listed as one of the Seven Wonders of the World by Lonely Planet (in Franklin, 2017). While it is located in one of the state's most disadvantaged suburbs and adjacent to heavy industrial plants, the extent to which MONA does incorporate these cultural influences and invite patronage and support from working-class Tasmanians has been questioned (Booth et al., 2017). As Booth and colleagues (2017, p. 27) suggest, the discourse of transformation surrounding MONA elides existing cultural and artistic communities in Hobart's northern suburbs which are conceptualised as a "cultural desert". Rather, they suggest that (2017, p. 27), "a museum like MONA acts in concert with the people and place of Glenorchy". At the heart of this cultural transformation, then, is a negotiation between "the creative class", which Florida and Landry consider as a migratory class of workers in the new economy, and more local sensibilities regarding the cultural transformation of Hobart. This tension highlights the importance of an examination of how cultural and economic propositions are framed in local media and who the sources are that "frame the shape of the new" (Beers, 2006, p. 121).

2.4 Refugees of the interior

For Tasmanians who celebrated the end of the forestry wars and the dismantling of the bullish forestry company, Gunns Limited, the subsequent period of optimism and cultural revival in 'New Tasmania' represented a welcome development and a source of pride. However, as Ghassan Hage argues (2004, p. 10), hope and optimism are not equally distributed resources. Neoliberal economic policy, in particular, creates exclusions and communities of exclusion; "refugees of the interior" denied culturally dominant ways of hoping (in Hage & Papadopoulos, 2004, p. 10). In particular, many rural areas of Tasmania continue to struggle economically and are uncomfortable by new cultural institutions in the capital cities and suspicious of popular conservation movements.

The idea of 'refugees of the interior' is also explored by the historian, James Boyce (1996), who describes a uniquely Tasmanian feeling of being in exile at home. He argues that an unmistakably Tasmanian-European culture, forged by experiences in the Tasmanian landscape and interaction with the Aboriginal landowners, continues to persist albeit in a state of exile. Activities such as

hunting, fishing and felling have long been “integral to a whole way of life here” (1996, p. 56), however, these authentic experiences with the Tasmanian landscape tend to be denigrated or ignored by environmentalists in their advocacy for wilderness conservation, free from human interaction. This, for Boyce (1996), helps to explain the ferocious conflicts over conservation proposals:

Access to public land and its resources has perhaps become so deeply associated with survival, security, independence and freedom in the European Tasmanian psyche, that proposals which are understood as ‘locking it up’ produce deep fear and a corresponding anger today (1996, p. 56).

While Boyce suggests that such fears have been effectively manipulated by corporations who are, themselves, intent on locking up and privatising public land for profit, he encourages conservationists to consider “the fullness of the human story” regarding Tasmania’s environmental history and to reject the convenient myth “that ‘Love of this island came late’” (1996, p. 57).

Rural voices have, historically, not occupied a central place in Australian or Tasmanian political discourse, however, in recent decades this has changed. In an essay titled, ‘Fair Share’, Judith Brett charts the relationship between country and city interests within Australia, noting the sudden reappearance of country voices within mainstream politics. “Since at least the 1970s in Australia”, writes Brett (2011, p. 3), “the city has had the upper hand and the country has been pushed aside”. However, she notes that successive elections have delivered rural representatives strategic power and a platform for reorientating public debate and highlighting the economic injustices facing rural communities (2011, p. 3). This trend was also reflected in Tasmania with the election of the Palmer United Party’s Jacqui Lambie from Tasmania’s north-western region to the Australian Senate. Lambie has since started her own party, the Jacqui Lambie Network, that commentators have likened to other global right wing, populist political movements (Kefford and McDonnell, 2015).

What is perhaps most surprising is not so much the number of rural voices currently in Australian politics, but the especially furious tenor of these new voices. Compared to the previous generation of country representatives, like Tim Fischer and Tony Windsor, who gave voice to a calm and considered conservatism, the new anti-politician politicians such as Jacqui Lambie, Pauline Hanson and Bob Katter, give voice to a sentiment of furious dispossession, often framed in explicitly racial terms. This wave of populist outsider politicians arguably owes its visibility to growing exclusion from the culturally dominant modes of hoping. According to Katherine Murphy:

...there are people who vote for Pauline Hanson because they are afraid of the future for entirely rational reasons, because governments have failed to give them hope for the future,

and we need to acknowledge that perhaps part of the reason politicians have been insufficiently attentive to the losers is because journalists - under pressure, battling shrinking newsrooms, unable to get out into the field - haven't done enough to tell their stories (2016, p. 47).

Thus, according to Murphy, journalists and politicians are jointly responsible for distributing hope in the form of stories and, consequently, policies. It is precisely the nature of this partnership with political elites that also needs to be reconsidered. The following chapters will examine this point and argue that dominant cultural frames for evaluating leadership structurally privilege elite sources and exclude different forms of community leadership. Populist political movements are energised by this discursive exclusion, forming their own insurgent values of leadership and their own insurgent truths constructed in opposition to journalistic truths and evaluations of leadership.

2.4 Conclusion

Decision making about propositions and economic development in Tasmania has, doubtlessly, been injurious to the state's democratic culture. Scandals concerning the relationship between business and political leaders have left many Tasmanians with a feeling of cynicism regarding propositional discourse. While 'New Tasmania' purports to address these concerns and decentralise economic development and business leadership, conflict over development and conservation persists.

Moreover, these debates, which are visible in street marches and protests in the capital cities and social media campaigns, tend to overlook more fundamental and invisible exclusions and alienations in propositional discourse. In particular, rural communities appear to hold conflictual sensibilities regarding the future of Tasmania and the role of conservation in the state. While Tasmania has not seen the kind of insurgent populist political movements that have shaken democracies in Europe and the United States, there are signs that alienation from propositional discourse could lead to further fragmentation of the Tasmanian public sphere. In this context, this research, in agreement with Murphy (2016), argues that journalists have a role in fairly distributing hope for the future by discussing propositions that are meaningful for a range of Tasmanian communities. In particular, it stresses that culturally dominant frames of leadership evaluation need to be reconsidered to allow new voices to legitimately propose solutions and innovations for their communities.

Chapter 3: Constructing collective futures

3.1 Introduction

Examining the future in journalism is complicated by the fact that both of these concepts—the future and journalism—are historically and culturally contingent; journalism is a fluid and diverse set of communication practices that is constantly reinventing itself to meet new expectations and exploit new opportunities, and the future (and time more generally) is a similarly unstable concept that has undergone transformation with, for example, the rise of commodified ‘clock time’ in modernity replacing many pre-modern conceptions of the future (Adam, 2010; Giddens, 2013, p. 18). Indeed, as Carlson and Lewis argue, “journalism is inextricably linked to social constructions of time” (2018, p. 2). Further complicating the examination of the future in news is the possibility that early print journalism may have been instrumental in transforming the perception of time (Anderson, 1991; Conboy, 2004), impressing on its readers the multi-perspectival and simultaneous nature of a shared present and replacing the ancient view of time where, according to Benedict Anderson (1991, p. 24), “the word ‘meanwhile’ cannot be of real significance”. In light of these ambiguities, this literature review will seek to examine those functions and definitions of journalism and of the future which are most relevant to the Tasmanian case study underpinning this thesis. While there is considerable scholarly research on the mediated construction of risk, there has been comparatively less scholarly attention paid to the reporting of potential solutions and propositions that were arguably an important feature of discourse surrounding ‘New Tasmania’. This chapter will contextualise this gap and explore how propositional journalism is inextricably linked to questions of power and the construction of leadership and legitimacy.

The reporting of solutions and grass-roots propositions has lately been posited as a key means of reinvigorating political debate and engagement with news organisations. While usefully highlighting a new and constructive role for news organisations, these media discourses also tend to depoliticise current reporting of solutions. While they posit new experimental methods of news collection and reporting of propositions, they ignore the power imbalances and ideological inferences that are inherent in proposing and discussing ideas for the future (Dunmire, 2005). This literature review seeks to re-politicise propositional journalism through an examination of constructivist sociology and significance of symbolic capital in proposing and discussing futures.

In the face of declining readerships, profits and public engagement, journalism practitioners and

academics have sought to reformulate journalism's focus and practices. In particular, reform movements have argued for a more proactive press dedicated to helping society solve its own problems through a focus on constructive solutions (Beers, 2006; Bornstein 2015; Huffington 2015). This reorientation, away from journalism's traditional fixation on negative events and conflict, was represented as a more democratic form of journalism, allowing society to source and debate a wider range of solutions to its collective problems. However, this debate largely overlooked the question of leadership, which, as this chapter suggests, is inextricably connected to the proposing and reporting of ideas. This prescription involved a temporal shift towards the future (rather than the immediate past) and an appraisal of the possible opportunities, alternatives and solutions which the future might contain.

Ultimately, this chapter argues that effective democratisation of local journalism through a solutions focus requires a corresponding reformulation of the definition of leadership. Leaders from a range of fields are essential figures in propositional journalism whose credibility and trust allows them to 'stage' the future and define the range of alternatives under public consideration (Beck, 1992; Beck, 2009). While the public journalism movement maintained that solutions ought to be sourced from an amorphous, leaderless local community, subsequent solution-oriented reform movements have gone beyond this communitarianism and explicitly argued for a reformulation of leadership value and new benchmarks for news entry for proponents of change. This chapter explores the connection between propositionality and leadership in journalism and considers media research examining the construction of leadership and its importance in restricting news access and limiting alternative voices and propositions.

3.2 Reporting risk

Risk communication has been a central focus in theorising the relationship between journalism and the construction of collective perceptions of the future through news reports (Lester and Cottle, 2009; Beck, 2009; Anderson, 2006; Friedman et al., 1999; Boykoff and Boykoff, 2007; Carvalho and Burgess, 2005). This contemporary focus in media scholarship, while owing a certain amount to ecological thought (Conca and Dabelko, 2014) and the need to understand the media's role in reporting and averting ecological catastrophe (Lester and Hutchins, 2013; Lester, 2010; Cottle, 2013), was, more specifically, inspired by the sociology of Ulrich Beck (2009; 2012; 2000; 1992; 2015; 2000). For Beck (2009, p. 4), while humanity has always faced uncertainty, the rise of powerful and dangerous technologies in late modernity leads him to characterise contemporary society as a 'risk society'. The consequences of contemporary risks now transcend class and geographic distinctions, are unmeasurable and are necessarily anticipated and 'staged' in the global news media in way that

can reveal discrepancies between those who profit from being at risk and those who are most vulnerable to risk. Moreover, as Fraser (2007) has pointed out, the asymmetrical relationship between risk-taker and victim transcends the traditional democratic relationship between national governments and their corresponding populations; thus fostering new forms of transnational solidarity and communities of consequences (Beck, 2009, p. 161). These intersecting problems form a core dynamic in modern society and confound political institutions who must act in uncertainty.

3.2.1 Staging the future

Of particular relevance to this thesis is Beck's concept of 'staging' which has featured in a number of books and articles (2000; 2009; 2012) since the publication of *Risk Society* (1992). Staging refers to the necessary construction of knowledge about risks which, until they occur, are largely invisible. In a more recent work Beck (2012) provides the following definition of staging:

Risks are about staging the future in the present, whereas the future of future catastrophes is in principle unknown. Without techniques of visualisation, without symbolic forms, without mass media, risks are nothing at all. Thus, global risks are globally mediated risks (Beck, 2012, p. 34).

Staging is therefore a key bridging term which positions journalism and news media as key epistemic gatekeepers in the construction of risk. However, as Cottle has argued, Beck's incorporation of the media in his sociology of risk construction is underdeveloped and inconsistent (Cottle, 1998). Some of this inconsistency can be detected in his application of the term staging, which is often used to refer to the media's coverage of starkly different events that involve very different media practices. For example, reporting the activities and pronouncements of climate change activists, politicians and experts is considered as 'staging' the science of climate change while (2009, p. 72), at the same time, natural disasters such as tsunamis, nuclear disasters, terrorist attacks, despite being real and current events, are also considered as part of the media's staging of risk (Beck, 2009, p. 68-69). This would seem to conflate two very different types of media events and media practice which scholars prefer to consider as separate. For instance, Livingston and Bennett (2003, p. 378) differentiate between 'institutional news' and 'event driven news'. This distinction, alternatively characterised as 'media events' and 'disasters' (Dayan and Katz, 1994; Katz and Liebes, 2007), pits institutional control over the news, through stage-managed events and conferences, against the destabilising and unpredictable influence of events, now more visible due to global mass media platforms. There are 'integrative events' which draw society together in celebration, hope and certainty and, on the other hand, 'disruptive events' which painfully reveal and create schisms and conflict (Evans, 2017). There

is an inherent conflict between these categories of events where, for instance, reporting of sudden natural disasters, can create situations where, according to Livingston and Bennett, “officials are challenged, sometimes even put on their heels, and rarely in complete control of an issue agenda” (2003, p. 366). While disaster reporting, as Cottle (2008) has shown, does involve the symbolic arrangement of victims, politicians and experts, there is a sense in which crisis reporting is comparatively unmediated category of news, especially so in the context of 24-hour live news and social media coverage of disaster. As Beck himself notes, the most symbolically potent footage of the South East Asian tsunami was not even filmed by journalists but by the victims of the tsunami (Beck, 2009, p. 69). While this footage would have been edited, selected and packaged by news staff, it surely constitutes a radically different range of journalistic practices than the reporting of press conferences, interviews or protest stunts – media events that Daniel Boorstin (1992) termed ‘pseudo-events’.

There is a dual meaning to the word staging that can partly account for the confusion of these two type of media events. Colloquially, the words staging/staged can refer, firstly, to dramatising or falsifying something using stagecraft techniques, as in Goffman’s (1959) distinction between front and backstage domains, or secondly, as emphasising something by placing it on a stage. Staging is therefore an amalgam of affect and emphasis. Global catastrophes are ‘staged’ in the second sense as they now appear on the ‘global stage’ or the ‘spotlight of the mass media’ (Beck, 2015, p. 1). On the other hand, press conferences, expert interviews or activist stunts are staged in the dramaturgical sense as involving the symbolic arrangement of relatively expert and inexperienced sources in news texts. This dramaturgical understanding relates very specifically to how news sources are represented in news texts, and especially how their relative legitimacy is conveyed symbolically using techniques of stagecraft.

Beck’s theory of the risk society is partly a historicising exercise that highlights the uniqueness of the contemporary political moment. Part of that uniqueness is certainly the globalised, transnational and interpenetrating nature of contemporary news flows (Cottle, 2009, p. 309). Thus, staging as prominent spectacle highlights the new cosmopolitanism of mediated catastrophe in the 21st Century where, according to Beck (2009, p. 68), risks come to symbolise the audience’s own vulnerability and, hence, global risk itself. However, this usage overlooks the fragmentation of what was formerly known as the ‘mass media’ (Gitlin, 1998) and segmentation of the ‘mass audience’ (Turow, 2011, p. 160). It underplays contemporary audiences’ tendency to consume crisis reporting through social media (Newman, Fletcher & Kalogeropoulos, 2017) rather than through television bulletins which Beck assumes are still broadcast “in every living room in the world” (Beck, 2009, p. 68). While traditional television viewing remains a relatively dominant medium in Australia (Seiter et

al., 2013), the stage metaphor's references to the international spotlight on global stage will struggle to account for the complexity of changing audience practices and, as was argued previously, conflates institutional and event-driven news.

The dramaturgical meaning of staging, on the other hand, provides a valuable method for theorising the construction of legitimacy and authority in proposing ideas for the future and hence the mediation of collective futures. Lester and Cottle (2009, p. 930) have usefully employed this understanding of 'staging' as relating to "how competing views and voices become accessed and visually staged in news about climate change" (2009, p. 921). Their analysis of climate change reporting on television news noted common aspects of dramaturgical stagecraft such as positioning, set design, costume, props and backdrops:

When leadership on climate change is visualized, a range of visual cues are observed in terms of staging, setting, attire, and other visual props, and these can all add to, or detract from, their social standing and capacity to "represent" and "legitimize" climate change as a global crisis requiring action (2009, p. 931)

How sources appear to viewers in television bulletins is not incidental but deploys a limited repertoire of staging techniques and symbolic associations to tell the story and to confer relative levels of leadership and legitimacy on their sources. In this conception, staging the future means staging the relative expertise and authority of the sources in question to make statements about the future. This approach implicates journalists and reporters in the construction of the future and recognition of the 'symbolic power' of their sources in proposing futures (Lester and Cottle, 2009: 930). It equates the construction of expertise and authority with journalistic decisions regarding the visual presentation of sources, conceived as theatrical techniques-perhaps a specifically dramaturgical variant of visual news framing of source legitimacy (Coleman and Banning, 2006).

3.2.2 Relations of definition

Equating staging with the symbolic arrangement of news sources usefully corresponds with the epistemic politics of risk construction which Beck (1992) characterised as 'relations of definition'. Because risks must be staged to be known they are reliant on competing interpretations from sources with asymmetrical authority to construct risks and vulnerability to the risks themselves. Risks are subject to definition from a range of sources and "can thus be changed, magnified, dramatized or minimized" (Beck, 1992, p. 23). However, as Beck suggests (2006), those who occupy privileged positions to interpret risk are often the least vulnerable to risk or may even profit from 'being at risk':

[Risk] is a socially constructed phenomenon in which some people have a greater capacity to define risks than others...The inequalities of definition enable powerful actors to maximize risks for 'others' and minimize risks for 'themselves'. Risk definition, essentially, is a power game. This is especially true for world risk society where Western governments or powerful economic actors define risks for others (p. 333).

The media have become complicit in this power game through the manipulation of symbolic and imagistic references to source power in the staging of risk. Thus Lester and Cottle (2009, p. 921) considered staging to be the visualisation of these unequal power relations in the defining of climate change; "how these different actors are imagistically infused with signs of authority, trust, and credibility". While this study examined the imagistic staging of authority, it did not consider textual staging of sources. In a footnote, Lester and Cottle (2009, p. 930) suggest that textual staging could be an important element in the mediation of 'relations of definition':

We do not claim that news visualizations of 'relations of definition' function alone, nor do we claim that they pre-empt either words or the anchorage of words when working in combination with more discursive and deliberative forms of news entry.

Accordingly, this study seeks to extend their work and build on Beck's theorisation by examining the textual staging of leadership and legitimacy in recommending collective futures which, it is argued, involves deploying metaphorical framing devices that euphemise leadership quality and legitimacy. In addition to the textual staging of leadership, this thesis also addresses a gap by repurposing these concepts for examining the reporting of solutions and propositions for change.

3.2.3 From risks to solutions

While media scholars have readily taken up Beck's sociological theories of risk (Lester and Cottle, 2009; Anderson, 2006; Friedman et al., 1999), there remains a key silence in this literature regarding the construction of solutions in news texts. Such an expansion and repurposing of concepts from risk construction is warranted because solutions and propositions share many of the same properties as risks and similarly involve staging and mediating between competing 'relations of definition'.

According to Cottle (1998, p. 20), "Beck's view of 'risk society' is essentially catastrophic" and identifies blockbuster news coverage of global disaster as a key site of risk construction and the deconstruction of collective self-confidence. This view, according to Cottle, underplays the more subtle, banal and everyday encounters that audiences have with nature and ecological problems through the media which may be just as efficacious in drawing reflexive attention to these issues (1998, p. 20-21). Besides overlooking local and banal disasters, Beck also rejects the idea that

solutions could be effectively mobilised to manage new risks. Somewhat fatalistically, he argues that “all attempted solutions contain the seeds of new, more difficult problems” (2009, p. 113), and that the institutions traditionally charged with managing and solving risk are seen “no longer as trustees but as suspects. They are no longer seen as managers of risk, but also as sources of risk” (2009, p. 54). There are certainly examples of failed solutions that exacerbate the original problem.

Commentators such as Clive Hamilton (2013) have identified geo-engineered solutions to global warming as being potentially more dangerous than the problem of climate change itself. However, this would seem to overlook the many instances where technology and coalitions of experts and the public have successfully intervened to solve global problems. For instance, the threat of ozone depletion caused from CFC emitting aerosols, which Beck (2009, p. 47) referred to as “a perfect example” of world risk, was elsewhere regarded as a perfect example of risk aversion, global cooperation and technological innovation (Litfin, 1995). Similarly, the invention and application of renewable energy technologies represents a promising remedy to curbing global emissions and, despite some moral panic about the noise produced by wind turbines or their economic viability (Deignan et al., 2013), such technologies are widely seen as risk free.

Rather than the application of new technological or policy solutions, the optimism in Beck’s account is primarily directed at an ‘enforced cosmopolitanism’ where the cultural, temporal and geographical distances between risk taker and risk victim shrink in light of new global risks (2009, p. 56). In world risk society, Beck (2009, p. 56) suggests that “all people have become the immediate neighbours of all others, and thus share the world with non-excludable others”. Indeed, the Westphalian system of nation states has often been identified as a key impediment to averting ecological catastrophe (Eckersley, 2004) and any loosening of nationalist fealty has been a source of hope (Szerszynski et al., 2000). However, such feelings of hope, solidarity and neighbourliness need to correspond with mediated discussions of alternative policies, governance frameworks, technologies and other solutions in order to have any real substance. The global spectacle of catastrophe alone cannot be relied upon to solve complicated local and international problems. In fact, as Susan Sontag once suggested, the wide consumption of images of suffering and destruction has the opposite effect – “the display of these pictures makes us spectators” (Sontag, 2003, p. 91). This suggestion is supported by psychological studies which recommend framing climate change messages in terms of the possible gains from implementing solutions rather than the threat of unknowable losses.

According to van der Linen and colleagues (2015, p. 760-761), “shifting the policy conversation from the potentially negative future consequences of not acting (losses) on climate change to the positive benefits (gains) of immediate action is likely to increase public support”. However, Beck’s sociology and wider academic interest in risk construction has rarely considered the construction of solutions.

This research maintains that a solutions focus in journalism is a potentially valuable, albeit under-researched, site of social transformation and progress which could help communities find practical means to respond to risks, alienation and inequality. The relative value of this approach will be examined further in the following section on solution-oriented reporting.

Beck's constructivism can be applied to the discussion of optimistic propositions for change because solutions share many of the same properties as risks. Both risks and solutions can have unforeseeable and transformative effects that are difficult to quantify, and the benefits of solutions can be similarly invisible and open to staged speculation until they are put into practice. In his book, *'The Act of Creation'*, Arthur Koestler (1964) found that experts often arrive at transformative solutions accidentally. Great inventions such as penicillin, photography, x-rays or the phonograph, according to Koestler (1964), were not the deliberate product of a linear research method as is commonly thought but the product of accidents and chance observations:

We find, over and again, mishaps and minor laboratory disasters which turn out to be blessings in disguise, and spoilt experiments which perversely yield the solution – by brutally shifting the experimenter's attention from a 'plus' to a 'minus' aspect of the problem, as it were (1964, p. 192).

In this view, both risks and solutions possess a spontaneous quality and, to use Beck's (2000, p. 86) term, can also be understood as "unintended side effects" of modernisation. They can be unforeseen and can have unforeseeably transformative consequences. While solutions may arise spontaneously, there are also foreseen and planned solutions to problems where journalism arguably has a more central role in facilitating discussion. These can be characterised as essentially utopian and optimistic visions for change, rather than the construction of dystopian anticipation.

3.2.4 Staging utopias

The value of utopianism, as a means of facilitating social change, has long been subject to academic debate (Jacoby, 2000; Levitas, 2010; Levitas, 2000; Mannheim, 1954; Ricoeur, 1986). For many of these scholars, utopianism is considered an indispensable means of imagining and creating positive change. As a form of counter-factual thinking (Levitas, 2000, p. 198), utopianism affords society a critical distance from the present and the opportunity to re-envision 'what is' in light of a desired 'what might be'. Likewise, philosopher and linguist Paul Ricoeur (1986, p. 16) describes the distancing function of utopianism:

From this "no place" an exterior glance is cast on our reality, which suddenly looks strange, nothing more being taken for granted. The field of the possible is now open beyond that of

the actual; it is a field, therefore, for alternative ways of living.

According to Ruth Levitas (2010, p. 4), utopianism encourages us to, “works towards an understanding of what is necessary for human fulfilment and towards a broadening, deepening and raising of aspirations in terms different from those dominating the mundane present”. These sentiments can provide the bedrock for movements for transformative change. However, utopianism has been subject to academic critique and, despite attracting some of the 20th Century’s most celebrated writers, remains a commonly dismissed field of study and political position. Utopianism is tainted with its association with totalitarianism (Hayek, 1976, p. 24), considered dangerously naïve in the face of environmental disaster (Lowenthal, 1992), and derided as failed modernism (Coleman, 2007).

Outside of academia, utopian discourses are often dismissed as unrealistic by powerful news sources; politicians, industry leaders and economists. The anthropologist, Ghassan Hage (2004, p. 120), equates utopianism with “politically efficient forms of hoping”. These, he suggests, “are images of the future that inseminate the present transforming what exists in a state of pure potentiality, into a real practical possibility that people can pursue as a concrete future project rather than just as something nice to dream about” (2004, p. 120). In news, however, such forms of pragmatic imagination are commonly derided because:

...the perception of the potentialities that life has to offer is a political question. You only have to listen to neo-conservatives speaking today. Whether they are politicians or journalists, there is one theme that unifies them: They always like to project themselves as ‘realists’. They are always proclaiming the importance of ‘thinking hard and realistically’. They are always attacking others ‘for not seeing reality as it is’, telling us to ‘stop dreaming’. They act as if ‘reality is on their side’. In fact far from being realists, such people are ‘actualists’. They reduce reality to actuality and empty it from all forms of potentiality. They have a vested interest in people seeing actuality as the only reality there is. This is because actuality is on their side, and the domain of the potentiality and struggle over it is where their rule over actuality can be brought to an end. This is why ‘hoping’ and ‘dreaming’ and ‘not being realistic’ are all dangerous to them. Not because they are intrinsically capable of changing things but because they all point to the domain where practical change is possible (2004, p. 121).

The discussion of the future is potentially dangerous for interests who continue to benefit from current policy settings. Often this discomfort is expressed in the seemingly apolitical demand for stability and certainty, corresponding with a critique of new proposals as potentially destabilising.

The Business Council of Australia (BCA), for instance, has lobbied for constitutional change in Australia to reduce the frequency of elections, and thus reduce the frequency of policy change generally, arguing that: “To plan and invest effectively for the long term, business requires certainty and stability – particularly in the context of Government, policy reform and policy settings” (BCA, 2003, p. 3). The introductory chapter of this thesis also alluded to a specifically Tasmanian variant of this anti-utopian discourse. James Boyce (1996) used the metaphor of ‘journeying home’ to critique the contemporary exile of local Tasmanians from an authentic and homely utopia in favour of a transplantation of European conceptions of homeliness. Like Hage, Boyce (1996, p. 58) argued that local aspirations and visions for the future “present a challenge to an ideology which, by defining what is ‘normal’ and ‘realistic’, protects powerful economic interests today”.

These accounts draw attention to the proposing and discussing of optimistic visions for change as a key site of ideological struggle and draws further attention to a gap in academic studies into the media’s role in constructing utopian possibilities as opposed to dystopian risks. As with risk construction, these accounts draw attention to the importance of news sources which Levitas (2000) calls ‘the who’ of utopia:

Transformative utopianism ... requires an analysis of the present. How, and by who, is the transformation to be made? What are the points of intervention into the present system which permit radical transformation? Who are the agents of change? (p. 199)

These vital questions allude to the political importance of who gets to express utopian visions for change. Following Beck’s constructivism, it is also important to ask how these agents of change are constructed as legitimate debate leaders in media staging and how journalism might participate in the revaluation of leadership to reflect changed norms of democratic participation and in order to promote a wider array of solutions from a broader cross section of society.

Before moving to these solution-oriented reformation movements, it is important to firstly consider some normative arguments for the proper role of the future and speculation in news. The following section will review how the future and propositionality correspond with the key journalistic ideals of objectivity, entertainment, and journalism’s democratic role within the public sphere.

3.3 The role(s) of news

The construction of the future in journalism is a longstanding subject of media scholarship (Dunmire, 2005; Neiger, 2007; Jaworski and Fitzgerald, 2008; Jaworski et al., 2003; Kitzinger and Williams, 2005). However, both the extent and the way in which the future is made present in news is a source

of disagreement. The capacity for journalism to accurately convey possible futures, beyond moral panics and sensationalised speculation (Cricher, 2008; Hall et al., 2013), is often doubted. In their classic study of news values, Galtung and Ruge (1965, p. 85) concluded that the journalistic preference for temporal and cultural proximity tended to promote an unrealistic view of the world “as composed of strings of dramatic events”, eschewing consideration of the long-term causes and future consequences of these events. However, in an 18-year analysis of Israeli headlines, Motti Neiger (2007, p. 312) found that 70 per cent of these dealt with the future in some way, whether short-term and predictable or long-term and conjectured. Neiger and Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2016, p. 139) have since developed a typology of five temporal layers—“updating (present and immediate past/future), reporting (recent past), contextualization and ritualistic functions (midrange to distant past), analysis (near future), and projection (far/conjectured future)” —thus demonstrating that different types of journalism are associated with different temporal foci. While not engaging specifically with this model, this section will examine normative conceptions of journalism and how these correlate with and complicate the reporting of future events, that Neiger and Tenenboim-Weinblatt term analysis and projection.

Understanding the location and extent of futurity in news texts requires unpacking the role of journalism and specifying the type of futurity that this study is concerned with. However, attempting to discern a core definition and function of journalism does invite the accusation of reductionism (Carey in McKnight, 2000, p. 18). Publishers differ greatly in terms of scale, inter/intranational location, culture, form and medium – and the content and practice of journalism varies accordingly. For instance, Rasmus Kleis Nielson (2015) argues against a tendency in media scholarship to extrapolate from national level journalism to local and hyper-local journalism:

Journalism at the national level is, for example, increasingly oriented towards a non-stop 24/7 breaking news cycle and characterised by intensified competition between multiple news organisations covering the same stories and appealing to the same audiences. It is not clear that any of this is the case at the local level (2015, p. 4).

Journalism is multifunctional and those functions differ according to relative size, medium and localness. In the case of local journalism, which is the primary focus of this thesis, Poindexter and colleagues (2006) found that American audiences want journalists to balance their reporting of ongoing problems with constructive solutions. However, as this chapter will show, reporting of the future in this way sits uncomfortably with other journalistic self-understandings and perceived functions. Ultimately, it will be suggested that public sphere theory offers the most relevant prescription for journalism to report solutions and propositions.

3.3.1 News as chronicle

A key impediment to identifying the future in news is the fact that journalism has been understood as analogous history, as similarly responsible for chronicling and interpreting the events and actions of the past, albeit, in the case of news, the immediate past (Adam, 2006; Carey, 2006; Dayan and Katz, 1994; Nash, 2016, p. 137). This understanding of journalism locates the temporal focus of news in the “here and now” (Adam, 2006, p. 346) with little relation to the future. Moreover, as Ronald Jacobs (1996) observes, the most appropriate events for inclusion in news tend to be those events that can be coded as ‘public problems’, a tendency that shifts focus away from prospective solutions or future resolutions. “This organization of the world around potential public problems”, writes Jacobs, “also allows news workers to justify their decisions to superiors, to organize the order of stories for a broadcast (that is, the most important stories are broadcast first), and to construct a public discourse about their own usefulness to society” (Jacobs, 1996, p. 382). Journalists are, in this conception, ‘eyewitnesses of history’ and observers of ‘the real’ (Carey, 2006) rather than prophets or speculators of the future. The value placed on this chronicling role is expressed in the celebration of journalists who were first to report on ‘historic events’ and whose service was to bear witness to momentous occasions in world history. The late Australian broadcaster and foreign correspondent, Mark Colvin, for instance, was remembered as “the man who watched the world for Australia”, and earned especial praise for his reporting of the Rwandan Genocide. “Throughout the 1980s”, according an ABC (Australian Broadcasting Corporation) obituary, “Colvin had a front-row seat in the theatre of history” (ABC, 2017). The journalists’ job, as implied in this description, is primarily to convey history-forming events to audiences at home.

Chronicling the immediate past can be considered as a core component of the journalistic norm of objectivity where ‘keeping to the facts’ is synonymous with avoiding speculation and prophesy. In a detailed chapter on the relationship between journalism and history, Nash (2016, p. 137) noted that truth claims for journalists are temporally specific; they are “linked to a locatable point in time and space for the purpose of verification”. As news ages it loses its claim to veracity and, as Gaye Tuchman noted, “must be made fresh daily” (1978, p. 268). Likewise, truth claims that relate to a future event can be cast as mere speculation unless they are tied to a specific time and place in the near future, or to an authoritative source. Thus, for Nash (2016, p. 137), “the temporality of truth claims is a key terrain for their contestability in the politics of knowledge”. The alignment of objectivity with restraint from speculation can be traced back to the earliest forms of news. While objectivity in journalism is sometimes viewed as a 20th Century phenomenon (McChesney, 2003, p. 300), as early as 1625 a prominent printer of news pamphlets, Mercurius Britannicus (cited in Conboy, 2004, p. 18), equated objectivity with the avoidance of speculation:

I translate only the newes verbatim out of the tongues or languages in which they are written, and having no skill in prognostication, leave therefore the judgement to the reader, and that especially when there are tidings which contradict one another.

This statement disavowing prognostication in news printing is echoed in more recent explanations for the rise of the norm of objectivity. For instance, Schudson wrote that a news printer traditionally considered himself to be just that; “one who prints, not one who credits, exercises judgement, or agrees with each opinion in his pages” (Schudson, 2001, p. 183). Thus, printers of news have a deeply embedded reluctance to venture opinions about the future despite the fact that accurate and impartial predictions and solutions are often expected by local audiences.

3.3.2 News as entertainment

A second impediment to the reporting of the future is the relative dominance of entertainment and commercial imperatives (Bourdieu, 1999). Journalism has long been defined primarily as an entertainment medium with commercial value; as “anything that makes a reader say ‘gee-whiz!’” (McEwen in Harcup 2009, p. 44). This definition of news is inconsistent with the sober chronicling of past events examined in the previous section and it is similarly inconsistent with serious reporting of future consequences, solutions and opportunities. The entertainment value of news tends to emphasise the spectacle and immediacy of events often, according to Leisbet van Zoonen (2015), with the aim of securing market share:

In television journalism, commercial pressure [...] has resulted in a set of new concepts in journalism that all testify to the entertainment product that journalism in the USA has become: there is for instance a new kind of reporter, the helicopter journalist who covers sensational live action from the helicopter (car chases are very popular). The marketing-based imperative that there should be action in the first eighteen seconds of a news bulletin is therewith fulfilled (2015, p. 40).

The entertainment imperative is often associated with the inexorable rise of crime reporting which, using the example of homicide reporting, doubled as a proportion of American television news in the 1990s even while the actual homicide-rate halved (Lichter and Lichter, 2000). This proliferation of violent and dramatic images, according to Sontag (1977), displaces coverage of the means of intervening and solving the disasters that they represent. For Bourdieu (1999, p. 3), the competitive ratings mindset of French television news has meant that “real information, analysis, in-depth interviews, expert discussions, and serious documentaries lose out to pure entertainment and, in particular, to mindless talk show chatter between “approved” and interchangeable

speakers". While commercialism in journalism is variable and might be considered a preferable constraint to political interference (Benson, 2013, p. 24), the pervasive entertainment imperative does seem to be an impediment to serious reporting of propositions from a wide range sources.

In addition, new technologies, often driven by commercial and entertainment imperatives, are also changing the way the future and time is constructed in news broadcasts. In postmodern critiques and celebrations of new media technologies (Virilio, 2005; Virilio, 1997; Castells, 2011), not only is the future eclipsed by the spectacle of the immediate event but the linearity of time itself is replaced with 'temporal collage':

The mixing of times in the media, within the same channel of communication and at the choice of the viewer/interactor, creates a temporal collage, where not only genres are mixed, but their timing becomes synchronous in a flat horizon, with no beginning, no end, no sequence (Castells, 2011, p. 492).

The fleeting montage of scenes presented in television news has, however, not eliminated transient and short-term speculations in news texts. John Ellis (2000, p. 76), for instance, argued that the future has in fact become more salient in television bulletins where live correspondents, using satellite technology, are called upon to predict how the story might unfold and to pre-empt follow ups:

This tendency has intensified in the era of live links to correspondents on the spot, who are questioned by newscasters anchored in the studio. 'What do you think is going to happen?' is the most frequently asked question, closely followed by 'Well, if that happens, what will be the consequences?' And it is a brave correspondent indeed who refuses to answer such questions on the grounds that they are mere speculation rather than hard news. (2000, p. 76)

For Ellis, the impulse to speculate upon new developments is a product of the news bulletin's episodic narrative form where a report represents only a fragment of a long-running narrative (2000, p. 75). Jaworski and Fitzgerald (2008, p. 7) make a similar argument in relation to news values where, in their view, "the temporal dimension which makes a news item newsworthy is not its recency and immediacy (i.e. past orientation), or even currency (i.e. present orientation), but its relevance and consequences for the future". Accordingly, editors and journalists have a sense of the most consequential meta-narratives that matter to their readers and will provide updates on these in daily bulletins. The inherently speculative nature of journalists' news sense is apparent in the common journalistic appraisal "this story has legs" (Mindich, 2002, p. 26) to imply that the story is predicted to involve further newsworthy developments and consequences into the future.

While speculation may be inherent in the modern news bulletin and rolling update form of news (Cushion et al., 2014), such short-term anticipations are usually very specific to the story and characters that concern that story. The futures which are of particular interest for this study are what Paul Bain et al. (2013) termed ‘collective futures’ where the relevant consequences and characters extend to a given community; in this case Tasmania. This term is drawn from social psychology research (Bain et al., 2013) and refers to new findings that suggest individuals tend to think about the future collectively. In addition these authors maintain that such collective imaginings of the future are political consequential; “we think about the future of our groups and that images of society’s future are important for shaping social change” (2013, p. 523). Accordingly, the term ‘collective futures’ refers to “people’s projections about the future of society” (2013, p. 524). The tendency towards short-term speculation identified by Jaworski (2008) and Ellis (2000), which Nash terms ‘protentions’ (2016, p. 138), does not substantially contribute to the construction of the collective futures in the minds of the public. Collective futures are open-ended stories about Tasmania-specific visions, opportunities and risks. The following section will suggest that the normative function of journalism which best encapsulates the idea of collective futures is journalism’s democratic function in ‘the public sphere’.

3.3.3 The public sphere

Unlike its historical and entertainment functions, public sphere theory provides a conception of news that is explicitly oriented toward constructing collective futures. In his influential book, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Jürgen Habermas (1991) charted the emergence of an educated and literate section of bourgeois society whose discussions regarding current affairs formed a realm of discourse termed ‘the public sphere’. Conceived as an area of free and critical discourse which could be mobilised as a rational check on government power, the emergence of the public sphere laid the foundations for the current importance placed on public opinion in democratic societies, and the rise of monitory institutions to hold power to account (Keane, 2011, Keane, 2009). The rise of an informed and credible public opinion, replacing the term’s former meaning as a euphemism for ill-informed (Habermas, 1991, p. 90), was facilitated by a new trade in printed ‘news letters’ and pamphlets in European trade cities from the year 1570 onwards (Conboy, 2004, p. 11).

Interestingly, this early trade in ‘news letters’ was precipitated by merchants’ desire to be made aware of dangers, predictions and emerging opportunities in overseas markets. Such letters were exchanged through trade routes in order to transmit economic information among merchants to improve predictions about future profits and losses:

With the expansion of trade, merchants' market-oriented calculations required more frequent and more exact information about distant events. From the fourteenth century on, the traditional letter carrying by merchants was for this reason organized into a kind of guild-based system of correspondence for their purposes (Habermas, 1991, p. 16).

International trade was an expensive and risky enterprise with many variables to consider before an investment was made and shipping secured. The state of foreign markets, political news, shipwrecks and other tidings formed the basis of early 'news letters' between members of elite merchant guilds.

As Beck (2009, p. 4) noted, discussion of chance and danger "became an issue in the course of industrialization, starting with intercontinental shipping...when it is confronted with the openness, uncertainties and obstructions of a self-created future...no longer defined by religion, tradition or the superior power of nature". Only later did printers begin to report on affairs of broader public consequence outside of merchant circles. Specifically, writes Conboy (2004), English public interest journalism was precipitated by new wars with France in 1589, which increased demand for accurate reports of the war effort:

These [new] quartos were essential in preparing an extended understanding of a community imagining itself as a national community, unified in the face of dangers from across the Channel, and the medium of print enabled that understanding to resonate across wider sections of the population than ever before (2004, p. 11).

Accordingly, the formation of national community and the informing of that community about their shared future was an integral part of journalism's genealogy, both in its early private iteration and subsequent public expansion.

While Habermas' theory provided a detailed account of this transformation in public discourse, it also posited a normative theory of journalism's proper function in maintaining the public sphere as an area of relatively free, open and rational debate. The normative aspect was surmised by the prominent public sphere scholar, Nancy Fraser, who highlighted the fact the discussion in the public sphere "was to be open and accessible to all; merely private interests were to be inadmissible; inequalities of status were to be bracketed; and discussants were to deliberate as peers (1990, p. 59). Thus, the ideal of the public sphere prescribed an open and egalitarian space where everyone's ideas would be considered regardless of personage. This was interpreted by Beers as also involving a widening of news access and diversification of news sources when reporting ideas for the future. "Going back to Habermas' ideal", wrote Beers (2006, p. 121), "democracy is best served by a public sphere where competing visions for the future can be expressed and subjected to debate without

skewing or censorship to fit the agendas of capitalist media owners or government officialdom". However, like Habermas (1991, p. 175), Beers found that today's public discourse fell short of its proper pedagogical role due to public relations strategies and political propagandising. Beers (2006, p. 121) described a distorted Canadian public sphere that suppressed alternative futures:

Rarely, however, are truly experimental, much less radical, visions of social change given in-depth exploration by corporate media. In those forums, the ones given space to frame our collective future tend to be denizens of corporate-funded think tanks, public relations experts paid by corporations, advertising experts selling us the shape of the new, and government officials beholden to corporate lobbyists.

Accordingly, employing public sphere theory to understand the reporting of the future necessarily involves a critique of sources, who gets to speak and how the act of speaking is staged. This concern brings analysis back to the staging and construction of the future through the epistemic authority of news sources.

3.3.4 Sources and 'the strategic ritual of futurity'

While the public sphere provided a normative definition of journalism that can accommodate the reporting of collective futures, this was not an endorsement of journalistic speculation or prescription. Rather, news sources are usually found which can comment upon the desirability or likelihood of a given future coming about. News sources are central in reports about uncertain futures. Following Tuchman's (1972) term 'strategic ritual of objectivity' and more recently Wahl-Jorgensen's (2013) adaptation, 'the strategic ritual of emotionality', it could be suggested that journalists construct collective futures through 'a strategic ritual of futurity'. These terms all identify types of professional restraint in journalistic practice; restraint from expressing their own opinions or emotions in news reports, and restraint from commenting on futures where the outcome is fundamentally uncertain or subjective. Journalists rely on sources to help outsource speculation that, like emotionality, "is at odds with journalistic self-understandings" (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013). In relation to emotions in journalism Wahl-Jorgensen explains that:

Even if journalists are restricted in their own emotional expression, journalistic genres remain infused by emotion because of a neat trick: journalists rely on the outsourcing of emotional labour to non-journalists - the story protagonists and other sources, who are (a) authorized to express emotions in public, and (b) whose emotions journalists can authoritatively describe without implicating themselves. (2013, p. 130)

The strategic ritual of futurity is likewise crucial to journalistic constructions of the future. Even in

‘campaign journalism’, where a news organisation endorses a particular proposition with the aim of swaying government policy or business practice, Birks (2010) found that this is accomplished using coalitions of sources which can carry the argument. As the health editor for *The Evening Standard* conceded, campaign journalism involves substituting the ideal of objectivity for the ideal of balance “where you’re looking for a certain line and it’s a case of finding people to argue it and then finding people that will respond to it” (John McCann in Birks, 2010). Similarly, balance has likewise been observed in the reporting of future risks such as climate change where it has been found to mislead audiences about the relative consensus around climate change science (Boykoff and Boykoff, 2007) or, for Birks (2010, p. 213), the efficacy of the war on drugs. In a comprehensive study of English news (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2016), the balancing of news sources tended to limit debate to the positions taken on contentious and important issues.

Thus, while strategic outsourcing of recommendations or warnings serves to distance journalists from these claims, journalists remain implicated in the construction of collective futures by their routine selecting and arranging of news sources in their reports, which the first section termed ‘staging’. The privilege to select news sources is considered central to journalism’s social power (Cottle, 2000; Nash, 2016, p. 165; Franklin and Carlson, 2010). Not only does journalism have the power to broadcast or suppress certain perspectives and stories, it also has the power to grant symbolic legitimacy to that source. Appearing in news media marks one as relatively credible and authoritative. As Thompson (2005, p. 49) suggests, “to achieve visibility through the media is to gain a kind of presence or recognition in the public space”. With such symbolic and material incentives on offer, there are understandably a range of individuals which Gans (1979) termed ‘eager sources’ vying for the attention and acceptance of journalists. In a famous passage, Gans (1979, p. 116) describes the interaction between would-be sources as like a dance in which sources often take the lead:

The relationship between sources and journalists resembles a dance, for sources seek access to journalists, and journalists seek access to sources. Although it takes two to tango, either sources or journalists can lead, but more often than not, sources do the leading. Staff and time being in short supply, journalists actively pursue only a small number of regular sources who have been available and suitable in the past, and are passive toward other possible news sources.

While Gans highlights the pragmatic constraints that shape news access – time-pressure being the central consideration – there is an important sense in which source selection is an evaluative decision on the part of journalists. Source selection appears to be based on professional intuition

often described as ‘news sense’ or as a journalistic ‘gut feeling’ (Schultz, 2007). According to Nash (2016, p. 165), this intuitive part of journalistic practice represents a key impediment to journalism’s claim to reflexivity and objectivity because “decisions about newsworthiness and sources are value judgements”, and the values that are deployed in these decisions are rarely explained by journalists in rational or consistent terms.

Moreover, with the rapid expansion of promotional industries (Davis, 2000) and declining newsroom resources (Nielson, 2015), there is reason to suspect that powerful sources are more influential than ever in shaping the agendas and content of news reports. Habermas considered this contemporary “disintegration of the public sphere” to be the result of the commercialisation of the mass media that, in his view, depoliticised and ‘pseudo-privatised’ public debate (1991, p. 175). Paralleling criticism of ‘balance’ in source selection, Bennet, Lawrence and Livingston (2008) argued that journalists index their reporting according to a limited range of current official positions. Similarly, Hallin (1994) brought attention to ‘the sphere of legitimate controversy’ in American journalism beyond which “lie those political actors and views which journalists and the political mainstream of the society reject as unworthy of being heard” (1994, p. 54). Through mechanisms such as these, powerful actors (which Hall and colleagues (2013, p. 60-62) termed ‘primary definers’) are better placed to impose their conception of the future and ‘manufacture consent’ (Herman and Chomsky, 2010) by limiting the range of perceived options and alternatives in the public sphere (Beers, 2006, Habermas, 1991, p. 175) and the political symbols which organise public opinion (Lippmann, 2004). Thus, according to Curran, “the media actively *produce* – rather than passively reflect – the consensus of society” (Curran, 2002: 138). Contemporary scholars have, however, contested this hegemonic critique of news (McNair, 2006) or sought to nuance and complement this view with a greater appreciation of the relative autonomy of journalists, and a contemplation of the symbolic power of elite sources rather than merely their economic power (Hall et al., 2013; Livingston and Bennett, 2003; Bourdieu, 2001; Champagne, 2005; Thompson, 2013). McNair (2006) has argued that the ‘ideological control’ paradigm in media criticism overlooks changes in media and audience practices that are characterised by increased adversarialism towards elites, commodification (rather than suppression) of dissent, and greater public access to elites with new talk-back style programming. For Thompson (2013a), the efficacy of ideological messages to change opinions is uncertain:

It is by no means clear that, by receiving and consuming these products, individuals are impelled to adhere to the social order, to identify with the images projected and to accept uncritically the proverbial wisdom that is meted out. (2013a, p. 104)

In the context of this debate, this study has employed a sociological and empiricist view to understand the logic of journalistic practice behind source selection practices. This follows the sociology and media criticism of Pierre Bourdieu (1999, p. 39) who was critical of materialist explanations for the transformations in journalistic practice. This premise is supported by the appearance of new movements in established and corporate American outlets, which purport to bring a greater diversity of sources into agenda setting practices of commercial news organisations. The following section will outline recent examples of new source-oriented reform movements which have provided significant inspiration for this research's focus on propositional journalism.

3.4 Solution-oriented reform movements

This research seeks to address the negative space created by risk-oriented media scholarship by examining journalists' potentially constructive role in sourcing solutions and propositions for positive change. This reorientation has been inspired by recent debates over journalism's democratic role within academic and professional discourse over the past thirty years. Often referred to as public, civic or solutions journalism, these successive reformation movements have sought to revitalise journalism's democratic function in response to the perceived weakening of public interest and commitment to democratic norms and institutions, including mainstream journalism. They correspond with new experimental modes of news collection and source selection that have privileged public voices in the mainstream news, and rejected the traditional reliance on official and institutional news sources. Public journalism, hyper-local journalism, solutions journalism, future-focused journalism, campaign journalism or development journalism each have a uniquely proactive mandate to pursue stories about potential solutions to common problems and are generally taken to exist outside the normal day-to-day practices of established news organisations. This section will examine these prominent examples of solutions reporting and the, at times, considerable critiques directed at these departures from normative professional practices (Woodstock, 2002; Schudson, 1999; Haas and Steiner, 2001; Zelizer, 1999; Birks, 2010). This section examines this tradition in journalistic thought and its contemporary form in 'solutions journalism'. A pervasive, but under-examined theme in this literature is leadership and the revaluation of dominant sources in reporting potential solutions to society's problems.

3.4.1 Public journalism

Public journalism was a coincidence of academic interest in the health of democracy and journalists' concerns regarding the public's apparent disengagement with current affairs and political news (Rosen, 1999, p. 21; Merritt, 1995; Merritt, 1996; Haas and Steiner, 2006; Schudson, 1999; Zelizer,

1999). Originating in the United States amid great dissatisfaction with political reporting, public journalism became an umbrella term for a wide reformation movement. The media's polarised and superficial coverage of presidential campaigns – of which, according to Rosen (1999, p. 36), “the 1988 presidential campaign [was] widely considered one of the worst in modern memory” – precipitated a new discussion about journalists' reporting of politics. Public journalists pointed to historically low voter turnout and lower newspaper sales (Rosen, 1999, p. 22) while academics were alarmed by Robert Putnam's (1995) account of collapsing social capital and civic culture in *Bowling Alone*. Overall, the problem facing journalists in this context was well surmised by Rosen:

If the public is assumed to be “out there”, more or less intact, then the job of the press is easy to state: to inform people about what goes on in their name and their midst. But suppose the public leads a more broken existence. At times it may be alert and engaged, but just as often it struggles against other pressures – including itself – that can win out in the end. Inattention to public matters is perhaps the simplest of these, atomization of society one of the more intricate. Money speaks louder than the public, problems overwhelm it, fatigue sets in, attention falters, cynicism swells. A public that leads this more fragile kind of existence suggests a different task for the press: not just to inform a public that may or may not emerge, but to improve the chances that it will emerge (1999, p. 19).

In reaction to this erosion of public interest and cynicism regarding political reporting, local newspapers turned back towards their local communities and sought to reintroduce the public directly into the political conversation by seeking their opinions on the future of their locality and solutions to their collective problems.

In seeking to forge new ties between media organisations, the public and the political process, a key strategy advanced by public journalism was reorienting journalism towards constructive solutions and positioning journalism as a medium for sourcing citizens' initiatives and solutions. In 1987, *The Ledger-Enquirer* launched a series of articles titled ‘Columbus: beyond 2000’ to “examine the future of the city and the issues it needed to confront” (Rosen, 1999, p. 28). Similarly, in 1992, then editor of *The Wichita Eagle* and leading public journalism advocate, Davis Merritt (1996, p. 23), initiated ‘The People Project: Solving it Ourselves’. According to Merritt (1996), the series aimed to reorientate the political conversation toward solutions:

Little space was spent describing the problems, since they were the sort that citizens knew about first hand. Rather, the reporting dealt with the potential solutions, with citizens' ideas about what should happen, with stories of people who had made some impression on the problems, no matter how small (1996, p. 23).

Thus, reporting collective futures was central to public journalism yet the method for discerning public solutions was largely open-ended and experimental. Many of these experiments aimed to provide a conduit for public ideas for the future through town-hall meetings, focus groups and interviewing members of the public; a tactic that Louise Woodstock (2002) characterised as public journalism's 'talking cure'. Public journalism, for Woodstock (2002, p. 39), "brings citizens together to discuss the issues they define as most pressing and to cultivate workable solutions to those problems".

A key question that emerged in prosecuting this change was the extent to which journalists could claim to know the public mind or fairly attribute a solution to community consensus, especially in contexts where the public is riven with internal divisions and inequalities (Haas and Steiner, 2006, p. 245-246; Haas and Steiner, 2001; Woodstock, 2002; Zelizer, 1999, p. 163-166; Schudson, 1999). The assumed unity of community concerns and interests was considered deeply problematic. According to Haas and Steiner (2001, p. 126), "public journalism scholars rarely consider how citizen deliberation may be affected by social inequality". They assumed that "by virtue of inhabiting a certain geographical territory, community members are assumed to confront 'common problems' and share an overarching vision of the 'common good' that enables them to reach consensual solutions" (Haas and Steiner, 2001, p. 126). This understanding of public journalism as oriented towards a 'common good' (Christians, 1999), actually disguises a journalistic power and autonomy in setting the terms of the debate, choosing whose views to include and staging certain community propositions over others. According to Woodstock (2002, p. 48), public journalism's attempts at discerning the community's opinion on pressing matters through conversation often papered over deep disagreements and risked proceeding with a false consensus:

Conversation, in the public journalism sense, while aimed at problem-solving also has a social agenda. Public journalism not only wants to address political issues; it also simply wants us all to get along (2002, p. 48).

Public journalism articulated no objective measure for adjudicating between rival claims between members of the public. According to media historian Michael Schudson (1999, p. 123), public journalism could not offer the public unconditional access to setting the agenda, nor could it define what the conditions of entry should be. In Schudson's (1999, p. 123) view, "public journalism, like reforms of the Progressive Era, advances an unresolved blend of empowering the people and entrusting elites and experts with public responsibility". Journalists exercised authority in setting the topic, framing the problems and subtly mediating the possible solutions that are up for discussion in a way that was not dissimilar to traditional media practices. "In current practice", Woodstock

concluded (2002, p. 51), “the public remains disappointingly similar to the one said to result from traditional journalism – an entity invoked to maintain and obscure journalistic authority”. To some extent, however, public journalism was explicit in claiming a proactive and influential community role. According to Merritt (1999, p. 184), “[i]t calls for purposefulness and declared intent as we go about our work”. Similarly, Rosen (1996, p. 13) called for “proactive neutrality”, where journalists should be committed to the mission of re-engaging the public without which journalism itself would not exist.

Nonetheless, as the public has become more fragmented, with deeper political divisions and social inequalities, public journalism’s mission to bring forward new constructive solutions appears to have floundered. After a decade of criticism and debate, which Schudson (1999, p. 118) described as “the most impressive critique of journalistic practice inside journalism in a generation”, debates over the ideals and practices of public journalism have largely subsided. The public journalism period is thought to be bookended by the 2003 closure of the *Pew Centre for Civic Journalism* which, according to Haas and Steiner (2006, p. 239), “signall[ed] the end of public journalism”. Some of the methods of public engagement have been absorbed into routine journalistic practice. For instance, the routine polling of the public to discern mood and attitude and the inclusion of quotes from members of the public have been identified as a legacy of public journalism (Nip, 2008, p. 191). However, in a case study of one paper closely associated with the movement, Joyce Nip (2008, p. 191) found that most public journalism practices did not outlast the tenure of the working editors. In an article titled, ‘Last days of civic journalism’, Nip concludes that “the practices still in place could not achieve civic journalism’s goal of engaging the community in deliberation to solve problems” (Nip, 2008, p. 192). Accordingly, it is instructive to consider more contemporary variants of solutions-oriented reform movements that, instead of experimenting with ways to spark debate around public solutions, have reformulated the values of leadership and newsworthiness to include proponents and ideas which are most likely to be effective and of interest to their audiences.

3.4.2 Solutions journalism

The impulse to rejuvenate reporting through a solutions focus has continued under a new banner; ‘solutions journalism’. With significantly less academic attention and little explicit acknowledgment of its public journalism forebears, solutions journalism is an organised and growing movement within American news organisations dedicated to the effective reporting of solutions. According to *The Solutions Journalism Network*, the leading American research and education institute, there are 33 affiliated newsrooms that have employed a solutions journalism focus and 60 prominent journalists, editors and freelancers that the institute identifies as leaders in the field (Solutions

Journalism Network, 2017). The best known of these are *The Huffington Post*'s 'What's Working' column which has been an initiative led by the outlet's founder, Arianna Huffington (2015), and also *The New York Times*' regular 'Fixes' column, which is co-edited by Tina Ronsenberg and David Bornstein who also founded *The Solutions Journalism Network* in 2013.

Despite this growing field of practice, there is surprising consistency in the use of the term among its various practitioners. Solutions journalism is defined as "rigorous and compelling reporting about responses to social problems" (Bansal and Martin, 2015, p. 2). This definition, with its reference to "rigorous and compelling" reporting, pays tribute to the traditional investigative and entertainment functions of news while shifting the focus of news to "responses to social problems". Compared to public journalism that sought to stimulate public dialogue to find solutions, solutions journalism seeks 'responses' to social problems, that is, actions rather than ideas; ideas that are already in the process of being implemented and which could be applied more broadly. In doing so, it explicitly resists clichés around the practice as soft and "simplified 'good news' or 'hero-oriented' reporting" and acknowledges the "professional discomfort [associated] with reporting about creative responses to problems" (Bornstein, 2015). The desired mainstreaming of the practice has been conducted by commissioning and publicising research that demonstrates how solutions journalism is commensurate with other entertainment and objectivity imperatives. For example, while conflict-driven, crime and negative news is often assumed to correspond with greater audience engagement, an experiment run in conjunction with *The Huffington Post* placed randomly generated solution-oriented and problem-oriented headlines together on the front page and found that solutions stories drew more click-throughs (Curry and Stroud, 2016). This finding was corroborated by recent theorising of 'shareworthiness' (a contemporising of the idea of newsworthiness), which found that positive and constructive content is more apt to be shared than negative news (Trilling et al., 2016, p. 43).

Proponents of solutions journalism, like public journalists, are critical of the overwhelming crime and corruption focus of journalists; often characterised as the 'if it bleeds it leads' mentality or 'muckraking'. This focus, according to Arianna Huffington (2015, p. 1) of *The Huffington Post*, overlooks the many successful responses to problems whose efforts deserve journalists' attention. Doing so, for Huffington (2015, p. 1), provides a fuller picture of the world to readers:

As journalists, our job is to give our audience an accurate picture – and that means the full picture – of what's going on in the world. Just showing tragedy, violence, mayhem – focusing on what's broken and what's not working – misses too much of what is happening all around us. What about how people are responding to these challenges, how they're coming

together, even in the midst of violence, poverty and loss?

This view – that news promotes an unrealistically negative perception of the world and is essentially unconstructive in finding solutions – is supported by Bornstein and Davis (2010). They compare reporting and public knowledge about the Grameen Bank, a successful not-for-profit bank that makes loans to the world's poorest people, with negative stories about the Tamil Tigers. They found that, "[i]n three decades, the *New York Times* has referred to the bank in 84 stories, a third of them since Grameen won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2006. By contrast, it referred to the Tamil Tigers in eight hundred stories and the Irish Republican Army in 3,600" (2010, p. 115). The exaggeration of negative news was discernible in American reporting trends in the 1990s where, in a survey of 135,449 stories from the *ABC*, *CBS*, and *NBC* evening broadcasts, the number of murder stories grew from 80 per year to 580 per year while, over the same period, the homicide rate dropped by half (Lichter and Lichter, 2000, p. 3). The prevalence of negative news has also been noted in a 2005 sample of Australian television news where, according to Phillips and Tapsall (2007, p. 20), 21.48% of news related to 'Courts, Crime and Disaster', making this the most prevalent type of news and nearly four times as common as 'Power & Policy' news (the second-most prevalent type at 5.88%).

There is, of course, a moral motivation to account for journalism's preference for negative news. According to *The Solutions Journalism Network*, "many of us became journalists because we want to have an impact, to make the world better. But uncovering wrongdoing isn't the only way to have an impact" (Bansal and Martin, 2015, p. 5). In their view, "[journalism's] predominant theory of change is that pointing out social problems will spur reform. Journalists act as whistleblowers and expose wrongdoing, but have little role to play beyond that" (2015, p. 10). Solutions journalism, by comparison, is oriented towards making changes in society and disrupting harmful social practices by covering concrete alternatives. It delegitimises excuses for inaction by popularising steps that could reasonably be expected to solve common problems (2015, p. 11).

The centrality of proactive responses to social problems is also part of David Beers' concept of 'future-focused journalism', which he puts into practice in an editorial capacity at *The Tyee* – the independent online news service. Future-focused journalism urges a reconsideration of the sources that journalists routinely rely upon to source their propositions and predictions; away from corporate interests and towards practitioners of new experimental models. The practice is defined, simply, by the kind of questions which journalists are encouraged to ask: "If muckraking asks 'what went wrong yesterday, and who is to blame?' then future focused journalism asks 'what might go right tomorrow and who is showing the way?'" (Beers, 2006, p. 121). Asking this type of question, in a global context, encourages journalists to look outside of national borders for innovative models

and ideas which could represent alternative paths for their own communities. This approach explicitly rejects utopianism in favour of a more rigorous and scientific approach to reporting the future:

Future-focused journalism, then, is different from the blue-sky scenarios spun by so-called futurists. The journalist investigates a possible alternative future by reporting firsthand on experiments, whether local and small scale, or large and even society-wide in other nations. The result gives citizens data and real life experiences from which to make judgments about how to respond to injustices and, collectively, choose a different path (Beers, 2006, p. 122).

The idea of exploiting international examples of best practice in the public interest was exaggerated to an absurd degree by the documentary film maker Michael Moore in *'Where to invade next'* (Moore, 2015). Drawing on America's recent military failures, Moore proposed a more efficient means of exploiting the wealth of foreign nations-copying them. Standing at the helm of a gun boat draped in the American flag, Moore opens the film saying:

Instead of sending in the marines, my suggestion, send in me. I will invade countries populated by Caucasians with names I can mostly pronounce, take the things we need from them, and bring it all back home to the United States of America. For we have problems no army could solve (Moore, 2015).

The documentary showed how similar countries, across a wide range of health, education, justice, labour rights and women's rights issues, provide basic services more efficiently and equally than the United States. There is probably more than a little colonial egotism in the attitude Moore parodies, and the solutions journalism movements are correct in rejecting the hero frame often applied in success stories. However, it would be easy to characterise this valuation of effectiveness on purely utilitarian grounds, and without reference to leadership quality. Interpreting solutions journalism as advocating a specific schema of leadership evaluation is best supported by considering Bornstein's (2010) concept of 'social entrepreneur' which he considers the primary actor in solutions journalism.

3.4.3 Social Entrepreneurs

Solutions journalism, for Bornstein (1998; 2007; 2010; 2015), is essentially reporting about the activities of a new kind of social actor termed the 'social entrepreneur'. The term designates civic-minded individuals who pursue opportunities and solutions to major social issues with the pragmatic ruthlessness of an entrepreneur. They are "people with new ideas to address major problems who are relentless in the pursuit of their visions" (Bornstein, 2007, p. 1). For Bornstein, these actors initially filled an innovation deficit in the contemporary welfare state where government policies

“remained insulated from the pressures and incentives that forced businesses to continually improve their products” (2007, p. 274). To remedy this, “citizens took matters into their own hands by establishing community – and church-based organisations, labour unions, women’s rights organisations, specialized service groups such as the Salvation Army and Alcoholics Anonymous, and so forth” (2007, p. 274). These represent early examples of public problem solving which, since the spread of democracy and new information technologies, has accelerated rapidly.

In particular, Bornstein uses the example of Ashoka, an organisation that searches for and finances social entrepreneurs worldwide, to demonstrate the now global and networked context of social entrepreneurship. Ashoka has been central in implementing some leading innovations in agriculture, education, journalism and development, and Bornstein’s focus on social entrepreneurialism is inspired by his association with the founder of the organisation, Bill Drayton. Bornstein has written extensively about Drayton and his theory of social change led by social entrepreneurs (Bornstein, 2007; Bornstein, 1998; Bornstein and Davis, 2010). A social entrepreneur typically works within the not-for-profit sector and puts the ruthless market rationality of a business person to the purpose of fixing entrenched social problems. Bornstein and Davis (2010) see social entrepreneurs as ‘transformative forces’. They are:

People with new ideas to address major problems who are relentless in the pursuit of their visions, people who simply will not take “no” for an answer, who will not give up until they have spread their ideas as far as they possibly can (2010, p.1)

These actors operate with or without partnership from the government. They direct their efforts towards solving the problem rather than expend energy lobbying or advocating a change in government policy or business practice. For Bornstein (2007, p. 9), this new type of actor has emerged in response to neoliberalism and the privatisation of many traditional functions of government. Indeed, according to Firmstone and Coleman (2015, p. 191), “governments have increasingly employed the rhetoric of ‘active citizenship’ and ‘the Big Society’” which places responsibility on citizen innovations and solutions to correct market failures. This concept is supported by new theories of social change that posit bottom-up innovation as a driver of transformation. Flor Avelino and colleagues (2014) studied the social transformation dynamics that have arisen in response to ‘game changing’ events such as the global financial crisis. They argued that such disasters accelerate ‘transformative social innovations’ such as “new business models, new sharing practices” (2014, p. 6). By bringing greater media attention to social innovation and entrepreneurialism, journalism can accelerate these transformative effects and improve bottom-up responses to complex crises.

However, for Ashoka and for solution journalism, recognition of the value of an idea is inextricably linked to an assessment of character. The organisation employs an explicit theory of leadership quality which it applies to select candidates to award grant money and fellowship status (Bornstein, 1998). To qualify for an Ashoka fellowship a candidate has to meet four selection criteria: creativity, entrepreneurial quality, the social impact of the person's idea, and ethical fibre (Bornstein, 1998, p. 38). Thus, according to Bornstein:

When Drayton calls someone a “social entrepreneur”, he is describing a specific and rare personality type – someone, in fact, like himself. He doesn't mean a businessman who gives jobs to the homeless people or devotes a share of profits to, say, the environmental movement. Ashoka's social entrepreneur is a pathbreaker with a powerful new idea, who combines visionary and real-world problem-solving creativity, who has a strong ethical fiber, and who is “totally possessed” by his or her vision for change (1998, p. 37).

The question of ethical fibre is essential for a social entrepreneur because making change involves a leap of faith and a certain level of trust, which cannot be placed in an individual who does not display signs of good character. According to Drayton, “it is virtually impossible to get people to make big changes in their lives and in their relationships with others if they do not trust the changemaker. Society already has too many untrustworthy public leaders” (Drayton, 2005). The mission of Ashoka, therefore, is to direct money to individuals with the best likelihood of implementing lasting change in communities through the strength of their idea and, importantly, through their strength of character. The examples that Bornstein and Drayton give are frequently of local actors solving problems in their own countries; often developing countries in Africa, South America and Asia. Bornstein (1998, p. 38) describes Fabio Rosa as “an agronomist and engineer whose driving ambition is to bring electricity to tens of millions of poor people in Brazil”. In this sense, solutions journalism is not dissimilar to ‘development journalism’ where, in Xiaoge's view (2009, p. 357), “journalism was believed and expected to play a key role in facilitating and fostering national development”. Here, it might be right to question whether American men are fit to adjudicate the suitability of other social entrepreneurs from around the world or whether such a character test might just impose western models of morality on foreign countries. Drayton suggests that testing ethical fibre is a primordial and instinctual response to someone rather than a rational test. For example, Drayton (2005, p. 30) recommends that:

...after an interview, imagine yourself in a situation that brings fear right up into your throat (I picture myself on the edge of a cliff) and then inject your interviewee into that picture. Your primitive brain will let you know (do you feel yourself reaching for the edge of your

chair?) if there's a problem before the cerebral cortex can edit.

This moral emotivism is certainly vulnerable to subconscious bias and moral relativism. According to virtue ethicist Alastair MacIntyre (2013), emotivism is incompatible with a fair judgement of moral character. However, the point is not the validity of the particular method that Drayton and Bornstein employ to determine character. Rather, this comparison provides an interesting contrast with public journalism, which posited no definition of character and looked to an undifferentiated mass of local community members for its solutions to community problems. Public journalism was preoccupied with generating and arguably discerning community opinion through a variety of innovative methods. Like alchemists, journalists were thought to be able to help make the public 'emerge' (Rosen, 1999, p. 19), make their readers into citizens (Leonard, 1999) and articulate a common good (Christians, 1999). However, this project was widely criticised for overlooking deep ideological and material schisms within the supposedly singular community and eschewing the journalists' tendency to set the terms of the debate (Woodstock, 2002). In comparison, solutions journalism largely avoided assuming or attempting to identify community opinions and ideas. Instead, these practitioners articulated new parameters for the types of individuals and organisations that should be privileged in sourcing effective and exciting solutions. For Beers, these were people who, whether operating locally or internationally, were already experimenting with and implementing possible solutions and alternative practices. Bornstein (2007; 2010) and Drayton (2005) offer an even more detailed definition of a desirable source; a social entrepreneur. Observing the success of solutions journalism, it should be concluded that a schema of leadership evaluation is important for reporting ideas for the future; usefully narrowing the scope of relevant sources and ideas to those that stand the best chance of being effective and lasting. In that sense, Drayton (2007) is right when he notes that "over the last century society, to its great loss, has shied away from treating ethical fibre openly". The emphasis on 'openly' is important because, as the following chapter will suggest, the act of proposing change has always come with an implicit schema of leadership legitimacy which has structurally excluded marginalised groups from making propositions for change.

3.5 Propositional journalism

Given the proliferation of titles used to identify solution-centred reporting, the usefulness of positing a new term, 'propositional journalism', might be doubted. What does this new term designate that could not be subsumed under existing and recognised categories? This term arises, firstly, from a need to identify and conceptualise the subject matter of this research that, in fairness, cannot be called solutions journalism, future-focused journalism or public journalism. Local journalism outlets in Tasmania, while possibly exhibiting some characteristics of these reform movements in

journalistic practice, do not claim to adhere to their principles or form part of those movements. Accordingly, in analysing Tasmanian outlets' reporting of the future (that is largely incidental rather than constitutive) it would be misleading to characterise it as consistently adhering to the standards and practices of these largely north-American reform movements. Secondly, 'propositional journalism' also marks a shift from a practitioner perspective, where existing categories have largely been formulated by professional journalists and editors, to a sociological perspective that designates a space of power relations, inequalities and variously legitimate and illegitimate speech. This section explains the usefulness of propositional journalism as way of conceptualising this social space as a consequential yet underexamined area of public discourse.

Propositional journalism identifies articles that dramatise the act of proposing something. Unlike solutions and public journalism whose names identify nouns (solutions and the public), propositional journalism identifies a verb; the speech act of 'proposing'. Proposing, as this section will suggest, is an inherently political action that is open to journalistic interpretations and evaluations about the motivation and character of the speaker and, ultimately, the speaker's legitimacy to propose something at all. These prevailing patterns of evaluation and interpretation of the act of proposing are news frames that police the boundaries of the 'governmental field' (Hage, 2012, p. 46) and tend to correspond with the relative prevalence of certain kinds of political and business sources. The public and solutions journalism movements primarily drew attention to the sources and content of journalism and advocated a shift away from negative news and official news sources towards constructive news and public sources. While this research similarly examines whose voices were heard and the kinds of proposals that they gave voice to, following on from Beck's constructivism, it also considers *how* sources were heard and seen in reports and *how* their authority and legitimacy to recommend futures was constructed visually and textually in the act of proposing.

Rather than considering propositional speeches, press conferences and other pseudo-events as rhetorical and persuasive performances (Dunmire, 2005), it is necessary to consider how the staging of the act, regardless of the content of the proposition, can mark the speaker as variously legitimate and authoritative. This focus is inspired by Nancy Fraser's (1990) influential critique of Habermas' conception of the public sphere where, drawing on revisionist and feminist histories. Fraser argues that the democratic virtues of discourse in the public sphere – disinterestedness, rationality, solemnity – were, in fact, markers of status and class among a restricted group of wealthy men that served to exclude women and coloured people from public deliberations. The emergence of the public sphere was, in her view (1990, p. 59), characterised by "a new, austere style of public speech and behaviour...a style deemed 'rational', 'virtuous', and 'manly'". Thus, rather than a democratic institution, the bourgeois public sphere was in fact "the arena, the training ground, and eventually

the power base of a stratum of bourgeois men, who were coming to see themselves as a “universal class” and preparing to assert their fitness to govern” (1990, p. 60). In particular, the idea that a proposition is simultaneously an assertion of one’s fitness to govern, brings attention to the ways that competency is euphemised in propositional discourse.

Propositions are characteristic of political speech. In Aristotle’s typology of rhetoric (2004, p. 15), political speech “is concerned with the future: it is about things to be done hereafter that he advises for or against”. While contemporary politicians may venture into forensic speech (about the past), or ceremonial speech (about the present), for Aristotle, the essence of political speech is future-oriented and fundamentally propositional. Likewise, for Bourdieu (1991a), the social standing and power of politicians is dependent on maintaining a perception that they can make the future come about through speech. “In politics”, wrote Bourdieu (1991a, p. 190), “‘to say is to do’, that is, it is to get people to believe that you can do what you say”. In this sense, for Bourdieu, the future is nothing more than “political truth” (1991, p. 91). Accordingly, even when a proposition is contingent on electoral success or when it is merely aspirational, political propositions are nonetheless delivered as though they are *fait accompli*. For instance, Patricia Dunmire’s (2005, p. 502) analysis of President George W. Bush’s proposition to go to war with Iraq noted an ‘absolute modality’ in his pronouncements “articulated through the ‘absolute modality’ of ‘is’ and ‘will be’ and through modal auxiliaries that render this future as certain and real”. While, for Dunmire, these were primarily rhetorical and ideological devices intended to draw support for a new war, following Bourdieu’s theory of ‘political capital’ (1991a), we can consider certainty in political discourse as a marker of political legitimacy and power. Such allusions of certainty were deployed to great political effect in Donald Trump’s 2016 political campaign where his slogans, “we will build the wall” and “we will make America Great again” (cited in Kellner, 2017, p. 123), despite stretching credulity, drew enormous support and served to construct Trump’s political legitimacy on an ability to make the impossible possible through sheer entrepreneurial willpower.

Propositionality is perhaps more pervasive and banal than these high-profile examples would suggest. For the philosopher, Hannah Arendt (2013), a proposition is an ‘action’ in the narrative sense which forges a new beginning and, in doing so, discloses the character of the actor. Action is a shared human capacity and is, indeed, constitutive of the human person. It is also a fundamentally social act that must be accompanied by speech in public:

With word and deed we insert ourselves into the human world. [This] springs from the beginning which came into the world when we were born and to which we respond by beginning something new on our own initiative. To act, in its most general sense, means to

take initiative, to begin. (2013, p. 176-177)

Thus, action and its accompaniment with speech (a proposition) involves a performance, reveals the unique narrative genealogy of the speaker and compels its audience to interpret the act as a reflection of character. “In acting and speaking, men show who they are, reveal actively their unique personal identities and thus make their appearance in the human world” (Arendt, 2013, p. 179). Thus, because every person is compelled to act and propose new beginnings man is defined, using Aristotle’s term (cited in Arendt, 2013, p. 23), as *zoon politikon* - a political animal. However, in this Greek conception, while everybody can (in theory) make propositions and act, it is absurd to make such pronouncements alone and unheard and equally absurd to make them in domestic settings where they could be of no consequence. A proposition (voiced action) could only be adequately voiced in a restricted sphere of men, the *polis*, who had freed themselves from domestic household management (which was decided by mute strength and authoritarianism) and could debate ideas and politics (which were decided through rational debate among equals) (2013, p. 26). Thus, in a statement that could be interpreted as attesting to the importance of media visibility in constructing political legitimacy, Arendt (2013, p. 180) concluded that “action needs for its full appearance the shining brightness we once called glory, and which is possible only in the public realm”. What was once called glory might, today, be called newsworthiness. Within media scholarship the importance of publicity for a proposition was articulated powerfully by John B. Thompson:

To achieve visibility through the media is to gain a kind of presence or recognition in the public space, which can help to call attention to one’s situation or to advance one’s cause. But equally, the inability to achieve visibility through the media can confine one to obscurity— and, in the worst cases, can lead to a kind of death by neglect. (2005, p. 49)

Being invisible is a democratic harm and, in light of Arendt’s arguments, having one’s idea or proposition disregarded might be considered a harm to one’s own essential humanity; a kind of misrecognition (Fraser and Honneth, 2003). These are harms which news media have an under-examined role in distributing.

3.5.1 Governmental belonging

While gender has been identified as a key fault line in the asymmetrical distribution of political recognition, so too has ethnicity. In his analysis of Australian nationalist and multiculturalist discourses, Ghassan Hage (2012; 1996) provides an excellent model for understanding the political import of propositionality. Nationalism, for Hage, is comprised of various forms of homely belonging which give meaning to the nationalist’s life and a sense of ownership over their local reality. These

feelings of homeliness and belonging, however, are unequally distributed among citizens and are generally bestowed according to one's 'national capital'. For Hage (adapting Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital) national capital refers to:

the sum of accumulated nationally sanctified and valued social and physical cultural styles and dispositions (national culture and national character) adopted by individuals and groups, as well as valued characteristics (national types) within a national field: looks, accent, demeanour, taste, nationally valued social and cultural preferences and behaviour. (Hage, 1996, p. 466)

While migrants can accumulate national capital through language acquisition, learning new cultural mores, befriending locals and acquiring new tastes, they nonetheless remain excluded from national feelings of belonging because "the fact that he or she has acquired it rather than being born with it, devalues what he or she possesses compared with the 'essence' possessed by the national aristocracy" (1996, p. 467). With relevance to the idea of propositionality, Hage found that migrants are often excluded from 'governmental' discourses and statements that, while often concerning migrants, rarely include migrants. This, for Hage, excludes migrants from a form of national belonging he terms 'governmental belonging' that:

can be nothing more than the feeling that one is legitimately entitled in the course of everyday life to have a governmental or managerial concern and to make governmental-type statements about the nation...the subject that pronounces them feels empowered to do so. It does not matter if, in the final analysis, the 'policy directive' expressed in them is not followed by the state, more important is the fact that one can make such statements thinking that it is one's legitimate right to do so. (1996, p. 468-469)

Accordingly, feeling empowered to legitimately propose and make a 'governmental-type statement' is an expression and privilege of one's national belonging. Migrants, according to Hage, are subject to a fetishising and domesticating discourse that simultaneously valorises authentic multicultural 'goods' (cuisine, arts, language) and professes pride in cosmopolitan openness and non-racism while constructing migrants as politically passive and economically useful in the right quantities – making them objects of governmental discourse rather than equal participants. Thus, for Hage, the discourse of multicultural governmentality is characterised as, "political necrophilia" (Hage, 2010, p. 242); the love of the politically dead who make no claims or proposals concerning the imaginary national space. Prominent acts of violence by young Muslim men in Australian, for Hage (2010, p. 251), are therefore motivated by a desire for governmental control and a kind of belonging from which they have been routinely excluded in Australia:

This kind of violence seems to me a rejection of the most fundamental but also the most colonial tenet of multicultural governmentality, what I have termed above as political necrophilia. It is a refusal to take on the role of the tame, safe and predictable Other.

Coming often from the position of people facing the threat of symbolic annihilation, acting is often meant to convey just that: the very capacity to act. Far from being an action that is beyond the realm of communication, it is trying to communicate something. It is trying to say to those who are aiming to neutralize you: 'I can still make a difference'. It is trying to say to those who want to annihilate you: 'I am still alive'.

The concept of governmental belonging usefully identifies a discourse (propositional statements) and proposes a methodology (analysis of symbolic capital in discourse) for understanding how certain sources come to dominate propositional journalism while others are excluded. It also resonates with the specific Tasmanian case study where, according to Boyce (1996), there continues to be a discursive struggle over concepts of homeliness and exile in constructing the future of Tasmania. Thus, my appropriation of the term, while possibly incorporating the accumulation of national capital, is primarily oriented towards news access and source legitimacy in propositional journalism. In particular, this study asks what types of symbolic capital news sources require in order to make credible statements about the future and how that legitimacy is symbolised and textually staged in propositional journalism. For instance, Bourdieu (2011) distinguishes between social, cultural and economic forms of capital which individuals can acquire and which, in certain circumstances, can be converted and transposed. Thus, for instance, a private investor with a proposal that involves investing large economic capital into Tasmania is immediately taken seriously within the governmental field. Alternatively, cultural capital relating to one's expertise or personal leadership charisma may be deployed as relevant signifiers in constructing and staging propositional legitimacy.

These signifiers of leadership serve to legitimise a proponent in the act of proposing and, as the following chapter will argue, can be analysed as news frames. Legitimation, according to Barker (2001, p. 32), "is a claim or expression made by or on behalf of that person to assert the special and distinctive identity which that person possesses, which [...] justifies or authorises or legitimates the command by legitimating the person issuing it". Legitimising frames, then, are different from rhetorical frames (Kuypers, 2010) because they do not persuade the audience of the value of a proposition but reinforce the speaker's legitimacy to speak and persuade.

3.6 Conclusion

To summarise the contents of this chapter, journalism appears to be highly reliant on news sources in reporting propositions for change. The way that this relationship is characterised and prescribed, however, is subject to ongoing scholarly disagreement. This chapter examined the sociology of Ulrich Beck and found that propositions, like risks, can be 'staged' in media reports and the relative authority of the proponents is dramaturgically constructed, alluding to an epistemic politics between 'relations of definition'. The chapter also considered the historical and normative place of the future in journalism and arrived at public sphere theory as a normative conception of journalism that is explicitly oriented towards the reporting of 'collective futures'. This public-oriented journalism has been operationalised by a range of reform movements such as public journalism and solutions journalism. In particular, solutions journalism employed an explicit schema of leadership quality in identifying newsworthy proponents. More broadly, such leadership values appear to operate implicitly in propositional discourse where the authority of sources is implied through symbolic power. The following chapter provides more detail and a methodological approach for identifying and analysing frames of leadership legitimacy that, it is hypothesised, correspond with the relative prevalence of news sources in propositional journalism. In this way, discussion is focused quite specifically on the Tasmanian case study and the exploration of leadership valorisation in a Tasmanian context.

Chapter 4: Symbolic Power, Frame Analysis and Metaphor

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines and discusses the chosen theoretical and methodological approach of the thesis. It outlines the relevance of a field theory approach to the analysis of leadership legitimacy in propositional journalism and will argue that such an approach is amenable to content analysis methodologies and, in particular, news frame analysis. This chapter also discusses the importance of metaphor in journalistic evaluations of ‘governmental capital’ (Hage, 2012), textual staging (Beck, 2009) and moral legitimacy (Lakoff, 2010a). Lastly, a detailed account and discussion of this thesis’ methods will be provided.

Pierre Bourdieu provides a widely influential constructivist theory of social value and power which, this chapter will suggest, is perfectly suited to analysing why and how certain individuals’ propositions are deemed important and newsworthy while others are routinely ignored or disparaged. In the academic literature this approach is typically termed ‘field analysis’ and has been applied to the question of media practice by scholars such as Rodney Benson (1999; 2006; 2005; 2013), John B. Thompson (2013c), David Hesmondhalgh (2006) and Nick Couldry (2004; 2003). However, the routine designation of ‘field theory’ to refer to a Bourdieusian approach to inquiry is somewhat misleading because it tends to privilege only one stratum of Bourdieu’s sociological theory which, in reality, extends from the microcosm of habitual individual behaviour to large-scale comparative studies such as Hallin and Mancini’s (2004) analysis of national media systems. While these gradations of focus cannot be segregated in Bourdieu’s holistic approach, the traditional emphasis on ‘field’ lends itself to comparative studies where fields of media practice are juxtaposed or media ethnography (Schultz, 2007). Comparatively less attention has been devoted to applying Bourdieu’s post-structuralist sociolinguistic theories to a fine-grained text analysis (Sonnett, 2010). Thus, the proposed adoption of a Bourdieusian approach to a content and frame analysis methodology requires some explanation, which will be provided in this chapter. This chapter begins by outlining Bourdieu’s theories of ‘field’, ‘capital’ and ‘habitus’ and proposes a shift from field analysis to an analysis of text using concepts drawn from Bourdieu’s sociolinguistics in his books *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991a), *The State Nobility: Elite schools and the field of power* (1998) and *Masculine Domination* (2001).

In addition, this thesis employs a dual approach by seeking to combine a news frame analysis of

propositional journalism with an analysis of the symbolic capital of the sources whose voices tend to dominate the governmental field. While this is not an unprecedented approach within media studies (Benson, 2013), the particular relation between symbolic capital and framing theory requires clarification. In this study, news framing is not conceived as a complementary method to an analysis of symbolic capital, as is the tendency in media studies (Benson, 2013). Rather, this chapter will argue that the idea of framing is embedded in Bourdieu's approach to social inquiry. Bourdieu's work was frequently based in text and content analysis and sought to identify evaluative schemas and cognitive structures that individuals habitually employ to make sense of social world and which, in turn, shape the social world. Thus, while Bourdieu does not use the term, this chapter will defend a reading of Bourdieu's linguistic theory as a form of frame analysis. It will be suggested that the cognitive linguistics and metaphorical framing theory of George Lakoff (2010a) and Mark Johnson (1999; 2008) represents the most obvious correspondence between these two theoretical approaches. Accordingly, this chapter will outline the significance of metaphor to the identification of legitimising frames. Lastly, this chapter will provide a detailed account of the methods of sample collection, source analysis and frame analysis which arose from the chosen approach.

4.2 Field theory

Field theory is useful for examining unequal news access in propositional journalism because it foregrounds questions of legitimacy and provides a theoretical mechanism for explaining how power is invested in certain voices and not others. Bourdieu sought to uncover the requisite symbolic power that must accompany certain pronouncements for them to have their desired effect. "From a strictly linguistic point of view, anyone can say anything and the private can order his captain to 'clean the latrines'", wrote Bourdieu (1991a, p. 74), "but from a sociological point of view...it is clear that not anyone can assert anything, or else does so at his peril, as with an insult". Similarly, from a democratic perspective, every Tasmanian is entitled to a view on the future direction of the state yet, for the most part, their pronouncements are of little consequence and receive no media attention. This thesis adopts this sociological viewpoint and applies it to the question of propositional journalism in order to uncover the symbolic power and evaluative schemas that determine whose voices should be taken seriously. The news media are implicated in the distribution of legitimacy, both in the journalists' recognition of symbolic power and, circuitously, in the generation of that symbolic power. "Media power", writes Benson (1999, p. 469), "is ultimately the power to 'consecrate', that is, name an event, person, or idea as worthy of wider consideration". News access is, thus, an invaluable sign of social recognition where "the abundance of microphones, cameras, journalists and photographers, is, like the Homeric *skeptron* described by Benveniste, the visible manifestation of the hearing granted to the orator, of his credit, of the social importance of

his acts and his words” (Bourdieu, 1991a, p. 193). Media interest therefore both recognises, reinforces, and in some cases, generates the symbolic capital of personal and instrumental value to a range of actors in, what Hage has termed, the governmental field (1996; 2012).

Fields can be understood, using Benson’s formulation (2006, p. 188), as “semi-autonomous and increasingly specialized spheres of action (e.g., fields of politics, economics, religion, cultural production)”. They are a distinguishing feature of modernity and a result of the rejection of “aristocratic and ecclesiastical tutelage” over cultural production (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 14). Increasing intellectual freedom allowed the proliferation of specialised fields and sub-fields of cultural production, conceived as microcosms that can assert their own specific values and rules but also exist in relation to other fields that can exert power over a field’s internal laws. Most notably, the dominant fields of politics (the state) and economics (capital) exert the greatest pressure over the integrity of subordinate fields and their ability to autonomously set their own standards and rules. Fields are therefore semi-autonomous, each constituting “a social universe freed from a certain number of the constraints...without being completely independent of the external laws” (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 33). The tension between freedom and constraint in fields is conceptualised as involving two opposing tendencies which actors must define themselves in relation to. On the one hand, there is a tendency towards greater field *autonomy* (literally ‘self-rule’) where ongoing refinement and loyalty to the field’s own rules and intellectual values is the highest imperative. On the other hand, there is a tendency towards *heteronomy* where actors in the field adopt the rules and values of external fields. Normatively, the tendency towards field autonomy is considered most valuable because it provides “the conditions necessary for the production and diffusion of the highest human creations” (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 65). In the context of commercialisation (where the economic field imposes its logic of commodification and mass-market appeal on all subordinate fields) or in conditions of political authoritarianism (where the state imposes its system of hierarchy and censorship) fields cannot produce their specific cultural goods but produce, instead, a homogenous and impoverished simulacra of their former cultural good.

Taken as a whole, the modern social world is comprised of fields in which individuals must compete for limited positions of influence but also reconcile the contradictory imperatives of field autonomy and heteronomy. Individuals can either resist the cultural gravity exerted by the dominant fields of politics and economics or, conversely, accept or even promote compromise with either of these powerful fields. The attitudes one can assume in this regard are determined by one’s own position in the field and one’s personal resources or capital (Thompson, 1991, p. 14), which Bourdieu divided into three kinds. Whereas capital is normally understood as an economic resource, Bourdieu (2011, p. 56) understood capital as ‘accumulated labour’ which can take a variety of non-monetary forms

and can be transferred between those forms:

Capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: As economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility. (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 47)

Cultural capital, distributed through official consecration or educational attainment, is the resource that individuals call upon to defend the autonomy of fields. Cultural wealth entitles a limited range of actors to a legitimate opinion and judgement on that field's cultural products. Conversely, individuals with lower cultural capital but higher economic capital are comparatively less capable of evaluating cultural products but, through patronage and investment, can influence the field's rules by proxy and thereby exert a heteronomous cultural influence on cultural production. Thus, according to Thompson (1991, p. 14), a field is defined "as a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or 'capital'". While cultural, economic and social capital represent objective social facts (titles, connections, property, etc.), these possessions are also intersubjective and relational. They exist in terms of social recognition of their worth and value and are deployed euphemistically in language, conspicuous consumption and in the reception of cultural products and their 'symbolic evaluation' (Thompson, 2013a, p. 154). Thus, Axel Honneth (1995, p. 187) defines symbolic capital as the "sum of cultural recognition... acquire[d] through skilful manipulation of the system of social symbols". Accordingly, it is not enough to simply possess capital. Individuals and groups struggle within fields to "valorise those forms of capital which they possess" (Benson, 2006: 190). As Bourdieu argued in his influential work, *'Distinction'* (1984), individuals subconsciously allude to their stock of capital through displays of taste and conspicuous consumption that serve to distinguish them from their peers and symbolise their social standing.

Ultimately, the distribution of different types of capital provides an insight into the cultural products which they produce. This approach provides a counterpoint to traditional hermeneutics which, overlooking the importance of the field, tends to explain the work of art, microcosmically, through a close reading of the artist's own individual charisma and life history and through a semiotic reading of the artwork itself, or macrocosmically, through a (typically Marxist) analysis of society, ideology and the reproduction of social inequalities (Benson, 1999, p. 463). Instead, Bourdieu maintains that

scholars need to think relationally by considering how all producers of culture exists within a field of competing producers, each with their own cultural, economic and social resources which constrain the scope of action and help to determine the rules and standards which are ultimately represented in cultural products.

4.3 The journalistic field

This approach has been productively applied to the analysis of journalism texts, practices and consumption beginning with Bourdieu himself in his famous provocation, *'On Television'* (1999), and subsequent essay, *'The Political Field, The Social Science Field, and The Journalistic Field'* (2005). Bourdieu's main focus in the former work was to highlight a new commercial logic in French journalism brought about by the increasing strength and symbolic power of television news. He argued that the audience ratings mindset, which became the obsessive focus of French television journalism in the 1980s and 1990s, represented a threat to the autonomy of the journalistic field and, more generally, to all neighbouring fields of cultural production by imposing a market logic on their cultural products:

Audience ratings impose the sales model on cultural products. But it is important to know that, historically, all the cultural productions that I consider (and I hope I'm not alone here, at least I hope not) the highest human products – maths, poetry, literature, philosophy – were all produced against market imperatives. (1999, p. 27)

Television's promise of symbolic power, reputation and cultural legitimacy, according to Bourdieu, created a market for simplified and trivialised cultural products and amateur intellectuals whose pronouncements could be easily and uncontroversially received by a mass audience. Television news rewarded sensational stories, 'fast thinkers' and 'received ideas' (1999, p. 28-29) and effectively censored speech and ideas which were slow, complex, convoluted or controversial. It therefore threatened the social preconditions for thinking seriously and critically about social problems (and solutions) and created, instead, the perfect environment for 'symbolic violence' (1999, p. 17) through the sensationalised representations of marginalised groups.

However, Bourdieu's appraisal of commercialism and anti-intellectualism in journalism encountered a number of academic critiques. Originally delivered in two lectures at the University of Paris, and without the exhaustive empirical research characteristic of Bourdieu's other work, *On Television* was widely criticised for simplifying the dynamics and complexity of the journalistic field (Hesmondhalgh, 2006; Marlière, 1998; Couldry, 2003; Bolin, 2009). For Benson (2013, p. 24), an otherwise stalwart exponent of field theory, Bourdieu's critique of political or economic barriers to journalistic

autonomy overlooks instances where commerce and political intervention facilitate quality journalism through public subsidies and market revenues (2013, p. 24). Others, such as David Hesmondhalgh (2006, p. 221- 222), questioned the narrow focus on traditional television and print journalism to the exclusion of other hybrid journalistic and entertainment forms including new, culturally consecrated 'quality television' and documentaries. This injunction, while correctly calling for a more nuanced and comprehensive account of cultural production, also raised questions about whether the concept of a journalistic field is reductionist and unable to account for the increasingly fuzzy border surrounding what is and what is not journalism.

The question of whether a journalistic field could be identified was taken up by Philippe Marlière who took issue with this easy categorisation and critique of journalism and journalists. For Marlière (1998), Bourdieu's theorisation of journalism:

...does not do justice to a complex situation and portrays the profession quite inaccurately as a homogenous whole. This reinforces his point with the idea that the journalistic field – and television as a paradigmatic category – attributes a series of unified beliefs to its players, a view which allows Bourdieu to interpret and theorize the media world as a very unitary field. (Marlière, 1998, p. 223-224)

It would be preferable, in his view, "to say that, in its heterogeneity, the journalistic field – like the academic field – has a variety of brilliant and dull members, or hard-working and ineffective members" (Marlière, 1998, p. 224). There are two related reservations in Marlière's comments which can be addressed separately. On the one hand, Marlière states that individual journalists are too diverse to be collectively referred to as belonging to a field let alone criticised collectively as anti-intellectual. On the other hand, he suggests that, as a profession, journalism cannot be theorised as one field because Bourdieu does not "give any precise definition of what journalism is", and that such a definition could not possibly account for the many "different types of journalism and different categories of journalist" (Marlière, 1998, p. 223). The first argument mistakenly considers the field to be a reductionist and generalising concept when, in reality, Bourdieu's theory of the field is principally a field of differences, competition and distinctions. Fields are not unitary, as Marlière suggests, but are composed of class fragments and riven by competition for positions of power and the ability to define the field's internal values and standards (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 40). As such, the concept of field is perfectly suited to conceptualising the internal diversity of journalists. The second reservation, regarding the difficulty of delimiting and defining what constitutes the journalistic field, is also resolvable because Bourdieu's intention was never to outline a definitive or normative concept of journalism. "The concept of the field", wrote Bourdieu (2005, p. 30), "is a research tool,

the main function of which is to enable the scientific construction of social objects". Accordingly, the journalistic field does not exist independently or outside of specific research contexts like newsrooms, journalists and editors. As Ida Schultz argues (2007, p. 192), "fields are always empirical questions and the existence of a possible media or journalistic field cannot be answered without empirical investigations". Accordingly, Bourdieu introduces the concept as a methodological imperative for understanding specific media producers and products rather than a definitive or normative account of the profession. "To understand what goes on at TF1," wrote Bourdieu (1999, p. 39), "you have to take into account everything that TF1 owes to its location in a universe of objective relations between the different, competing television networks". It is reasonable to argue that Bourdieu did not adequately consider the comprehensive range of subfields within journalism. In particular, his critique of television's mass market logic overlooked the burgeoning subfields of quality television (Hesmondhalgh, 2006, p. 222), and did not acknowledge the economic imperative for targeting media products to increasingly segmented audiences (Bolin, 2009, p. 353). However, these criticisms are really injunctions towards greater nuance and detail in applying field theory rather than outright rejection of the usefulness of field theory for understanding cultural production. More recent work (Benson, 2013; Champagne, 2005) has largely incorporated these criticisms and has shown that a field approach can be usefully applied to journalism in all its dynamism and diversity.

4.3.1 The governmental field and symbolic power

As the literature review pre-empted, propositional journalism cannot be understood by examining only the journalistic field because propositional journalism is co-produced by journalists and sources belonging to a range of fields. Collectively, sources who make propositions, applying Hage's (2012) concept, do so within the Tasmanian 'governmental field' whose members are legitimately entitled to an opinion or managerial attitude towards the state's future. Their relative power within this field is measured, in part, by the amount of media coverage their proposition receives and, ultimately, by whether their proposition is adopted and manifested. This application of field theory is consistent with Thompson's definition of symbolic power and symbolic action. With reference to Bourdieu's theory of capital, Thompson (2013b, p. 16) wrote that "...individuals draw on [their specific] resources to perform actions which may intervene in the course of events and have consequences of various kinds". Thus, he continued, "symbolic actions may give rise to reactions, may lead others to act or respond in certain ways, to pursue one course of action rather than another, to believe or disbelieve, to affirm their support for a state of affairs or to rise up in collective revolt" (Thompson, 2013b, p. 16-17). Propositions, then, are essentially interventions within the governmental field that may alter the course of events. This definition of a proposition as a 'symbolic form' is cognisant in a

Tasmanian context where certain propositions have come to symbolise certain ideologies, historical periods and transitions, leaders and protest movements. Since the 1950s, Tasmania's political discourse has been characterised by what Thompson termed (1990, p. 154-155) "conflict over symbolic valorisation". Such conflicts, for Thompson (1990, p. 155), occur in contexts where there is unequal distribution of symbolic capital and, thus, unequally distributed legitimacy for evaluating propositions.

Thus, understanding divergent evaluations of propositions, as is seen in Tasmania, requires an analysis of symbolic capital. However, as Couldry (2003, p. 4) rightly points out, this diffuse conception of symbolic power found in Thompson and in Bourdieu's work is under-theorised. "In its very general scope", writes Couldry, this 'strong' conception of symbolic power:

...sits oddly with Bourdieu's well-known insistence that all his other key sociological concepts (habitus, capital) are comprehensible only in the context of a specific field: a field of action in which particular types of capital are at stake and particular types of disposition (habitus) are fitted for success (2003, p. 4).

Accordingly, Couldry advances Bourdieu's idea of 'meta-capital' as a way of conceptualising field-nonspecific power which can accrue to certain individuals and to the power exerted by the media across all fields (2003, p. 11). "This new concept", for Couldry, "differs from 'capital' in Bourdieu's normal usage, precisely in functioning not by reference to a particular field...but over and above specific fields" (2003, p. 11). However, Couldry's argument overlooks the fact that economic and social capital are already, in Bourdieu's conception, not specific to certain fields. Economic capital is recognised in any context and social milieus (one's friends and connections) usually include individuals across a range of fields. Only cultural capital, in Bourdieu's account, is field-specific. Nonetheless, there is merit in scrutinising how 'cultural meta-capital' might be transposable from small subfields to larger fields of power like the governmental field.

One way of overcoming this impasse is by viewing it, not as a result of under-theorisation as Couldry suggested, but of over-theorisation. In relation to the governmental field (which includes individuals from a range of professions), the transposable cultural and symbolic capital might be defined more simply as leadership. Leadership is not an objective possession but must be established and maintained semiotically with signs of leadership and through actions that are habitually interpreted as demonstrating leadership. Leadership, therefore, is a transposable quality (across fields) that is deeply embedded in cultural myths and class structures of prestige and privilege. One can be a leader of a field and simultaneously have their leadership qualities recognised in more general terms, abstracted from context in the forms of propositions and visions for society as a whole. Thus,

leadership is the cultural currency of the governmental field. Leadership is also a key conduit between the governmental and journalistic fields. Evaluating and policing leadership quality according to taken-for-granted community expectations is core business for editors, polemicists, investigative journalists and beat reporters (Ettema and Glasser, 1998). It is a resource which is especially relevant when the future is uncertain and up for grabs (Kerr, 2008). When audiences seek reassurance about the future of their locality the media can supply a range of leaders to outline their plans and visions.

Kerr (2008) examined the discourse of leadership from a Bourdieusian perspective and concluded that the discursive evaluations of leadership remain stable across corporate and political fields. Using Bourdieu's concept of homology (a tendency or taste that is similar across fields), Kerr (2008, p. 204) argues that "homologous, floating discourses of leadership are reproduced in the relatively autonomous social spaces or fields of political and corporate leadership and in turn reproduce those fields as socially stratified and hierarchical". This is an important area of study because, as Kerr (2008, p. 204) suggests, a discourse of leadership evaluation "plays a part socially in that reality's construction". The way in which good leadership is evaluated shapes the decisions that can be legitimately made and, by proxy, shapes the future reality.

Considering leadership as symbolic capital is especially relevant in an analysis of propositional journalism because propositions are often evaluated according to the leadership virtues that they reveal; virtues like honesty, timeliness, courage, consistency, responsibility, care, pragmatism. Or, conversely, a proposition might reveal a deficit of leadership capital by being interpreted as weakness, impertinence, cowardice, dishonesty, inconsistency or irresponsibility. These evaluations, which Thompson (1990, p. 154) calls "the valorisation of symbolic forms", are an indispensable part of journalism's celebrated role as a watchdog (Borden, 2008; Borden and Tew, 2007). However, they are also historically contingent and vary according to news outlet. These sensibilities are embedded in what Lakoff terms (2010a) the 'moral politics' of ideological groups. The following section will outline how the symbolic valorisation of leadership corresponds with a frame analysis of news texts and the moral politics of leadership quality.

4.4 Field theory and frame analysis

News framing analysis is a pervasive and celebrated methodology in media studies research. It has been profitably employed in the analysis of political power, ideology, risk definition and news access. Despite its centrality within media studies, and the increasing popularity of Bourdieusian sociology in media studies, these two methodological paradigms have not been well integrated. Media scholars who employ both field theory and frame analysis such as Rodney Benson (2013) rarely explain the

connection between these two theories in detail or alter their framing methodology to accommodate a field analysis. This mixed methodology overlooks the potential for a more integrated approach and for mutual development of these important theoretical tools in framing and field scholarship. This section will argue that the proposed integration of these approaches helps framing scholars to overcome common objections regarding the location and content of frames (Reese, 2010). Likewise, for field theorists, framing methodologies can provide the kind of empirical rigor which is occasionally lacking in their treatment of the journalistic field and news texts.

Benson's (2013) book, *'Shaping Immigration News'*, was a well-received work that combined framing and field methodologies to show how differences in the framing of immigration debates in America and France reflected similarities and differences in the structure of their respective journalistic fields. Despite being a theoretically innovative work that complemented an analysis of field position with analysis of field logic, structure and form (2013, p. 25), Benson's theorisation of news framing was notably fleeting and merely supplementary to the field analysis. For Benson (2013, p. 4), "a linguistic frame—like a window frame—focuses our attention on a particular vista to the exclusion of others. At its most basic, a frame defines the 'problem' (or the 'success'), and that is how I use the term". In his discussion of framing Benson does not link this methodology to the Bourdieusian idea that all linguistic speech acts are shaped by habit (*habitus*) and embedded in symbolic markets (*fields*) (Bourdieu, 1991a).

According to Bourdieu, all speech acts are symbolic investments subconsciously informed by anticipation of how the statement will be received by the listener and the esteem that a statement might engender (1991, p. 67-69). Through habituation in these discursive markets (*fields*) the estimation of the relative worth of one's pronouncements and their reception becomes second nature. This practical 'feel for the game' is termed *habitus* and is succinctly defined by Craig Calhoun (2003, p. 232) as "the embodied sensibility that makes possible structured improvisation". Benson does posit a weak linkage between framing and *habitus* when he suggests that the dominant humanitarian framing in both samples was the product of *habitus* affinities between human rights activists and journalists (both being relatively well educated and cultured) and *habitus* disaffinities between journalists and anti-immigrant activists (2013, p. 126-127). This affinity encourages friendly relations—"facilitating a 'natural' mutual sympathy" (2013, p. 88)—making it easier for humanitarian activists to run sophisticated media campaigns and have their preferred frame adopted by journalists. However, this is a relatively thin linkage between *habitus* and frame which leaves both theoretical approaches unaltered.

This thesis prefers a strong linkage between framing and *habitus*. In this conception, frames *are*

linguistic habits; the product of habituation in certain fields (linguistic markets) which produce routine ways of talking, thinking, interpreting and evaluating objective and subjective phenomena. This definition of framing is not so much a Bourdieusian reading of framing theory as a reading of Bourdieu as a framing theorist. While Bourdieu never used the term, his writing was often concerned with explaining structured patterns of linguistic and cognitive sense making. Bourdieu (1989, p. 14) affirmed that “there exist, within the social world itself and not only within symbolic systems (languages, myths, etc.) objective structures independent of the consciousness and will of agents, which are capable of guiding and constraining their practices and representations”. However, he continued (1989, p. 14), such social structures are *constructed* in the sense that “there is a twofold social genesis”, whereby structures are a product of individual psychological dispositions which include “the schemes of perception, thought, and action which are constitutive of what I call *habitus*”, as well as broader social tendencies within fields, groups and social classes (1989, p. 14). These linguistic and cognitive dispositions formed part of the *habitus* which he defined as “systems of durable, transposable dispositions” (1990, p. 53). These systems of vision and division structure one’s cognitive faculties and ultimately serve to structure the social world. They are, therefore, “structuring structures” (1990, p. 53). Bourdieu comes closest to applying his concept of *habitus* to a definition of news framing in *On Television* where he suggests that journalists:

...select very specific aspects [of an event] as a function of their particular perceptual categories, the particular way they see things. These categories are the product of education, history, and so forth. The most common metaphor to explain this notion of category – that is, the invisible structures that organise perception and determine what we see and don’t see – is eyeglasses. Journalists have special “glasses” through which they see certain things and not others, and through which they see the things they see in the special way they see them (1999, p. 19).

Thus, rather than considering news frames as windows, as Benson did, and as somewhat separate and transferable perspectives on a complex but objectively knowable world (Benson, 2013, p. 5), Bourdieu conceives of news framing eye glasses which, unlike windows, are more attached to one’s personal perspective. Indeed, they are a product of one’s life history and, in the case of news frames, a product of habituation in the journalistic field.

Understanding frames as linguistic habits, however, stands in contrast to emerging visual framing approaches and theorists such as Renita Coleman (2010, p. 234) who are critical of “latent beliefs in academia that [for the purpose of news framing analysis] words are more important than images”. In evaluating the relative weight that should be placed on words as opposed to pictures, this

research draws upon Roland Barthes' (1977) semiotic analysis of the relationship between image and text. Images, for Barthes (1977, p. 38-39), are polysemous; "they imply, underlying their signifiers, a 'floating chain' of signifieds, the reader able to choose some and ignore others". Thus, an image on its own does little to guide interpretation, leaving the meaning of a photograph open to the viewers' own frames of perception. It is only when an image is combined with text, as they invariably are in journalism, that the interpretation of the image is 'anchored' and the floating chain of signifiers limited to those which the editor wishes to make most salient. Thus, the anchoring and framing of the image's meaning is ultimately reliant on the linguistic and cognitive habits of producers and readers of text who variously describe, annotate and embellish images with a structured repertoire of stock phrases and framing devices.

It might also be argued that this concept of framing as embedded in habitus suggests, misleadingly, that journalists who have been habituated in the journalistic field must categorise and view the world according to a uniquely journalistic framework. This might seem to underplay the ability of journalists to deploy a wide range of non-journalistic frames in their reports from other fields. To address this point, it is necessary to tie framing to the idea previously discussed that fields can be variously autonomous and heteronomous. According to most field scholars, compared to many other specialised fields of cultural production (such as maths, poetry and science) journalism is a weakly autonomous field. According to Champagne (2005, p. 50): "Journalistic production is always strongly dictated by the social, especially political and economic, conditions in which it is organised". Thus, according to these field theorists, journalism has little autonomy to reframe debates according to their own principles of vision and division. Rather, according to Darras (2005, p. 166), "by analysing the frames...of journalistic understanding, we see that television professionals internalise the representations by which the actors and institutions of the Political Order dominate them". This political imposition on journalistic news framing also corresponds with a commercial imperative that constrains journalistic framing. The audience ratings mindset, according to Bourdieu (1999), rewards a style of communication that is simple, easily consumable and uncontroversial. Journalists are therefore encouraged to "think in clichés, in the 'received ideas' that Flaubert talks about-banal conventional, common ideas that are received generally. By the time they reach you, these ideas have already been received by everybody else, so reception is never a problem" (1999, p. 29). Accordingly, not only are journalists encouraged to pass on the frames of more influential and autonomous fields, they internalise these frames through habituation in a heteronomous field. Not only do they pass on these dominant frames, they *think* in terms of these frames.

These observations are not intended as rules or theories of journalism outside of empirical research. The relative autonomy of a field is historically contingent and can be assessed by examining the

origins and deployment of news framing (Darras, 2005). In particular, this research will test whether journalism generates its own frames of leadership evaluation or uses frames of leadership quality, which are largely homologous with leading political and business sources reinforcing their legitimacy in the governmental field. However, this raises further methodological questions about what a frame is and how they can be identified and quantified in textual analysis.

Framing is a relevant methodology for examining propositional journalism because both news sources and journalists must make a range of habitual decisions regarding selection and salience in conveying the content and consequences of a given proposal. In particular Entman's (1993) definition of framing brings attention to the way in which patterns of selection and salience could promote a certain propositions. He argues that:

[T]o frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (1993, p. 52).

Thus, frames imply a certain treatment recommendation or proposition. However, as the literature explained, this research is concerned with instances where the propositions explicit and central in reporting. In such cases, as the following section will argue, framing is principally concerned with implicitly evaluating leadership legitimacy. Thus, adapting Entman's formulation, framing in propositional journalism implies *who should recommend or administer the treatment*. This conception of news framing, while appropriated from Gitlin (1980, p. 7) and inspired by definitions of framing as 'problem definition' (Entman, 1993) or 'interpretive packages' (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989), is specifically oriented towards the framing of the *legitimacy* of proponents' evaluations of leadership.

4.4.1 Framing devices as symbolic capital

It has been suggested that the act of proposing is subject to persistent patterns of evaluation and interpretation, which is to say, news framing. However, identifying news frames – “the ‘what?’ of news framing” (Reese, 2010, p. 19) – is an unresolved problematic in media studies. While some framing scholars consider news frames as subtle variations and regularities in selection and salience that shape audience interpretations of events (Entman, 1993; Gitlin, 1980, p. 7), others such as Gamson and Modigliani (1989, p. 3) insist that framing is comprised of interpretive packages conveyed through ‘framing devices’ such as idioms, metaphors, images and catchphrases. Approaching frame analysis from the perspective of field theory, in the context of these debates, is

instructive.

This might be considered the point at which field analysis should make way for framing scholars who have discussed at length the proper unit of analysis and method for identifying and quantifying news frames. For Couldry (2012, p. 36), far from helping to identify frames in text, field theory usefully supplants frame analysis and other text-centric methodologies. Couldry celebrated Bourdieu's decentring of the text in media studies as a means to avoiding intractable debates over media effects (2012, p. 36). However, field analysis is not antithetical with a text analysis methodologies such as frame analysis. In fact, Bourdieu frequently employed text analysis methodologies which are illuminating for scholars seeking to integrate field and frame analysis approaches.

Bourdieu's approach to sociology usefully brings these two components of framing together by considering the stylistic features of discourse, which Gamson and Modigliani (1989, p. 3) term 'framing devices', as symbolic capital within fields which, over time, form habitual ways of talking and thinking that constrain and structure perceptions of the social world. The use of figurative language – "deft metaphor, catchphrase, or other symbolic device" (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989, p. 3) – from a Bourdieusian perspective, are primarily markers of linguistic competence and cultural capital. The habitual use of figurative language alludes to and legitimises one's standing within fields of culture and power. They are recognised as legitimate within certain fields of production and reception and are thus constrained and censored by the prevailing values of that field. Thus, according to Bourdieu:

Discourses are always to some extent euphemisms inspired by the concern to 'speak well', to 'speak properly', to produce products that respond to the demands of a certain market [...] the form and the content of a discourse depend on the relation between a habitus (which is itself the product of sanctions on a market with a given level of tension), and a market defined by a level of tension which is more or less heightened. (1991a, p. 78-79)

Perhaps more so than other cultural producers, journalists are concerned with the anticipated reception of their products and, accordingly, the journalistic field is characterised by a relatively high level of 'tension'. They must ensure that the news is widely understood, entertaining and distinct from their commercial rivals. The need for linguistic distinction, for Bourdieu (1999, p. 24), explains why it is that "no one reads as many newspapers as journalists". "To know what to say", wrote Bourdieu (1999, p. 24), "you have to know what everyone else has said". News framing, through linguistic idiosyncrasy, forms part of the struggle for distinction within the journalistic field.

A good application of Bourdieusian sociolinguistics to news texts was conducted by John Sonnett (2010) in his analysis of climate change risk discourse. He considered journalistic fields and semantic

fields as parallel heuristics that allow for quantitative analysis of discourse through a correspondence analysis where “the prevalence of words in media arenas, relative to other types of media, can be taken as a measure of their symbolic value” (2010, p. 701). Sonnett chose to examine synonyms and antonyms for key climate change terms such as ‘risk’ because synonyms represent different markers of linguistic distinction which politicians, scientists and journalists deploy in order to legitimise their field’s perspective on climate change risk.

While these stylistic features in news texts are the natural outcome of the need for journalistic distinction, they are also ‘refractions and reflections’ (Benson, 2013, p. 23-24) of habitual ways of seeing and interpreting the social world that arrive in news texts from outside the journalistic field. While framing is an unavoidable means of understanding and simplifying the world “in all its buzzing complexity” (Benson, 2013, p. 23-24), the habituation of various ways of viewing and categorising the world are also subject to political struggle, purposive communication and rhetoric. Thus, while journalists develop their own field-specific ‘eye glasses’ and a characteristically journalistic way of seeing the world, they are also caught up in political struggles over meaning and evaluation. “At stake today”, writes Bourdieu (1999, p. 22), “in local as well as global political struggles is the capacity to impose a way of seeing the world, of making people wear “glasses” that force them to see the world divided up in certain ways”. This might seem to contradict the idea of frames as embedded in habitus, but as recent cognitive linguistics studies have found (Lakoff, 2010b, p. 73), deliberate framing strategies only effectively alter one’s world view over long periods of time. In particular for George Lakoff, cognitive linguistics professor at Berkeley University, the key components of frames are not synonyms and antonyms, as in Sonnett’s analysis (2010), but metaphors. The relative prevalence of metaphors, therefore, is considered an indication of the symbolic worth of that phrase in various fields (linguistic markets) and a measure of the relative habituation because, for Lakoff, the adoption of a certain frame is a product of repetition. Accordingly, as the following section will suggest, metaphors are considered the primary unit of analysis for identifying and quantifying frames.

4.4.2 Frames and conceptual metaphor

The case for taking metaphorical language as the primary unit in this study’s frame analysis was prompted by the work of Lakoff and Johnson on the centrality of conceptual metaphor in structuring unconscious reasoning (1999; 2008). A metaphor is defined, simply, as “understanding and experiencing one thing in terms of another” (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008, p. 5). While it is often dismissed as mere linguistic playfulness Lakoff and Johnson (2008, p. 3) claim that metaphors form an indispensable part of unconscious reasoning. “Our ordinary conceptual system”, they argue

(2008, p. 3), “in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature”. For Lakoff and Johnson (1999, p. 9), conceptual metaphor structures and enable unconscious reasoning. The theory of cognitive unconscious holds that “most of our thought is unconscious, not in the Freudian sense of being repressed, but in the sense that it operates beneath the level of cognitive awareness, inaccessible to consciousness and operating too quickly to be focused on” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999, p. 10). Unconscious reasoning is structured and it is the work of the cognitive linguist to uncover “what, exactly, our unconscious system of concepts is and how we think and talk using that system of concepts” (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008, p. 4). In this sense, the cognitive unconscious is roughly synonymous with Bourdieu’s concept of habitus. Both identify a domain of habituated cognitive instincts that allow individuals to negotiate social life. Like Lakoff, Bourdieu is concerned with the effects of the unconscious and the ways that cognitive structures shape society. He begins his 1989 book, *The State Nobility*, by describing his sociology as “merging with psychology...[where] an exploration of objective structures is at one and the same time an exploration of the cognitive structures that agents bring to bear in their practical knowledge of the social worlds thus structured” (1998, p. 1). Bourdieu uses the term habitus to refer to a subconscious system of predispositions, acquired over time, that constitute personality and that can work to (de)legitimise one’s presence in certain fields of power. However, Lakoff and Johnson (1999; 2008) add specificity to this concept by arguing that the building blocks of subconscious reasoning are systems of metaphors.

In this conception, most complex, subjective and abstract concepts are defined according to a metaphorical structure. To use one of Lakoff and Johnson’s examples (2008, p. 4-5), Western cultures talk about ‘arguing’ using the metaphor ‘argument is war’:

Your claims are *indefensible*, He *attacked* every *weak point* in my argument, His criticisms were *right on target*, I *demolished* his argument, I’ve never *won* an argument with him, You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*, If you use that strategy, he’ll *wipe you out*, he *shot down* all my arguments.

More than merely shaping the way people talk, this metaphorical frame informs behaviour and makes arguing a competitive and combative activity. A culture in which arguing is conceived as a dance rather than war would have a very different set of argumentative practices (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008, p. 5). Lakoff and Johnson identify countless metaphorical frames such as ‘life is a journey’ (1999, p. 64), ‘time is money’ (2008, p. 7), ‘affection is warmth’ (1999, p. 46). These prevalent metaphors, they claim, “go beyond the conceptual; they have consequences for material culture” (1999, p. 63). In cultures that do not have a ‘life is a journey’ metaphor, for instance, “people just live their lives, and the very idea of being without direction, or missing the boat, of

being held back of getting bogged down in life, would make no sense” (1999, p. 63). In each instance, speech and thought in these areas is organised according to metaphors and, in that sense, the dominant metaphor can be considered the frame.

It should be noted, however, that the cognitive linguistics that informs Lakoff’s work has a specific conception of frame and its relation to metaphor which is quite different from the treatment of these concepts in media scholarship and sociology. For instance, Lakoff and Johnson’s theory differs significantly from Gamson and Modigliani’s (1989) treatment of metaphors, catchphrase and idioms as ‘framing devices’. In their analysis (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989) of interpretive packages they maintain that metaphors can be deployed as shorthand for broader interpretive frames or packages. This relationship is reversed in Lakoff’s conception (2008; 2014) with metaphors forming the overarching interpretive structure and frames forming its basic subunits. For Lakoff, borrowing from Charles Fillmore’s (1982) linguistic theory of framing, every given word has an associated frame, made up of semantic roles and normative relationships between these roles. Thus, the word *fork* is inseparable from the concepts of *spoon*, *knife*, *food*, *plate*, *eating*, *table* which form the frame’s semantic roles. These are rigid, embedded inferences that are triggered in the brain upon hearing the word *fork* and can be supplemented with more specific data: *restaurant*, *steak*, *waiter*, *date*.

Accordingly, the title of Lakoff’s popular manual for the re-framing policy debates is, ‘*Don’t think of an Elephant*’ (2008, p. 3), which also serves as the book’s first lesson:

I’ve never found a student who is able to do this. Every word, like elephant, evokes a frame, which can be an image or other kinds of knowledge: Elephants are large, have floppy ears and a trunk, are associated with circuses, and so on. The word is defined relative to that frame. When we negate a frame, we evoke the frame.

Such frames are often normative, what Lakoff calls, ideal cognitive models (ICMs) that suggest a logical order and relationship between each semantic role: One uses a knife and fork to eat the food on the plate. Our knowledge of specific scenarios associated with words, which Lakoff (2008, p. 256) terms “source domains”, provides a rich resource for metaphorical reasoning about the nature and normative structure of a range of subjective and abstract phenomena, termed “target domains”. Thus, metaphorical reasoning takes the guise of common sense by implying the logical, proper and moral order of something else.

The most relevant discussions of metaphorical framing, for the purposes of this research, involve Lakoff’s later work on political morality and the evaluation of leadership and policy through metaphor (1996, 2010b, 2008, 2010a, 2016). He found that common areas of political discourse – the environment (2010b), immigration (Lakoff and Ferguson, 2016), taxation (1996, p. 179) – are

mostly reasoned about according to certain dominant metaphors. He identified discursive struggles over the application of preferred metaphors and the imposition of 'metaphorical common sense' on key policy areas (2010a, p. 5). For example, Lakoff noted the emergence of the term 'tax relief' after George W. Bush won the presidency. The word relief, according to Lakoff (2008, p. 3-4), triggers a frame which imposes a certain moral interpretation on tax policy:

For there to be relief there must be an affliction, an afflicted party, and a reliever who removes the affliction and is therefore a hero. And if people try to stop the hero, those people are villains for trying to prevent relief. When the word tax is added to relief, the result is a metaphor: Taxation is an affliction. And the person who takes it away is a hero, and anyone who tries to stop him is a bad guy. This is a frame.

Thus, partly because of the president's symbolic power and partly because of the innocuous formulation 'tax relief', the term is readily taken up by news outlets, "and soon the *New York Times* is using *tax relief*. And it is not only on Fox; it is on CNN, it is on NBC, it is on every station because it is 'the president's tax-relief plan'" (Lakoff, 2008, p. 4). Like Trojan horses, frames enter the public consciousness through innocuous idioms which are really, in Lakoff's view, "a trap: The words draw you into their worldview" (2008, p. 4). Accordingly, while metaphorical framing is an unavoidable part of cognitive life these metaphors can be weaponised in ways that, over time, structure the cognitive subconscious.

The idea of leadership and the nation are also areas which are reasoned about using metaphor. In his most famous work, *Moral Politics*, Lakoff (2010a) argued that opposing conservative and liberal worldviews were reflected in family morality and, specifically, "two opposing models of the family" (2010a, p. 33). "At the centre of the conservative worldview is a Strict Father model", where children learn discipline through punishment and through the example of a strong father figure, eventually internalising self-discipline and individual responsibility (Lakoff, 2010a, p. 33). "The liberal worldview centres on a very different ideal family life, the Nurturant Parent model", where children become responsible, self-disciplined, caring members of society by experiencing care themselves in a loving empathetic and equal family environment (Lakoff, 2010a, p. 33-34). Lakoff found that discourses surrounding contentious political issues such as taxation, the environment, abortion, capital punishment and healthcare were structured according to either of these metaphorical conceptions of family morality. Centrally, these metaphorical schemas suggest the kind of leader that is best placed to govern society: a strong disciplinarian in the conservative worldview, and a kind and caring leader in the progressive world view. Lakoff found that "the metaphor that is central to Strict Father morality is the metaphor of Moral Strength...beginning with: Being Good is Being Upright [and] Being

Bad Is Being Low” (2010a, p. 71). On the other hand, metaphors for empathy, such as putting oneself in another’s shoes are central in progressive thoughts about leadership legitimacy.

While Lakoff’s work is deeply embedded in progressive activism and his books on moral politics are often written as practical guides for community groups as much as for academics, the core of his approach is built upon sophisticated cognitive linguistic research. This model is especially appropriate for analysing propositional journalism because, for Lakoff (1996; 2010b; 2008; 2010a), metaphorical frames are common in reasoning about political morality, policy propositions and leadership legitimacy. Metaphor analysis is also a useful bridging methodology between field and framing approaches because it considers framing as linguistic and cognitive habits (*habitus*) where certain words trigger neural circuits which become stronger the more often one encounters a given framing. Accordingly, the prevalence of certain words can indicate their symbolic value within fields (Sonnett, 2010) but also their relative habituation as ways of reasoning about leadership legitimacy.

Interestingly, the method for discerning cognitive structures is not dissimilar to Bourdieu’s text analysis in *The State Nobility* (1998) that sought to uncover the evaluative schemas of teachers’ academic judgments in the French education system. Bourdieu’s text analysis of evaluative schema in teachers’ comments brought specific attention to the adjectives used, which were frequently metaphorical. For example, in committee reports from an entrance examination to a prestigious school, Bourdieu (1998, p. 18) highlighted examples of figurative speech which were recorded and organised in a system of binaries. Frequently the words that Bourdieu highlighted were metaphorical: brilliant, dull, elegant, heavy, morose, laboured, light, dense, methodical, shine, ease, gifted, earnest (1998, p. 25). This “constellation of epithets” (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 22) euphemised the inherited cultural capital of ‘gifted’ students, and the cultural deficits of working class students and served to construct a common sense and neutral model of the ideal student as a student from a cultured family.

Like education, journalism relies on a rhetoric of impartiality, fairness and objectivity and, therefore, presents an interesting model for uncovering schemas of symbolic valorisation in the governmental field. In the same way that students from poor backgrounds are routinely denied education’s highest awards (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 2), it is similarly verifiable that journalism’s sources, particularly in consequential news about propositions, usually originate from a relatively privileged and restricted range of professions, backgrounds and genders – a prediction that is confirmed in the following chapter. Leadership, this research predicts, is one such area of abstract and subjective phenomena that is evaluated using metaphorical schemas or frames. As such, the data sample will include metaphorical language that relates to the discussion of the future. At the outset, such metaphorical

constructions seem common but perplexing. Why do journalists refer to an idea for the future as a “push”, or a “bid” or a “call”? What has “vision” got to do with the future? What is a “bold” plan? This research will examine these expressions in order to determine whether there is a broader metaphorical system within which these terms are coherent. If Lakoff’s theory is correct, we should expect that a level of coherence will become apparent. Thus, it should be possible to categorise related metaphorical idioms. Following Lakoff’s suggestion that metaphors can have powerful societal effects, this thesis will question whether metaphoric systems related to the future help circumscribe who has a legitimate voice in the debate and euphemise natural and ideal leaders in the governmental field.

4.5 Methods

Having detailed an integrated field and frame analysis approach, this chapter will now proceed to outline the technical and strategic research methods adopted for this thesis. Taking as its basis a corpus of 1,172 news articles, I will conduct a content analysis (Matthes and Kohring, 2008) focusing especially on quantifying sources of quoted material in news texts and instances of metaphorical language. This content analysis methodology was complemented with interviews with key editorial staff and direct observation of journalist practices in Tasmanian news rooms (Burrell, 2009). As a method of frame analysis, this thesis identified metaphorical frames inductively through a process of data-reduction to identify the most important and prevalent frames (de Vreese, 2005, p. 53-54; Matthes, 2009, p. 351). Following Sonnett’s (2010) application of field and semantic analysis, this research quantified sources according to profession (field) and recorded which metaphors were preferred according to their professional field. This provided a measure of the relative autonomy of the journalistic field by determining frames used exclusively by journalists and editors.

4.5.1 Sample selection

Overall, 1,172 articles were collected from three Tasmanian news outlets over a six-month period in 2014. The year 2014 was an important moment in Tasmanian deliberations about the future because, firstly, it saw the election of two new conservative National and State Governments who sought to re-frame the future of Tasmania and, secondly, it marked a new period of optimism as Tasmania recovered from an economic recession and the collapse of forestry industry in 2012 and 2013 (Andrews, 2012). While 2014 represented, perhaps, a more optimistic moment in ‘New Tasmania’ (see Chapter 2) the old antagonisms regarding development and the future of the state continued to occupy news reports allowing for exploration of the way in which legitimacy and authority were framed in news reports. The three news outlets chosen, *The Mercury*, *The Examiner*

and *ABC Tasmania*, were selected because, as the following will suggest, they represent a diversity of ownership models, regional locations and broadcast mediums.

First published in 1858, *The Mercury* is now the largest selling daily newspaper in Tasmania with a yearly Monday to Friday readership of 51,000 in 2017 (Morgan, 2017). The paper services the state capital of Hobart and the South of Tasmania. In the early 1880s the paper was an outspoken supporter of large state infrastructure projects such as the controversial Franklin dam and a vocal critic of conservationists (Lester, 2005, p. 127). Formerly owned by the Davie Brothers, *The Mercury* was purchased by News Limited in 1986 and became a tabloid in 1993 (Lester and Hutchins, 2009, p. 284). *The Mercury* continues to occupy a relatively pro-development editorial position in debates over conservation and the economy. However, in interviews with the editor, Matt Deighton, presented in Chapter 6, it appears the paper has sought to appeal to a more diverse political audience in recent years by, for instance, providing a platform for a wide range of political views in its opinion pages. In addition, the paper also appears to have recently tended to favour the tourism industry over large scale extractive industries. The paper's reluctance to deploy the term 'wilderness' in debates over conservation has changed with the term now frequently used to celebrate the tourism branding of wild Tasmania as a commercial entity (McGaurr, Tranter and Lester, 2015, p. 281). In addition to its weekend supplement, *The Sunday Tasmanian*, the paper also provides online news and video content on its website (*TheMercury.com.au*) to paying subscribers.

The second outlet chosen for inclusion in the sample was *The Examiner*. Founded by three Congregationalists in 1842 *The Examiner* is Tasmania's oldest newspaper. The newspaper services the city of Launceston and the north of Tasmania with a Monday to Friday readership of 36,000 (Morgan, 2017) – almost half *The Mercury's* current readership. Like *The Mercury*, *The Examiner* has been known to campaign against certain political propositions. From 1959 to 1989 *The Examiner* was operated by the notorious media magnate Edmund Rouse as part of *Examiner Northern TV's* (ENT's) portfolio of Tasmanian media assets. Rouse's bullish attitude towards Tasmanian political life was captured in his advice to a local politician that "you won't get anywhere in this state except over my dead body [...] I make and break politicians in Tasmania" (cited in, Boyce, 2017, p. 55). The growing influence of *The Examiner* under Rouse's leadership was curtailed in 1989 when he was jailed for offering a \$110,000 inducement to a member of parliament to prevent the formation of a Labor-Green coalition government (Kirkpatrick and Tanner, p. 4). The following year, however, with its share price collapsing, ENT sold *The Examiner* to John B. Fairfax's Rural Group (Tanner, 1995, p. 64) who continue to operate the Launceston daily today within Fairfax Media Limited. Fairfax, in comparison to News Limited, is comparatively sympathetic to progressive politics (McKnight, 2010) and has lately been forthright in its defence of editorial independence in the context of the mining

industry's aggressive share acquisition of media companies including Fairfax (Quilter, 2012). *The Examiner's* political stance is tempered, however, by it being the only daily newspaper in Launceston. Just as *The Mercury* is mindful of its comparatively progressive Hobart readership, likewise, *The Examiner* reports and editorialises for a relatively conservative northern Tasmanian and rural audience. In mainland Australian cities such as Melbourne and Sydney where readers have access to both a conservative Murdoch and progressive Fairfax daily, the ideological position of the papers is more conspicuous. Like *The Mercury*, *The Examiner* has also developed an online platform (examiner.com.au) to supplement its newspaper distribution business.

The third outlet chosen for inclusion in the sample was *ABC (Australian Broadcasting Corporation) Tasmania*. With a 25% prime-time share, the national broadcaster is more popular in Tasmania than anywhere else in Australia (Spiegelman, 2015). It provides local, national and international content through nightly news bulletins on television and also through its online platform (<http://www.abc.net.au/news/tas>). The charter of *The ABC* is legislated in section 6 of *The Australian Broadcasting Corporation Act 1983* (Cth) and commits the corporation to broadcast "programs that contribute to a sense of national identity, inform and entertain, and reflect the cultural diversity of, the Australian community". This duty is partly discharged through an independent daily news bulletin where the duty to inform involves a commitment to impartiality (Scott, 2014a) and accuracy (Scott, 2014b). According to the then managing director of *The ABC*, Mark Scott, the commitment to accuracy is defined, straightforwardly, as making "reasonable effort to ensure material facts are accurate and presented in context [and] ...not present factual content in a way that will materially mislead the audience" (Scott, 2014a). Impartiality, however, is recognised in these Editorial Guidance notes (Scott, 2014b) as constituting a more subjective ethical practice:

The requirement for impartiality is testing, precisely because of the fundamental challenge at the heart of the concept – everyone regards the world through the prism of their own values, and no one is truly able to either make or consume media free of those values. The more important the story, the stronger that tension becomes. Impartiality is therefore an art rather than a science, but like all good art, it rests on skill, practice, experience and the right set of tools.

This extensive summary of the techniques and challenges associated with the norm of journalistic impartiality has not, as the note itself concedes, prevented controversy regarding *The ABC's* reporting. In particular, the ability of government to interfere in *The ABC's* reporting through the appointment of political allies to its editorial appointment board (Knott, 2014) or through funding cuts (McNair and Swift, 2014) have been raised as challenges to its independence. This latter issue

was felt acutely in Tasmania during the sample period with the axing of the weekly *Landline* program in 2014 that had provided weekly investigative reporting of Tasmanian current affairs (McNair and Swift, 2014). Despite these cuts, *The ABC* continues to operate a range of news gathering services in Tasmania across radio talkback, rural news and television which are featured on *The ABC's* online platform. Because the online platform gathers stories from radio, regional news and television, and provides a reliable archiving service, it was decided that articles would be collected here across different media rather than choosing one broadcast media.

4.5.2 Data collection

The articles were collected over three, two-month sample periods in 2014: April-May, August-September and November-December. The division of the sample period was designed to capture a variety of propositions and proponents over one entire year. The last sample period, November-December, was chosen to collect summary articles and editorials which typically surmise the state's progress for the year and its hopes for the future.

Newspaper articles were collected using NewsBank. This service provides a full text electronic database of newspaper articles including *The Examiner* and *The Mercury*. In a recent study of the utility and liability of these archives, Ridout and colleagues (2012, p. 451) recommend text archive services such as NewsBank because "they isolate articles of interest via keyword searches, as opposed to scanning manually through pages of text or, for those newspapers that had them, consulting a periodical index". However, the authors caution that some differences may exist between the printed newspaper copy and the electronic text. In particular they found that international and national stories purchased through wire services were less likely to be included in electronic databases (Ridout et al., 2012, p. 453). The sample for this research did not include any international stories but did cover some national stories where there was a local Tasmania angle.

Accordingly, to confirm there was no serious discrepancy between the paper copy and the digital data, a week-long test case was conducted comparing hand-selected propositional articles from *The Mercury* and *The Examiner* with articles sourced from NewsBank using targeted keyword searches. The manual scanning for propositional journalism in *The Examiner* and *The Mercury* proceeded with the following definition of propositional journalism: As any news article (excluding sport) that was centrally concerned with a recommendation for a given proposition where that proposition was considered consequential for Tasmania. Such propositions could be articulated by any source, including editors or journalists, and could be from editorials, opinion pieces and standard journalistic reporting. The sport and real estate sections were excluded because, despite discussing propositions

and optimistic hopes for the future, they were not consequential for the state of Tasmania. That is to say, using a term discussed in Chapter 3, sport and real estate articles did not pertain to a 'collective future' (Bain et al., 2013) but to private, short-term futures.

Proceeding with this definition, the propositional articles collected appeared to take several basic forms. There were success stories where celebration of excellence was also a proposition for the practice to be expanded in the future. For example, *The Mercury* reported that the Tasmanian salmon farming company, TASSAL, had been awarded Aquaculture Stewardship Council Certification – the first aquaculture company to be awarded this worldwide (Smith 2014, p. 20). The company's success was taken as showing the way to a particular future for the company, other aquaculture companies and the state of Tasmania as a whole:

“Head of Sustainability at Tassal, Linda Sams, said it was predicted Australia will import over one million tonnes of seafood by 2020. “There is a clear opportunity for local growth to meet the demand for responsibly-produced salmon,” she said”. (Smith 2014, p. 20)

Accordingly, TASSAL's success was also a proposal for growth and expansion of salmon farming in Tasmania and optimism about the economic benefits sustainable salmon farming might bring to the state. A second common form was political promises and policy debates that were essentially propositional. There were also opportunity stories where reporting focused on current or changing circumstances but highlighted these in the context of a timely proposition. This research did attempt to code these different forms of propositional article, however, this investigation was abandoned because the categories were rarely discrete. In the case of TASSAL's accreditation, for instance, this story was both an opportunity and a success story. Nonetheless, for the purposes of data collection, any article that met the definition outlined above or centralised any one of these forms led to it being included in the sample.

This weeklong sample of *The Mercury* and *The Examiner* conducted in the first week of April 2014 (Tuesday 1st of April – Monday 7th of April) produced 20 propositional articles. Using word frequency calculation tools on Microsoft Word, a list of key propositional terms was identified. Recurrent and generic words from these articles were recorded and formed the basis of a keyword list. These were: Future, opportunity, proposal, idea, bid, plan, push, vision, Tasmania, Burnie, Hobart and Launceston. Using search coding terms OR and AND the search was made in NewsBank for any articles from 1st – 7th of April 2014 with the words: “future” OR “opportunity” OR “proposal” OR “idea” OR “bid” OR “plan” OR “push” OR “vision” AND “Tasmania” OR “Burnie” OR “Hobart” OR “Launceston”. This search returned all the articles from the sample plus 8 extra articles which were not deemed propositional. While this confirmed that propositional articles tended to be included in

both the paper text and the digital copy, it did suggest that additional manual exclusion on non-propositional articles would be required.

The ABC does not provide a comparable keyword searching tool for their online archive. Stories can, however, be searched according to location using the 'Google advance' tool for searching within a nominated URL (Universal Resource Locator). This enabled searching of the *ABC*'s online database (<http://www.abc.net.au/news/archive>) for Tasmanian-specific articles. Non-propositional articles were then manually excluded using the same definition outlined above. All together this data collection produced an overall sample of 1,172 propositional articles.

4.5.3 Metaphor analysis

Content analysis seeks to make inferences based on the measurement of variables in a specific communication text in order to draw inferences about the text's meaning (Riff et al., 2014, p. 18). In particular, this study employed a 'metaphor analysis' methodology (Hellsten et al., 2014) to locate and organise key 'framing devices' (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989) into coherent news frames. This approach was chosen because, as established earlier in this chapter, metaphors are important rhetorical and cognitive devices for constructing frames of 'political morality', regarding what should and should not be done and also define moral political leadership (Lakoff, 1996; Lakoff and Johnson, 2008) and allude to symbolic capital which are relevant to specific fields of power such as the governmental field (Bourdieu, 1998; Bourdieu, 2001; Hage, 2012). Bourdieu and Lakoff's focus on metaphor as a means of making evaluative judgements is adopted in this research to gain an appreciation for how propositions are evaluated and how those evaluations are presented in the way metaphors are deployed in propositional journalism. Following this approach, all instances of metaphorical language were collected and grouped into conceptually related categories to determine the most prevalent evaluative metaphors used to describe the act of proposing.

Metaphors are defined as figurative (rather than literal) language where concepts from a "source domain" are used to talk about subjective or objective phenomena in a "target domain" (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008, p. 48). According to Lakoff and Johnson (2008, p. 48-56), most metaphors relate to certain primordial human sensory experiences such as pain, heat, gravity, sight, sound, smell, touch and spatial awareness which, because they are universal experiences, provide familiar cognitive tools for reasoning about other abstract and subjective phenomena like morality, money, leadership and politics. These are the 'source domains' of experience which are drawn upon to reason about certain 'target domains' (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008, p. 48). This employs Lakoff and Johnson's (1999, p. 60) theory of 'complex metaphor' where primary metaphors coherently form parts of more

complex metaphors. Accordingly, metaphorical language can be expected to correspond with broader categories corresponding to common fields of meaning and experience.

Following Sonnett's semantic analysis (2010, p. 703), this research employed a "snowball sampling with multiple points of entry" procedure in order to identify key metaphorical frames and exclude ephemeral metaphors and idioms. Idiomatic and figurative language was collected uncategorised then a secondary reading of this material was conducted that sought to order the collected language into conceptually related categories. A thesaurus was used to identify semantically related words and, to use Lakoff and Johnston's term, whether these words formed part of the same 'source domain' (2008, p. 48). Because metaphors are pervasive in news texts and speech generally, one challenge associated with this methodology was deciding which metaphorical expressions to include in the content analysis. For instance, common economic language such as 'price rise' is metaphorical, relating to the concept of "more is up, less is down" (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008, p. 22). However, bearing in mind this study's research questions and the centrality of leadership, metaphors were only included when the 'target domain' was relevant to conceptualising the subjective concepts of the future, propositionality and leadership. Accordingly, metaphorical expressions used to reason, evaluate or describe propositions or proponents were collected while economic metaphors such as 'more is up' were not included. Extraneous metaphors and idioms that did not cohere with broader conceptual categories were excluded. This method resulted in a small number of metaphorical concepts which contained numerous metaphorical expressions.

4.5.4 Source analysis

The research also sought to determine who the most prominent news sources were in the sample. A news source was defined as anyone quoted directly in stories. Typically, a news article's most important source, or 'primary definer' (Hall et al., 2013, p. 57), is quoted early in the text; often in the lead or, less commonly, in attributive headlines (Saxena, 2006). Accordingly, rather than include all quoted sources from the articles, only the first three quoted sources were quantified; forming an overall tally of the most important and prevalent sources. This list was further narrowed to include only the top 20 most quoted sources from each news outlet. Because opinion articles were also included in the sample, the authors of these articles were considered as important sources and included in the tally.

Sources were coded according to profession because, following Bourdieu's sociolinguistics, symbolic capital is embedded in fields of practice, and fields are roughly synonymous with professions or vocations. Accordingly, ascertaining which professions were most likely to produce leaders is crucial

for explaining the correspondence between the framing of propositional journalism and the types of leaders that are most prominent in propositional journalism. I coded sources according to nine professions: politician, business person, civil society, culture, expert, the public, industry representative, health and education and public servant. While sources may have several roles or roles that lie between these, for the purposes of coding and attaining this data, these groups were sufficiently encompassing. The prevalence of professions was presented as a percentage of the total number of sources in the sample.

4.5.5 Interviews and observation

To supplement this textual analysis, semi-structured interviews with Tasmanian editors were conducted in addition to direct observation of daily news meetings. Editors of newspapers are especially important because, as gatekeeping studies have found (White, 1950), they are influential in deciding which propositions should be reported and which proponents are newsworthy. In addition, the views of editors are useful in gaining insight into the authoring of newspaper editorials because these daily opinion pieces, more than other kinds of news, speak on behalf of the paper and tend to employ informal, idiomatic and metaphorical language to evaluate and describe current affairs (Westin, 2002, p. 163). Considering their influential position in newsrooms, this language might be expected to shape the framing of local propositions across the outlet's reporting. As such, interviews with editors were sought to ask how they approach the reporting of propositions and what kind of proponent Tasmania requires to reach its future potential.

Semi-structured interviews were preferred due to the greater level of depth and detail that could be attained. Participants were encouraged to reflect on their experience reporting and editorialising on propositions, selecting propositions to report, their views regarding the future of Tasmania generally and what type of leadership Tasmania requires to reach its potential (A full record of questions asked is supplied in Appendix 1). In so doing, these interviews formed important counterpoints in the discussion of the textual analysis and the evaluation of leadership in Tasmanian propositional journalism. The interviews invited critical reflection upon the study's conclusions to determine whether they conform to participants' own expectations and understandings of future focused journalism. Additionally, participants were asked, using open ended questions, why they thought the textual analysis produced such results and what effect they thought this might have on the possibility for public participation in propositional discourse. Importantly, interviews did not take an accusatory tone. In this, we followed Bourdieu's sociology, where social actors such as journalists are seen as acting within certain 'fields' which circumscribe their autonomy (Bourdieu, 1999). The aim, according to Bourdieu, is not to attribute blame for professional decisions but to encourage

reflection on the limitations which shape them (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 1). This may involve uncovering professional considerations and pressures that weigh on the minds of participants during the construction of propositional journalism. The selection and invitation of interviewees and the recording and transcription of interviews was subject to ethics approval by the University of Tasmania's Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee (SSHREC). The interviews pursued knowledge through a collaborative model of interview. This approach to interviewing conforms to what Kvale (1996, p. 19) has called the 'traveller metaphor'. Here, knowledge is understood as constructed and contingent upon the immediate condition of its emergence. The interviewer and interviewee approach knowledge together as 'travelling partners' (1996, p. 19). Using the results of the textual analysis as a starting point, participants were invited to reflect on the results and, in turn, facilitated further reflection on the methodology and assumptions of our own study.

Interviews with editors at *The Mercury* and *The Examiner* were obtained. *The Mercury* also offered a week-long residency in the newsroom for direct observation. This enabled me to observe morning news meetings and afternoon placement meetings where the images are selected and stories placed into the papers' standard format. *The Examiner* permitted me to attend one afternoon newsroom meeting. Observation of news meetings and journalistic practice was recorded using detailed field notes (Taylor, Bogdan & DeVault, p. 79-82). *ABC Tasmania*, however, declined to participate in interviews or direct observation. This setback confirmed David Weaver's (2009, p. 305) caution that "newsroom observation studies are very difficult to conduct without personal connections that provide the needed access to newsrooms". However, my research questions and hypotheses can be sufficiently tested through content and frame analysis. In this context, interviews and observation were useful for supplementing text analysis research methods rather than underpinning the findings and addressing the research questions. In addition, this contact was also designed to initiate a conversation regarding propositional journalism and facilitate a further engagement and future consideration of this study's findings and recommendations. Accordingly, the triangulation of interview, observation and content analysis methodologies were sufficient to provide a qualitative and quantitative data concerning the reporting of propositions and the evaluation of proponent sources in Tasmania.

4.6 Conclusion

Bourdieu's field theory provides a comprehensive and nuanced framework for analysing the construction of legitimacy, leadership and symbolic power. The concepts of field, habitus and capital have been well applied to the question of journalistic cultural production. However, there are theoretical gaps in the literature regarding the integration of field and frame analysis approaches.

This chapter has built on the work of previous studies that have compared patterns of news framing with field position and symbolic power (Benson, 2013; Sonnett, 2010). This chapter has sought to integrate these concepts by positing a strong linkage between Bourdieu's concept of habitus and the sociological conceptualisation of framing. Accordingly, frames are considered as linguistic and cognitive habits produced through habituation in particular fields. The relative autonomy and heteronomy of fields, however, is considered to have an important effect on the habitual frames that journalists apply in their construction of news texts. To examine this question and, more specifically, the construction of schemas of leadership valorisation in propositional journalism, this chapter has proposed an analysis of metaphor which, following Lakoff and Johnson (1999; 2008), forms the basis of habituated and subconscious cognition. In applying this approach to the specific research questions, this chapter has detailed the strategic and technical methods for undertaking a metaphor analysis of propositional journalism. The following chapter will present findings from the source analysis and draw conclusions about the type of leaders and fields which were most prevalent in the sample.

Part II

Empirical Analysis and Discussion

Chapter 5: Dominant Propositions, Proponents and Metaphors

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings from the content analysis of the 2014 sample of Tasmanian propositional journalism. It introduces the most frequently discussed propositions in the sample, lists the most frequently quoted sources and reveals common metaphors used to describe and evaluate propositions and proponents. Most importantly, this chapter answers the first research question, as stated in Chapter 1, by quantifying whose voices were most prevalent in the sample. This serve to contextualise a broader qualitative discussion of metaphorical framing Chapters 6, 7 and 8 by first quantifying the most common types of metaphorical framing devices, coded as navigational, nurturant, construction, health, gambling and visibility metaphors.

The year 2014 was an eventful year in the recovery of Tasmania following the economic slump of downturn that peaked in 2012. Two first-year Liberal governments, State and Federal, handed down their inaugural budgets. The Premier of China visited the state supposedly at the behest of Launceston primary school students (Vowles, 2014, p. 29) sparking a week of trade bargaining and investment pitching between the world's largest economy and Australia's smallest province. There were numerous articles on the potential of Tasmanian industries including dairy, agriculture, aquaculture and tourism. Debate swirled around controversial developments and infrastructure upgrades. The tentative truce between loggers and environmentalists was dissolved with the incoming Liberal government rescinding the Tasmanian Forests Agreement (TFA). Reporting of these events, which were also propositions for the future of Tasmania, formed this study's core sample.

This chapter will summarise these propositions and present the results of a source analysis of the sample and a breakdown of prevalent source according to profession and symbolic power within the governmental field. Following a Bourdieusian conception of symbolic capital, the study has indexed each source, marking their cultural and economic capital. As will be shown, politicians and business people were the most prominent voices in the construction of the future – and also in the construction of their preferred conception of legitimate leadership in the governmental field. Their prominence was at the expense of a range of other professions such as public servants, experts, scientists, doctors, teachers, civil society, welfare organisations, the public, and artists; people who, in another time, might well have been called on to imagine the future of their locality and, implicitly, defend their right to do so. While politicians are elected to make future-altering decisions, and

businesses have a responsibility to their shareholders and employees to make the most of opportunities, there is also a risk of over-reliance on these two professions for solutions and propositions, and a corresponding risk that the wider community's expertise and imaginative resources could be underutilised. From this perspective, the great benefit of solutions journalism as it is practiced in the United States and Canada, is that it provides a discursive space that is largely quarantined from the usual political and business voices, making room and providing a platform for a diversity of expertise and, consequently, a diversity of solutions to common problems. As such, this research denaturalises the dominance of political and business sources, except to argue that it is only the natural outcome of historical efforts of cultural and economic legitimisation by politicians and business people over a long period of time.

5.2 Propositions

The six-month sample, taken from April-May, August-September and November-December 2014, produced 1,172 proposition-centred stories and 342 propositions. The breakdown of propositional articles and propositions per outlet is shown in **Table 1**. Some propositions were packaged together so identifying unique propositions was a challenge. Accordingly, figures provided here are to demonstrate the relative breadth of the discourse and are not crucial for directly addressing the study's research questions or hypotheses. Most propositions in these articles received fleeting attention in news reports, appearing in only one or two stories. However, the most-discussed proposition in the sample, Tasmania's potential trade relationship with China, was reported in 35 articles. The relative prevalence of propositions varied according to outlet location with Hobart-specific propositions such as The Royal Hobart Hospital (RHH) rebuild and the Mount Wellington Cable Car proposal appearing less often in Launceston's daily newspaper, *The Examiner*, compared to the Tasmania-wide *ABC* and Hobart's *The Mercury*. However, many propositions were common across the whole state. Foremost among these was the historic first visit of a Chinese head of state to Tasmania.

Table 1: Propositional article distribution

	Number of articles	Number of propositions
<i>The ABC</i>	331	107
<i>The Examiner</i>	254	118
<i>The Mercury</i>	587	117

Table 2: Top 20 Propositions

<i>The Examiner</i>		<i>The Mercury</i>		<i>The ABC</i>	
Proposition	Articles	Proposition	Articles	Proposition	Articles
Ties with China	17	Ties with China	35	Ties With China	19
Shipping	12	Cable Car	31	Budget Cuts	17
AFL Expansion	10	Royal Hobart Hospital	31	Royal Hobart Hospital	15
Tourism Expansion	9	Tourism Expansion	19	Shipping	15
University Deregulation	9	Parks Plan	18	Tasmanian Forests Agreement	15
Education Funding	8	Shipping	16	Agriculture Expansion	11
Royal Hobart Hospital	7	Budget Cuts	15	Triabunna Mill	10
Budget Cuts	6	Tasmanian Forests Agreement	13	Forestry Rebuild	9
Forestry Rebuild	6	Triabunna Mill	13	Mining Expansion	9
National Broadband Network	6	Unemployment Action	13	Cable Car	8
Population	6	Macquarie Point Dev	12	Cannabis Cultivation	8
Cannabis Cultivation	4	Agriculture Expansion	11	Renewable Energy Target	8
GMO Ban	4	Renewable Energy Target	11	WHA Delist	8
Gorge Redevelopment	4	Dairy Expansion	10	Irrigation	7
QVMAG	4	National Broadband Network	10	Protection from Protesters	6
Unemployment Action	4	Chinese Tourism	9	Aquaculture Expansion	6
UTAS North Relocation	4	Education future	9	Baroque Festival	6
Big Picture Campaign	3	AFL sponsorship	8	Dairy Expansion	6
C. H. Smith Redev	3	UTAS Expansion	8	Earn or Learn	6
Free Parking	3	Aquaculture Expansion	7	Tourism Expansion	6

5.2.1 Xi Jinping

The historic first visit of the President of the Peoples' Republic of China, Xi Jinping, to Tasmania was restricted to one afternoon on 18 November 2014, however, anticipation of the event generated many articles state-wide that also speculated on its economic significance and the subsequent investment and trade negotiations. *The Mercury* celebrated the arrival with an extra wrap-around front and back page, coloured red and spangled with yellow stars. Across all outlets, anticipation of the event and its opportunities appeared in 71 articles, including numerous editorials and op-eds.

China has long been an object of political and business opportunity in Tasmania. As a large importer of Tasmanian forest products, politicians from both sides of politics have travelled to China on 'trade missions' to secure markets and liaise with investors (Richards, 2014a, p. 11). Recently, these trips have also sought to counter the lobbying of environmentalists who have, with some success, warned importers of the unsustainable origin of Tasmanian wood products (Richards, 2014a, p. 11).

However, with forestry exports shrinking after 2012, emerging industries have clamoured for Chinese attention. For example, the University of Tasmania has sought to capitalise on Chinese demand for higher education (Hope, 2014, p. 7). Chinese importers, catering for a swelling middle class, have discovered Tasmanian alcohol, milk powder, minerals and beef while Chinese tourism in Tasmania has also increased markedly. In this context, the visit by the President represented a range of new opportunities that were symbolic of 'New Tasmania'.

Besides exports, efforts were also made to invite the purchase of Tasmanian assets by Chinese investors. An investment forum, TasInvest, was orchestrated to coincide with the visit and encourage an entourage of Chinese investors to tour the state's attractions (Smith, 2014b, p. 3). A lavish dinner was organised for the Premier and participants, attended by Australian business and political leaders (Smith, 2014b, p. 3). Simultaneously, the Federal Government signed a preferential free trade agreement with China – lowering tariffs for many products, some of which, notably apples, proved beneficial for Tasmania (Clark, 2014b, p. 6).

As a proposition, the idea of fostering stronger economic ties with China was relatively uncontroversial in Tasmanian news outlets, the groundwork for the visit having been laid by both sides of politics over many years (Deighton, 2014, p. 12). However, some sources did seek to qualify the bipartisan enthusiasm. Greens party MP, Nick McKim, highlighted the poor human rights record of China, especially in Tibet, and encouraged leaders to use trade negotiations to leverage some influence over the Premier on that issue (McKim, 2014, p.57). Human rights lawyer, Greg Barns (2014, p. 14) , took issue with free trade agreements generally on the eve of the signing of the

agreement with the Chinese Government and the historian, Randall Doyle (2014, p. 18), warned that Tasmania could become another Chinese 'agri-natural resource colony'. However, editorials sought to sooth popular anxieties around Chinese investment, and reassure readers that Tasmania was not 'selling the farm' (Deighton, 2014, p. 14).

5.2.2 The Royal Hobart Hospital

The second most discussed proposition for Tasmania's future concerned the Royal Hobart Hospital (RHH). The future of the hospital has been a perennial issue in Hobart's political discourse, and central to wider debates about healthcare in the state, with successive Tasmanian governments attempting to secure a timely renovation of the ostensibly inadequate facility. In 2011, Hobart's independent Federal Member of Parliament, Andrew Wilkie, negotiated a \$340 million investment from the Labor Federal Government for the much-needed renovation of the building. However, the awkwardness of renovating the asbestos-laden structure while housing delicate long-term patients proved costly and time consuming. While the proposed renovation faced financial and deadline blowouts, in 2014 the story took a sudden turn when developer Dean Coleman proposed an entirely new 'greenfields' design for the Hobart waterfront (Smiley, 2014). News outlets were instrumental in circulating images of the modern design and mobilising political and expert support for the project. In total, there were 53 articles addressing these proposals from across the data set. Ultimately, the proposal was deemed unaffordable by Health Minister Michael Ferguson. The state needed to protect its credit rating and would not be borrowing the necessary sum to complete the ambitious waterfront design. This was a controversial decision with many stakeholders taking contrary positions on the issue in local media.

5.2.3 Mount Wellington Cable Car

Mount Wellington is a 1,271 metre, cliff-faced mountain that dominates the Hobart skyline from every angle of the city. While it is an important tourist attraction, some tourism operators and developers have argued that leaving the mountain in its mostly natural state squanders the tourism potential of the asset (Smith, 2014a, p. 4-5) especially when seasonal snowfall prevents access to the summit. The proposed improvements have centred on a cable car that would ferry passengers above the canopy and cliff face to the summit. While the proponent, Adrian Bold, made the case that there would minimal visual interference, the issue aroused great passion among Hobart locals.

The debate over this proposal garnered 39 articles across *The Mercury* and *The ABC*. In terms of jobs and dollars, the project was of limited consequence compared to the propositions mentioned above. Its prominence in the sample was likely due to the conflict over the issue between conservationists

and developers. In this sense, the cable car was a symbolic controversy in the context of changing Tasmanian development politics. Since 1994, when conservationists prevented the government from building a tourism road through the North-West 'Tarkine' wilderness (McGaurr, Tranter & Lester, 2015, p. 274), tourism developments has increasingly drawn the attention of conservationists in addition to traditional conflicts over forestry and mining development. In 2014 The Liberal Government sided with the tourism industry with Premier Will Hodgman becoming the first leader to reserve the tourism and hospitality portfolio. In this context, Mount Wellington became a symbolic battleground for debates occurring in Tasmania generally.

5.2.4 Budget Cuts

The sense of change in Tasmania in 2014 was also a product of a new, conservative political landscape at a state and federal level. On 15 March 2014, Tasmania elected its first Liberal State Government of the new millennium, overthrowing 16 years of Australian Labor Party (ALP) rule. The Liberal Party's leader, Will Hodgman, who had been opposition leader for eight of those 16 years, was finally made Premier. Six months earlier, the Liberal Party had won the September 2013 Federal Election installing Tony Abbott as Prime Minister after six years of Labor Party government. These new conservative governments brought with them a raft of propositions, both Tasmania-specific and Australia-wide, which were highly prominent in local news reporting in the sample.

In particular, propositions were bundled into two inaugural state and federal budgets. Federal budgets are of particular interest to Tasmanians because the state, with its small workforce and inherent trade disadvantages owing to its geographical isolation, is highly reliant on support from the Commonwealth to provide basic services and necessary infrastructure (Stratford, 2006). With poor health, education and employment statistics, Tasmania usually makes a strong case for support from the Federal Budget. On 13 May 2014, the Federal Liberal Government handed down its first national budget that featured dramatic cuts to health, education and welfare programs which, considering the state's precarious economic position, were highly controversial. The most contentious policy in these new budget measures was termed the 'earn or learn' approach to unemployment benefits (Clark, 2014a, p. 18). The government proposed that young people face a six-month waiting period before applying for unemployment benefits to encourage them to enrol in higher education rather than apply for welfare support. With Tasmania's high rate of youth unemployment and a shortage of available local jobs, critics warned that the policy could leave many young people without sufficient support or the option of study or work. Controversially, Tony Abbott suggested that if jobs were not available locally, then unemployed Tasmanians should leave the state to find work elsewhere (Clark, 2014a, p. 18). In response, *The Mercury* initiated the campaign

'Our Kids, Our Future', which sought to give visibility to the stark choices facing young unemployed Tasmanians (Kempton, 2014b, p. 9).

In the wake of this controversial Federal Budget, the Liberal State Government's sought to reassure Tasmanians that its August 2014 budget would not be a "nip and tuck budget" (Wells, 2014). However, the state treasurer, Peter Gutwein, indicated that spending patterns would ultimately have to change in the face of a "\$1.1 billion budget black hole", which was blamed on the excesses of the previous Labor government (Richards, 2014c). Gutwein provided funding for \$400 million of pre-election promises and sought to balance the spend with a public service 'pay freeze', the shedding of 700 public service positions and an increase in the size of dividends taken from state-owned businesses (Bolger, 2014).

5.2.5 Forestry

Lastly, a great number of propositions in the sample were concerned with the ongoing forestry dispute. Liberal state and federal politicians promised to 'rebuild forestry' and undo the conservation gains of the previous minority Labor-Greens government. At a federal level, then Prime Minister, Tony Abbott, sought to recapture the newly-minted World Heritage Area extension in the West of Tasmania for logging (Clarke, 2014, p. 5). A delegation was sent to lobby the World Heritage Committee to reconsider its decision proved to be an ultimately fruitless trip with committee maintaining its position (Clarke, 2014, p. 5).

The State Government, immediately after gaining office, claimed a mandate to dismantle the Tasmanian Forestry Agreement (TFA). This deal, brokered between environmentalists and forestry representatives under the previous government, had exchanged 504,000 hectares of new forest reserves for the support of environmental groups in the industry's bid for Forest Stewardship Certification, and an industry compensation package. The deal was undone but the compensation for the industry to exit the industry was kept in order to rebuild the sector while the protected forests were re-opened – albeit with a six-year logging moratorium (Ikin and Nightingale, 2014).

The year also featured a scandal around the dismantling of Tasmania's main woodchip port and mill in Triabunna, a renowned logging town on Tasmania's east coast. The mill was sold to environmentalist entrepreneurs, Graeme Wood and Jan Cameron, who intended to create a large tourism and arts hub in the struggling region. However, when it emerged that the new owners had allowed the machinery to be destroyed, preventing any forced-acquisition of the property as part of the 'forestry rebuild', an inquiry was called by the new Liberal Government (Richards, 2014b).

5.3 Source Analysis

These five news stories represent the most prominent propositions found in the 2014 sample and give a sense of the transformations being felt in Tasmania at that time. Considering these relatively diverse propositions one might imagine that they involved a similarly diverse range of sources: Trade with China might require economists, political scientists, farmers, diplomats; The Royal Hobart Hospital - doctors, nurses, patients, architects; Forestry policy – loggers, environmentalists, biologists, economists; Budget policy – economists, unions, teachers, public servants, welfare charities; Mount Wellington Cable Car – tourism operators, engineers, conservationists and locals. Indeed, all of these professions made some appearance in the sample, however, of these, business and political professions were by far the most quoted. As **Table 3** and **Figure 1** show, across each news outlet, politicians, industry representatives (conglomerates of business interests) and business spokespeople together represented 71% of all sources. In comparison, civil society sources—that included unions, non-government organisation (NGOs), activists, medical and teacher associations, welfare advocates, community groups and interest groups—made up 10% of sources. Experts such as scientists and academics made up 7% of all sources.

Table 3: Distribution of professions

Fields	<i>The Mercury</i>	<i>The ABC</i>	<i>The Examiner</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage of total</i>
Business	210	155	73	438	19%
Civil Society	113	86	37	236	10%
Culture	48	31	25	104	5%
Expert	97	35	16	148	7%
Public	40	14	10	64	3%
Industry Representative	130	78	53	261	11%
Health & Education	12	19	4	35	2%
Public Servant	40	18	24	82	4%
Politician	387	323	193	903	40%
Business and Industry	340	233	126	699	31%
Business, Industry and Politicians	727	556	319	1602	71%
TOTAL	1077	759	435	2271	

Figure 1: Profession distribution

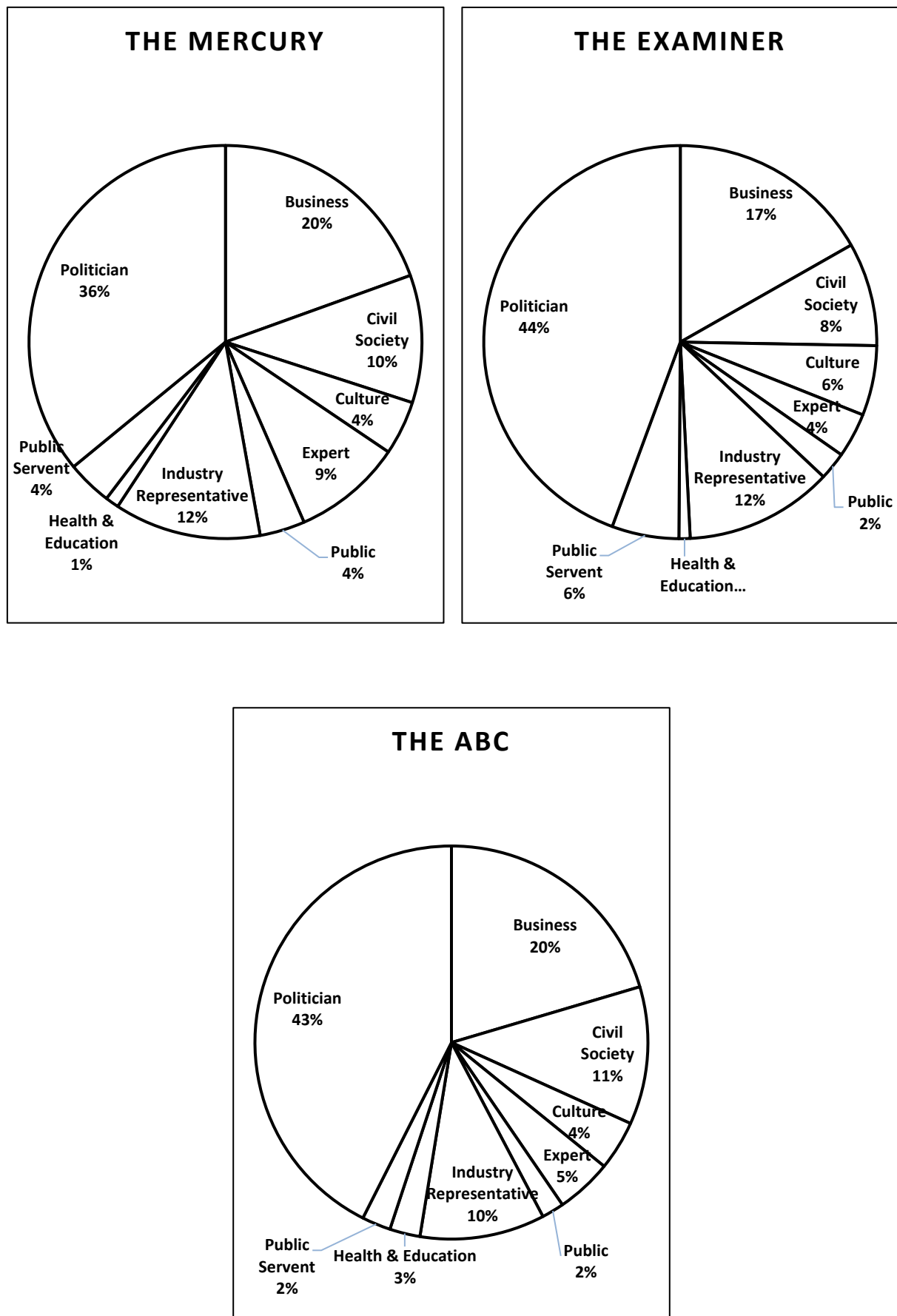


Table 4: Top 20 sources

ABC		The Mercury		The Examiner	
<i>Name</i>	<i>Articles</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Articles</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Articles</i>
Will Hodgman	44	Will Hodgman	35	Will Hodgman	20
Paul Harriss	22	Luke Martin	32	Andrew Nikolic	12
Bryan Green	18	Matthew Groom	29	Matthew Groom	12
Peter Gutwein	18	Michael Ferguson	22	Albert van Zetten	11
Michael Ferguson	17	Jan Davis	18	Jeremy Rockliff	11
Matthew Groom	15	Bryan Green	17	Luke Martin	11
Damon Thomas	13	Paul Harriss	15	Jan Davis	10
Jeremy Rockliff	13	Adrian Bold	14	Bryan Green	9
Christine Milne	11	Peter Gutwein	13	Michael Ferguson	9
Luke Martin	10	Jeremy Rockliff	12	Robert Dobrynski	9
Andrew Wilkie	9	Damon Thomas	11	Rene Hidding	7
Kim Booth	9	Dean Coleman	11	Peter Rathjen	6
Richard Colbeck	9	Jeff Briscoe	9	Maree Tetlow	5
Eric Abetz	8	Michael Bailey	9	Peter Gutwein	5
Cassy O'Connor	7	Tony Abbott	9	Vanessa Cahoon	5
Jan Davis	7	Andrew Wilkie	8	Eric Hutchinson	4
Graeme Wood	6	Nick McKim	8	Gillon MacLauchlan	4
Nick McKim	6	Kim Booth	7	Robin McKendrick	4
Rene Hidding	6	Liz Jack	7	Brett Whitely	3
Adrian Bold	5	Mark Ryan	7	Christopher Pyne	3

	Politician
	Industry Representative
	Entrepreneur
	Public Servant
	Culture (arts and sports)

The relative dominance of political and business sources was even more pronounced when considering the 20 most-quoted sources as shown in **Table 4**. These individuals represent the most familiar voices in Tasmanian propositional journalism whose leadership credentials and symbolic power in the governmental field are most recognised and recognisable. Politicians represented the majority of these top sources, with slightly fewer industry representatives and entrepreneurs and only one public servant and one cultural source. *The Mercury* appeared to offer a more even balance of business and political sources. In the sample, The Premier of Tasmania and Tourism Minister, Will Hodgman, (quoted 35 times) appeared only slightly more frequently than the head of the Tourism Industry Council (a conglomerate of tourism businesses), Luke Martin (quoted 32 times); the head of the Tasmanian Farmers and Graziers

Association (TFGA), Jan Davis, was quoted 18 times while the State Opposition Leader, Bryan Green, was quoted 17 times; the developer behind the Mount Wellington Cable Car, Adrian Bold, was quoted 14 times while the then State Treasurer, Peter Gutwein was quoted 13 times; and the proponent of the new hospital design, Dean Coleman, was cited in one less article than Health Minister, Jeremy Rockliff. Overall, there was a relatively even spread of key business and government sources in *The Mercury*. However, even in *The Mercury*, which had a more even distribution of sources, there were no non- political or non-business professions in the top 20 most-cited news sources. Across the three news outlets, the only non-political and non-business sources were found in *The Examiner*, with a high- ranking counsel public servant, Robert Dobrynski, appearing nine times, and Gillon McLaughlin, the Australian Football League (AFL) executive appearing in four articles. While *The Examiner* gave the impression of having a diversity in its top 20 sources, this is likely due to the smaller sample size taken from the newspaper, which had consequently fewer sources overall. The list of the 20 most quoted sources provides a good indication of the main leaders in the governmental field and indicates some of the attributes that are values in leaders. Political power and entrepreneurialism, therefore, appear to be considered valuable symbolic capital within the governmental field.

5.3.1 Gender, ethnicity and age

Besides the professional makeup of these leaders, the top sources listed in **Table 4** were also conspicuous in terms of the prevailing gender, ethnicity and age of these leaders. Overwhelmingly, the top sources were older men and predominantly of European heritage. By gender, only six women appeared in this list compared to 30 men. The gender imbalance was even more obvious when comparing the number of articles these top male and female sources were quoted in. The six women sources were quoted in a total of 70 articles while the top 30 male sources were quoted in

636 articles, a ratio of nearly 1:10. Using information from Wikipedia, LinkedIn and other publicly available webpages, it was estimated that the average age of the people on this list was 51 with only three of the 36 individuals on the list being in their 30s. In addition, using the same online sources, there did not appear to be any people in this source list from non-European backgrounds.

5.4 Metaphors

A close reading of the 1,172 articles in the sample revealed that metaphorical language was pervasive in propositional journalism with 3,671 instances of metaphorical language; an average of 3.13 metaphorical expressions per news article. These metaphors were categorised into six conceptually related 'source domains'. These categories related to navigational, nurturance, construction, health, gambling and visibility metaphors. Accordingly, figurative language that related to these source domains was collected. **Figure 4** illustrates the metaphorical phrases identified in the sample, their relative prevalence, and the distribution of where they were found. Overwhelmingly, it was found that Navigational metaphors were the most common metaphorical expressions occurring at a rate of 1.77 per article and reflecting (61% of all metaphorical expressions in the sample). By comparison, the second most prevalent metaphorical expressions were nurturance metaphors (parental care) that appeared at a much lower regularity (0.31 expressions per article 10%) while construction (0.28 per article of 10%), health (0.25 per article or 7%), gambling (0.21 per article or 7%) and visibility (0.14 per article or 5%) metaphors appeared with comparable regularity. A full illustration of the distribution of these metaphors and the expressions that comprised them is listed in the **Appendices**.

In addition, these metaphors were coded according to whether they were from a source's quote, in news text, in an opinion article or an editorial. This demonstrated that certain ways of talking about propositions and evaluating the leadership quality such propositions reveal were not equally popular across journalistic fields and among the sources who formed the governmental field. In particular, gambling metaphors were used almost exclusively by journalists while construction metaphors were used much more frequently among sources in the governmental field. As the following chapters will suggest, these expressions can be considered as frames and evaluative schemas relating to leadership quality. Their varying prevalence according to field, however, suggests that there are field-specific ways of interpreting propositional journalism and evaluation leadership. The following chapters will detail some of these variances and draw conclusions about how these framings correspond with the dominant political and business sources in the sample.

This metaphor analysis also recorded the source of metaphorical expression distinguishing between

journalists, editors, opinion writers and news sources. Editor usage refers to editorials and not interviews, while opinion pieces were exclusively written by non-journalists. While journalists sometimes wrote political commentary, following a field analysis framework, their pronouncements were still taken to reflect a journalistic professional habitus and were therefore distinguished from non-journalist opinion pieces. This data shows that certain expressions appear to form part of certain linguistic habitus and not others. For example, gambling metaphors, as will be discussed in Chapter 8, for part of a peculiarly journalistic lexicon.

Figure 2: Distribution of conceptual metaphor

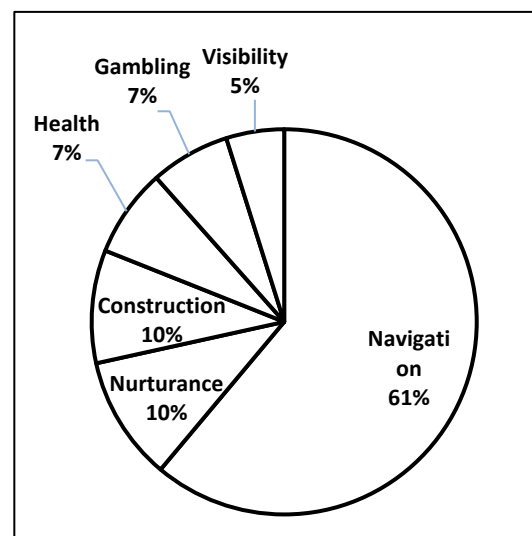


Table 5: Metaphors

Source domain		Mercury	Examiner	ABC	Average
Navigation	Total	1269	391	552	
	Use per article	2.16	1.55	1.62	1.77
	Journalist usage	47%	61%	66%	58%
	Editor usage	15%	7%	0%	7%
	Source	14%	24%	32%	23%
	Opinion	24%	7%	1%	11%
Nurturance	Total	217	77	91	
	Use per article	0.37	0.3	0.28	0.31
	Journalist usage	43%	71%	73%	62%
	Editor usage	16%	3%	0%	6%
	Source	19%	23%	27%	23%
	Opinion	22%	3%	0%	8%
Construction	Total	197	71	74	
	Use per article	0.34	0.28	0.22	0.28
	Journalist usage	26%	48%	51%	42%
	Editor usage	22%	4%	0%	9%
	Source	19%	42%	49%	37%
	Opinion	33%	6%	0%	13%
Health	Total	154	63	84	
	Use per article	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.25
	Journalist usage	34%	47%	73%	51%
	Editor usage	17%	5%	0%	7%
	Source	15%	43%	26%	28%
	Opinion	35%	5%	0%	13%
Gambling	Total	139	31	89	
	Use per article	0.24	0.12	0.27	0.21
	Journalist usage	74%	90%	94%	86%
	Editor usage	11%	3%	0%	5%
	Source	3%	7%	6%	5%
	Opinion	12%	0%	0%	4%
Visibility Metaphors	Total	101	32	39	
	Use per article	0.17	0.13	0.12	0.14
	Journalist usage	42%	53%	61%	52%
	Editor usage	17%	16%	0%	11%
	Source	20%	25%	36%	27%
	Opinion	21%	6%	3%	10%

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented findings from the content analysis regarding the types of propositions discussed in the sample period and the types of sources who were called upon to recommend or comment on propositions. Emerging trade and investment ties with China were the most widely reported propositions across the sample with 71 articles, opinion pieces and editorials focusing on these key developments. New infrastructure developments such as the Royal Hobart Hospital and the Mount Wellington Cable Car also became central propositions and were symbolic developments in ongoing political debates regarding health funding and environmental conflict. Political conflict over forestry continued to occupy considerable space in propositional discourse as did a raft of new conservative budget policies regarding welfare payments and reductions in public service jobs and wages.

In addition, this chapter examined findings regarding the sources whose quotes furnished this propositional discourse. Presence in the governmental field, especially for the most dominant sources in **Figure 3**, was often the outcome of competition and strategic communications. Most of the organisations whose spokespeople appeared in the sample employ media professionals to maximise positive visibility in the news and tend to celebrate coverage on their websites and social media pages. In this contested space, individuals deploy symbols of their accumulated cultural, social and economic capital, as well as that of their organisations, both to gain entrance and to contribute to the legitimisation of their own and others presence in that privileged social space. Identifying the relevant legitimising symbols is explored in the following chapter on framing, which examines how signs of leadership were deployed and assessed through the frequent use of metaphorical language and cognitive systems.

A key hypothesis of this research is that the distribution of sources in this 2014 sample of propositional journalism will correspond with the framing and evaluation of leadership quality in reporting. Accordingly, from the results presented in this chapter, we can surmise some key features of the dominant leaders in the governmental field: firstly, politicians comprised the vast majority of the sample's most quoted sources; secondly, entrepreneurs and industry representatives were a similarly dominant group in the sample; and thirdly, the dominant politicians and entrepreneurs in **Figure 3** were overwhelmingly older men of European heritage. While these characteristics are rarely explicitly mentioned in legitimising their leadership credentials and their recommendations regarding the future of Tasmania, it is hypothesised that metaphorical expressions are framing devices which recommend ways of evaluating leadership which serve to naturalise prevailing

imbalances in the relative prevalence of news sources in the sample. The following chapter will show how the framing of propositions served to highlight symbolic capital typically belonging to political and business leaders, legitimising their leadership in the discussion of the future and effectively marginalising alternative voices and propositions.

Chapter 6: Leadership evaluation and navigational metaphor

6.1 Introduction

Propositional journalism is a cultural product generated at the intersection of the journalistic and governmental fields. This research has hypothesised that prevalent metaphors in propositional journalism correspond with the symbolic capital of dominant sources in the governmental field. This chapter extends this argument through a discussion of the journalistic field and the key features of the field. Pressures and professional considerations in the journalistic field were ascertained through direct observation of Tasmanian newsrooms and interviews with editors, Matt Deighton from *The Mercury* and Simon Tennant from *The Examiner*. It is argued that business imperatives compelled editors to evaluate leadership quality rather than speculate on the future benefits or risks associated with controversial propositions. This valorisation of leadership was also a key feature of editorials concerning propositions in the sample, which deployed metaphorical language as key framing devices to describe, dramatise and evaluate leadership quality. An especially uncontroversial and homologous frame for evaluating leadership was through a navigational metaphor. This chapter discusses distinctions within this metaphor and how it contributes to the legitimisation of dominant political and business sources.

This chapter presents findings from direct observation, interviews with editors and a content analysis of editorials in order to outline some key features of the journalistic field and how these features correspond with a focus on leadership quality. As discussed in Chapter 4, a field is conceptualised as field of contradictory imperatives where cultural production involves reconciling autonomous and heteronomous (business and political) imperatives. Direct observation in Tasmanian newsrooms and interviews with editors confirmed that business and political imperatives were important considerations in reporting propositions for the future. These heteronomous imperatives made the evaluation of leadership according to uncontroversial cultural standards an attractive focus of propositional journalism and less financially and politically fraught than offering strong editorial opposition or support to specific propositions. Accordingly, this chapter will argue that, while journalists avoided taking strong positions in relation to specific proposals or to construct proposition-specific news frames, journalists were more willing to articulate a typology of desirable and undesirable leadership virtues that were applicable across a wide range of propositions. Frames and framing devices relating to leadership appeared across nearly all propositions and appeared to

construct a schema of desirable and undesirable characteristics against which leadership could be tested. These explicit statements of leadership quality were reflected in news frames and metaphorical framing devices in reporting and lent implicit support to certain agents and their proposals over others.

This chapter will begin by examining editors' explicit discussion of leadership in editorials and interviews. Secondly, it will show how these attitudes and frames were also present in propositional journalism. Lastly, it questions whether leadership frames shape the prevalence of certain types of sources in future-focused journalism.

6.2 Editors in the journalistic field

Editors have a decisive role in news organisations and in the journalistic field. They are responsible for maintaining standards of accuracy and ethics (the autonomous laws of journalism) while also negotiating the demands of readers, advertisers, important sources and shareholders (the heteronomous laws of journalism). While some have argued that editorial power in news organisations is eroding in view of current digital media practices (Ihlebaek and Krumsvik, 2015), from direct observation conducted at *The Mercury* and *The Examiner* in 2015, this was not apparent. Editors Matt Deighton (*The Mercury*) and Simon Tennant (*The Examiner*), both relatively new in their positions, did appear to occupy central roles in facilitating these news meetings.

At *The Mercury*, where news meetings involved a considerably larger number of reporters and staff than at *The Examiner*, participants congregated in a circle at the centre of which sat Matt Deighton and head of news, Sarah Fitzpatrick Gray. I was introduced and encouraged to sit at the central table next to them. The meeting began in democratic fashion with each reporter taking around 30 seconds to outline their intended focus and anticipated stories for the day and were generally offered encouragement or advice on a possible point of interest, but were never contradicted or censured by Deighton or Fitzpatrick. While there was certainly ample time for other reporters to contribute to these routine discussions, editorial authority was exercised in the final selection of the front page and the positioning of stories in the newspaper. By comparison, *The Examiner's* editorial meeting was smaller and less structured than at *The Mercury*, despite a similar dynamic between editor and staff.

6.2.1 Interviews

While there was a perception of editorial authority in editorial meetings, interviews with editors demonstrated that their power was tempered by less visible constraints. As field theorist Patrick

Champagne notes (2005, p. 50), journalists are “structurally condemned to produce – variably, depending on the period and outlet – under political and/or economic constraints”. One economic constraint that editors mentioned frequently in interviews for this study was the need to tailor their reporting to the community which the newspaper sought to represent, including the range of political and policy perspectives therein. When asked about his recent experience working at other Australian metropolitan newspapers in Sydney and Melbourne compared to writing for the especially diverse Hobart audience, *The Mercury* editor, Matt Deighton (28 September, 2014), said:

Sydney is a blood sport. So you’ve got *The Sydney Morning Herald* which looks after one part of the population, and *The Daily Telegraph* which looks after another. Both know their readers really well and, sort of, never the two shall meet. So it is very much, up there, two different media speaking to different segments of people. Whereas here [in Tasmania], you’ve got a Labor state, which had 16 years of Labor rule, now with a Liberal Government, and also here with Denison, one of the biggest Green electorates in the country. So, as a local paper, you can’t afford to be particularly partisan ... It’s impossible to be all things to everyone but you’ve got to try. Because there are so many sort of demographics to traverse. So, from my perspective, the media down here, or certainly *The Mercury*, attempts to be a lot more optimistic, a lot more engaging, and a lot more open to, what you’d sort of consider, dissenting views. I’m quite happy to have, left, right, centre left, centre right, green, running in our paper. And particularly in the ‘talking point’ pages because any good paper I think is a community having a conversation with itself. And we are a community here, so the dynamic is quite different.

For Deighton, writing for a one-paper city such as Hobart involves a heightened sensitivity to its diverse political audience. While Simon Tennant, editor of *The Examiner*, did not highlight political considerations to the same extent, he did state that his newspaper’s allegiance was firstly to the community as a whole. In his estimation, other rival news organisations, despite supposed ideological differences, were really just doing “the same job” of representing their plural communities (Tennant, 4 November, 2015). *The Examiner*, he stated, was highly driven by audience analytics in deciding the type and quantity of coverage a particular story would receive:

You make news judgements based on what the audience wants to read. One of the advantages of digital nowadays is Google analytics, or any analytics; analytics from Twitter, Facebook, Instagram and Google which we embed into our website so we know what people are reading on a second to second basis... From my perspective, it’s important to understand your audience, and things like Google analytics have given us an insight into what people

want to read. I know from our perspective, we will try to tailor how much a story will run depending on what we know, digitally, people are reading about. Every day I will read what people read yesterday, what they're reading about right now, and we'll make decisions for tomorrow's paper based, not entirely on that, but that helps determine whether [for instance] we need to do a follow up on this story today, 'well no one read it so perhaps not', [or] maybe 5,000 individual people read that story, so is there another angle? I'd never run a story if it had no news value to it, but if the story still had legs, so to speak, we'll follow it, based on what people read yesterday. So I'd like to think we are more audience driven than just a simple, if it bleeds it leads. Yeah if something big was happening, and we know historically that that type of story is important to our readers then that would always determine how we cover the stuff (Tennant, 4 November, 2015).

For both editors, balance was central in their production context. In particular, Deighton celebrated the breadth of views in *The Mercury's* opinion pages. However, he stated that, when it came to the newspaper as a whole, the default position was to be more circumspect:

The challenge for us, and it is a daily challenge, is to be as fair as we can be. As I said, we'll pick targets if we think something is blatantly wrong, which we've done on a number of occasions where we've really gone out hard on an issue. And we'll do that with a great deal of forethought and a great deal of planning. But generally, we'll just try to play it as straight as we can. So we can say here are the issues, here's what people are saying, make up your own minds (Deighton, 28 September, 2015).

While the newspaper can outsource a wide range of opinions through its use of sources (both editors stated the importance of balancing articles) and opinion columnists, the daily editorial would presumably represent an area of heightened sensitivity by virtue of constituting, as it does, a statement from the news outlet as a whole. It is here, I argue, that the question of leadership becomes a convenient theme for editors in these routine, but delicate, opinion pieces.

6.2.2 The consensus of leadership and divisiveness of propositions

In the context of the politically diverse readership typical in single-paper towns such as Launceston and Hobart, opining on leadership quality rather than on ideology or policy detail is a sensible strategy for editors. While policies, propositions and ideologies have been divisive flashpoints in Tasmania's recent history, there is relative consensus about desirable leadership attributes. Virtues such as honesty, decisiveness and thoroughness, for instance, are widely accepted as virtues in any leader.

A particularly instructive quote from the interview with Matt Deighton highlights how a leadership focus can defuse potentially divisive issues. For Deighton, as he stated several times in the course of the interview, an “entrepreneurial spirit” is a leadership virtue that Tasmania is sorely lacking. One such leader, according to Deighton, is the controversial founder of The Museum of Old and New Art (MONA), David Walsh, who is often credited with turning around Tasmania’s tourism fortunes. The content of his gallery, however, with its deliberately subversive themes of sex and death was, at least initially, met with alarm by conservative and religious sections of the community. However, as Deighton stated, that is unimportant compared to the success of the project and the opportunity it has brought to Tasmania: “Whether you like what he does or you don’t is irrelevant. The fact is that he has achieved it” (Deighton, 28 September, 2014). By focusing on the sheer success of the project under the leadership of Walsh, the controversial elements of MONA are eclipsed by its unquestionable success. This celebration of successful leadership as transcending political difference is, I argue, a central reason why the question of leadership appears so often in editorials and local news.

Broadly, this positive appraisal of David Walsh’s leadership could be considered as a type of symbolic capital. Having a record of ‘getting-things-done’, being a ‘doer’ or being proactive rather than just talking about doing something, is an important feature of the entrepreneurial spirit and something that was often celebrated in both *The Mercury* and *The Examiner’s* editorialising on propositions. It is also a mark of good leadership in the political field where, for instance, it can be used to construct one’s leadership as successful despite the perception of unpopularity. Pierre Bourdieu noted that the authority of any politician is vitally dependent on maintaining a perception of effectiveness. “In politics”, he writes, “‘to say is to do’; that is, it is to get people to believe that you can do what you say” (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 190). Australian politics has provided several examples of politicians leveraging authority on the basis of their effectiveness. ‘Can-Do’ Campbell Newman, for instance, was elected as Queensland Premier on a platform of ‘getting things done’ and the celebrated ‘Can Do’ moniker formed the title of Newman’s biography (King, 2015). Similarly salient were the outgoing speeches of former Australian Prime Ministers Julia Gillard and Kevin Rudd. Both ousted by their own party on the back of poor polling, they provided long statements conceding defeat while also defending their ostensibly flawed leadership with a list of achievements that they would remain proud of (Kefford, 2013). However, this mark of successful leadership, as the examples of Gillard and Rudd demonstrate, is only one of a series of important virtues. The need to create consensus and resolve conflict or display charisma, vision, integrity and responsibility are other forms of social capital, missing in the popular perception of those leaders that can mark one as a ‘natural leader’ and as valuable within the governmental field. Accordingly, editorials in the sample often celebrated

or criticised leaders on the basis of whether or not they possessed these signs of leadership.

Across the fields of politics and business, there is a relatively common discourse surrounding leadership. Ron Kerr suggests that key concepts relating to leadership are ‘homologous’ across the fields of politics and business: crisis-driven leadership, competition with an enemy and the charisma of the leader are common themes in public and private fields (Kerr, 2008, p. 204). Similarly, the ‘new spirit of capitalism’, according to Boltanski and Chiapello (1999), is apparent in the widespread acceptance of management and leadership theory across a range of fields. Following Rodney Benson’s term, we might also suggest that there is a “habitus affinity” between successful business and political leaders (2013, p. 88), typically highly educated in the fields of law and economics, rising through hierarchical institutions, and with a similar commitment to steering their organisation successfully through dangers and into the future. This similar habitus may also produce habitual ways of thinking and talking about leadership quality that celebrate the symbolic capital typically possessed by business and political sources. These observations reflect a relative consensus in the public about the meaning of leadership making this a safe (hence common) moral question for editors to discuss and develop. As the following section will show, reasoning about leadership quality often occurred metaphorically. I will argue that relevant symbolic capital is inferred through the use of metaphor and idiomatic language that has become and is becoming naturalised in propositional journalism.

6.3 Editorials

6.3.1 Propositions as tests of leadership

The sample contained 70 editorials (55 from *The Mercury* and 15 from *The Examiner*). In these, leadership quality was a prevalent focus in editorials in the sample and, as theme, presented a ‘sphere of legitimate controversy’ (Hallin, 1994, p. 54) for editors. While commenting on leadership quality is an inherently subjective and moral question, it is interesting to note that editorials adopted an empirical tone that suggested their evaluations of leadership were factual observations. For example, editorials would often describe important decisions facing politicians regarding propositions as ‘tests of leadership’. For example, political commentary would refer to a “first test of Premier Will Hodgman's leadership since gaining office” or provide a “scorecard” of Peter Gutwein's first budget. These would often venture beyond tests of economic or policy matters to make inferences about their character and leadership credentials.

Propositions often corresponded with calls for leadership because they require a range of leaders to

act and support the idea or dismiss it. The decisions that propositions invited were frequently framed as ‘tests of leadership’ that could undermine or demonstrate the leadership credentials of the individual involved. Similarly, the proponents of an idea were also scrutinised through this frame with editors questioning whether they possessed the right mettle to successfully prosecute the idea and see it implemented. I will argue that, by testing leaders on established criterion of good leadership, journalists and editors become involved in the policing of the governmental field.

Such editorial tests of leadership construct the editor as an objective examiner that can adjudicate whether the criterion of success has been met, a role that sits comfortably with journalistic norms of independence and impartiality. Leadership virtues arguably attract public consensus whereas policy proposals are often more controversial. Accordingly, editorialising about leadership was a comparatively safe focus. As objective scorekeepers, journalists and editors could state that pressure is mounting on a particular leader or that someone has ‘a poor record’ with apparent objectivity.

Occasionally, this evaluative device was deployed in a more general form and addressed at the governmental field as a whole. For example, one editorial encouraged the Local Council to extend funding for sporting events to be held in the state, claiming that “this is a test for Hobart about how serious it is about major events and the future of AFL in this state. It is a test the city cannot afford to fail” (*The Mercury*, 220). Thus, rather than a test of the council’s seriousness, this decision would objectively reflect on the leadership qualities of Hobart as a whole and whether the city has the requisite seriousness to succeed.

Metaphors are important rhetorical devices that allow one to evaluative leadership quality with apparent objectivity. In particular, a metaphorical understanding of leadership as navigation was a ubiquitous and homologous evaluative schema which was deployed across the sample, but especially in editorials.

6.4 Leader as navigator

As the previous chapter alluded, frame analysis involved the collection of metaphorical and idiomatic language and sought to establish frames by testing the level of metaphorical coherence in this sample. Overall, I found that there were several coherent metaphors that structured the discourse. The most common metaphor was leadership as navigation. Language likening leadership to navigation—orientation, movement, obstacles, journeys, maps, destinations, timeliness and lateness of arrival, being lost or being on track in relation to leadership—represented 61% of all the metaphorical language making this the most common frame. Propositions often formed crucial tests of navigational attributes. As responsible navigators, leaders should not be distracted, indecisive or

cowardly. They must be strong, decisive, courageous and clear-sighted. These virtues of leadership could be tested by examining their response to navigational obstacles and, ultimately, by whether the leader arrives at the promised destination at the agreed time. The following section will show in detail how these metaphors were used to reason about the leadership credentials of key decision makers and, ultimately, legitimise the dominance of certain political and business voices in the sample.

Language relating to maps, journeys, visions, pathways, steps in the right direction, charting a course, a firm hand on the tiller, launch, drive, turn around and landmarks all form part of a semantic network relating to navigation. The application of this language to the question of leadership formed a metaphor: leader as navigator. Navigators of planes, boats or walking parties are invested with huge responsibility and their skills of navigation are determined, very simply, by whether they lead (using a very literal definition) their fellow travellers safely to a given destination. The framework of navigator can be mapped as follows:

The frame involves: A navigator, passengers, a map, movement, obstacles, stops, a final destination and an expected time of arrival.

Metaphorically: The navigator is the leader, the passengers are Tasmanian citizens, the map is a plan or promise, movement is progress, stops are goals, the destination is the realisation of the proponent's objective.

This metaphor provides a very simple, hence common, rhetorical tool for editorialising on leadership quality while holding responsible leaders to account. For example, in the following passage from an editorial in *The Mercury*, framing devices (italicised) related to location, direction and ultimately navigation were salient:

How the Government handles the state's health-care problems will be pivotal to its fortunes, and ultimately the fortunes of our people... If things turn around, it will be one of this Government's greatest legacies. It is simply that important. ("Devil in detail of RHH plan", December 8, 2014)

The navigational metaphor is spatial and constructs time, the past and the future as positions in space. According to this metaphor, the leader is responsible for setting the direction and charting a course between the past (behind) and the future (ahead). The distribution of relevant navigational expressions across the sample is presented in Appendix 2.

Besides the strictly spatial aspects of the metaphor, a number of other navigational character virtues are implied. This can be seen in relation to the proposed rebuilding or renovation of the Royal

Hobart Hospital. Long considered an urgent priority, the hospital's redevelopment became an issue suddenly in late 2014 when a radical new proposition emerged in conflict with the planned renovation of the hospital at its original location – a development that had been stalled while the state Liberal government, particularly Health Minister Michael Ferguson, considered its options. As noted earlier, architect Dean Coleman assembled a comprehensive new design for a new hospital at The Domain, a prominent public space on the waterfront. Large artist's renderings appeared in *The Mercury* and the state opposition Labor party and the Tasmanian Greens lent conditional support to the project. Editorials reflected on Mr Ferguson's record in office and appeared to consider his leadership credentials sufficient for making this crucial decision:

Mr Ferguson has been one of the Government's *strongest* performers since taking power. *Calm and collected*, he has taken the proverbial *bull by the horns* and *set the health system on a course* of meaningful restructure and reform. [Emphasis added] ("Devil in detail of RHH plan", December 8, 2014)

This passage likens good leadership to a captain's firm grip on the wheel in stormy seas. This nautical variation on the navigation metaphor was invoked even more explicitly in another favourable assessment of the Liberal party's time in office:

THE State Government has provided a largely *steady hand* since taking office in March... [however] Of course it has not all been *smooth sailing*... But all up, we would argue it's been a *solid* first six months... But while facing such *hurdles*, the Government must also be careful not to overlook its grassroots responsibilities in the process. ("It's time to play ball", August 14, 2014)

Recalling the minister's record of strength, calmness under pressure and courage served to validate a particular range of valuable symbolic capital in the political field. Interestingly, good navigational leadership appeared to involve a level of physicality and athleticism. This quality of leadership was apparent in this editorial form *The Mercury* that, while not committing to a policy prescription, celebrated the 'toughness' of the health minister:

The state government faces a tough decision over the fate of the Royal Hobart Hospital – but tough decisions are what governments are elected to make... And at \$2.4 billion for a new hospital or several hundred million dollars to continue the rebuild, it is the biggest state project ever to be undertaken [Emphasis added] ("Panorama of opinion", August 17, 2014).

In *The Mercury's* extensive coverage of the story editorials framed the decision as a test of strength and toughness, but assessed leaders on these virtues using a navigational frame. Accordingly, a

leader does not merely get passengers to a destination but must do so with a level of strength and confront obstacles with unyielding toughness.

Bourdieu uses the term 'bodily hexis' (1998, p. 35-36) to refer to the way in which markers of class distinction and legitimacy are expressed in body language. In particular, strength of hand is an important signifier within a navigational metaphor. The characteristically firm handshake of powerful business and political men, for instance, could be interpreted as symbolic reference to this metaphorical conceptualisation of leader as navigation. The supposedly innate suitability of men for leadership roles, and especially those men whose voices dominated the list sources, is thus euphemised in bodily form. The importance of physical strength as a leadership virtue was highlighted, to an absurd degree, in the celebration of the toreador-like ability to take "the proverbial *bull by the horns* and *set the health system on a course* of meaningful restructure and reform" ("Devil in detail of RHH plan", December 8, 2014). Accordingly, these navigational constructions of leadership correspond with the observed gender imbalances in the list of powerful sources in this sample of propositional journalism.

Part of the navigation metaphor, when it is used to talk about the government generally, involves a personification of the government which is talked about as though it is one navigating agent rather than a group of individuals. Accordingly, government leadership can be evaluated as a whole rather than specifying the specific qualities of individual leaders. According to this explicitly maritime version of the metaphor, the citizens are the paying passenger who must obey the captain but can periodically mutiny to install a new leader. As such the captain ought to listen to the demands of the passengers – "its grassroots responsibilities" ("It's time to play ball", August 14, 2014). This was especially the case when governments had stated goals that were subsequently perceived not to have been met or to have fallen short of expectations. A good example of this frustration with a flawed navigator was during the NBN rollout in Tasmania. "BROADBAND internet connection promised the world for Tasmania", opined the editor of *The Mercury* ("Broadband schmozzle", April 23, 2014), "the National Broadband Network was going to enable our island state to once and for all break through the barrier created by Bass Strait". Invoking the celebrations typical of a ship departing port, subsequent editorials recalled how, "High hopes and beaming smiles were everywhere when former Prime Minister Julia Gillard, former communications minister Stephen Conroy and former Premier David Bartlett pressed a button in a Midway Point hall to *launch* the project" ("Broadband blues", August 6, 2014). In describing the subsequent failures and frustrations rolling-out the technology, editorials continued to use the navigation theme:

Somewhere along the line we dropped the ball. The advantages of the early rollout of the

NBN appear all but lost amid a political, logistic and engineering debacle. The state is not as far advanced along the IT road as many imagined it would be in the second decade of the 21st century. [Emphasis added] (“Connected to the world”, August 15, 2014)

Or elsewhere:

Far from pioneering the NBN or using Tasmania’s early rollout to steal a march on the rest of the country and forge a technology-driven future for the state, these businesses have been left languishing. [Emphasis added] (“Broadband blues”, August 6, 2014)

In the final editorial on the issue, aptly titled, ‘The long and winding road’ (September 16, 2014), *The Mercury* labelled the roll-out a “convoluted saga” that had become “mired in controversy” and has “lurched” from problem to problem. However, it ended optimistically by noting the visit of the CEO in charge of the operation, Bill Morrow, whose personal attention in Tasmania represented, at least, “a step in the right direction” (“The long and winding road”, September 16, 2014).

As well as providing an account of successful leadership, the navigator metaphor can also be used to construct instances of navigational failure. For example, governments can lose their way and require rescuing. This application formed part of the polysemy of the new health ‘rescue taskforce’ initiated by the incoming State Government. The Liberal state government came to power at the beginning of the sample, in March 2014. At this early stage, many of the state’s problems, including health and the Royal Hobart Hospital, were attributed to the mismanagement of the previous Labor government. Accordingly, the editorial notes “...the rescue taskforce set up by Health Minister Michael Ferguson to determine the future of the redevelopment of the Royal Hobart Hospital” (“Devil in detail of RHH plan”, December 8, 2014). By announcing a ‘rescue taskforce’ the Government brings to mind a responsible new navigator taking control of a stricken and lost ship in order to – “set the health system on a course of meaningful restructure and reform” (“Devil in detail of RHH plan”, December 8, 2014). *The Mercury* editorials sought to remind the new Government that it was now the navigating leader; “it is no longer in opposition and needs to *firmly grasp the reins and lead the way*” (“Prosperity a state of mind”, April 30, 2014). Accordingly, this appellation served to underline the poor navigational skills of the previous Labor administration. The Leader as Navigator frame thus provides narrative options which enable politicians and editors to deride flawed navigational leadership. Within the scope of this metaphorical device, as the following section will elaborate, are the many descriptions of being lost, directionless, purposeless, wavering, cowardly, blind or turning around. Even the policy ‘back-flip’, frequently used to deride a policy change, is only an absurdly dramatised version of ‘turnaround’ within this navigational metaphor.

6.5 Distractions for Navigators

Within this navigational frame, failures in securing health and infrastructure outcomes were attributed to metaphorical distractions and character flaws that make good navigation difficult or impossible. Dreams, drunkenness and distractions were frequently tied to instances of poor navigational leadership.

6.5.1 Dreams

One consequence of the editors' use of a navigation metaphor was the frequent warning, found in editorials across the sample, that leaders should not be seduced by dreams and delusions which might lead the state on the wrong path. The request for governments to be more realistic in their goals and promises often took the form of an anti-utopian discourse which played upon the contrast between clear vision, as indispensable for navigation, as opposed to delusions, dreams, short-sightedness or blindness, which are clearly flaws in any navigator. An editorial in *The Mercury* titled, 'Dream the achievable' (May 26, 2014) listed a range of failed projects in Tasmania that had promised a way out of Tasmania's economic mire but had proven unrealistic. Their mirage-like quality, the editorial suggested, was a product of public relations pyrotechnics, so visually appealing that they distracted the state's leaders, taking them off-course. These included: "grand designs", "big projects announced in a blaze of publicity that often failed to materialise", or "big-ticket developments", "proudly spruiked as a saviour" ("Dream the achievable", May 26, 2014). In the editorials, such projects were ultimately unsubstantial, delusional or absurd – "bread and circuses built on hot air" ("Keep eyes on the ball", April 17, 2014), or "like a movie without a script" ("It's time for people power", September 29, 2014). Elsewhere, *The Mercury* described a controversial cable car proposal for Mount Wellington as, "a mirage – a wonderful vision that disappears the closer you look" ("She's comin' round the mountain", April 16, 2014). Leaders should guard against these tempting visions. The soundest way to avoid these sirens of the governmental field is to proceed methodically and step-by-step which, as this passage suggests, can ultimately bring the state to a grand utopian future:

The new Liberal Government would do well to instead concentrate on creating a development climate for projects that are achievable and sustainable. A number of successful, smaller developments can easily add up to create a vibrant economy, jobs, and a future for coming generations - a big dream come true ("Dream the achievable", May 26, 2014).

This prescribed style of navigation could be interpreted ideologically, following the discussion of

utopianism in the literature review (Levitas, 2010; Adam, 2010). The preference for small steps over utopian leaps could thus be considered as a neoliberal discourse opposed to government intervention in the market and the commitment of public money securing ambitious projects. Rather, it condones a market-based approach according to which small projects emerge organically and with less risk for government investment. Overall, “It is only a matter of joining the dots to understand where Tasmania is headed” (“Joining up the dots”, November 22, 2014), rather than concocting a utopian future. Further discussion of the ideological implications of this metaphor will be examined in greater depth in the next chapter.

6.5.2 Inebriation

Part of the distraction of dreams and delusions within this metaphor is a dangerous proclivity for drunkenness, which is constructed in opposition to sober rational judgement. While journalists have been known to politely euphemised actual drunkenness in parliament as being “tired and emotional” (Paterson, 1993) this sample found that emotional states such as anger and passion were, conversely, constructed metaphorically as drunkenness. In *The Mercury*, good leadership often required “sober heads and a calm approach” (“Keep eyes on the ball”, April 17, 2014) and encouraged leaders to proceed with “a due sense of prudence and sobriety” (“In search of wild”, 2014, November 12), or “a calm sense of urgency and a clear head” (“Rolling up the sleeves”, November 30, 2014). Metaphorically, sobriety and intoxication are commonly used to reflect on emotional states of mind – often with the implication that strong emotion is inimical with sound rational judgement. As Lakoff and Johnson (1999, p. 434) write in a critique of Kantian ethics: “The vices of drunkenness and gluttony make us unfit for rational deliberation and thereby diminish, or even discard temporarily, our autonomy as rational beings”. In their view, Kantian ethics revolves around an archetype of the ‘strict father’ morality that he identifies elsewhere (Lakoff, 1996) as central to conservative thought. According to this worldview, drunkenness is especially dangerous, because the highest moral good is considered “moral strength” and “strength of will” which are weakened under the effects of intoxication leading to moral failure (Lakoff, 1996). In the metaphorical construction of leadership as navigation, strength and determination are similarly prized and heady emotions are considered dangerous distractions.

Often these emotions expressed themselves in, what editors saw as, hasty and thoughtless decision making. “Too often projects and ideas are met with a sudden and often harsh ‘no’, which is based on emotion and historical differences” (“Embrace our diversity”, September 15, 2014). This critique of poor leadership played upon the deafness and insensitivity of the drunk leader who does not respond to the needs of others. On controversial issues, editorials called for open and calm

discussion. This sober community engagement is overlooked when leaders act with “malice, or with a fool’s haste” (“Tasmania ready to go”, November 18, 2014).

6.5.3 Politics

A perennial distraction for political leaders is politics. Successful navigation and the ‘hard work’ of leadership was frequently constructed in opposition to the rancour and spin of politics. This common critique of political leadership took several shapes in the sample, however, a central angle related to the need for timely decision making and appeared as a binary: political ‘talk’ as opposed to constructive ‘action’. Political talk was often characterised as negative talk unconcerned with reaching concrete outcomes. For instance, one editorial in *The Mercury* noted that, “The Tasmanian Government has been extremely keen to talk about the size of the Budget black hole this week”, and that, generally, “there has been constant talk in recent times about flagship projects to send a message that Tasmania is open for business” (“Fix hole in city's heart”, May 3, 2014). Rather than talk, the editorial continues, action is required and an obvious place to start is the urgent need to build the new Myer building in the Hobart CBD:

This is the point where a can-do government steps in to ensure the project goes ahead. This is where a can-do government joins the table to negotiate a successful outcome for all. This is where the Hodgman Government can show its mettle. [Emphasis added] (“Fix hole in city's heart”, May 3, 2014)

This passage suggests that not all political talk was considered unconstructive and that negotiation and seeking consensus is considered valuable for instance. By comparison, editorials identified the most distracting and unconstructive type of political talk as political point-scoring and bickering. A particularly vociferous *Examiner* editorial², titled ‘Focus on state’s potential’ (Prismall, 2014d), chastised leaders of all persuasions for their lack of “stewardship” and political preoccupations:

The major parties should be made to invest equally in policy development as much as they invest in opposition to each other. We are not interested in manufactured abuse and parliamentary antics. We understand that they oppose aspects of each other's policies but we also know there's a lot they agree on. We expect them to propose solutions, rather than some deceitful teaser on more detail being revealed closer to the next election (Prismall, 2014d).

This passage, in combination with the title’s emphasis on “focus”, makes the binary between

² Editorials in *The Examiner* recorded the author who will be attributed in the referencing while *The Mercury*’s editorials did not state the author and, for accuracy, will reference according to the editorial’s title.

distracting political talk and constructive action salient. A similarly strident editorial in the same newspaper asked, in reference to the longstanding problems regarding freight logistics across Bass Strait, “Where are our federal MHRs [Members of the House of Representatives] and senators on this [issue]? Collecting their pay in return for playing endless politics is the usual answer” (“Time for action on isolation”, November 29, 2014). The reference to ‘usual answer’ here is suggestive of the ubiquity of this view of politicians. Another critique of politics was also aired in this construction – that politicians have not worked a day in their lives and that they are political insiders with no idea of the real world of hard work and struggle. While this was not stated explicitly, it is likely part of the cultural resonance of the directive, “roll up their sleeves and get to work” (“Prosperity a state of mind”, April 30, 2014). This phrase appeared four times in *The Mercury* over the sample and was often used in contrast with political inaction and negativity.

WHEN contemplating the appalling lack of private investment in Tasmania, it is tempting to throw the arms in the air and walk away in utter despair. But it is at difficult times like these - when it all seems a lost cause - that the real work on rejuvenating the state’s economy must happen. It is at times like these when the courageous roll up their sleeves and get to work [...] as long as we remain stubbornly locked into negativity, we will get nowhere [emphasis added] (“Prosperity a state of mind”, April 30, 2014)

Negative political talk is thus framed here a distraction from the work of navigation that can take the state off-track.

6.5.4 Looking the wrong way

One reason that political partisanship and negativity is so discouraged within the navigational metaphor is because it causes leaders to look the wrong way. Navigators should always be looking forward in order to pre-empt obstacles and to make the most of opportunities. Political debates make politicians look backwards in bitterness at historical differences and old wounds, or, when engaged in a ‘war of words’ with each other rather than focusing on the path ahead. This structure can be detected in the frequent directive to put political differences ‘aside or ‘behind us’ so that we can ‘move on’.

A key locus of political bickering during the sample surrounded the transformation of the Triabunna woodchip mill that, as noted earlier, was controversially purchased and secretly dismantled by environmentalist entrepreneurs, Graham Wood, Alec Marr and Jan Cameron, who sought to repurpose the site for tourism and the arts. As was alluded to in the background chapter, debate around forestry in Tasmania has a history of violence and intractability, which was again on show as

details of the dismembering of the machinery emerged in *The Monthly* magazine (Van Tigglen, 2014). The Liberal party, whose efforts to reboot the forest industry were hampered by the sale of the mill and port, formed an inquiry to determine what knowledge the opposition had of the sale during their time in office. *The Mercury* editorialised against this move labelling it a distraction (within a navigational frame), which was causing leaders to look backward and focus on each other rather than the unemployed in Triabunna who just want to move forward:

The scab is being torn from the wounds of this sordid issue, and the lives and livelihoods of Tasmanians continue to be secondary to this *no-holds-barred, winner-takes-all stoush* that has *waged* over four decades. We must *move on* [...] Learning from the past is critically important but, when it becomes purely raking over the coals, *looking backwards* can have a debilitating effect. If the truth be known, most Tasmanians desperately want to unite and *look forward*. It was this “*let’s move on and get the job done*” attitude that swept Will Hodgman and the Liberals into power. (“Fists fly but still no jobs”, August 14, 2014)

The editorial, titled ‘Fists fly, but still no jobs’ (August 14, 2014), paints the combatants as selfishly absorbed in their fight while the tired public waits for their leaders to refocus on their needs and move forward.

6.5.5 Protesters

The myopic focus demanded of navigators as leaders, according to this frame, can lead to the claims of activists and protesters falling into the category of navigational distractions. In the navigational metaphor, it makes sense for the navigator to stay in touch with the metaphorical passengers (citizens) to make sure everyone is ‘on-board’ with the leader’s ‘direction’ for the state and ‘moving forward together’. However, there is a risk that this duty of communication with passengers is broken by the loud, distracting or misleading speech of protesters and activists. Protesters claims were often described with accompanying reference to the volume of their speech. Thus, there were “noisy objectors” (“Fix hole in city’s heart”, May 3, 2014) or “grumblings from some quarters” (“In search of wild”, 2014, November 12) and “too often projects and ideas are met with a sudden and often harsh ‘no’” (“Embrace our diversity”, September 15, 2014). In *The Examiner*, this point was made explicitly where an editorial warned against taking the words of “leftist lentil lovers” as representative of the broader community (Baker, 2014). Tasmanian politics risks, it continued, “heading towards the same old situation where a handful of people with differing vested interests tell us their view is representative of the majority” (Baker, 2014). Implicit in these references to the volume of protesters and their unrepresentative status is the fear that they drown out the sensible

centre and prevent the type of sober, calm, rational community consultation that is part of a navigator's duty of care to its passengers.

It is also worth noting the prevalence of the military word 'quarters' in describing the location of these protestations. The word was used three times in *The Mercury's* editorials where it was attached to a group that had a marginal or minority standing in the debate and that the editorial ultimately disagreed with. Tasmanian Premier Will Hodgman was "criticised in some quarters... but in recent days Mr Hodgman has raised his head above the trenches to lead the state's charge..." ("Hodgman on the ball", May 20, 2014); "The general perception of the state in certain poorly informed offshore quarters is that the island is a complete economic failure" ("Remarkable success story", September 26, 2014); and "there have been grumblings from some quarters within the Aboriginal community for some time that the term wilderness discounts the ancient culture that helped create the Tasmanian landscape over the past 40,000 years..." ("In search of wild", 2014, November 12). The term 'quarters' frames their perspective as a minority segment of overall opinion and especially so within a navigational metaphor. The polysemy of the word includes inferences that are explicitly military and maritime. 'Quarters' usually refers to sleeping areas in army barracks or ships, which are typically divided according to rank with the low-level crew members separated from the officers and captain. This regimented and discipline expected in army barracks contrasts with the outbursts of protesters breaking rank. Indeed, used metaphorically, grumblings and criticisms from the quarters is an ominous sign of possible mutiny from below decks that the crew must ignore or act quickly to silence. The likelihood that this inference is still resonant is also suggested by the fact that other similar class-based maritime references were present. Notably, the word "flagship" was used five times in *The Mercury's* editorials to highlight certain symbolic projects of considerable importance for the state. Flagship refers to the leading ship in a fleet where the highest ranking official or general had his flag visibly raised (Brassey 2010, 492). The term was used metaphorically to describe a project that has official government support and has, for instance, "become a flagship of Premier Will Hodgman's leadership" ("She's comin' round the mountain", April 16, 2014). Occasionally flagship and reference to loud and illegitimate protestations occurred together. According to one editorial ("Fix hole in city's heart", May 3, 2014), "This critical project has no noisy objectors, unlike so many other developments jousting for flagship status". This passage brings together the idea that, metaphorically, each project in Tasmania is a semi-autonomous navigating vessel with its own captain, occasionally bearing the official insignia of the Premier when he symbolically or materially supports it. Often, however, each project contains a rag-tag crew of illegitimate protesters dwelling in the bowels of the ship, so to speak. Accordingly, part of the leadership responsibilities of the Premier and the leaders of their respective projects, as navigators,

is to put the views of the community front and centre, and have the courage to ignore or shut down the ill-disciplined protesters in their quarters.

6.6 Virtues of Navigational Leadership

Besides the simple test of whether navigators successfully get their passengers to the right locations on time, there are a number of other qualities that competent navigators must possess. The rigors of navigational responsibility entail a range of virtues that can be considered as symbolic capital marking one as a natural leader. As the previous section alluded, good navigators must be resistant to distractions which come in many forms. Determination, patriotism, sobriety, and focus provide a valuable shield from the many illusions, dead ends and red herrings that may tempt leaders.

Importantly, however, these virtues are not absolute or prescribed by the navigational metaphor. Rather, the metaphor provides a structure of virtues within which there are endless distinctions that serve to give each leader a distinctive leadership style. This can be seen in the contradictions implicit in the virtues and vices of navigation. For instance, political talk can be good or bad depending on the way one does it. “Endless [political] politics” was considered unconstructive and even distracting (Prismall, 2014c), however, political negotiation and the seeking of bi-partisanship was considered a way of moving the state forward, past historical disagreements (“It’s time to play ball”, August 4, 2014). Similarly, military qualities can be good or bad. Partisan political brawling is considered distracting (“Fists fly but still no jobs”, August 14, 2014), however, the discipline and determination of a good navigational leader is often celebrated using military language such “leading the charge” (“Hodgman on the ball”, May 20, 2014).

Additionally, the parameters of what is considered useful in a leader are historically relative and subject to revision – often by the leaders themselves. To give an example, a leader that is known for a belligerent, politically partisan leadership style can still use this leadership habitus to gain success by gaining power and changing the rules of the game. Thus, it is common to talk about polarising leaders who gained power and change the nature of political discourse, making it more combative. Within each position in the metaphor are a range of distinctions with which individuals can forge a unique leadership identity and, thereby, amass cultural capital relevant to the governmental field. This section explores the construction of some of these virtues as they appeared in editorials in the sample. Unsurprisingly perhaps, considering the stark gender imbalance shown in the source analysis, leadership virtues were archetypally masculine and often defined as competence in the historically masculine fields of sport and war.

6.6.1 Military

Determination, courage, ruthlessness, decisiveness and discipline were suggested in the heavy use of military language used to celebrate good leadership in *The Mercury*. One editorial in particular, titled ‘Hodgman on the Ball’ (41), constructed his leadership style using military language within a navigational metaphor. “The state desperately needs a leader *to chart a course* out of its economic malaise”, the editorial began. But, just in time, the article continued:

...in recent days Mr Hodgman has *raised his head above the trenches* to lead the state’s charge against the Federal Government’s \$80 billion cuts to health and education. It is a battle well worth fighting... It is good to see Mr Hodgman showing some ticker and fighting for Tasmania’s fair share of resources. It shows people are at the forefront of the Premier’s concerns – right where they should be. [Emphasis added] (“Hodgman on the ball”, May 20, 2014)

This editorial usefully highlights some distinctions within the virtues indicated by a military framing of leadership. Notably, “this is a battle worth fighting”, is presumably distinct from other useless fights, such as the politically partisan brawls that other editorials characterised as a navigational distraction. Rather than being a distraction, this call to arms focuses the state’s attention on one goal and brings everyone into line in the fight rather than causing division and distraction. As well as the military virtues indicated by this frame, one might consider the editorial as encouraging leaders to ‘choose their battles carefully’, as the saying goes, rather than expending their energy and attention fighting several fronts simultaneously. The particular distinction within this frame is that it is a fight, but a fight that is motivated by empathy; “It shows people are at the forefront of the Premier’s concerns – right where they should be” (“Hodgman on the ball”, May 20, 2014).

The military virtues of patriotism and the ability to inspire patriotism and bi-partisanship in one’s compatriots were frequently highlighted as important for navigational success. *The Mercury* noted that “Tasmanians desperately want to unite and look forward” (“Fists fly but still no jobs”, August 14, 2014), and celebrated leadership that involved, “eschewing parochialism and nepotism in the process and placing the needs of the state front and centre” (“It’s time to play ball”, August 4, 2014). A particular instance of this cooperative leadership style was celebrated in the leaders, from both sides of politics, who helped to establish the state’s relationship with China such that the Chinese Premier, Xi Jinping, visited the state in 2014. The visit was celebrated as a momentous occasion in the newspapers with Chinese themed editions of the paper printed in Chinese red and yellow heralding the Premier. In the context of Tasmanian politics, editorials noted that the event “represents a journey almost 40 years in the making”, and represents, “a victory for cross-party

politics... [And] the product of nothing more than a shared vision and hard work" ("The great call of China", November 10, 2014). Military metaphors add particular virtues to the simple navigational logic of movement, direction and destination that serve to distinguish and celebrate certain leadership styles.

6.6.2 Sport

Sport and war share similar leadership virtues of courage, determination and physical prowess. However, specific ball sports were used in the sample to euphemise other kinds of desirable leadership virtues. Sport is a culturally salient way of evaluating character and is thought to represent, as Bourdieu once observed (1991b, p. 361), "the training-ground of character" where it provides an alternative criteria of social achievement to purely intellectual and scholastic endeavours. As seen in the editorial titles, "Hodgman on the ball" (May 20, 2014), "Keep eyes on the ball" (April 17, 2014) and "Time to play ball" (August 4, 2014), *The Mercury* used ball sports to conceptualise key moments of opportunity and excitement. In this frame, leaders should make sure to grasp opportunities as though they were, perhaps, rugby balls and forge ahead against adversity to make the most of the fleeting opportunity. This idea was captured in an end of year editorial titled "Our chance to shine" (December 29, 2014) stating that, "The Government needs to make sure 2015 is a time when it grasps the opportunities and forges ahead with projects that have been delayed too long". A missed opportunity, on the other hand, was often characterised as having "dropped the ball" ("Connected to the world", August 15, 2014). As such, a particular virtue in ball sports is reaction time and focus. This device could be seen as highlighting the navigational virtue of focus and attention and reiterating the need to avoid the distractions outlined in the previous section.

6.6.3 Tests of Leadership

A proposition for the future, if it is to be successful, ultimately requires a range of individuals to act and support it. These decisions were frequently framed as 'tests of leadership' and specifically tests of navigational virtues. Following the frame, a test involves participants, a challenge, a competitive environment, a time limit, an objective examiner, a criterion, success or failure. In this metaphor, journalists are implicitly the objective examiners. This role sits comfortably with editorial norms of independence and impartiality. The 'test of leadership' metaphor can appear as a professional duty of holding leadership to account which, along with objectivity, is a traditional and celebrated role of the fourth estate (Schultz 1998).

By applying leadership virtues as criterion, editors can state, with apparent objectivity, that pressure is mounting on a particular leader or that someone has a good or bad record. This way of organising

propositional journalism is also a practical method for setting up follow-up stories and maintaining audience interest in the local political narrative. Thus, through a process of constructing tests and providing judgments, the editors contribute to the ongoing policing of the governmental field. The contemplation of leadership was not abstract or philosophical in the editorials. Rather, editorials appropriated the current challenges of everyday decision making, including the emergence of propositions for the future, to show how they pertain to leadership quality. Propositions presented opportunities for local leaders to demonstrate their decisiveness and strength of leadership. They are also delicate matters where weakness, indecisiveness or corruption can become visible.

Tests of leadership in the editorials usually involved a sense of urgency where present circumstances were framed as demanding action. Timeliness was a central theme in the editorials, clearly visible in the chosen headlines. In *The Mercury* there were four editorials titled, “Time to seal the deal” (November 29, 2014), “It’s time to play ball” (August 4, 2014), “It’s time for people power” (September 29, 2014) and “It’s a time for Tas to savour” (November 17, 2014). In *The Examiner* there was “Time to act on future of eyesore” (Prismall, 2014a) “Time now to talk about councils” (Gilmour, 2014) and “Time for action on isolation” (Prismall, 2014c). A common theme in these articles was the urgency and pressure that circumstances were placing on Tasmania’s leaders to act on certain issues. Notably, the specific action required was rarely stated. Rather, leadership itself was called for and, in subsequent judgements, the virtues of navigation were central. For instance, in stressing urgency, the quality of decisiveness was often called for. As deputy editor Barry Prismall wrote in *The Examiner*, an old building in the heart of Launceston should either be knocked down or done up and sold; “Its future should be determined one way or the other” (“Time to act on future eyesore”, April 21, 2014). The status quo was taken as unacceptable and belied a “set-and-forget culture, while ratepayers or taxpayers are left to pick up the tab” (April 21, 2014). The reluctance to make firm policy statements in favour of editorialising on leadership was clear in editorials that highlighted timeliness, again affirming the usefulness of leadership evaluation as a convenient theme for editors seeking to avoid committing the newspaper to a specific proposition.

6.7 Calling

The word ‘call’ was frequently used metaphorically across the sample. Call, as both a noun and a verb, was used metaphorically across the sample excluding instances where it was used literally to name, describe or telephone something. Often this metaphorical meaning was close to a summons. Indeed, the etymology of the word call in Old Norse (*kalla*) means “to summon loudly” (Harper, 2018). A proposal was “called for” in the sense that its presence was requested publicly. While this usage could refer to objects and proposals, it was also used to summons people. A call to arms, to

action, call of duty or clarion call appeared to be used to indicate a proponent or politician's desire for people to unite and 'get behind' a certain project. Similarly, it was used to invite public comment on a proposal – as in a call for submissions, a call for expert reports. The 'on' in the ubiquitous phrase, 'called on', suggests a request for movement and, as such, is coherent within a navigational leadership frame. Calling is, therefore, similar to a summons or request for movement. To the extent that call implies movement or serves to state a destination to be moved towards, it can be considered part of a navigational construction of leadership and the future. Good leaders should choose judiciously which 'calls' they heed to avoid taking Tasmania off track.

The action of 'calling' or being 'called' is a strong signifier of power and class and its ubiquity across the sample is indicative of the power inequalities in play when discussing the future. The ability to demand someone or something's presence and be taken seriously is an almost regal power and, conversely, to be subject to someone's 'beck and call' is akin to servitude. The usage is cognisant with a summons made in courts of law or in parliament: "I call on the expert witness". Of the 29 instances of the word occurring in the sample, 20 of these instances involved a range of marginal leaders, unions and individuals calling on the government to take a certain action, as in, "they are calling on the government to reconsider..." ("Tasmania's first Liberal State Budget", August 28, 2014). Interestingly, however, government ministers were only described as "calling on" three times. Within a navigational metaphor, the leader is often thought of as deciding the direction of a broader entity such as Tasmania or a certain business. While they are engaged in navigating they should, as this section has shown, be open to receiving messages from their passengers. Accordingly, a range of subjects call for people in power to attend to their wishes and summon their attention using the phrase "call on". However, in the context of navigating, with the distractions discussed thus far, a leader should attend to such calls with some caution. It is likely that, in the context of the prevalent navigational frame for reasoning about leadership, calling implicitly marginalises the legitimacy of the source and implies something akin to impetuosity.

There is also a reference to timeliness in call evident in the idiom 'call the shots', which was found occasionally in the sample. As a term denoting leadership, calling the shots refers to the captain or general who would shout for the troops to fire their weapons (*United States Navy: Small Arms Firing Regulations and Instructions*, 1931, p. 104). In the sample, this usage could be detected in the tying of call to the immediate context in which it was made. For instance, an article in *The Examiner* used call to tie a proposition to a timely circumstance: "The call comes amid frustration that [Launceston Queen Victoria Museum] is being sold short on its potential as one of the state's foremost cultural and tourism assets" (Machen, 2014). This formulation brings into question the timeliness of the call and the importance the responsiveness of the proponent. As shown in the previous chapter,

timeliness is a key virtue in leadership – grasping the opportunity when it arises and not letting it slip. Regardless of its timeliness, the ability to make a call in the first instance is a sign of some personal prestige and legitimacy within the governmental field.

6.8 Democratic consequences of Navigation

The quality of navigational leadership is tested, first and foremost, according to whether obstacles are avoided and destinations are reached in a timely fashion. Accordingly, the navigation metaphor corresponds with certain government priorities where other norms of governance such as consultation are contingent or secondary to overriding navigational imperatives. In the sample, politicians would invoke navigational language at the same time as justifying unilateral and unshakable leadership decisions and to place limits on dissent, transparency and to legitimise the concentration of power in the hands of a few responsible navigators rather than opening decision-making to a broader range of voices.

The state budget of 2014-15, for instance, was notable for using navigational imperatives to counter dissent. In the lead up to the budget, Treasurer Peter Gutwein unveiled a “\$1.1 billion Budget Black Hole” in the state’s finances (“State left \$1.1b black hole”, April 28, 2014). While the navigation metaphor included many obstacles and dangers such as hurdles and red tape – a ‘black hole’ is a particularly potent navigational danger for the (intergalactic) traveller. Not only are black holes best avoided, but due to their famous suction they present a danger to stationary objects as well. Something of this traction was implied by the treasurer when he warned that:

It’s a very serious moment for Tasmania, \$1.1 billion in cumulative net operating deficit, so a \$1.1 billion black hole, \$400 million worth of net debt which will have consequences for Tasmania because interest payments will rob Tasmanians of basic services they need.
(Gutwein in Richards, 2014c, p. 4)

Thus, according to Gutwein, the compound interest on the state’s existing debt could leave the state spiralling toward bankruptcy and financial oblivion. This navigational device was readily taken up in leads and headlines in the sample and often accompanied defiant statements:

Mr Gutwein would not rule out increasing cuts to the public service beyond the 500 fulltime equivalent jobs the Liberals said would be cut under natural attrition and vacancy control.
“I’m not going to deal with hypotheticals,” he said. (Richards, 2014c, p. 4)

The construction of government debt as a navigational danger appeared to valorise these opaque official statements about government policy as an expression of the steely resolve and

determination required of a skilled navigational leader. The claims of unions and public sector workers were subordinated to the overriding need to get the budget “back on track” and “out of deficit” (Richards, 2014c). While budgets and debt are usually intangible entities, constructing them as an unsettling black hole serves to legitimise the role of government and the measures that must be taken to keep the state safe.

Similarly, the Royal Hobart Hospital rebuild was one such area where the health minister appeared to invoke a navigational justification for a unilateral leadership approach. The ‘Royal Redevelopment Rescue Taskforce’ was made up of experts and high-level public servants charged with making recommendations to government about the important project. The consistent use of this language by the minister, Michael Ferguson, led to this navigational nomenclature becoming naturalised in news media. References to ‘rescue’ were used consistently in relation to this project in headlines and leads, usually without capitalisation or apostrophes to indicate the origin of the word in the taskforce’s title. The idea of ‘rescuing’ is particularly resonant in Tasmania where there is frequently news of walking parties or fishing vessels becoming lost in the wild parts of the state. The taskforce, then, was charged with rescuing the project and would have every means at their disposal to do so.

6.9 Conclusion

Leadership is disclosed in actions and propositions. According to Hannah Arendt, as soon as individuals take initiative and act, they “show who they are, reveal actively their unique personal identities and thus make their appearance in the human world” (Arendt 1958, p. 179). This disclosure of leadership in action was a central focus in the dramatising of propositional journalism in the sample. Particular aspects of their action and character became increasingly salient as symbolic capital in the text – forming frames of leadership evaluation.

By ‘testing’ leaders on established criterion of good leadership, journalists and editors become involved in the policing of the governmental field. For example, political commentary would interpret propositions as tests of leadership and character. The propositions in the sample invited questions of leadership because, ultimately, they required a range of leaders to act and support the idea, or actively ignore or dismiss it. These decisions, in the sample, were frequently framed as ‘tests of leadership’ that could undermine or demonstrate the leadership credentials of the individual involved. Similarly, the proponents of an idea were also scrutinised through this frame to determine whether they possessed the right mettle to successfully prosecute the idea and see it implemented. Leadership virtues arguably attract greater consensus than policy, making leadership a safe theme for editorialising. However, through such routine evaluations, despite falling within journalism’s

watchdog role, contribute to the ongoing restriction of the governmental field and legitimisation of the "princes" of the field (Kerr, 2008). Ultimately, the conceptual metaphors examined in this chapter corresponded with observable imbalances in news access outlined in the previous chapter.

Navigational metaphors, which were the most prevalent and homologous way of evaluating leadership across the sample, appeared to valorise a relatively narrow range of relevant leadership signs. This frame corresponded with a celebration of the physicality of good leadership as involving strength, a firm hand, quick reflexes and an unbending determination. Considering the overwhelmingly masculine voices in the governmental field, this metaphor serves to naturalise this gender imbalance and may contribute to the cultural tendency to equate good leadership with masculine characteristics. This finding affirms feminist scholarship and cultural criticism regarding the exclusion of female voices from the public sphere (Fraser, 1990) and masculine leadership styles in the workplace (Eagly et al., 1992). In particular, the gender-role-congruency hypothesis posited by Eagly, Makhijani and Klonsky (1992, p. 16) – “that women are negatively evaluated when they exhibit masculine leadership styles” – may partially explain the correspondence between the low levels of women included in propositional journalism in the sample and the prevalent (and often archetypally masculine) navigational metaphors used to reason about leadership. In addition, this chapter has argued that navigational imperatives can be deployed to rationalise a unilateral and undemocratic approach to public consultation in government. When combined with militaristic language, this metaphor marginalised alternative voices in favour of a highly regimented and disciplined public that is idealised as marching together into a better future. However, as the subsequent chapters will argue, there were a range of alternative conceptual metaphors used to frame proponents and propositions that reveal emerging archetypes of leadership in ‘New Tasmania’.

Chapter 7: 'An entrepreneurial spirit'

7.1 Introduction

Editors identified entrepreneurialism as a key leadership virtue in the governmental field. This chapter unpacks this aspect of leadership legitimacy that was arguably constructed through three key metaphorical frames. These related, firstly, to construction metaphors, where the economy was considered a fragile structure requiring a responsible engineer-like leader; secondly, to gambling metaphors, which celebrated calculated risk and business nous; and, thirdly, visibility metaphors which valorised self-promotion and marketing imperatives. These expressions, overall, legitimised the high number of business and business-minded sources in the sample and reflected the agenda of newly pro-business Liberal Governments.

Across the fields of politics and business, there is a relatively common discourse surrounding leadership. Ron Kerr suggests that key concepts relating to leadership are 'homologous' across the fields of politics and business: crisis-driven leadership, competition with an enemy and the charisma of the leader are common themes in public and private fields (Kerr 2008, p. 204). The 'new spirit of capitalism', according to Boltanski and Chiapello (1999), is apparent in the widespread acceptance of management and leadership theory across a range of fields. This new business language may also produce habitual ways of thinking and talking about leadership quality that celebrate symbolic capital typically possessed by business and political sources. In particular, this chapter will argue that relevant cultural capital is inferred through the use of metaphor and idiomatic language that has become common and naturalised in propositional journalism. Conversely, political scientists have shown that politics, political movements and parties have also adopted strategies and structures from the world of businesses and marketing (Lock and Harris, 1996). Branding, logos, focus groups, merchandising are now ubiquitous political practices, just as privatisation and market solutions are increasingly preferred in the policy sphere. As such, this chapter examines how a leadership style that exudes business savviness was legitimised within the 'governmental field'. This can be examined by comparing, quantitatively, the prevalence of various families of metaphors.

The previous chapter showed how leadership, constructed as navigation, served to highlight certain relevant symbolic capital in the governmental field, legitimising political and business sources, and their prevalence across the sample. The virtues of navigational leadership – clear vision, a firm hand on the tiller, focus and determination – could be considered typically political, however, they have also become indispensable for business elites. This homology, or habitus affinity, corresponds with

similarities in the structure of these institutions. Businesses, like governments, adopt norms of corporate accountability that are typical of democratic governments. Their pronouncements have an air of near-governmental statesmanship and often profess a deeply felt patriotism and ambition for the communities in which they operate. As was shown in the previous chapter, with this convergence there has emerged other similarities in the adjudication of what type of person should be regarded as a 'natural leader' in these fields.

This chapter outlines how economic capital and a spirit of entrepreneurialism were constructed as valuable symbolic capital through the framing of propositions. In particular, metaphors relating to construction, gambling and visibility celebrated key entrepreneurial sensibilities and underlined symbolic capital that is typical of business elites and business-minded politicians. Accordingly, solutions proffered by sources within the governmental field were often judged according to their source's perceived business savviness or naïveté. This chapter will show how the prevalence of metaphors differed across the sample and explore how the use of metaphorical expressions served to legitimise the dominant political and business voices in the debate.

To be taken seriously in the governmental field a business proposal needs, firstly, to be proposed by someone with the financial means to make it happen. That is to say that economic rather than cultural capital might be considered the preeminent marker of legitimacy for business sources. However, wealth is not the only prerequisite for sources seeking prominence in news coverage and the governmental field. In places such as Tasmania, with strong egalitarian and democratic norms, having money does not automatically equate to legitimacy in the governmental sphere. In fact, business interests can be used to delegitimise politicians or business voices, especially when their pseudo-governmental pronouncements are seen as self-serving. Accordingly, sources that are perceived to be wealthy usually make an effort to appear as responsible benefactors and conscious of the wider effects of their action, often using the navigational metaphors explored in the previous chapter. However, there are a range of virtues, typical of business people, which were also made salient as justification for their influence and dominance in the governmental sphere. This cultural work was partly achieved through metaphor. In particular, it will be shown that metaphors relating to building, gambling and visibility lent implicit support to sources with more economic than cultural capital.

7.2 'An entrepreneurial spirit'

In interview, both editors at *The Mercury* and *The Examiner* highlighted their belief in the importance of entrepreneurialism to the future of Tasmania. The editor of *The Mercury*, Matt

Deighton, identified an “entrepreneurial spirit” as vitally important and notably lacking in Tasmania:

David Walsh [owner of MONA] has shown what an entrepreneurial spirit can achieve. He has changed the whole face of Hobart, and changed, in a lot of ways, the whole face of Tasmania, certainly in terms of public perceptions and without a cent of government money. So that shows what happens when you can harness an entrepreneurial spirit. Whether you like what he does or you don't is irrelevant. But the fact is that he has achieved it. So the challenge is to see how you can tap that into other areas. For me, an entrepreneurial spirit is really really important. And you see it all the time in places like Sydney, you don't see it as much down here. And a lot of the successful people here are people that have worked elsewhere like your guys at Tassal, your Liz Jacks and Mike Grangers and some of the big business people around town who have national or international exposure. Bring that back to Tassie. So I think to harness that you need to bring people in from outside, so I think it is really important. (Deighton, 28 September, 2014)

Editor of *The Examiner* Simon Tennant expressed a similar sentiment:

I've always been suspicious of businesses that rely on [government] funding to do anything. [But] Probably not start-ups. I think start-ups are wonderful. It's fairly new that we have start-ups. I was at a Chamber of Commerce awards on Saturday night and one of things I found really refreshing and exciting was the number of niche businesses and start-ups that are coming up. (Tennant, 4 November, 2015)

While both editors gave only general statements about the types of propositions that might help Tasmania, they were specifically in favour of the innovation and energy of entrepreneurialism to reshape the future of Tasmania. Common to both these editors' statements favouring entrepreneurialism was a celebration of the independence and proactivity that is considered typical of business people. For Deighton, entrepreneurs like David Walsh have achieved incredible things, “without a cent of government money”, while Simon Tennant appreciated the independence of business people that get things done without government support. This is an especially salient point in Tasmania where forestry and energy businesses have benefited, and continue to benefit, from government subsidisation and where there have been cases of nepotism and corruption between business and local governments. As noted in Chapter 2, there is also a common argument in Tasmania that a lack of jobs in the private, for-profit sector, and overreliance on public service jobs and welfare, has led to a cultural lack of personal proactivity and energy in the Tasmanian workforce. Economist and business professor Jonathan West has been a vocal critic of this cultural proclivity in the journal, *TASMANIA – The Tipping Point?*:

The underlying problem is simple but intractable: Tasmania has developed a way of life, a mode of doing things, a demographic, a culture and associated economy, that reproduces under-achievement generation after generation (West, 2013).

What is needed, in this view, is a mindset shift and some new entrepreneurial energy to effectively harness the economic opportunities and circumvent the prevailing obstructionist mentality. The valorisation of entrepreneurialism was apparent in the language used to refer to business people and business-minded politicians in the sample. This focus on the healthy independence and proactivity of entrepreneurs was often highlighted through the choice of metaphor. In particular, it will be suggested that the virtues of independence and proactivity were frequently highlighted using a 'construction' metaphorical system.

7.2.1 Neoliberalism

According to the tenets of free market idealism, economic activity is not directed by political leadership. Rather, governments provide the requisite security, confidence and monetary policy for businesses to invest and expand – ideally providing economic growth, employment and government revenues in return (Harvey, 2007, p. 2). Implicit in this idea is a revaluation of government and business leadership experience. People with business experience are considered qualified to drive progress in society, whereas centralised government or public service leadership is devalued. This can be seen in the devaluation of 'navigational' political leadership in some neoliberal writing. For instance, Friedrich von Hayek, the father of neoliberal philosophy, framed his most famous critique of centralised government using a navigational metaphor. 'The Road to Serfdom' (Hayek, 1976), beginning with the opening chapter, 'The Abandoned Road', sought to characterise the intervention in the free market as a step in the direction of the 'authoritarian horror', and made clear use of navigational metaphors to furnish the critique. However, with its unpalatable policy prescriptions of welfare reduction, flexible pay, work hours and heightened competition, neoliberalism requires cultural legitimisation and a moral argument. I argue that this 'cultural work' took place in the sample metaphorically through a romanticisation of its most important protagonists: businessmen, investors and marketing professionals. As the following analysis suggests, there were three main metaphors that accentuated the symbolic capital of business minded individuals: 1) entrepreneurial independence and productivity through 'construction' metaphors, 2) entrepreneurial courage and self-interest through 'gambling' metaphors, and 3) entrepreneurial marketing nous through 'visibility' metaphors.

7.3 Construction Metaphors

A familiar historical example of the construction metaphor is the phrase ‘nation-building’ that has typically been used to legitimise Keynesian government infrastructure developments. The vast Snowy Mountains Hydro construction project in Victoria was, for instance, an archetypal example of a nation-building project. Construction began in 1949 with the then Australian Prime Minister, Ben Chifley, describing it as “one of the greatest milestones on the march of Australia to full national development” (in Griffin, 2003, p. 39), enabling Australia a new level of energy independence and national security. Nation building projects of this magnitude, in the new economic rationalism of the post-Cold War period was explicitly rejected. In this view, the financial risk and profit should be shouldered by private companies that are better equipped to interpret consumer demand, incentivised to increase efficiency through a profit motive. Rather than dispensing with this metaphor altogether, proponents of market rationality and small government have altered the nature of the ‘construction’ implied by a ‘nation-building’ metaphor.

Indeed, the term ‘nation-building’ was conspicuously absent in the sample. In the ABC it did not appear at all, and in *The Examiner* it was only used in reference to the television program *Utopia*, which parodied the bureaucratic incompetence of the public service in the fictional ‘Nation-building Authority’ (Stevenson 2014). In *The Mercury*, however, it appeared twice: once in an opinion piece by Labor Federal Minister, Anthony Albanese (2014, p. 15), noting that the new Liberal government seemed determined to “expunge the term ‘Nation-building’ from government programs and avoid any accountability in infrastructure investment decisions by the Abbott Government”. It also appeared in quotation marks in a critical editorial of the new internet infrastructure upgrade, the National Broadband Network (NBN), that was progressing far slower and at greater cost than predicted: “What a far cry from the lavish promises of four years and two federal elections ago, when Tasmania was chosen to be the pioneer in this great ‘nation-building’ enterprise” (“Broadband Blues”, August 6, 2014). Indeed, the previous Labor Government that initiated the NBN project was much more willing to use the term. After the Global Financial Crisis of 2008, then Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, initiated the ‘Nation-building Program’, which funded ambitious education, health and technology infrastructure upgrades – a huge injection of government investment that was designed to stimulate the economy and prevent job-losses in the face of contracting financial markets. While many economists celebrated the policy, noting that Australia was the only developed nation to escape the crisis without entering recession (Grube, 2011), critics, however, highlighted examples of mismanagement and waste associated with the rushed rollout – most notably the deaths of workers installing energy efficient insulation in homes prompting a Royal Commission (Robinson, 2014). With the change of government federally in 2013 and at a Tasmanian state level in 2014, this discourse received a radical revaluation. Where it did appear in the sample, it took on a pejorative meaning,

being tied to government irresponsibility and bureaucratic inefficiency. However, there also appeared to be a change in the internal construction of this metaphor in conformity with a change in the normative division of governmental labour under neoliberalism; away from government-led development and towards limited government and business-led development.

A good example of this altered metaphorical frame was in the text of State Treasurer Peter Gutwein's first state budget speech, titled 'Keeping our promises, Laying a foundation for the future', which received broad media attention in the sample. Gutwein (2014) made frequent references to building and construction in his maiden budget speech (*italicised text*), featuring an innovated nation-building metaphor. Rather than 'nation-building' the government sought to limit itself to 'laying the foundations' on which businesses can be built with confidence [*emphasis added*]:

- This budget, "*lays the foundation* for a brighter future for all Tasmanians" (p. 1)
- ...by making Tasmania the most competitive place in Australia. Our energy sector *underpins* that. The *foundation stone* of our energy sector is Hydro Tasmania, which is why the Liberal Government is committed not to sell this Tasmanian icon (p. 3)
- The Government and the Board of Forestry Tasmania are currently working together to consider options to place Forestry Tasmania back onto a *financially sustainable footing* (p. 4)
- The budget was left in an unsustainable position. This wasn't caused by a *collapse* in
- revenues. Rather, it was caused by the previous Government's unsustainable spending. During the past four years, revenues have been more than *stable* (p. 5)
- Every household in Tasmania knows that you cannot *build* a prosperous future if you continue to spend more than you earn and keep living off credit (p. 6)
- We also believe that we can't tax ourselves to prosperity and while there are signs that the economy is starting to grow again, increasing the impost on Tasmanian businesses could *damage that fragile recovery* (p. 8)
- ... we have a plan for Tasmania's future. A plan to deliver *strong, stable* majority government to get things done (p. 13)
- And a plan to *rebuild* essential services... Madam Speaker, this is a Budget that keeps out promises; begins *fixing* the budget *mess*; and most importantly, *lays a foundation for the future* (p. 13)

Coming to power after more than a decade in opposition, Gutwein sought to frame the party's

platform as beginning the work of ‘rebuilding’ the state economically after the ‘collapse’ that occurred under the previous government. By stressing the government’s role in ‘securing the foundations’, Gutwein effectively placed limits on the government’s role and reframed the division of labour in policy making. In this metaphor, businesses will do the building and decide what is to be built and the government will restrict itself to providing the necessary preconditions and foundations. This construction metaphor, can be mapped as follows:

Businesses and entrepreneurs are buildings, the government is the engineer responsible for securing the foundations, and the economy is a city.

According to this metaphor, buildings (as businesses and entrepreneurs) are vital structures that must be built for the good of society. However, they are projects that require a great deal of expertise and responsibility. They are also fragile, prone to collapse and vulnerable to (economic) shocks, shakes and instability. People rely on these buildings and can be harmed if they collapse. For this reason, it is vital that a responsible engineer secure the foundations that will safeguard the structure into the future. It follows that, once a building is constructed, tampering with the foundations can risk bringing down the entire building. This idea captures businesses’ frequently stated need for confidence, stability and certainty. The function of the metaphor is apparent in the most commonly used phrase within this metaphor; ‘base’. It is, metaphorically, a much more passive role than, for instance, a navigational understanding of governance where the direction of the whole of society is determined centrally. As such, it corresponds with the respective role of government and business under neoliberal economic policy.

‘Base’, which was used metaphorically 69 times in the sample, usually appeared as ‘based on’, but also appeared in constructions such as ‘evidence-based’. This common usage employs a construction metaphor to highlight assumptions that are central to action. For instance, industry minister, Paul Harriss’ new forest strategy would be “based on science” (Edwards, 2014). Or, in relation to the possible legalisation of medicinal cannabis, the Labor Party would defer to experts who are “making informed decisions based on research” (Billings, 2014). Usefully for leaders and business people, who are bound by norms of accountability, this metaphorical device has an implicit qualification: that the decisions are only as good as the foundational information on which they are built. This rationalist, technocratic style of accountability is an important part of business operations and investment decisions. It is also a concept that lies at the heart of journalism historically. The earliest examples of ‘news letters’ that passed between the market-cities of Europe (Conboy, 2004, p. 11) were primarily concerned with informing important business decisions by providing reliable information about conditions in other parts of the world. Loading a ship with stock and crew, ready

for a perilous journey to a distant port, was a hugely risky and expensive investment. It was therefore imperative to know whether the port city was at war or peace, in famine or flood. In this sense, news has always had a role in providing the factual foundations upon which rational, enlightenment self-interest could operate.

Accordingly, a shrewd business mind looks at these foundational assumptions prior to an investment in the same way that an engineer might examine a blueprint. Under transnational capitalism the equations are much more fluid and the assumptions more contingent. The engineer's leadership habitus is even more vital in these unsteady times. A central virtue implied by a construction metaphor is, therefore, 'responsibility'. An editorial in *The Mercury* suggested that financial responsibility was the primary virtue of the current Liberal Party government:

But the bottom line is the people of Tasmania elected Will Hodgman and his Liberal team to bring a new financial prudence to the job. They were elected on the premise that they would be more responsible. ("Tough call on Domain", December 13, 2014)

Construction metaphors appear when issues of trust and responsibility arise and, as this quote shows, this includes the trust and expectations of voters. Accordingly, politicians are elected on a policy 'platform' or 'on' the basis of the promises they make. However, this metaphor's application to economic leadership implies that politicians have responsibilities beyond the promises they make to the electorate – they must also be responsible for the economic integrity of businesses which have to make important decisions based on existing policy settings. Accordingly, politicians will seek to appear as the most qualified, predictable and responsible economic engineers while casting their opponents as reckless and dangerous. For instance, Peter Gutwein stressed that his budget was not a "slash and burn" budget but a "disciplined and responsible" budget (Richards, 2014c). The Labor party, however, sought to make the budget decisions appear reckless and even violent with references to 'slashed jobs', 'deep cuts', a 'brutal budget' that will 'hurt' Tasmanians and destabilise the economy. The legitimisation of the Liberal Party's budget used construction metaphors to differentiate itself from economic irresponsibility of the previous Labor government.

7.3.1 A business is an edifice

It is no accident that a city's most powerful businesses are represented by the tallest office blocks and skyscrapers. They are symbols of the work taken to build them, of stability, ambition and, importantly, independence. They do not lean against anything. They stand straight and tall, exuding moral strength, will power and independence. The reason that global business culture traditionally prefer tall straight buildings over, say, buildings that take up a lot of horizontal space (Tesla and

Google aside), is partly metaphorical. According to Lakoff, the founding metaphor of a conservative 'strict father' morality is the idea that "Being good is being upright" and "Being bad is being low" (Lakoff, 1996, p. 71), and that uprightness must be enforced, through punishment and privation if need be:

Thus, to remain upright, one must be strong enough to "stand up to evil". Hence, morality is conceptualised as strength, as having the moral fiber or backbone to resist evil. Morality Is Strength. [Emphasis added] (Lakoff, 1996, p. 71)

Thus, in this world view, wealthy individuals and businesses are considered virtuous and moral because they are strong and have achieved independence and self-reliance. Powerful businesses tend to make a virtue of their success by signalling their uprightness and strength architecturally. This could be seen in the sample, where poor economic performance was described as a childlike failure to stand strong and tall. As the editor of *The Mercury* noted, "With so much going for it, it's difficult to imagine why the state is still struggling to stand on its own feet economically" ("Our chance to shine", December 29, 2014). However, while virtuous independence and strength can also be symbolised by posture and other personal characteristics, being slumped and weak can symbolise dependence, poverty, laziness and stupidity. This is what Bourdieu (1998, p. 35) called a 'bodily hexis' – a projection of class distinction through learnt bodily dispositions. In his analysis of teachers' comments about good or bad school students, Bourdieu observed how the social class of students in the 'class room' (a telling name for a learning space) corresponded to descriptions of the student's manner, posture, pronunciation and facial expression. Particularly in oral presentation assessments, he found that teachers often noted idiosyncrasies which were used euphemistically to judge personality, erudition and, ultimately, award marks favouring the wealthy urbanite students over the poor rural students (1998, p. 35).

Like bodies, buildings too – their straightness, tallness, grandness – can project characteristics of their occupant including their legitimacy within the governmental field. For instance, according to Cottle and Lester (2009), the trustworthiness and legitimacy of sources in climate change reporting has been conveyed visually through references to the built environment. Legitimacy was often conferred on scientific sources visually through staging and props, including references to the built environment in which they appeared. Scientists, they found:

study maps and aerial photographs, and they work in bustling offices and laboratories, where they are too busy engaging with the crisis to be interviewed anywhere other than at their desks. [However] In contrast to politicians and scientists, climate change activists and NGO spokespeople are regularly interviewed and shown standing outside. (Lester and

Cottle, 2009, p. 930-931)

Scientists were given markers of expertise and legitimacy whereas activists were shown outside without expert or institutional attachment, thus distancing the activists from, “the core of political cooperation and possible solution to the global crisis” (2009, p. 932). To use this study’s preferred term, Lester and Cottle identified symbolic capital of climate sources that correspond with their position in the ‘governmental field’ (Hage, 2012, p. 46).

A similar staging in news photography across the sample could be detected. Often proponents would be depicted as standing in front of a historic and iconic local building while offering their proposal. For example, proponents of the Mount Wellington Cable Car were shown standing in front of the historical Cascade Brewery (**Figure 6**). This placement implies a solidarity of the proponents with the historical character of the locale in which they want to operate. It can express an ambition that their project might also become an icon in Tasmania, or be built with sensitivity to the historic nature of the area. This corresponded with the common idea of ‘building on Tasmania’s strengths’; strengths which usually include the state’s historic and cultural resources. While the activists that Cottle and Lester reference in their climate science example are visually disempowered by their being staged outside, the example of the two entrepreneurs below emphasises their connection to a specific building rather than their disconnection and outside human civilisation.



Considering these correspondences, the analysis will now consider how descriptions of buildings and the urban environment were used metaphorically to critique poor economic leadership and celebrate a leadership habitus with business experience.

7.3.2 Failed Urbanism and Economic Leadership

In the sample, descriptions of dilapidated buildings were used to symbolise leadership dysfunction and neglect in Tasmania. In particular, the C. H. Smith building in Launceston, a famously dilapidated ‘eyesore’, was marked as “a symbol of stalled development and halted progress” by Launceston’s Mayor, Albert van Zetten (in Maloney, 2014b). The building’s presence in the city belied what other commentators considered to be a pervasive economic and business incompetence in the leadership culture of the state. In *The Examiner*, there were several opinion pieces that alluded to its broader significance in the context of critiques of leadership and economic management. These appeared to draw on a metaphorical schema relating to buildings, architects and leadership.

Barry Prismall, Deputy Editor of *The Examiner*, was a consistent critic of Tasmanian leadership failure, writing five forceful editorials against weak leadership and economic inaction that appeared in the sample. In the context of these critiques, his description of the dilapidated building took an accusatory tone. His editorial titled, ‘Time to act on future of eyesore’ (Prismall, 2014a), provided a detailed description of the famously dilapidated C. H. Smith building:

THE C. H. Smith building is an eyesore on Launceston's landscape and its future should be determined one way or the other. A warehouse built in the 1880s, its value as an iconic, colonial treasure, representative of 19th-century Georgian architecture, is slowly deteriorating, along with the edifice. (Prismall, 2014a)

The symbolic quality of the building was inferred by continuous reference to its visibility: the reference to ‘eyesore’ in the headline and lead, that it “sits there in all its neglected glory for all tourists to see”, and that “it is an embarrassment, occupying a prime city cite with potential for both tourism and commercial usage but going nowhere. A crumbling wreck” (Prismall, 2014a). By highlighting its prominence, Prismall suggested locals and tourists would be familiar with the building and what it stands for – neglect and idleness. By way of contrast, it was described as being “opposite a major retailer” (Prismall, 2014a) and as hampering potential tourism and business development of the area. In comparison to these promising and productive uses, the building represents economic failure and unemployment.

Importantly, the editorial tied the building's condition to what Prismall considered to be a pervasive attitude in Tasmania: a preference for care over responsibility, for easy populism rather than necessary decisiveness. This weak attitude was considered an anathema to good economic leadership:

A decade ago critics described it as a product of the usual heritage farce - a building subjected to all care and no responsibility. Nothing has changed. Once again those concerned enough to save buildings never have to look after them. A set- and-forget culture, while ratepayers or taxpayers are left to pick up the tab. (Prismall, 2014a)

Interestingly, there is a conflation of language used between parenting (in a Lakoffian sense), governance and urban decay in these critiques of failed urbanism. The reference to "all care and no responsibility", in the first paragraph, and having to "look after them", is a metaphorical critique of a nurturant parent mentality. If you spoil your children they will not become strong, upright, independent adults. They will be weak and will have to be looked after by other people such as the welfare state when they grow up. Economically, it is a leadership style that leads to derelict buildings and unemployment. By being overly sentimental about the heritage value of the C.H Smith Building leaders squander the business potential of the site. What is needed, Prismall suggested, is strong, strict parenting/governance that is capable of making a hard decision. He begins the article by complaining that "we seem incapable of dealing with it" (Prismall, 2014a). According to Prismall, "its future should be determined one way or the other" ... "Let's have a hard look at it and make a tough decision" (Prismall, 2014a). Again, responsibility emerges as a key leadership virtue in this construction metaphor; albeit responsibility within a 'strict father' moral framework.

Unemployment and idleness were common themes in Prismall's other editorials (2014b; 2014d) and were present, obliquely, in this description of the abandoned warehouse (2014a). The theme of unemployment was invoked symbolically through his description of the defunct C.H Smith construction site: "Even the heavy machinery deployed long ago to expedite development at the rear of the building's facade is developing rust and cobwebs" (Prismall, 2014a). The description of the defunct construction site and abandoned machinery symbolises the unemployed workers who should be operating the machinery but are, like the machinery, redundant and idle. The description of the construction yard was also taken up by another *Examiner* journalist, Matt Maloney, in his article on the C.H Smith building, 'Long struggle to redevelop city eyesore':

Today, a lonely piece of earthmoving machinery remains in the same slumped position it had 12 months ago, with weeds growing around it. Blue and black spray paint decorates the backside of a heritage-listed crumbling facade and an unsecured, semi-derelict warehouse.

(Maloney, 2014b)

Describing the machinery as in a slumped position seems to anthropomorphise the object – implying some moral failure, or laziness – especially in light of Lakoff’s idea of conservative moral ‘uprightness’ (2010, p. 65). In addition, Maloney notes the blue and black graffiti on the building - evidence of dangerously unoccupied and unemployed youths while the colours blue and black are reminiscent of bruising and, perhaps, depression.

This conflation of failed urbanism with youth unemployment was especially salient because of the political context of the sample. In 2014, youth unemployment was a central theme in reporting with the Federal Government’s controversial ‘Earn or Learn’ policy attracting considerable attention. This policy, that sought to quarantine young people from applying for welfare for six months, was interpreted by some as imputing a moral failure on young unemployed Tasmanians when, in fact, there were simply not enough jobs available (Webb, 2014). The application of a construction metaphor did not directly blame youth unemployment figures on a generational lack of proactivity and independence. Rather, the moral failing was directed at the leadership failure in Tasmania, reasoned about in terms of parenting. It implied that young people’s idleness and lack of independence was due to a weak, overly nurturant leadership style. This implicit accusation appeared in the common conflation of failed urbanism with failed parenting in, for instance, Matt Maloney’s critique of Launceston’s Brisbane Street Mall:

The Brisbane Street Mall is a depressing place to be, for any length of time. It's grey, it's drab, and those creepy hard-plastic cushions make me jump out of my skin every time they utter inaudible words at me in a creepy child-like voice reminiscent of a horror movie. Add to this the screaming, swearing, narcissistic youths that slump themselves over the mall's dull furniture, and you have created one of the circles of my personal hell. (Maloney, 2014a)

Where Maloney noted the graffiti on the C.H Smith Building, in this case he describes the youths in physical form, occupying another example of failed urban planning. They are slumped, not ‘upright’ and they are distinctly threatening with their screaming and yelling. “The council has some massive work ahead to make the centre a place where people want to be”, he continued (Maloney, 2014a), overlooking the fact that apparently the youths already want to be there (and are people). Brisbane Street is described as almost Soviet in its greyness and drabness, with furniture that are ‘creepy’ inhuman automaton. Again, this site is contrasted with other uses that are characterised by vibrant businesses, and more productive and legitimate members of society:

Imagine cars and asphalt replaced by beautiful paving, architecturally designed wooden furniture, garden beds, food carts, shady trees, grassed embankments, and the hum of

quality buskers and warm chatter. This could be a place to encourage weekend markets, a hub for cafes, restaurants, bars and alfresco dining, concerts, and hopefully the odd flash mob [...] It would provide a stage for market trade and events that will bring people together and promote an image of a thriving community. More activity in the centre would support existing businesses, and new businesses would have confidence to open in some of the small and narrow tenancies around the centre. A town square historically has been the heart of a town or a city. (Maloney, 2014a)

Between this imagined free-market utopia and the current urban dystopia, there lies the spectre of obstructionism and an overly nurturant leadership mentality:

Of course, such a dramatic overhaul of the city's centre will cause some initial pain, frustration, and confusion, and it is unlikely to be cheap if the job is done correctly. People will complain about the inconveniences of two small sections of road closed to traffic. Others will fear a "bogan" influx, and some will simply hate the idea because it is something different. (Maloney, 2014a)

These statements anticipate the same weak, obstructionist mentality to which Prismall alluded. A culture that does not tolerate short-term pain in the interest of making a necessary tough decision. There is also a contrast between different performances of youthfulness—a different 'bodily hexis', to use Bourdieu's (1998, p. 35) term—that might result from a refurbished town square: buskers and warm chatter instead of screaming and swearing, and 'hopefully' a flash mob (a caricature of youthful aerobic activity) rather than slumped bodies on ugly furniture.

The Mercury also had a preoccupation with the built environment, noting a number of projects that were symbolic of the economic circumstances facing the state. However, Hobart and Launceston represented two very different economic perspectives during the sample. As the editor of *The Examiner*, Simon Tennant, explained:

I believe there's a bit of a two speed economy in Tasmania. I think Hobart, on the back of some government money they are pouring into it and places like MONA, which is fantastic, I think Hobart is travelling a bit better than the northern half of the state. And that's something I think the government needs to be very mindful of. (Tennant, 4 November, 2015)

This economic discrepancy appeared to inform the tone in the editorialising between the two newspapers. While articles in *The Examiner*, such as those by Maloney and Prismall, seemed pessimistic about the prospects of an economic revival and despairing about in the city's urban wastelands, there was a pervasive sense of optimism in *The Mercury*. Several articles praised the

development of the Brook Street Pier building; a floating retail and hospitality building on Hobart's waterfront. It was a symbol of innovation and new optimism in Hobart's economy: "In a nod to Tasmanian manufacturers, the hi-tech structure is being fabricated offsite at Incat's Prince of Wales dockyards by Tassie building firm Fairbrothers" ("Wonderful waterfront", May 24, 2014). The article made frequent mention of the building's shininess and brightness, being clad entirely in glass. These descriptions fit within, what will be described later as, a visibility metaphor that celebrated all things bright and shiny (and the marketing nous brings them attention). Firstly, however, the following section will examine how gambling language related to this legitimization of entrepreneurial leadership in Tasmania.

7.4 Gambling with the future

As Tasmania's most well-known entrepreneur and philanthropist, David Walsh, gambler and owner of the Museum of Old and New Art (MONA) gallery, is understandably an emblematic figure in the cultivation of entrepreneurialism in Tasmania. As Matt Deighton (28 September, 2014) explained, "David Walsh has shown what an entrepreneurial spirit can achieve". Walsh embodies a range of virtues that are often considered intrinsic to someone experienced and successful in the world of business, many of which are attributed to his gambling experience: the clever calculation of odds, the courage to take a risk and the beneficence to share the bounty of his winnings with the community. While Walsh is literally a gambler, there is a sense in which all successful businessmen are popularly romanticised as metaphorical gamblers. Colloquially, business people are not afraid to "take a punt", "back themselves" and "cash in" when a risk "pays off". This construction of entrepreneurialism as gambling could be seen in the sample where propositions were frequently framed with references to gambling games and idioms.

Phrases associated with gambling were not the most prevalent in the sample – there were 259 gambling words that were used metaphorically, compared to 2212 navigation metaphors. Nonetheless, their presence was arguably more salient than other expressions. Gambling metaphors centred around two phrases in particular: "bid" (occurring 115 times in the sample) and "back" (occurring 92 times). These two phrases accounted for 107 of the 139 phrases found in *The Mercury*, 26 of 31 in *The Examiner*, and 74 of 89 in the *ABC* samples. They also appeared in prominent places in the news text. In *The Mercury*, for instance, "bid" was mentioned 63 times, 17 of these mentions occurred in the headline and 18 of these in the lead sentence of the article. In addition, compared to all the other idioms, bid and back were used almost exclusively by journalists and editors and almost never by sources or opinion piece writers. They are a seemingly idiosyncratic stylistic feature of journalistic writing in Tasmanian and relatively foreign in the usual lexicon of non-journalist sources.

Metaphorically, a proposition is “a bid” that is “backed” by the proponent, financiers and key figures. A proposition is then “on the cards” but only heard about once the proponent “shows his hand”, puts his “cards on the table” or “raises the stakes”. This language located propositions and their proponents within a specifically commercial setting. It served to underline financial risk, reward and romanticised certain entrepreneurial virtues. While ‘bid’ and ‘back’ can be used literally to talk about financial dealings (auctions, for instance, involve literal bids), the reason this language appeared to be metaphorical rather than literal, and specifically about gambling rather than, say, auctioning was because, firstly, it appeared in situations where no financial transactions were taking place and, secondly, it appeared to correspond to language that related specifically to gambling games. In particular, card game references such as “on the cards”, “wildcard”, “cards close to chest”, “drawcard”, were often used to describe uncertain futures or unpredictable people. For example, an article in *The Mercury* had the headline, “Labor refuses to back forest deal repeal Bill”, followed by the lead stating that “Tasmania’s Labor Opposition has revealed its hand on forestry, vowing not to vote with the Liberals on legislation to tear up the forest peace deal” (Smith and Richards, 2014).

7.4.1 Bid

The word ‘bid’ frequently appeared in headlines and leads where it tended to identify a courageous attempt. For example, consider the following *ABC* headlines:

- “Government stands firm on bid to reduce Tasmanian forest World Heritage listing” (Ogilvie, 2014)
- “World Heritage Committee told to reject Federal Government bid to delist 74,000 hectares of Tasmanian forest” (Tran, 2014)
- Bid to free up more Mount Wellington land for developers moves to next phase (Grant, 2014)
- Tasmanian budget 2014: Liberals to axe 700 jobs in bid to balance books (Bolger, 2014)

One explanation for the prevalence of this word in the journalistic lexicon and in headlines and leads is that it is efficient. ‘Bid’ is a short, percussive word that immediately connects actions to their perceived aim and contextualises events in a setting of uncertainty. However, it also dramatises these actions, adding colour, and imputing personal risk, responsibility and courage on the actor.

As the previous section on construction metaphors alluded, economic responsibility and expertise are important features of entrepreneurial leadership. Similarly, ‘bid’ implies some responsibility for applying forethought and calculating prior to acting. It also suggests a personal investment in the

outcome that, if not specifically monetary, often involved staking a portion of one's credibility and reputation on the outcome. The ability to make good bids, which can be realistically achieved bringing the desired rewards, is central to political legitimacy. As Bourdieu (original emphasis, 1991a, p. 190) stated:

In politics, 'to say is to do', that is. It is to get people to believe that you can do what you say... Political speech – and this is what defines its specificity – commits its author completely because it constitutes a commitment to action which is truly political only if it is the commitment of an agent or group of agents who are politically responsible, that is, capable of carrying out the action: it is only on this condition that it is equivalent to an act.

Thus, a politician's legitimacy with supporters is partly reliant on their powers of prediction – that what they predict will transpire, that expectations will be met and promises delivered. Interestingly, while sources of propositions almost never described their propositions as 'bids' (5.3% of mentions, N=123), that is how they were interpreted by journalists – who framed propositions by using gambling language metaphorically as speech that commits the speaker to action. Journalists have a professional stake in the consequential nature of an action because that is a key component of the newsworthiness of their stories. Nothing is more frustrating for a journalist than a press conference in which no substantial commitments are made and nothing of consequence arises (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). As such, there is an urge to impute commitment and consequence where, perhaps, a source may have been intending to proceed more cautiously – a distinction many politicians have endeavoured to make when their actions diverge from previous guarantees (Hewson, 2010).

The idea that a proposal involves staking personal credibility in the manner of a bet is, perhaps, an instance where folk-sociology and academic sociology coincide. The idea that prestige and credibility can be substituted for economic capital and described using the same terms is very similar to the idea of symbolic or cultural capital articulated by Bourdieu (1991; 1998). Bourdieu's metaphor, which he claims holds in practice as in theory, suggests that one's personal prestige can be conceived as currency that is recognised by specific 'fields', and invested in ways the reap benefits into the future. Symbolic capital implies that, in the same way that people can trade, owe, accumulate and lose financial capital, so too they can deal in 'symbolic capital'; whether cultural or social. While Bourdieu supports his theory with numerous ethnographic examples it remains a metaphorical construction.

7.4.2 Back

If describing an idea as a 'bid' served to highlight the personal commitment of a proponent,

then 'back' framed the decision to support a given proposition as similarly a question of calculated self-interest. One decides to back an idea because it is expected to reap rewards. It prioritises market rationality over other ethical or community concerns. As symbolic capital, having one's idea backed legitimises the project and reinforces the proponent's social capital. According to Bourdieu (2011, p. 47), contacts and supporters are considered as 'social capital', "made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalised in the form of a title of nobility". Thus, finding third party endorsement from a highly regarded personage is an effective strategy for accumulating power and influence in addition to one's cultural and economic capital. The metaphor 'back' makes this connection explicit by talking about one's supporters using financial and gambling colloquialisms.

The term 'back' often appeared in instances close to the term 'bid'; for instance, in relation to whether local councillors would grant 'land owner consent' to the Mount Wellington Cable Car Company. *The Mercury* reported an attempt by Glenorchy Council to build the project in their electorate, sidestepping the prevarications at the Hobart City Council:

GLENORCHY has renewed its bid to wrangle the cable car development from Hobart. On Monday night, Hobart City Council refused to back moves to grant landowner consent for the project. (Martin, 2014)

While 'back' was used metaphorically in the sample – legitimising a gambler's logic in the discussion of propositions – it is worth noting that, as a gambling expression, 'back' is itself metaphorical relating to the literal reverse-side of someone. When betting on a boxing fight, you can say that you have your preferred competitor's 'back' – which is to say, you are standing behind them, at their back, in their corner. Accordingly, to 'back' a proposition or a proponent, you are not just making a surreptitious bet on the best odds; you are also disclosing your allegiance to something by placing a monetary token of your support. In return, someone who is 'backed' by a number of these public endorsements is strengthened and emboldened. Western culture places a high value on the symbolic endorsements of others. One might win a prestigious job opportunity 'on the back of' one's references or recommendations. Referees are people who can guarantee the cultural and social capital of the candidate and, for the employer, increase the chances that employing the person will be worthwhile.

There is also a sense in which backing provides structural support in the same way as some of the construction metaphors alluded to earlier where backing can refer to structural reinforcement. In this sense, the symbolic endorsement of a proposal by power individuals strengthens the proposal – the more backers you have, the sounder that bet appears, which in turn attracts more backers. An

example of this junction between construction and gambling metaphors could be seen in an editorial titled, 'Dream the achievable' (May 26, 2014), that sought to explain why so many big projects were failing to materialise in Tasmania:

The common thread through the stalling or utter failure of the big-ticket developments is a lack of *financial backers* [...] Questions are now being asked about the *financial backing* for the Mt Wellington cable car project - version two. In the past many of the mooted multi-million developments that have promised to be a magic bullet for the state's ailing economy have been supported and promoted by governments for political reasons - bread and circuses built on hot air that create the impression of activity. ("Dream the achievable", May 26, 2014)

While there is a mix of metaphors in this passage, the central idea is that the lack of financial backing is equivalent to building on ridiculous foundations, or as one editorial put it, "bread and circuses built on hot air". Money provides the requisite foundations for the functional achievability of the project while its gambling meaning highlights the symbolic capital of the proponent implying that the proponent is more credible for being backed by legitimate people.

7.5 Visibility

As a relatively isolated island state, there is a well-aided concern in Tasmania that the state has been paid insufficient attention nationally and globally compared to its mainland counterparts. The phrase 'left off the map', normally a rhetorical expression, is occasionally a literal expression in Tasmania with the island often disappearing from depictions of the Australian nation. A prominent example was the 1982 Commonwealth Games opening ceremony that featured a human sign in the shape of Australia omitting Tasmania from the continent. These symbols are what Michael Billig termed symbols of 'banal nationalism' (1995); a network of taken-for-granted national signifiers on bank notes, news bulletins and clothing that locate the individual as part of the nation. The abasement of such symbols of belonging can offend, in this case, Tasmanian pride. This lack of visibility also has economic consequences for Tasmania with its distance from markets and relative obscurity hampering trade and investment. As one editorial in *The Mercury* alluded:

...remoteness not only adds costs to our products but hampers our ability to be seen and have a perceived presence in the market. That is precisely why so often Tasmania is left off the national map. ("Connected to the world", August 15, 2014)

However, during the 2014 sample, some sections of the Tasmanian economy were beginning to

enjoy global attention. Tasmania hosted a number of international and national events, receiving plaudits from international media and a visit from Xi Jinping, the President of China. So, it was with some justification that *The Mercury* celebrated the fact that “ONCE upon a time Tasmania was considered a backwater. Not any more” (“Busy week on the island”, 14 November, 2014).

In this context, the presence of visibility metaphors served to celebrate projects and proponents that were seen as attracting the attention of the world. This, it will be argued, legitimised an entrepreneurial nous for mass marketing while critiquing marketing incompetence. Visibility metaphors could be seen in the frequent references to the brightness and shininess of the future. Some of the most common phrases included:

A bright future and golden opportunity, putting Tasmania back on the map, in the spotlight, showcasing our best and brightest on the global stage.

Such references to lustrous metals, and eye-catching jewels, dramaturgy and retail presentation were used metaphorically in the sample to refer to many propositions and proponents. A dominant function of these visibility metaphors, I argue, was to legitimise a marketing logic and to critique inept economic leadership.

7.5.1 Showcase

The phrase ‘showcase’ was peculiarly common in *The Mercury* but comparatively absent from the other outlets. While it occurred 27 times in *The Mercury*, the most of any other visibility phrase, it only appeared 7 times in the *ABC* sample, and 4 times in *The Examiner*. Comparing the two daily newspapers, the term was used in *The Examiner* only when quoted by sources, however, journalists and editors at *The Mercury* used it 10 times, nearly as often as their sources (n=11). One interpretation of this discrepancy is that it is a phrase that is in the process of being naturalised in the journalistic lexicon. I argue that, in the context of more pervasive visibility metaphors, ‘showcase’ provides an interesting case study of a new marketing logic that is becoming prevalent in Tasmanian journalism.

‘Showcase’ is a very recent English verb. According to The Online Etymology Dictionary (2017), it is recorded as a verb from 1945. Yet, as the sample indicated, the word was pervasive across source, editorial and journalist usage in *The Mercury*. Originally, a showcase was a piece of furniture; a set of shelves encased in glass in which products could be displayed and shown-off (Harper 2018a). They continue to be used in shops, museums or in the home for items that the owner would like others to see, such as awards and heirlooms. They are typically designed to attract attention and desire while also providing security and protecting the owner’s private property. Showcases are usually locked.

The term was popularised in the 1990s by the top-rating television franchise, 'The Price is Right'. The game show would feature a nightly prize showcase, with products spread across a stage and spruiked by the presenter while being demonstrated by the show's glamorous assistants (Bennett and Hickman, 1993). The contenders would have to correctly order the comparative worth of the products to win. Originally an American production, it first aired in Australia in 1981 and received almost continual airing until 2012 (Bennett and Hickman, 1993). While helping to sell a range of products, the game show was also an implicit endorsement of television advertisements and a celebration of television's unprecedented ability to market products. By assuming the name of an old-fashioned piece of retail equipment, the program demonstrated how much more interactive and alluring a television 'showcase' could be, where the old glass cabinet is replaced by the screen of the television, and the products can be demonstrated in the open while maintaining security and inspiring desire in their competitors.

One similarity between the program and the literal meaning of showcase as furniture, however, was the skill of constructing a visual display of products. As a verb, which is how it usually appeared in the sample, 'to showcase' involves applying a skill of ordering and selection so as to curate a more attractive and marketable display. The encased shelves indicate where the most valuable, reified, objects are to be placed. The best and brightest belong on the top shelf and the less valued are placed lower down. Therefore, to be good at showcasing is to have a good sense of which items belong where and to anticipate what others consider most attractive or valuable. Accordingly, on 'The Price is Right', the contenders were tested on their intuition for the prevailing hierarchy of value and quality—a learnt skill that the show served to cultivate in its audience.

This skill of showcasing can also be seen as a marker of social distinction and class and its celebration in the sample served to legitimise leadership that had a salesman's verve and intuition. Bourdieu, in his book, 'Distinction, a social critique of the judgement of taste' (1984), defines habitus as a system of vision and division that also seeks to impose its internal order externally onto the world, categorising and valorising the world of people and objects, including oneself. His critique of the judgement of 'taste' shows how seemingly trivial preferences for certain products over others, and the way that these products are consumed, structure the social field and the field of power. It is this disclosure of class and legitimacy in one's valuation of products that is played upon in 'The Price is Right'. Failure to identify which objects are valuable and which are cheap reproductions is to admit to a certain tastelessness and crassness – ultimately legitimising the fact that you will not receive the prizes because you are unfamiliar with their true quality. Whereas, the rightful winner of the game understands the quality of the objects and is thus the legitimate owner of them.

The skill of showcasing, and the wisdom to maximise the exposure of one's talents and products, was celebrated in *The Mercury* using visibility metaphors generally and the term 'showcase' in particular. A huge variety of things were described as being, metaphorically, showcased: Mount Wellington, bushwalks, students and the state of Tasmania generally. A good leader, in this hyper-commercialised context, is one who will listen to the marketing advice, 'back Tasmania's competitive strengths' (to use a gambling metaphor) and exhibit the state's resources to the global market.

This salesman-like role appears to have become increasingly important in Tasmania. Leaders from both sides of parliament have routinely been involved in trade missions to Asia to spruik the state's forestry, environment, culinary and tourism credentials. Interestingly, however, such articles that reported these missions in the sample tended to avoid the marketing lexicon of visibility. Perhaps to legitimise these explicitly commercial practices within the usual responsibilities of government, navigational and military metaphors were often preferred. Indeed, the term 'trade mission' is itself a clear amalgam of a navigational and military metaphors. Premier Will Hodgman was quoted as saying: "I want to be very much *at the forefront* of promoting our state to the rest of the world" (in "Premier Will Hodgman joins PM", 4 April, 2014). However, this language appeared to change dramatically when representatives from the world visited Tasmania to examine local produce and commercial opportunities. On home soil, the political discourse immediately became saturated with visibility metaphors, with many references to showcasing. For example, in late 2014 there were several large international gatherings held in Tasmania, which were framed as invaluable opportunities to 'showcase' Tasmania to the world. In particular, the high-profile visit of the Chinese President and investment forum, TasInvest, were celebrated as victories for savvy marketing-oriented leadership. The centrality of marketing to these visits was made clear with a series of editorials in *The Mercury*. In particular an editorial titled, 'Tasmania ready to go' (November 18, 2014), emphasised the event's overriding marketing imperative:

The bottom line for Tasmania is that the state is one, big, attractive investment opportunity that has lived in the shadow of its mainland neighbours. A negative mindset, all too prevalent interstate, is responsible for talking down Tasmania's incredible potential for prosperity. The island has been working to promote its clean and green brand for decades, despite the protestations from some interstate commentators. ("Tasmania ready to go", November 18, 2014)

In addition, an article by *The Mercury's* politics correspondent, Matt Smith (2014c), titled 'Tassie's biggest ever week', featured political leaders celebrating the marketing opportunity they had secured. According to Tasmanian Premier Will Hodgman:

“I have no doubt we will look back and think of the amazing opportunity this state had to *showcase* ourselves to the rest of the world and to promote what we do so well.” Mr Hodgman said Tasmania’s warm welcome to the Chinese President and Madame Peng Liyuan “has strengthened our enduring friendship with China”, our largest trading partner and source of international visitors. “The exposure is unparalleled and not yet fully realised,” he said. “The inaugural TasInvest Forum *showcased* an investment portfolio worth more than \$2.1 billion across our competitive strengths including agriculture, viticulture, aquaculture, mining and Antarctic research. There’s an increasing demand for our clean, fresh and safe produce, especially in China’s emerging middle-class, and this will allow our producers to compete in that market. [Emphasis added] (Hodgman in Smith, 2014c)

This historic celebration primarily concerned the enormous exposure and showcasing opportunity that the visit had brought. However, Hodgman’s comments were also an allusion to his own leadership qualities as a business-minded Premier who knows the importance of promotion in a competitive global economy. The meticulously curated tour of Tasmania hosted by the Premier were also demonstrations of the state’s showcasing skills. Skills involving the ordering, hierarchizing and presentation of objects of desire to a potential buyer.

7.6 Conclusion

In the previous chapter Navigational leadership was shown to be the most prominent conceptual metaphor in the sample, playing on myths of political leadership using military and maritime references. However, the sample also revealed emerging conceptual metaphors that, as this chapter argued, reflected changing ideals of economic and entrepreneurial leadership. In globally-situated and neoliberal ‘New Tasmania’ the idea of progress and economic stewardship as ‘nation building’ were in the process of being replaced with neoliberal reformulations of this construction metaphor (Gutwein, 2014). “Laying the foundations of the future” captured the neoliberal ideal of small government and business-led development. Conversely, overly nurturing and proactive government policies were blamed for economic collapse, symbolised in dilapidated urban landscapes occupied by spoilt, lazy and dangerous youths (Prismall, 2014a; Maloney, 2014a). Relatively contemporary metaphors such as showcasing alluded to new skills and entrepreneurial virtues. Good leadership, in this frame, was equated with good marketing; knowing what is likely to be most desirable to a buyer and making sure that it is seen.

As hypothesised in the introduction, patterns of news access did reflect the relative prevalence of these metaphors in the sample. This was seen most evidently in *The Mercury* which, as Chapter 5

discussed, had the largest proportion of business sources (32%) compared to *The Examiner* (30%) and the ABC (29%). Furthermore, *The Mercury's* top two sources were the Premier of Tasmania and Tourism Minister, Will Hodgman (35 quotes) followed by Tourism Industry Council head, Luke Martin (32 quotes). This epically business-minded source list corresponded with prevalent metaphors used to describe and evaluate propositions in the sample. There were, for instance, 37 references to 'showcase' in *The Mercury* whereas *The Examiner* and the ABC only used the term 11 times. It also used Gutwein's preferred framing of economic leadership as "laying the foundations" 15 times compared to 2 times in the ABC and *The Examiner*.

It might be predicted, therefore, that becoming more conscious of the habitual language used to describe and evaluate leaders (proponents) might, over time, result in a more diverse range of leaders being recognised as such within the governmental field. The following chapter examines a prevalent alternative for assessing leadership that could form the basis for future framings based on Lakoff's category of 'nurturant leadership' (2010, p. 108).

Chapter 8: Nurturance

8.1 Introduction

Besides the leadership virtues previously described that valorised physical strength, determination, business canniness and courage, this chapter provides a counterpoint by considering nurturant conceptions of leadership. This framework conceives of leadership through a parental frame where sensitivity, empathy and care are prime virtues. It will be argued, however, that it can also form deliberate public relations campaigns and border on condescension as a way of conceptualising power imbalances and inequalities as differences between parent and child.

In previous chapters, leadership was legitimised by metaphors that were, in a Lakoffian sense (2010, p. 65), consistent with a 'strict father' moral politics. Navigational, military and construction metaphors especially legitimised symbolic capital relating to responsibility and discipline over care or empathetic imperatives. Construction metaphors celebrated uprightness and the morality of independence and stability, and navigation and military metaphors celebrated leadership that was sober, rational as the best qualities for perceiving and avoiding the obstacles facing the state. In comparison, a nurturant moral politics centralises care, empathy and mutual respect as key leadership virtues. As Lakoff suggests, caring parents believe that a moral and caring child is raised by being cared for themselves, rather than disciplined: "Children become responsible, self-disciplined, and self-reliant through being cared for and respected, and through caring for others" (Lakoff, 1996, p. 108). While we tend to think of nurturance as naturally endowed – that someone has a kind heart, for instance – there is also a sense in which nurturance is a learnt skill and can be considered as symbolic capital which the public and journalists expect from leaders and which leaders may allude to in their public pronouncements. A politician may, for instance, reference their working-class background during election campaigns in an expression of solidarity with the struggles of the everyday voter. These statements about one's character can be considered, perhaps cynically, as strategically deployed symbolic capital which are of value within the governmental field of power.

This chapter will suggest that, even when nurturant virtues were not made explicit, they were often alluded to through the pervasive use of nurturant metaphors. In particular, idioms and metaphors relating to the education, support and protection of children were common devices that legitimised a caring leadership habitus. The technical skill of caring for someone was also highlighted with references to health and medicine; a 'sick', 'ailing', 'stunted' economy, for instance, required a caring leader who could find the appropriate cure and 'inject' money into the economy or 'resuscitate' a near-dead industry.

Nurturant language occupied an important place in the discussion of the future in the sample. Metaphors relating to health and child-care accounted for 19 per cent of all metaphorical phrases collected in the sample. This staple of public discourse likely contributes to a culture that expects care and compassion from its leaders. The public outrage at breaches of care, such as preventable accidents or abuses of power, is strengthened by a discourse that values empathy in their leaders. This sentiment is also reflected in the common demand that leaders should consider the welfare of future generations, who were often symbolised in the deployment of children in articles. However, this chapter will also explore instances where this language appeared to be used instrumentally in order to soften a leader's public image as part of deliberate public relations campaigns and strategic political messaging.

8.2 'Children are the future'

Distinctions between young and old, child and adult, are apt metaphorical devices for reasoning about the future. They personify the passing of time and can symbolise, variably, the past or the future. They are also basic concepts in everyday life. Differences in stature, power and age are some of the first distinctions that one encounters in life. The first 'other' for children is usually 'the adults'. Children, likewise, present a powerful symbol of hope, creativity, care and opportunity to the older generation. As such, related language has come to furnish many political discourses. Australia famously celebrates youth in the national anthem where, omitting the fact that Australia is home to some of the world's oldest cultures, the first stanza begins: "Australians let us all rejoice, for we are young and free". The youthfulness referred to in the anthem seems to represent a perceived national characteristic belonging to a range of old and young people. Australians are metaphorically young at heart; optimistic, innocent and trusting.

In the sample, metaphorical references to children and child-care were used in a number of different contexts. One key usage could be termed, 'Ideas are Children', and mapped as follows (prevalence indicated in brackets):

I *conceive* (5) of an idea. I want to bring my idea *to life* (35). I may want others to *adopt* (24) the idea. However, if the idea is not working I may have to *abandon* (26) it.

We have *inherited* (13) a *legacy* (9) of bad ideas, debt, and *aging* (6) infrastructure from previous governments that must *be renewed* (4).

This first construction captures the love, care and investment of time that proponents have for their projects and their commitment to seeing them implemented in the future. Used negatively,

however, this metaphor relates to a lack of care for the future, and hence, the future generations who have to live with their parents' mistakes.

This negative usage was deployed frequently in the sample with newly elected state and federal governments seeking to attribute current economic and policy problems to the previous administration. In an article titled, 'State left \$1.1b black hole' (2014), Treasurer Peter Gutwein, stated that "The legacy of the Labor-Green government is that Tasmania has been left with a \$1.1 billion budget black hole, rising debt and rising interest payments that, if not addressed, will rob Tasmanians of the basic services they need". The previous government, according to Gutwein, having over-spent during its tenure, had breached its responsibility of 'care' for its constituents and jeopardised the future of welfare programs and other 'basic services'. Considering Lakoff's schema of moral politics, it may be surprising that Peter Gutwein, a conservative politician advocating fiscal restraint, would choose to frame his argument using nurturant metaphors. According to Lakoff, fiscal restraint is seen by conservatives as a necessary disciplinary measure and, conversely, this perspective considers the welfare system as immoral because "social programs amount to coddling people – spoiling them" (Lakoff, 2010, p. 180-181). It should be noted, however, that Lakoff does not provide an easy categorisation of individuals into political poles. Rather, he estimates that the swing voters who can decide elections are almost always 'bi-conceptuals' who use moral metaphors inconsistently (Lakoff, 2010, p. 394). As such, it is to be expected that politicians may soften their language, where appropriate, in order to appeal to this electorally valuable group.

Both of Lakoff's moral perspectives – the strict father 'tough-love' view of politics, and the nurturant 'caring' view – are equally premised on the idea that governance is like raising a child. They differ only in how this responsibility is best carried out; through discipline and self-reliance, in the first instance, and through care and protection, in the second instance. In this sense, references to 'inheritance' and 'legacy' in the sample fit within conservative priorities in child-care. Whereas nurturant parenting prioritises immaterial aspects of parenting – love and care – a conservative view may prioritise the virtue of working hard to make good money and the sensibility to make savings so that one's children will be more prosperous than the last generation, and have a good start in life.

Both progressive and conservative moral perspectives make appeals for intergenerational equity. This constitutes a rare area of agreement, and hence competition, between these two moral perspectives. An example of a progressive articulation of this idea is the appeal to safeguard the environment for 'future generations' that has become a central feature in environmentalist politics. In this view, future generations, often symbolised by children themselves, must be protected and cared for in an uncertain and dangerous future. This argument has arguably attracted widespread

support compared to eco-centric and precautionary ecological principles due to its applicability within a conservative 'inheritance' frame. However, its relative applicability to conservatives and progressives has also led to a discursive struggle, which could be detected in the sample. In the previous term of government, the Australian Labor Party had controversially enacted strong environmental policy by introduced carbon pricing legislation to mitigate climate change. This move was accompanied by the now familiar appeals to consider the welfare of the next generation. After passing the legislation, Prime Minister Julia Gillard addressed the National Press Club stating that it was time "to do what is best for Australian families, what is best for future generations, what is best for this country" (Gillard, 2011). However, upon losing the election in 2013, the legislation was repealed by the incoming Liberal Government, who also sought to reclaim this 'floating signifier' within conservative economic ideology. Possibly seeking to redirect care for future generations from ecological to economic considerations, the then Australian Treasurer, Joe Hockey began his 2014 budget speech with a call for intergenerational prosperity:

Our future depends on what we as a nation do today. For our children, for our seniors, for individuals, for families, for our disabled and for our frail, for all of us, the government's solemn duty is to build a stronger Australia. This budget will help build a more prosperous nation. Every generation before us has contributed to the quality of life that we enjoy today. (Hockey, 2014)

This framing of conservative fiscal restraint using child-care concepts, along with the similarly innovated construction metaphor, could be seen as a way of re-owning this political concept which had been in danger of becoming embedded in ecological considerations. Indeed, this was only one of several efforts that sought to colonialize environmentalist discourse. The naming of the government's new (arguably less effectual) climate change policy, 'Direct Action', borrowed a term which activists had, since the 1960s, used to describe protests that obstruct extractive industries such as forestry, whaling and mining. In addition, the Government's formation of a 'Green Army', made up of 17-24 year olds who were employed to plant trees and conserve the environment, was likewise purloined from radical environmentalism. Activist organisations such as the anti-whaling group, Sea Shepherd, often frame their environmental problems as threats to national security requiring comparable action to a coordinated military response (Lester, 2011). In both instances, the new conservative government sought to frame their comparatively timid environmental policies using radical environmentalist terminology.

8.3 Emerging Industries and Child-care

A second usage of child-care metaphors was less direct but more prevalent than the constructions

examined in the previous section. Central to the distinction between young and old, and child and adult, is a difference in stature. Children are small and will often struggle to overcome obstacles such as chairs, steps or fences, requiring a responsible adult to lift them up. Accordingly, there were many phrases that alluded to this specific type of nurturant help. For instance, propositions were often predicted as likely to ‘boost’ or ‘lift’ a particular section of the community. ‘Boost’ was the most common metaphorical expression of the 385 nurturance metaphors recorded, appearing 131 times in the sample. Boost indicates some upward force such as a leg-up or a lift. While it can be used as shorthand for ‘more’ within the common metaphor ‘More is Up’ (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008, p. 15), there is an implicit suggestion of stature in the word boost that is reminiscent of an adult’s relation to a child. By examining the context of its use in the sample, the primary usage appears to be nurturant rather than relating purely to quantity. Boost appeared when events or were predicted to assist a community, especially a community that appeared to be struggling or emerging economically. For instance, dairy farmers, who had benefited from irrigation projects were also offered “increased financial incentives to help boost a North-West dairy company’s milk production”, one article stated (Kempton, 2014a). The frequent coincidence of ‘help’ with ‘boost’, as in this instance, brings attention to the nurturant inference of ‘boosting’ within a child-care metaphor. The use of this metaphor reflects an understanding of these industries as being metaphysically in their infancy, having great potential but requiring support or a ‘helping hand’ so they can ‘find their feet’.

Conversely, in the sample, established and successful people within existing industries appeared to take on the mantle of an older family member in comparison to fledgling businesses and industries. For example, the founder of Lark Distillery, Bill Lark, was one of the first Tasmanian whisky makers to gain international recognition. In glowing feature articles, he was described as the “Godfather of the Tasmanian whisky industry” (Abey, 2014). Similarly, in forestry, Tasmanian boat-builder, John Young, was introduced as “The grandfather figure of Tasmania’s acclaimed wooden-boat industry” (Bevilaqua, 2014). These figures made frequent appearances in the sample as voices of wisdom, mentors to the newer players and proof that new industries can achieve success. In particular, an article in *The Mercury* titled, ‘World of opportunity in Tasmania’s bottled gold’ (Abey, 2014), sought to celebrate the opportunities in liquor manufacturing through an interview with Bill Lark:

Mr Lark, who sparked the Tasmanian whisky industry’s revival 22 years ago when he and his wife Lyn opened their first distillery, said that while it was still early days in the campaign to let the international industry know what Tasmania was capable of producing, a string of recent major awards was proving invaluable.

[...] Mr Lark cautioned against rushing into large-scale production to satisfy a thirsty world market, saying it could risk killing the big, oily and malty golden goose that had won the state so many plaudits so far.

“I think it’s like our whisky ageing, in that we need to be ready at the right time,” Mr Lark said.

“We’ve got to make sure that we have in place the right people in the tourism industry with the knowledge and the passion to carry it through. And that’s starting to happen – tourism is a very big part of our industry now. “So it’s a matter of growing it slowly like whisky in a barrel, and the Tasmanian industry is responding to that interest by improving the visitor experience we offer, involving all of the distilleries.” (Abey, 2014)

Examining these passages, there are a number of mixed metaphors, all of which convey a need for care and nurturance: Bill Lark was the spark that has caused a fire (a fire which needs to be cared for to keep it burning and growing), the goose that laid the golden egg (the goose must be protected into the future, not killed for short-term gain), the market for Tasmanian whisky is like making whisky itself (making whisky requires patience, passion, care and skill). While these metaphors diverge from the child-care metaphors examined previously, they do maintain a focus on nurturant wisdom as a key leadership virtue.

The following section will examine how these virtues, as implied in nurturant metaphors, were deployed as symbolic capital within the governmental sphere, with leaders seeking to demonstrate their love and care as a way of legitimising their power.

8.4 Xi Jinping as a nurturant parent

While nurturant language appeared frequently throughout the sample, nurturance was frequently performed – often by leaders seeking to convey their kindly nature. Central to credible nurturant leadership is a healthy love of children, and all the potential and opportunity for the future that they represent. A clear example of this strategy of legitimation was during the tightly choreographed visit of the Chinese President, Xi Jinping. The visit coincided with a campaign to familiarise Tasmanians with China and Chinese culture in anticipation of the nation becoming an increasingly important trading partner for the state. Daniel Chan from the Chinese Community Association offered to “work with the State Government's new China Investment and Trade Unit to come up with a week of business and cultural activities to tie in with the visit” (Shannon, 2014). This cultural celebration was likely intended to assuage xenophobia regarding Chinese foreign investment and land sales and

reframe the public image of China. A central part of the strategy included deploying a huge amount of metaphorical references to President Xi Jinping's nurturance and respect of children.

This began with long before the visit with media reports explaining why the President chose to visit Tasmania in the first place. Despite elsewhere reporting the long-standing, bipartisan effort of politicians and diplomats to secure the visit, journalists readily took up the remarkable story that the Chinese couple had been summoned to Tasmania at the behest of Launceston primary school students. An article in *The Mercury* titled, 'Letters to melt a president's heart', read almost like a fairy tale:

IN May, 23 pupils from Scotch Oakburn College each wrote a letter to Chinese President Xi Jinping inviting him to visit Tasmania and offering suggestions about what he could see and do.

Those letters, written in Mandarin, were responsible for securing last week's state visit by President Jinping and his wife Madame Peng Liyuan.

The Grade 5 students, and their teacher Katie Marson, had never expected the letters to even reach the President, but on November 12 they were visited by Chinese Ambassador Ma Zhaoxu and Consul-General Song Yumin, who had a very special message for the children.

"The ambassador told the children their letters were the reason Mr Xi had decided to visit Tasmania," Mrs Marson said.

[...]

"We celebrated at that stage because we were just so pleased someone had looked at them and didn't expect it would go any further.

"Then we were told the President had received the letters and had sat down with his wife to read each letter, making corrections as they went.

[...]

"Next, we received an invitation to meet the president at Government House and found out the ambassador and consul-general were going to visit the school to personally deliver a letter from the President". The President's letter complimented the children on their beautifully written Chinese characters and told them language was the bridge to connect hearts and minds among people.

"Children are the future and hope of a country or a nation," he wrote. "They are also the

hope of state-to-state relations. Your letters have given us great confidence in future China-Australia relations.” Mrs Marson said she thought the letters had struck such a chord with the President because they were written in Mandarin and were very child-centred. (Vowles, 2014)

In this richly metaphysical construction, the President and his wife take on the authority of parents or teachers, correcting the students’ homework; gently encouraging and complimenting them. While the President’s letter states that “Children are the future and hope of a country or a nation [and] also the hope of state-to-state relations”, it is clear that this is a shared-future that, metaphysically, the Chinese President is claiming some authority over as a caring, responsible, nurturant parent figure. As *The Examiner* reported, this association with Tasmanian children was reinforced throughout the opening day at almost every stop on the couple’s crowded itinerary:

A number of Tasmania's high profile leaders will be at the airport to greet them, along with Bobbie the Bear.

[...]

Two lucky Tasmanian primary school pupils will present Mr Xi and Madam Peng with the lavender-filled bear, along with a vibrant bunch of locally grown, deep red peonies.

From there it's straight to Government House, where the couple will meet a class of grade five pupils from Launceston's Scotch Oakburn College.

Mr Xi specifically requested to meet the 21 pupils after receiving their letters urging him to visit the state.

The President will plant an ancient Chinese native tree at the vice-regal residence to commemorate his visit, before being introduced to three baby Tasmanian devils.

(McCulloch, 2014)

Needless to say, the tree planting ceremony (the sapling itself is a symbol of nurturance and care) was accompanied by a choir of children. As reported by the ABC: “A choir of 5-10-year-old girls from St Michael's Collegiate will perform ‘Sing A Little Song’ in English and Chinese” (“Chinese president Xi Jinping moved by handwritten letter”, November 18, 2014). The juvenile Tasmanian Devils were also suitably chosen to reinforce the leader’s empathetic credentials; a vulnerable species at a vulnerably-young age being cuddled by one of the world’s most powerful men.

There were only a handful of articles that brought some scrutiny to this important repositioning of Tasmania and Australia with China. While this saturation-level of nurturance was also marketed at a Chinese audience as much as it was at a local audience, it would presumably have softened Tasmanian perceptions of China's (apparently benevolent) interest and intentions regarding the state, and its natural resources. In an opinion piece in *The Mercury*, Professor of East Asian and US history, Randall Doyle (2014), while acknowledging the opportunities, cautioned against naiveté regarding the visit:

China's unending addiction and thirst for the world's natural resources must be recognised by Tasmanian state officials and handled with great caution. Tasmania has the kind of natural resources that China desires with great intensity. I believe there is a great danger that Tasmanians could find themselves embroiled in another internal firestorm over its extractive policies concerning its natural resources and the demands of the Chinese market. There is the real danger that Tasmania could be an agri-natural resource colony of China's.

[...]

Tasmanians must understand there are no free lunches. If you take China's money without some serious debate and forethought, you could find yourself in a very difficult quasi-colonial situation. From a geopolitical standpoint, China is constantly trying to create some daylight between Australia and its most important ally, the US. Former foreign minister Alexander Downer told me that the Chinese can play very rough - diplomatically. He emphasised that China wants to weaken Australia's relations with its key security partner. The Chinese are no longer shy about using its power and influence throughout Asia. Therefore, it is imperative Tasmanians understand President Xi is not travelling to Hobart as a sightseer or tourist. In reality, he is a head of state whose country is now seen as the second most powerful nation-state in the world. And, perhaps, the most powerful in Asia. Hence, the Chinese president is coming to Hobart as part of a calculated public relations strategy to present China as a positive factor in Tasmania and Australian society in general.

(Doyle, 2014)

This sobering assessment of the trip, while providing a welcome counterpoint, did not appear to inspire much caution in the otherwise celebratory reporting. A separate opinion piece in *The Mercury* by The Tasmanian Greens' leader, Nick McKim (2014), encouraged diplomats to use the visit to pressure China on its occupation of Tibet and environmental record. *The Mercury* noted that: "A small group, including Greens MP Nick McKim, protested about Tibet" (Killick et al., 2014). *The Examiner*, however, representing Tasmania's investment-starved north, offered no criticism

whatsoever. This would seem to be an oversight considering the overt public relations strategy that accompanied the trip.

The strategic placement of children in political rhetoric is a familiar public relations technique for most Australians. Politicians make a point of appearing at public schools, kissing babies and playing with school students in the playground during election campaigns. The only comparably regular trope in these political set-pieces is when politicians appear in high visibility vests and safety helmets to inspect workplaces which, I would suggest, alludes to the metaphorical understanding of the economy as a construction site or precarious building, requiring the type of business-savvy ‘construction leader’ described in the previous chapter.

There is also a common tradition of children being deployed in celebrations of multiculturalism such as that which accompanied the Chinese President’s visit. Children are innocent of many of the enculturated suspicions and prejudices of adults. Official citizenship ceremonies, where new migrants pledge their allegiance to the nation, are almost always accompanied by a choir of children and, often, the offering of a native plant to each newly Australian family to grow and nurture. To adults, children represent a caring bond and agreement, as well as the future generally. These are worthwhile sentiments that could, public relations stunts aside, provide an alternative foundation for evaluating and reporting leaders in the governmental field. The following section will outline how a nurturant metaphor is already present within the professional ethic of news editors.

8.5 Journalistic leadership as nurturance

As yet, this research has not considered journalistic conceptions of leadership and how (or whether) editors and news workers consider themselves leaders, and whether nurturant metaphors might be at play in this identification. Indeed, one might question whether journalists consider community leadership to be part of their professional role at all. In conversation with news workers, questions that assumed a level of journalistic proactivity, leadership or authorial agency in constructing the news were often flatly rejected. As one senior journalist told me: “We don’t ‘choose’ which stories to write about. The ideas come from the community. We investigate and report” (Fitzpatrick-Gray, August 24, 2015). Reporting was mostly described as a reactive and passive practice. There appeared to be little interest in agenda-setting or debate-leading within the news organisations that I observed. However, examining interviews with editors, and the notable focus on Tasmanian children’s welfare in reporting, I will argue that a metaphorically nurturant conception of moral leadership does structure journalists’ conceptions of their own professional role and legitimacy in the debates about the future.

It is possible that this rejection of journalistic leadership was really a reaction against a specific, narrow definition of leadership, such as the dominant navigational understanding of leadership examined in Chapter 5. The determination to ‘set a new direction’, ‘chart a course’, or having a predetermined ‘vision’ or ‘map’ for society are virtues of navigational leadership that are largely undesirable in the journalistic field. One might imagine that editors, at one time, did consider their leadership role as, metaphorically, navigational – as guiding public policy and steering the policy debate away from dangerous options. This navigational understanding of journalism was articulated by the American thinker, Walter Lippman (1920, p. 3), who wrote that: “Since the war, especially, editors have come to believe that their highest duty is not to report but to instruct, not to print news by to save civilization ... to keep the nation on the straight and narrow path”. However, in interviews with editors, the leadership role of news workers appeared to be in the process of changing. I asked editor, Matt Deighton, whether he thought *The Mercury* occupied a unique position within Tasmanian journalism. In his answer, he alluded to a reaction against what might be considered a strict, authoritarian style of editorial leadership:

But I think what I’m really trying to do, without sounding really corny, is make us a paper for the community. The whole way the media landscape has changed is, in the old days, the editor would sit there and say “this is what you must think”, “this is what you must know”. In this day and age that is turned around. I’m really trying to make *The Mercury* a mirror looking onto its community. So this is a reflection of what people are talking about, this is a reflection of what people are saying, that does stand up for things when they’re wrong, that does stand up for people, but is optimistic, and does think we live in a pretty special place, that does care about its people, that is a big community paper. So that’s what I’m really interested in. (Deighton, 28 September, 2014)

Deighton’s description of the old editors as “sitting there” might be considered to be in contrast to others who are, metaphysically, moving and being directed where to move. Indeed, some journalistic terminology such as ‘masthead’ and ‘news anchor (man)’ would seem to reference this navigational role.

The metaphor which Deighton used to describe the newspaper’s current attitude towards the community was that of a ‘mirror’ – the newspaper as ‘a mirror looking onto its community’ (Deighton, 28 September, 2014). According to Lester, “the metaphors of a mirror and reflection are not uncommonly heard in the professional discourses surrounding journalism” (Lester, 2010, p. 61). As an explanation of journalistic practice, mirror metaphors are also commonly criticised for overplaying journalists’ passivity, underplaying the level of social mediation involved in constructing

news, and ignoring the contested nature of the knowledge that is being 'reflected' (Lester, 2010, p. 63). While these are certainly valid criticisms, it is possible that they assume such metaphors are essentially reductionist; that they simplify processes of mediation that are anything but simple and assume media content is the product of objective reporting rather than complex perspectivism. However, from a Lakoffian perspective, metaphors are cognitive tools which appear in complex and nuanced reasoning about subjective, moral questions and can provide answers that are similarly complex. Accordingly, rather than taking this metaphor as simply constituting an object (reality) and mirror (reality reflected in the news), one might consider the place of mirrors in a wider network of signifiers, especially in the many human situations where mirrors occur in daily lives.

Two important, yet oft-overlooked, components of mirror situations ('source domains') are vanity and recognition which, I would argue, figured heavily in Deighton's remarks. Rather than just reflecting events occurring in the community, Deighton appeared to be concerned with whether or not the community recognises itself in what is being reported, and whether that reflection appeals to the community's positive self-image. This, it could be said, goes beyond mere replication of physical events and objective knowledge to include a mutual recognition and convergence of values. Accordingly, Deighton notes that the reflection also includes a reflection of the community's moral expectations:

this is a reflection of what people are talking about, this is a reflection of what people are saying, that does stand up for things when they're wrong, that does stand up for people, but is optimistic, and does think we live in a pretty special place, that does care about its people, that is a big community paper. (Deighton, 28 September, 2014)

This statement highlighting the reflection of events, opinions and conversations merges into reflection of values and community identity. The values that newspapers might seek to reflect include an ethic of nurturance.

Mirrors are central objects in what might be termed everyday self-care. Taking care of oneself begins with taking a look in the mirror. A similarly bathroom-situated metaphor for news can be found at the beginning of Tom Wolfe's book, *'The Painted Word'*: "People don't read the morning newspaper, Marshall McLuhan once said, they slip into it like a warm bath" (Wolf, 2008, p. 1). Similarly, reading a newspaper is a solitary, almost antisocial activity. However, using a mirror metaphor, reading the newspaper is an expression of interest and care for oneself and one's community. A newspaper, functioning as a mirror, provides a valuable self-care service at a community level. As the head of news at *The Mercury*, Sarah Fitzpatrick-Gray (August 24, 2015), told me during news room observation: "local news has always got a reader". Accordingly, there is an important ethic of

localism, mutual care, patriotic self-love, and recognition that forms a part of this frequently aired metaphor, in contrast to mere objectivism. If the newspaper can demonstrate care for its readers then this care and ownership will hopefully be returned.

In a conversation with Deighton, he noted that *The Mercury* had a role in conveying the beauty of Tasmania: “I never want readers to pick up the paper and feel anxious. I want people to have a sense of optimism and a sense that, ‘it was a great idea to decide to live in Tasmania’” (Deighton, 28 September, 2014). Similarly, in a later discussion about Tasmania’s future population – which, he agreed, needed urgently to grow – Deighton said that:

The only way you’re going to turn that around is to make it more attractive for people to come here, to increase your population, to increase your immigration, to increase incentives for people to come here and call Tassie home. [Emphasis added] (Deighton, 28 September, 2014)

From these comments, Deighton appears to be concerned with inspiring a feeling of pride in the community that *The Mercury* represents. Rather than a professional ethic of objectivism, Deighton appears to be concerned about readers’ subjective, emotional experience upon picking up the newspaper. Likewise, the routine examination of oneself in the mirror can help to instil recognition, familiarity and confidence.

Showing the community an image of itself involves some sensitivity about how the reader might respond. Often these considerations are literal. During observation of news meetings at both *The Mercury* and *The Examiner*, a large proportion of time was routinely spent examining the day’s photographs, which were projected onto a large screen in the centre of the open-plan office. Editors would comment on the facial expressions, the lighting and the composition. Finally, the perceived quality of the photographs (normally portraits) would often determine where the story would appear in the paper. As Sarah Fitzpatrick-Gray (August 24, 2015) told me: “your best pictures go in the first three pages”. Showing the community in its best light is an important consideration that appeared to be articulated through the concept of a mirror as a reflexive tool in community self-care.

8.6 Source Selection

The mirror metaphor, where mirrors are understood as tools in community self-care, also appeared to correspond with different logics of source selection and representation of conflicting viewpoints. Recent research and criticism of journalistic practices of impartiality and balance brought particular attention to journalistic metaphors and how they shape source selection. According to Wahl-

Jorgensen and colleagues (2016), recent discussion of impartiality in the British Broadcasting Corporation has distinguished between two metaphors relating to balance; a see-saw and a wagon wheel metaphor (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2016). The Bridcut Review of the public broadcaster recommended a wagon wheel metaphor that would, in their view, better encourage the inclusion of multiple perspectives – spokes which are needed to keep the wheel from collapsing – rather than the prevailing see-saw metaphor that reduces stories to a binary of opposing perspectives with journalists, metaphorically, weighing up either end of a debate in order to balance stories (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2016, p. 4-5). Interestingly, with their common interest in making an object that does not collapse (a wheel or a see-saw), both of these metaphors fit, broadly, within a construction metaphor. Indeed, in academia and journalism education, stories and writing generally are commonly described as being constructed. They conform to a preconceived *structure* or *blueprint*, the facts provide the *foundation* of the story and the interior design of the story, so to speak, might also incorporate *colour, angles, depth and balance*.

A contrast can be made here between prevailing attitudes at *The Examiner* and *The Mercury*. In an interview, *Examiner* editor Simon Tennant spoke with enthusiasm about journalistic balance while Matt Deighton appeared to use mirror metaphors exclusively. Tennant did, like Deighton, touch on the importance of community and the representation of localness optically, possibly with a mirror metaphor in mind. However, as these two passages show, his mirror-like statements were less direct compared to his forceful argument for journalistic balance:

Well one of the things I am a firm believer in is community. I want to make sure we are promoting people in our own community that are doing good things. Whether that is small business, or whatever. And I'd like to think all the media outlets do the same job. I mean, you've got the Advocate which is very north west centric, you've got The Mercury which is still very Hobart based but takes a bit of a broad view with their links with the herald sun and the news limited. While I think I'd like to make to make sure we do a bit of both. We're very north centric but still have a broad outlook, about what's going on just outside Launceston. (Tennant, 4 November, 2015)

By comparison, when asked about *The Examiner's* preferred style of writing and stylistic differences between online and print copy, Tennant spoke stridently about the fundamental importance of balance and his insistence that this rule be adhered to by his newsroom:

One of the things we're really strict on with a news story is that, as I mentioned earlier, if it's a story about forestry, you get the forestry side and you get the conservation side. Absolutely must, and any time I personally get a story the next day, and I see it in print, and I

see you've only got the one side of it, I'll put a big red ring around it and email it off to the reporter and say, 'why isn't this story balanced'? And to me that's the most, I mean, that's the fundamentals of journalism, being fair and balanced. And that's one of my very strong ethics.

['Not let one voice define the issue?']

I mean you do have opportunities where you can do that. I mean you can do op-ed pieces. You might get Phil Pullinger from the conservation side to write an op-ed one week, then you might get Terry Edwards, well it used to be Terry Edwards, from the forestry side. Just making sure it's balanced. Same with same-sex marriage. It has a lot of interest as a topic. I have a very good relationship with Rodney Croome, so we make sure if we cover a topic, we might run them side by side in the paper, just make sure both sides of the story are put forward. (Tennant, 4 November, 2015).

Considering these two comments and the metaphors they employ brings attention to different approaches to source selection within and between *The Mercury* and *The Examiner*. The mirror metaphor in Tennant's first comment corresponds with a more open and 'broad' attitude towards source selection that seeks out "people in our own community that are doing good things", whereas, the see-saw metaphor in the second comment reduces the range of sources to opposing "sides" and their institutional representatives (Tennant, 4 November, 2015).

The mirror ideal of journalism's role appears to inform practices of source selection, encouraging editors to reflect the diversity of people and perspectives in the community. Sources should be relatable and recognisable while also, as Simon Tennant alluded, reflecting the best parts of the community by "promoting people in our own community that are doing good things" (Tennant, 4 November, 2015). But, importantly, the range of voices and political perspectives in newspapers should realistically reflect the spectrum of voices in the community. In this vein, Matt Deighton of *The Mercury*, was critical of restricting the debate to two opposing sides of a given debate, and highlighted the importance of finding the people in the middle:

So we need to make sure that when we do cover something like the cable car, you're not just going to the anti-cable car groups, you're trying to get a wider spectrum of what people are saying. Because you know if you go to Adrian Bold, or a cable car proponent, you know what he's going to say. You know if you go anti cable car, you know what they're going to say. You can write the story before you even speak to them. What's more interesting to me is the space in the middle. ['The visitors?'] Yeah the visitors, the people in the middle ground, the people who are thinking about their own backyard, the people who aren't

rusted on to either side of the debate. What are they thinking about it? Are they open to it, are they not? So I think it's really easy to find the loud voices, the Bruce Ruxston's if you like, of either side, but I think the challenge for us is to find different voices. (Deighton, 28 September, 2014)

During the sample period both *The Mercury* and *The Examiner* did take steps to provide a platform for marginal voices, especially young voices, in their reporting. Accordingly, during National Youth Week *The Examiner* invited five young people from Northern Tasmania to share their vision for the state in opinion columns. Sarah Wright (2014) contributed a piece titled 'Don't stifle our voices' that drew attention to young people's disparagement within the Tasmanian governmental field. "An individual's view should not be judged or swept away due to the year they are born. Age is not a justifiable excuse to dismiss an idea", she wrote. Interestingly, *The Mercury* initiated a similar campaign titled 'Our kids, our future' that also sought to amplify the voices and opinions of young Tasmanians:

THEY are the faces of Tasmania's future. A group of typical 18 to 24-year-olds who are passionate about their futures but struggling to find their feet amid a worsening unemployment crisis. Today, the Sunday Tasmanian and the Mercury launch a landmark campaign: Our kids, our future. The aim is simple: we want to tell the issue of youth unemployment through the eyes of those it most affects—our young people. (L. Smith, 2014)

These initiatives show that there is an appetite within *The Examiner* and *The Mercury* to broaden news access and perhaps an admission that opinion is too often drawn from a small pool of influential news sources and not truly reflective of the community. However, the way in which this attempted rebalancing of news access was conducted was quite different. *The Examiner's* Youth Week initiative offered a statesman-like space for young people to outline their vision for the future and a temporary position in the governmental field. By comparison, *The Mercury's* initiative aimed to convey the everyday reality of working class young Tasmanians, "typical 18-24 year olds", struggling in a tough economic climate. While inviting greater understanding and empathy with young people was important in the context of the Earn of Learn policies of the 2014 Federal Liberal Government, it did not confer leadership capital on young people as did *The Examiner*. In *The Examiner*, the young visionaries were anything but ordinary. As the biographies on each of their contributions showed, these were the state's future leaders (scientists, artists, activists) sharing their hopes and aspirations for the community as a whole.

However, by designating space for young people outside the paper's standard reporting of serious

propositions (that tended to come almost from mainly older business men and politicians), this initiative did little to alter underlying leadership frames. Their opinions were not valued on their merits alone or according to a new criterion of leadership value but, condescendingly, because they belonged to young people. As Martin Heidegger (1947, p. 251) cautioned: “Every valuing, even where it values positively, is subjectivizing. It does not let beings: be. Rather, valuing lets beings: be valid”. As such the special and unusual valuing of young people’s opinion in these short segments was quite different to the common sense, everyday affirmation of the innate leadership qualities of a small group of privileged business and political sources whose legitimacy was beyond question and etched into the langue used to talk about the future itself.

8.7 Conclusion

While editors at *The Mercury* and *The Examiner* had the inclination to bring more people inside the governmental field, the source analysis revealed that news access continued to be granted to a limited range of business and political leaders. In their initiatives to broaden the range of opinion, apportioning a small amount of coverage to young Tasmanians was an ultimately ineffectual method that left intact the underlying assumptions regarding whose ideas should and should not be considered as newsworthy. What is required, I would suggest, is a more thorough reconsideration of the foundational myths surrounding leadership and the formulation of new language and evaluative criterion for adjudicating leadership quality. These questions will be explored more fully in the conclusion chapter.

To some extent, this chapter showed that this revaluation of values was already being considered by editors. In interviews Deighton and Tennant the editors appeared to weigh up different metaphors for evaluating news sources. Tennant affirmed his support for balance in journalism using the metaphor of a see-saw, however, he also mentioned the importance of promoting everything that was good and worthy in the community. This second approach plays upon the idea of a newspaper being like a mirror – an indispensable object of self-care and local pride. This was explicitly taken up by Deighton in his comments about how *The Mercury* chooses its sources. This approach, I argue, offers a reasonable path forward for capturing a better sample of the ideas and skills in the community outside of the usual polarisation of Tasmanian discourse into opposing pro-development and anti-development camps.

However, even using this metaphor, reflecting what is best in the community requires some moral judgement defining what is good and worthy. Of course this is a political and moral question (Lakoff 2010) and might differ from newspaper to newspaper. However, some core moral criteria should

guide reporting in order to avoid the relativism that characterised the reporting of President Xi Jinping's visit to Tasmania in 2014. Here, the nurturant ideal of leadership was effectively employed as part of a public relations strategy to soften the image of Xi Jinping who, in reality, is the leader of the world's largest authoritarian regime with political values entirely different to Australia's and hardly the nurturing parent that reports cast him as. The following conclusion chapter will revisit these questions and propose some alternative models for adjudicating the usefulness of news sources in propositional journalism.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

Four years after the 2014 sample and Tasmania finds itself in a comparable position. It is 2018 and the Hodgman Liberal Government is facing its first Tasmanian State Election since winning office in 2014. Each day, journalists relate new political policies, propositions, initiatives, success stories and opportunities to their audiences. And editors and opinion leaders relentlessly evaluate leadership and imply the type of stewardship that Tasmania needs to deal with present challenges. Many of these challenges are the same: health remains a pressing concern for many Tasmanians, the Mount Wellington cable car is in limbo, enthusiasm about Chinese investment has turned to concern about foreign donations and influence, and the booming tourism industry is putting pressure on public roads and rental markets. There is a mood for action on these issues and strong polling figures for the Tasmanian Labor Party under the new leadership of Rebecca White suggests it could be a mood for change. Perhaps sensing this, Will Hodgman launched the election campaign with a different construction metaphor than Treasurer Gutwein (2014) used in his first State Budget speech. Instead of 'Laying the Foundations' the Liberals party would now be proactively 'Building Your Future' and 'Taking Tasmania to the Next Level'. The implication of this election narrative, following the construction metaphor, is perhaps a warning that changing the government could shake the economic foundations, disturb the laborious construction work and prevent Tasmania from reaching its true potential on the next level. But ultimately, as in the 2014 sample examined in this study, a number of voices were marginalised in propositional journalism who might have otherwise been offered the opportunity to contribute their vision for a different Tasmania.

This thesis was motivated by a concern that too few voices and options are presented to Tasmanians in news reporting about the future. The polarisation of propositional journalism into pro-development and anti-development camps, and the overbearing influence of a few political and business news sources, does a disservice to the full range of skills, experiences and ideas that could be taken seriously and form the basis of propositional journalism, driving progress and finding solutions to pressing social, economic and environmental problems. These concerns are also shared by Beers (2006) regarding the deliberate limiting of the scope of 'future-focused journalism' to the visions and ideas of corporate-aligned sources. While there was certainly value and impact in Beers' critique of the monopolisation of corporate interests over the range of propositions and proponents, he did not provide an explanation for why news access in this type of reporting was especially

restricted beyond the fact that the news outlets were owned by corporations (Beers, 2006). Positing corporate ownership as solely determining news content and practice, according to Bourdieu, “condemns without shedding light anywhere, and ultimately explains nothing” (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 39). This research therefore sought to specify who the leading sources were in Tasmanian propositional journalism and work towards a more satisfactory explanation and hopefully a remedy for it.

Accordingly, this research has provided a study of Tasmanian propositional journalism and an analysis of metaphor and evaluative schema which, it has been argued, corresponded with patterns of news access across a six-month survey of three prominent news outlets. An aim of this research has been to throw light on a gap in media research that has typically focused on risk and crisis communication or issue-specific studies. By examining propositional journalism as a genre of news I have sought to uncover the dominant evaluative frames that Tasmanian journalists deployed to reason about leadership quality and, ultimately, shape patterns of news access in a 2014 sample of propositional journalism. In interviews with newspaper editors, and in the most frequently used metaphorical devices from opinion pieces, editorials and reporting there appeared to be a range of coherent conceptual metaphors used to evaluate and test virtuous leadership in the context of post-recession ‘New Tasmania’.

The source analysis of Tasmanian outlets largely confirmed that reporting of the future was led by a restricted range of professions and genders: primarily male politicians and businessmen. The limited range of sources reflected a range of implicit assumptions about what constitutes effective leadership. As opposed to ideological and hegemonic explanations, I have sought to couch these cultural and political structures in more recognisable and commonly utilised language which, I have argued, is the language of morality and metaphor. This approach provides a common language between academics, journalists and their sources. It is intended to promote a reflexive consideration of the cultural structures that place leadership value on such a limited range of actors.

Text analysis and interviews with editors revealed that metaphors were pervasive and provided the conceptual tools that editors and journalists used to hold power to account without seeming to take sides in contentious debates over propositions. This research, through consolidation of idiomatic and figurative language into coherent metaphorical frames, found that there were three primary virtues that were valued in leaders: navigational, entrepreneurial and nurturant leadership. Within these virtues there were a number of metaphorical devices that legitimised the social actors that fit these archetypes. Navigational metaphors (such as “call”, “push”, “vision”) served to legitimise political stewardship and frame oppositional and alternative voices as distractions and obstacles that must

ultimately be overcome if the state is to get to where it needs to get to. Construction (“building the foundations”), gambling (“bid/back”) and visibility (“showcase”, “bright future”) metaphors celebrated business-mindedness and were used to justify a limited governmental role and the type of policy stability that businesses require to catalyse growth and prosperity. Nurturant language (“boost”, “lift”, “revival”) tended to legitimise care and generosity in leaders, although as that Chapter 8 found, the perception of benevolence was often deliberately staged in well-choreographed ‘pseudo-events’ (Boorstin, 1992). Such moral schemas apply across a wide variety of issues and media stories, so it is hoped that the findings of this research and the metaphor-based framing methodology might prove useful for a wide range of media studies on the mediation of leadership, policy and development issues.

9.2 Revaluation of values

In his ‘Genealogy of Morality’, Nietzsche characterised his philosophical project as a revaluation of values: “We need a *critique* of moral values, the value of these values should itself, for once, be examined” [original emphasis] (Nietzsche, 2010, p. 7). Similarly, the question arises as to whether the values uncovered by this research should be further scrutinised and the associated metaphorical language avoided in the interest of democratising the discussion of the future. Given the striking imbalance in the source prevalence across the sample, especially in the gender composition of the sources, it is tempting to frame the findings of this research as evidence of a need to reform the way journalism talks about the future. However, this is not the sole responsibility of journalists. Rather, it invites reconsideration of cultural myths and metaphors by a coalition of sources, readers and journalists.

The gendered and metaphorical construction of moral leadership – frequently using the historically gendered terminology of war and sport – could especially be reconsidered in light of these findings. It is also worth noting that the sample period represented a newly masculine political context where Tasmania’s first female Premier and Australia’s first female Prime Minister had both recently been replaced by men. If the sample had been the year before, or the year after, there may well have been a more equitable gender distribution. However, the discrepancy was considerable. The 20 most commonly cited women were quoted in a total of 70 articles while the top 20 men were quoted in 636 articles. It would have been useful to ascertain additional interviews with the Tasmanian editors at *The Examiner*, *The Mercury* and ABC to gain their insights about this gender discrepancy and progress a conversation about making news access more equitable. These follow-up interviews were not able to be attained for inclusion in this research—representing a limitation of the findings—however, for future publication and dissemination of this research further interviews will be

included.

While media research has often resorted to ideological and professional imperatives to explain news access (Cottle, 2000; Curran, 2002; Gans, 1979; Schumpeter, 2013), this study has considered journalism as engaging in a moral evaluation of leadership quality in making decisions surrounding news access. By focusing on leadership and symbolic capital this research did not record, for instance, the prevalence of certain political party sources (whether conservative, union movement or environmentalist) in the sample. This approach does, however, represent a limitation of this research. Lakoff (1996) argues that metaphors for reasoning about politics differ according to one's ideological perspective. Accordingly, recording the political affiliations of sources may have been useful in explaining variations in the sample, and this limitation may form a gap for future research of propositional journalism.

Ideological change was mentioned in Chapter 7 to explain a transformation in construction metaphors (from nation building to laying the foundations) where it was attributed to the election of conservative governments and free market ideology. However, for the most part, I have argued for leadership credentials to be considered as embedded in specific practices rather than ideologies. In this sense, political leadership is unique to the profession of politics and the cultivation of a reputation of getting things done. As Bourdieu argued, a political leader is simply one who is able "to get people to believe that you can do what you say" (1991a, p. 190) and make the future come about through speech. This conception of an effective political leader is further refined through the application of the navigational metaphor where getting something done is understood, metaphorically, as arriving at the promised destination.

Accordingly, as a relatively apolitical and nonideological approach to leadership, editors felt comfortable to reason about leadership qualities. In interviews, editors expressed reservations about championing ideas in the context of a politically divided readership. However, by avoiding taking strong positions on the value of certain propositions, valuation shifted to the question of leadership quality. While reasoning about leadership quality is not, as I have argued, an inherently ideological question, it is a question of privilege and may serve to police the governmental field (Hage, 2012), exclude women and safeguard the privileged position of a limited number of powerful sources to frame debate concerning Tasmania's future.

Following Lakoff and Johnson's (2008) cognitive linguistics, metaphorical thinking and talking is neither avoidable nor undesirable in itself. It facilitates nuanced reasoning about subjective phenomena such as leadership and morality. Metaphorical expressions are so common as to be unremarkable and because they are so common, and often considered decorative rather than

cognitive, their use in political and public relations messaging can effectively shape value structures. As such, this research seeks to make these moral metaphors conspicuous and recognisable so that their conceptual content becomes obvious. Indeed, many of the examples of metaphorical framing occurred in political and business slogans. ‘Securing the foundations’, ‘lifters and leaners’, ‘children are the future’, ‘Rescue Taskforce’, ‘Trade Mission’ – these are all examples of slogans and related metaphorical discourses which appeared to have a deliberate legitimating function. The President of China’s well-choreographed trip to Tasmania, for instance, seemed to provide a case study in the use of nurturant metaphors for leadership legitimization.

This study has also sought to advance application of Bourdieu’s (1998) sociology in media studies by drawing links between symbolic capital within the governmental field and the prevalence of evaluative euphemisms, metaphors and idioms. These ways of talking about leadership and propositions are essentially habitual forming frames and conceptual metaphors for reasoning about leadership quality and excluding others who do not possess the symbolic capital that corresponds with these frames. Ultimately, these habits can be changed and more conscious language can be adopted in order to promote democratic and pluralistic ideals of leadership and change patterns news access.

9.3 Identifying leadership in practice

I would like to use this section to advance a possible alternative schema for identifying and evaluating leadership quality that may be useful for those who are interested in opening solutions and propositional journalism up to a broader range of expertise. In the source analysis, it was interesting to note the prevalence of spokespeople for political parties, industries and businesses. These sources are institutionally bound to act in the interests of their members and shareholders and only tangentially in the interest of Tasmania. This might be considered, appropriating Adam Smith’s concept (1838, p. 542), as the ‘harmony of interests’ approach to source selection where private interests are encouraged to have their say in the future of the state and the reader trusted to adjudicated between them. However, there are many alternative sources and professions with a range of different motivations that could offer propositions for collective futures. One way of characterising and identifying these source is through the application of virtue ethics to the question of source selection.

In particular, virtue ethicist, Alasdair MacIntyre (1981, p. 191), draws a useful contrast between individuals who are motivated by ‘internal goods’ and those who are motivated by ‘external goods’. For MacIntyre, virtue is expressed in practices. Practices – defined as “any coherent and complex

form of socially established cooperative human activity” (1981, p. 187) such as farming, architecture, politics, physics, history, painting and music – produce external and internal goods as rewards for achieving excellence in them. Internal goods are the enduring rewards that arise from excelling in a given practice. Internal goods are advances in that field according to its internal standards and, ultimately, advancing human flourishing (phronesis). External goods, on the other hand, are goods that are external to that practice such as wealth, property, prestige and social status. According to MacIntyre:

It is characteristic of what I have called external goods that when achieved they are always some individual's property and possession [...] External goods are therefore characteristically objects of competition in which there must be losers as well as winners. Internal goods are indeed the outcome of competition to excel, but it is characteristic of them that achievement is a good for the whole community who participate in the practice. (MacIntyre, 1981, p. 190-191)

Such discoveries and breakthroughs in practices such as architecture, technology and art are achieved by leaders in their field and whose proportions are literally examples of ‘best practice’ as acknowledged by a community of fellow practitioners. However, rather than using these experts in news reports, this study has found that Tasmanian journalists preferred official and institutional news sources and official forms of knowledge and opinion (Gans, 1979, p. 129; Tuchman, 1972).

Such sources, for MacIntyre:

are characteristically and necessarily concerned with what I have called external goods. They are involved in acquiring money and other material goods; they are structured in terms of power and status, and they distribute money, power and status as rewards (MacIntyre, 1981, p. 194).

Typically business people and politicians, despite being the most quoted sources in 2014 propositional journalism, are rarely the foremost experts in identifying and progressing best practice alternatives.

New evaluations of leadership and newsworthiness that are likely to be useful for Tasmania in the 21st Century should engage leaders in their fields; people who are dedicated to progressing practice and knowledge in pursuit of internal goods. Correspondingly, journalists might treat with a great deal more scepticism individuals who are primarily motivated by external goods and have limited field-specific expertise. Dedicated practitioners who have the community's interest at heart deserve a substantial place in the governmental field where they can mobilise public support, create new markets and encourage politicians to solve common problems with best practice solutions. In this

ideal form of propositional journalism, journalists have an important role in identifying, understanding and translating expert knowledge for the public – a role that is very much in keeping with the ideals of the solutions journalism movement (Bornstein, 2015). In seeking out virtuous leadership in practice, journalists should seek out excellence in fields outside of national boundaries; a process that *The Solutions Journalism Network* have refined with a set of their own recommendations. To find best practice solutions, Bansal & Martin (2015) suggest journalists:

- Examine peer-reviewed academic papers for new thinking in a field;
- Interview academic experts;
- Search large datasets for positive deviance (which hospital in Texas has the lowest infection rate?);
- People involved in implementation;

This last point, especially, demonstrates a correspondence with a practice-based approach to leadership and propositional journalism. This guide, therefore, provides a useful strategic and practical guided can be used to engage in solutions journalism more democratically and effectively.

In Chapter 8 I drew upon interviews with editors and noted a possible transformation of journalism's moral mission towards, what I termed, a nurturant leadership role. I suggested that the understanding of journalism as a mirror, a metaphor that editors both used, can be considered as more than a statement of journalism's commitment to objectivity and truth. A mirror can be considered an instrument of everyday community self-care that aims to show and bring out the best in the community. This nurturant understanding of journalism's role could, perhaps, be harnessed to incorporate a democratic practice-based approach to leadership in reporting propositional journalism. The virtuous pursuit of goods that are internal to practices produces solutions, innovations and alternatives that, in their quality, are flattering for the community at large and that local audiences should be rightly proud. In attending to these goods and leadership in practice journalists can, as Bourdieu suggests, become involved in "defending the conditions necessary for the production and diffusion of the highest human creations" (1996, p. 65). In doing so they also broaden the range and scope of ideas and options in the governmental field, complicating ideological binaries, and facilitate a better-informed society and democracy.

9.4 Limitations and future research directions

The news outlets that were chosen for analysis represent the largest news organisations with the closest ties to political and economic power in Tasmania. By comparison, the discussion of the future on social media platforms occurs at a greater distance from sources of power and would likely

present an interesting comparative analysis that could supplement the findings of this research. How individuals and groups use social media and online platforms to pitch propositions and evaluate leadership and legitimacy would be a relevant questions for future research. The similarities and differences in the use of conceptual metaphor, and the construction of leadership, moving from mainstream to social media platforms would present an interesting comparative study. This questions is increasingly salient with the rise of crowdsourcing platforms such as Pozible, Kickstarter or GoFundMe where the public can propose, mobilise and manifest an idea for the independently of traditional financial, media and government institutions. In bypassing the corporate and political spheres of power a proponent might deploy a different legitimating symbolic capital and new evaluative schemas might emerge that could be borrowed by larger news organisations.

In addition, longitudinal and comparative research should be considered to further progress understanding of how leadership is constructed in propositional journalism over time and across borders, cultures and languages. Benson (2013) has demonstrated the effectiveness of comparative field and frame analysis; a theoretical area that this research (in Chapter 4) has sought to progress by considering frames as embedded in habitus. This methodology could be productively applied to a comparative analysis of propositional journalism and, in so doing, provide news workers with more perspectives and approaches to leadership that they might consider adopting in their own professional practice. In addition, future research would be able to test the generalisability of the findings through a longitudinal study. In particular, noting that political and ideological affiliation were not part of this source analysis, progressing an understanding of the relation of ideology to metaphor and source prevalence could be tested by examining a contemporary sample period and a possible future progressive government.

9.5 Conclusion

Globalisation has brought Tasmanian life into closer proximity with the world, providing the possibility for mutual learning and for innovative attempts to address shared problems. From gun laws to conservation, Tasmania has contributed to best practice discourses around the globe and, likewise, Tasmanians are beginning to take inspiration from novel ideas and approaches globally. This transmission of constructive ideas presents an exciting new genre of journalistic endeavour with great social potential. However, from this study of propositional journalism, there appears to be some resistance that is inherited with language and associated moral schemas concerning leadership. It is no longer the case that ideas and innovations are the exclusive products of the entrepreneurial and political classes. Journalism must find ways of sourcing better ideas from more people. Normatively, this thesis has suggested that a return to an Aristotelian model of virtue in

practice can provide a new model. This would bring the question of expertise and the public good together. Finding expert practitioners that can draw links between their expertise and the flourishing of the community as a whole provides new possibilities for assessing the newsworthiness of a proposition and a proponent. It is hoped that this research, in a small way, might contribute to the discovery of new journalistic practices that bring a new sensitivity and openness to the uncertainties of the future.

Appendix 1: Baseline interview questions

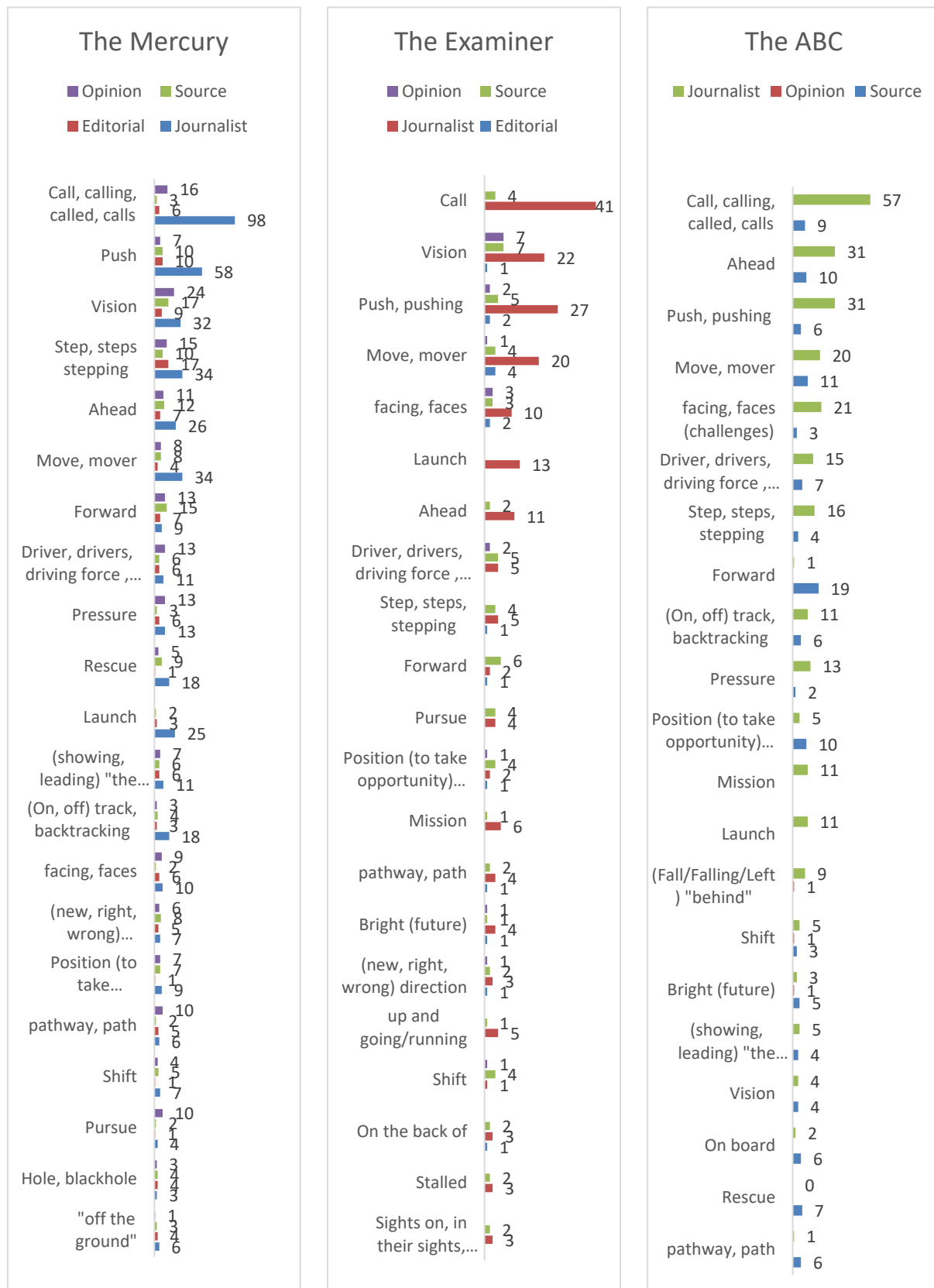
Two interviews were conducted. One with the then editor of *The Mercury*, Matthew Deighton, on the September 9, 2015; and one with the editor of *The Examiner*, Simon Tennant, on November 4, 2015. The baseline questions that formed the structure of the semi-structured interviews was as follows.

1. Where do you see leadership coming from in Tasmania? Who is leading the debate about Tasmania's future?
2. Are you conscious of particular voices or industries trying to dominate debate at the expense of a more diverse range of voices?
3. How do you go about identifying good leaders and quality ideas for Tasmania's future?
4. From your experience working in the community over a period of time, do you detect a change, a sense of optimism or frustration?
5. When reporting propositions for the future does your organisation try to differentiate its reporting for its competitors?

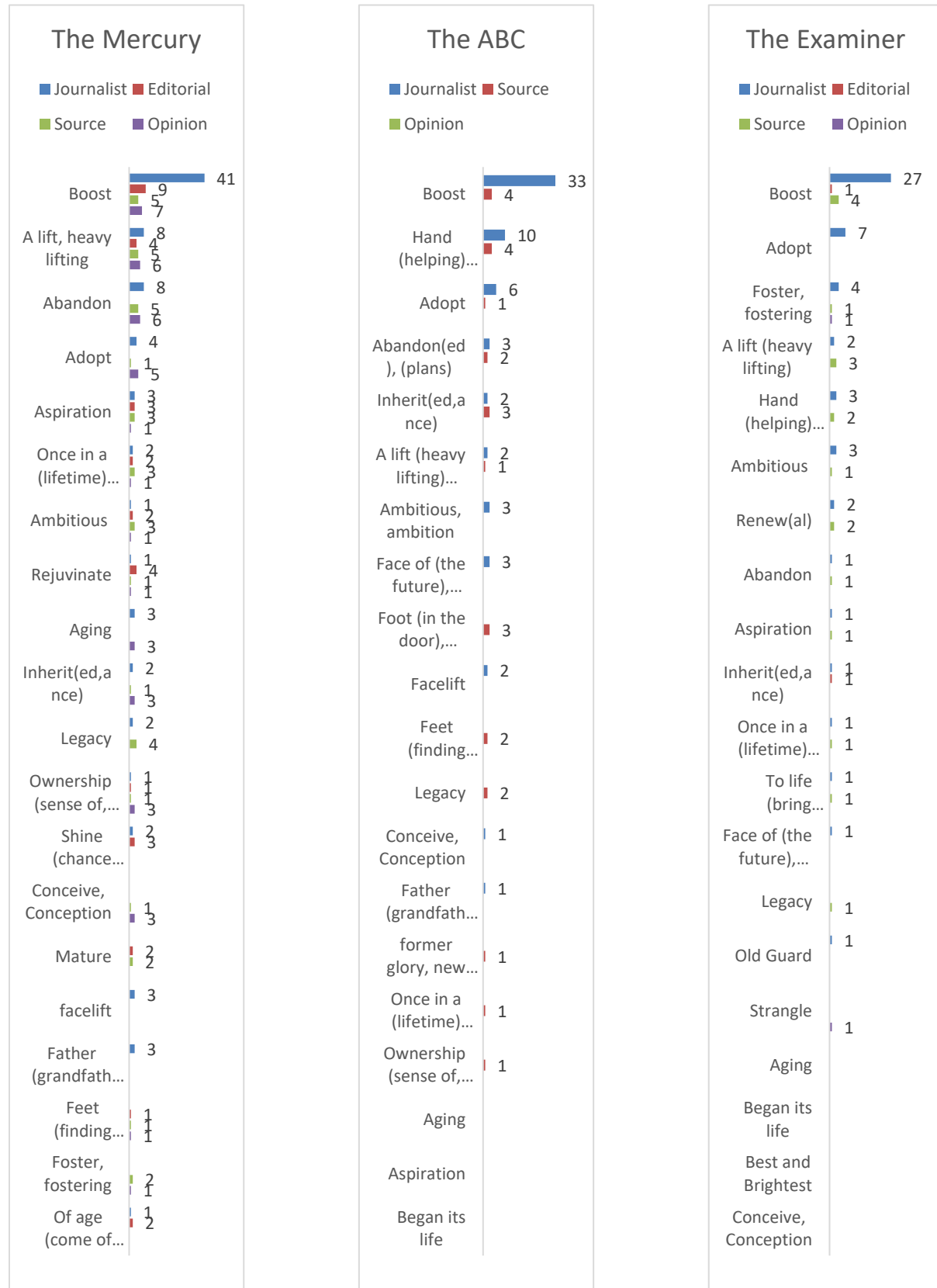
Appendix 2: Metaphor distribution

		Mercury	Examiner	ABC
	Total	1269	391	552
Navigation	Use per article	2.16	1.55	1.62
	Journalist usage	47%	61%	66%
	Editor usage	15%	7%	0%
	Source	14%	24%	32%
	Opinion	24%	7%	1%
Nurturance	Total	217	77	91
	Use per article	0.37	0.3	0.28
	Journalist usage	43%	71%	73%
	Editor usage	16%	3%	0%
	Source	19%	23%	27%
	Opinion	22%	3%	0%
Construction	Total	197	71	74
	Use per article	0.34	0.28	0.22
	Journalist usage	26%	48%	51%
	Editor usage	22%	4%	0%
	Source	19%	42%	49%
	Opinion	33%	6%	0%
Health	Total	154	63	84
	Use per article	0.26	0.25	0.25
	Journalist usage	34%	47%	73%
	Editor usage	17%	5%	0%
	Source	15%	43%	26%
	Opinion	35%	5%	0%
Gambling	Total	139	31	89
	Use per article	0.24	0.12	0.27
	Journalist usage	74%	90%	94%
	Editor usage	11%	3%	0%
	Source	3%	7%	6%
	Opinion	12%	0%	0%
Visibility Metaphors	Total	101	32	39
	Use per article	0.17	0.13	0.12
	Journalist usage	42%	53%	61%
	Editor usage	17%	16%	0%
	Source	20%	25%	36%
	Opinion	21%	6%	3%

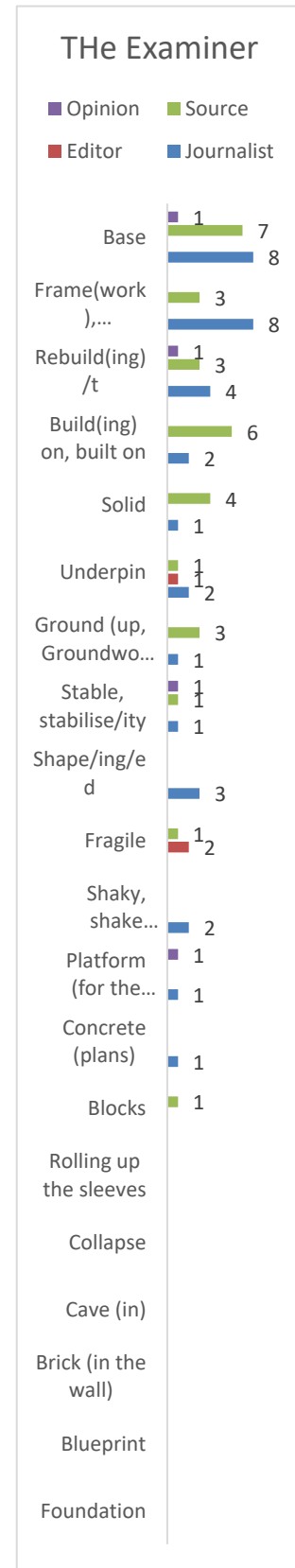
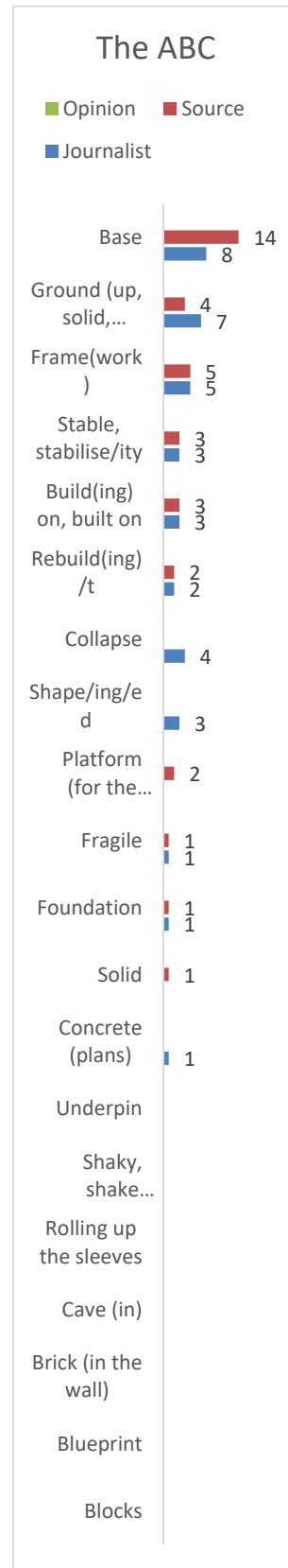
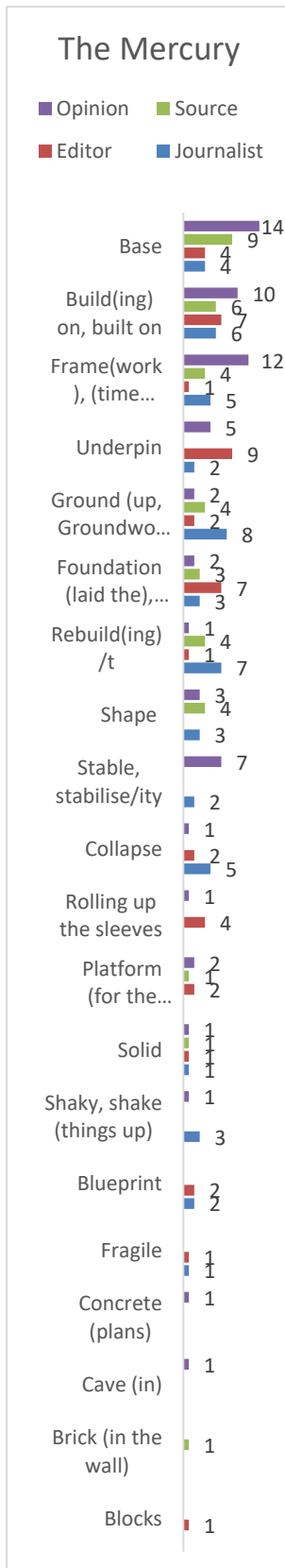
Appendix 3: Navigational metaphors (top-20)



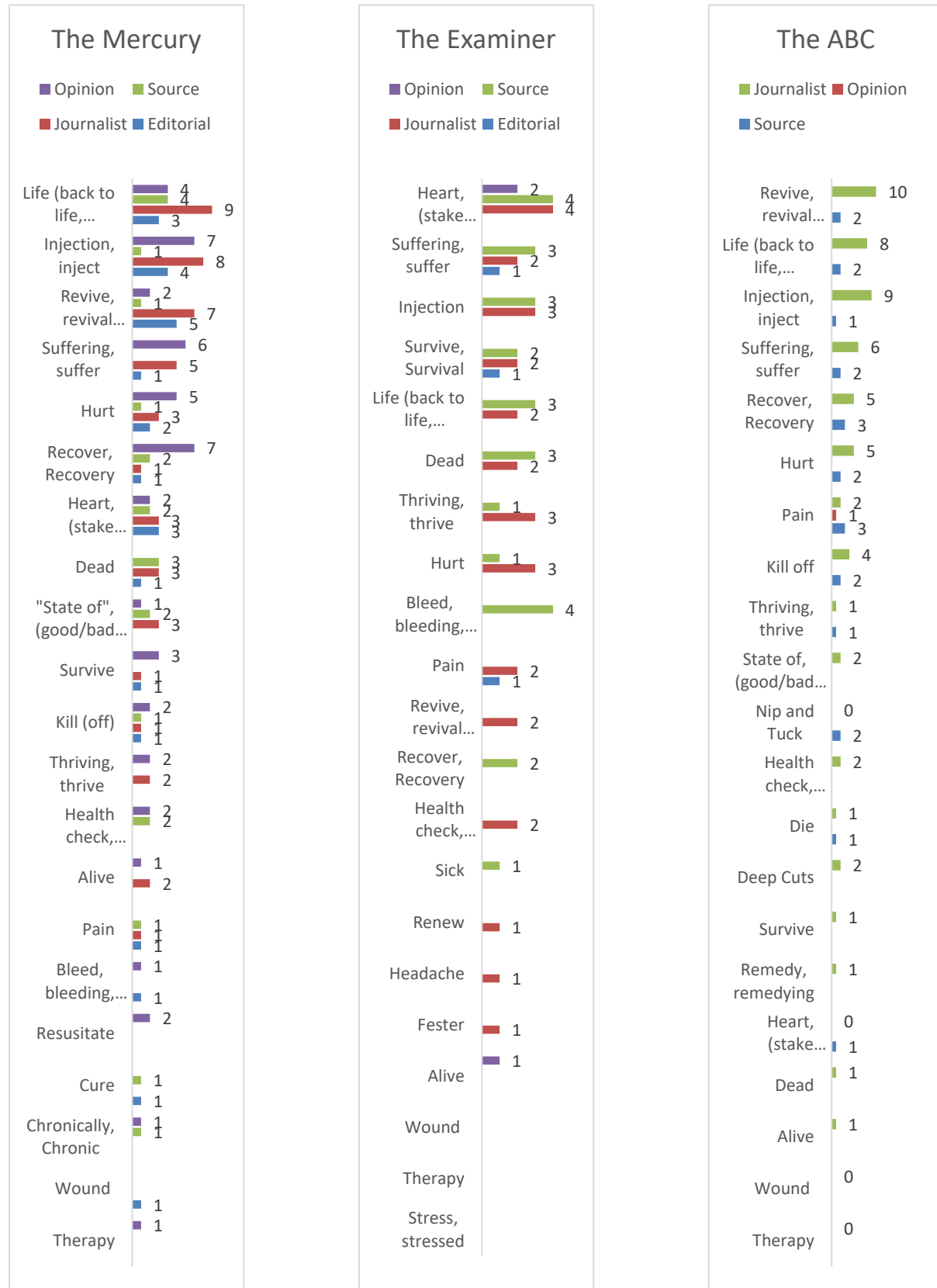
Appendix 4: Nurturance metaphors (top-20)



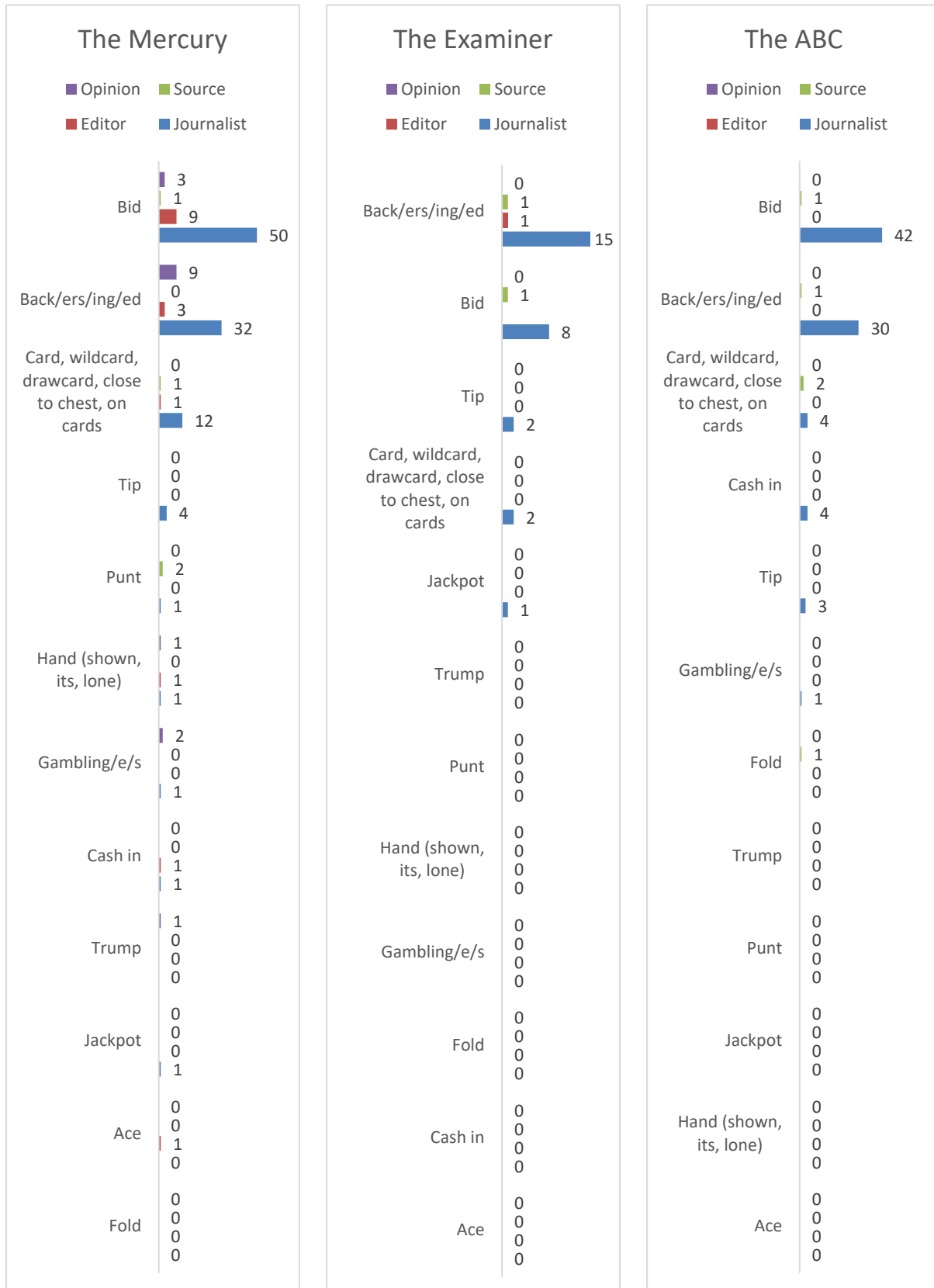
Appendix 5: Construction metaphors (top-20)



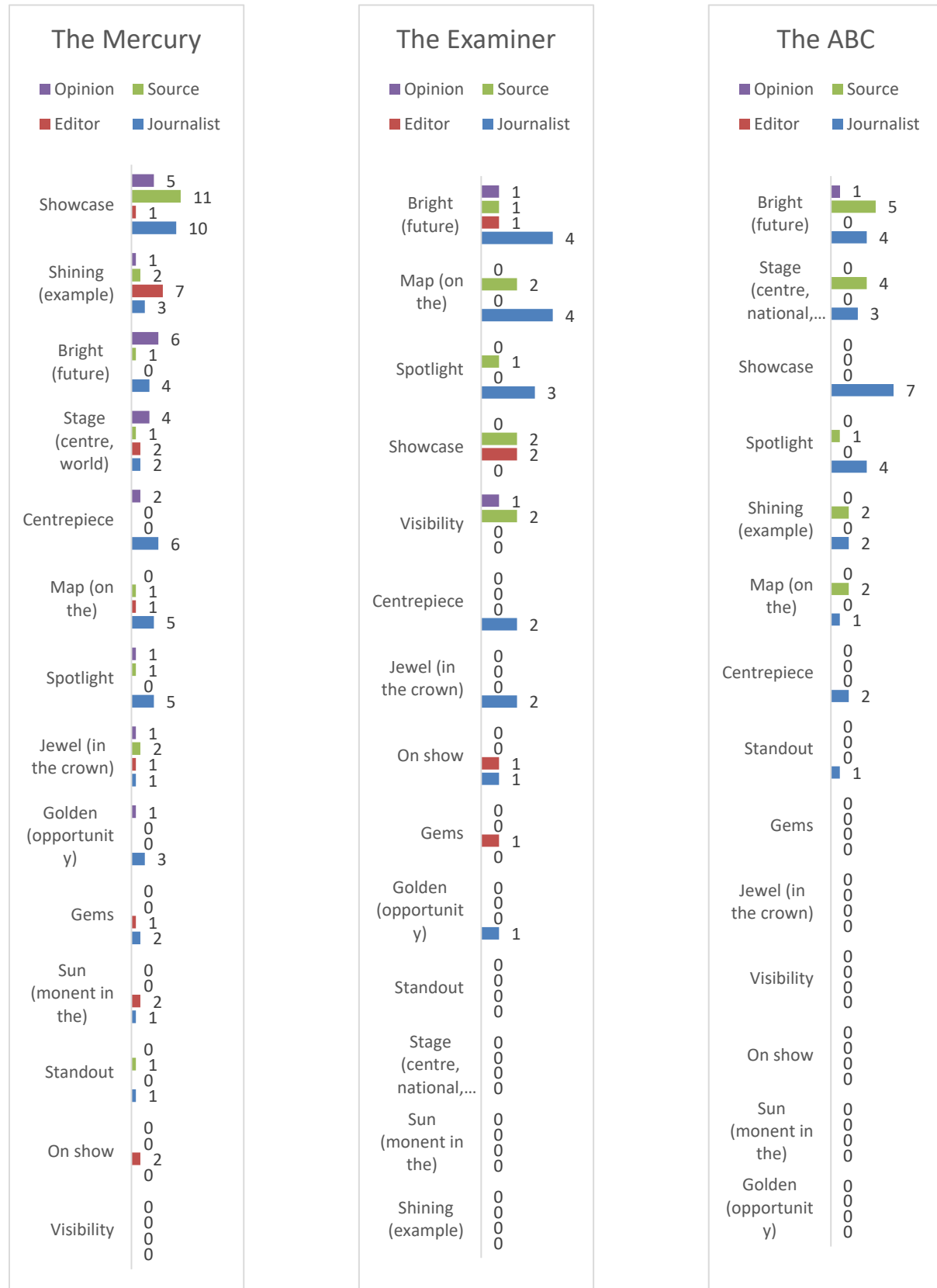
Appendix 6: Health metaphors (top-20)



Appendix 7: Gambling metaphors (top-20)



Appendix 8: Visibility metaphors (top-20)



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