

THESIS

**Multi-Triangulation Using Qualitative and Crossover Methods to Investigate
The Role of Media in Fossil Energy Politics**

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Abstract

This research addresses a gap in the continuum of media studies as they relate to energy and politics, which have always been entwined. With each new source of energy or technology, a new form of social dynamics emerges. This study explores the role of media, during the Pennsylvania coal strike of 1902 and the ensuing shifts in political power. Its main hypothesis is – if media helps to shape politics, then its coverage of the 1902 Pennsylvania coal strike, had a hand in delivering democracy to a working proletariat. Using a variety of instruments, and a qualitative-cross over approach, media's role in the 1902 coal strike is explored. Four levels of triangulation, including 3 methods of research are used to analyse 2 datasets. Critical discourse analysis, which maps text, discursive practice and social elements, makes up 2 of the methods; namely transitivity for linguistic texts and a multimodal analysis for the visual text. The 3rd method is a thematic analysis of the global news articles that appeared circa 1902. Each research question entails its own process of triangulation.

The terrain of media ideology is probed by triangulating 3 texts: an editorial article, a letter to the editor and a cartoon. They all tackle the 1st research question:

- What were the ideologies revealed in visual or lexical patterns, that shaped the discursive composition of reality within media reports during the 1902 coal strike?

Then, the 2nd dataset triangulates 3 locations to address the 2nd research question:

- What role did media play in the global spread of social democracy?

It was found that media discourse unveiled a new ideology within the discursive climate, which influenced society. Ultimately, it shifted the power base. It was also found that media acted globally, triggering wider power contestations.

This study will show how media drew on ideology (implicitly or explicitly) to construct meaning around fossil energy politics. It also reveals how global media coverage eased information flows, during the initial wave of democracy and how Timothy Mitchell's conception – 'carbon democracy' was made possible. Unveiling media's role, helps to unpack its potential in ushering in any new configurations of political power and energy justice, especially as an uptick in renewables is now on record.

Acknowledgements

Trials serve to strengthen us; indeed, this work has in more ways than I care to mention felt like a trial. It was one in which I had to persevere in order to claim my academic maturity. Just like the author of Hebrews, who described a cloud of witnesses, I acknowledge being surrounded by a host of angels who held my hand and helped me keep focus, so I would not stumble and fall.

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my family - Shingi and Ariana, you have grown in patience – who wouldn't
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And now unto him...

...be glory...both now and forever.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

°C	Degrees Celsius
AL	President Abraham Lincoln
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CAPP	Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEC	Children's Employment Commission
CO ₂	Carbon Dioxide
Dem.	Democrat
FZ	Frankfurter Zeitung
GSMT	Global Surface Mean Temperature
GUMG	Glasgow University Media Group
Ind.	Independent
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IRENA	International Renewable Energy Agency
MP	Material Process
MeP	Mental Process
NOAA	National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
NYT/ NY Times	New York Times
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
PHP	Participant Hierarchy Power/Process
PPH	Participant Power Hierarchy
PPM	Parts Per Million
NZ	New Zealand
RE	Renewable Energy
Rep.	Republican
RET	Renewable Energy Transition
SFL	Systemic Functional Grammar
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SSHRC	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council
TR	President Theodore Roosevelt
TV	Television
UK	United Kingdom
UMWA	United Mine Workers of America
USA / US	United States of America
VP	Verbal Process
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

Chapter 1: Background and Context

1.1. Introduction

We are what we burn. An uneasy and bold statement that appears far-fetched and devoid of any coherence. A moment spent pondering deeply upon it, may illuminate just how energy profoundly shapes today's society. How can it be that something as crude as energy can define a people, when in fact it is the people who define its use and give energy its value? This is a fair question. And yet, counter-intuitively, it is this very reasoning, which demonstrates how ubiquitous fossil fuels have become to the human race. They appear passive and submissive. Yet Szeman (2016:9) argues that *"energy plays a critical role in determining the shape, form, and character of our daily existence"*, he further states *"Oil is not only something you put in your car. It is the foundation of our political identity and institutions, and it profoundly shapes our society and environment"* (Szeman, 2016:9). What Szeman is saying is that fossil energy has become a "significant other", one that is vital to humanity and life. On that same token, energy is a latent entity of the human subconscious, one that is afforded little thought in the day to day of life. It is to that magnitude that it has become a part of human life. Scott (2018:179), in her book, *"Fuel: An Ecocritical History"* states:

"oil is a material commodity that we can identify outside of our skin, but in its harder-to-grasp state it suggests a cultural logic, a social convention that (when recognized) sparks moral debates about right and wrong behaviour in economic and ecological spheres"

While concurring with Szeman, Scott also maps out the shifting attitudes of humans in relation to fuel and energy that suggest a suppressed consciousness, one which would entice human reckoning should it rise to the fore. Another provoking statement from Scott, describes the state of humanity in relation to fossil fuels as *"oil ontology"*, which she goes on to explain as the omnipresence of fossil fuels, yet unseen by the human eye. Her main point being, humans, are 'petro-creatures'. The narrative from both Scott and Szeman attempts to deepen society's understanding of the role of energy in our everyday lives and its pervasiveness. The notion presented is one of energy humanities that are profoundly significant to modernity. To understand the strong equation between energy and modern living requires one to take stock of every symbol of development and realise that outside of energy, fossil fuel in particular, that

development does not exist. Energy is a form of self-imposed hegemony. Delving into this study requires that one relinquishes the misconstrued conception that fossil fuels are neutral and docile combustibles, which merely serve humanity.

This introductory chapter lays out the background to this media studies research as a precursory sketch of the broader investigation. The layout of this chapter is as follows – first of all the motivating factors which compel this research are discussed, they will cover the relevance as well as the leading theories guiding the study. The second segment of this chapter draws attention to the problem statement, as well as the proposed research questions, followed by a section outlining the rationale and aims of the research. The third and final segment highlights the research gap, the delimitation and research outline. This chapter delineates the envisaged scope of study.

1.2. Background

1.2.1. The Kingmaker: The Transformational Power of Coal

The global compositions of political power, have not been spared the stranglehold of energy's influence. According to Rasillo and Monson (2018) Timothy Mitchell's *"Carbon Democracy" is a mandatory text for understanding the history of the global use of coal and the shift to oil, indicating that current social democracy developed thanks to this new source of energy which seemed to promise a future of limitless growth.*" Timothy Mitchell (2011) a historian and researcher, uncovers how every new energy regime spawns a new power dynamic and polity. In his book *"Carbon Democracy: Political power in the age of oil"*, he hypothesises about various power shifts that are fuelled by energy. The age of coal consolidated democratic politics and placed them within the labour movement. Further along in history, oil influences a major switch that transfers the power base from labour to high-powered corporations and tycoons, who subsequently exert domination and influence on the state and society. Timothy Mitchell (2011:233), outlines the historicity of the different *"forms of democratic politics that carbon made possible"*. Given that a global renewable energy revolution is underway (Mathews, 2013; Swilling, 2019a) this study seeks to understand how the hydrocarbon economy was responsible for the present day liberal democratic politics. As such, energy

democracies are socio-political “improbabilities” of their time, and by exploring how both came to be – the potential for a new kind of energy politics is recognised.

The ill-perceived notion of limitless growth and promises of material prosperity, appear to have been called into being by coal, a powerful kingmaker, which also brought much contestation. After coal, oil led to new manifestations of social transformation. This is an unintended consequence of capitalism and the development agenda, which have further exposed humanity to a mix of political and social challenges that ensued the continued use and abuse of fossil fuels. Given the historical challenges that hound humanity, how do we speculatively engage with the politics of our energy futures?

The question of our energy futures, is premised on understanding the role of media, which was critical to the development of a social form of democracy. There are numerous studies on the function of media within specific contexts; however, ‘petro-cultures’ is a growing research topic and an investigation of media’s role in energy sponsored power distortions is novel. It is from this angle that my interest is stirred up.

1.2.2. Media: The Engaged Observer

News of the 1902 coal strikes that took place on the coalfields of eastern Pennsylvania, America, spread all throughout the world. The news reports carried details of the labour movement’s hard-line stance, as they negotiated with the ‘coal barons’¹. The workers were represented by John Mitchell, the president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). It was the 10/10 strike – their demands were for a nine-hour workday (down by 10% from 10hours) and a 10% wage increase. This was to be the first labour action that would be resolved through federal arbitration. Negotiations finally came to an end when the mine bosses conceded to labour demands. The unprecedented yet favourable outcome achieved by the mineworker’s was immediately reported all over the world. Their sweeping victory invigorated other labour movements leading to an immediate global out-burst of strike action, as other coal miners throughout the globe ‘downed their tools’. The Goliathan defeat was published by numerous publications in America and abroad. Depicted by media in specific contexts, it demonstrated to the rest of America and the world that the unions were capable of winning a strike. The media’s representation was instrumental in

¹ A term referring to the coal mine owners, which will be used interchangeably with ‘operators’ and ‘capitalists’

informing general public perceptions, which were important in garnering support, in addition to conveying the news of the victory to the miners of the world.

Media shapes and informs audience imaginaries and behaviours (Lambeth, 1978). According to the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), media has for a long time been instrumental in shaping society's perception and its relation to energy (SSHRC, 2016). The research institute further states that the influence is mainly in the form of print, radio and television ads, that were purposed towards garnering citizen support for fossil fuel extraction. The campaigns also proffer a 'picture perfect' lifestyle that is both idyllic and aspirational, animated on fossilised goods, such as the empowering yet liberating ownership of a car. Although the SSHRC (2016) is interested in media and energy transitions, their report concurs with the assertion that research on the role of media in energy is very sparse. This study will look at the social transformations that arise historically from the use of fossil fuels. Further to its speculative inquiry into the energy futures, it will also assess the role of media in transitions. By virtue of a complex blend of hypothetical, historical and empirical approaches that are bolstered by both communication and political theories, this study attempts to present a logical discourse that clarifies the research topic.

This study unravels how the energetic socio-metabolic paradigms of the past and the politics that governed them, relied on media to manipulate the 'materialities' of fossil fuel extraction. This insight might reveal how media could play a role in the new energy politics under a renewables paradigm.

To a large extent this research undertaking is historical, drawing heavily on archival material. It explores the novel context of media within the scholarly probes of energy politics, taking into account an overlooked yet instrumental aspect of the anthracite² strikes of America. The labour action that occurred around the late ca1800 - 1900s, soon spread to other coal mining operations in other parts of the world. Focussing on the function of media during the time in question, enables a rich investigation into the dispersion of critical information, which helped spread the idea of social democracy

² A shiny grey to black, hard and highly metamorphosed coal with plenty of fixed carbon (about 86%) (Brittanica, 2020)

worldwide. It is key to also emphasize that social politics are a complex phenomenon and that media would be just one aspect that influences their transitions. Other periods of interest, include the rise of oil as the dominant global source of energy, which is also brought into focus, alongside portraits and caricatures of the period in question. Various publications and cartoon depictions are necessary to give better insight and a more comprehensive grasp of the historical events. However, the historical gaze of this study does not invalidate its contemporary relevance.

Historical media framing of the energy induced political dynamics, raises some very crucial insights, while posing critical questions about journalistic roles in the emergent renewable energy regime. By virtue of its practice of pronouncing news, media tends to be located within the multifaceted spectrum of impartiality (Hacket & Zhao, 1998) this has the effect of conferring a perception of credibility towards the sector. However, the idea of impartiality is contested, especially if media is understood to influence political distortions on account of its bias. From the time described by Timothy Mitchell (2011) during which power shifts occurred on account of carbon fuels, new forms of media and dissemination such as citizen journalism (Sambrook, 2010) have emerged. New media will add a new dynamic to mainstream media. It offers insight on the implications of fossil fuels and media power on the global process of democratisation.

1.3. Research Objective

This study's objective is to appraise media's role in the distortion of energy politics. It's focus will be on global media and the narratives that emerged at key points during several energy events. Fischer-Kowalski and Haberl (2015) note three major transitions, a Neolithic transition, a fossil fuel transition and a pending sustainability transition. Of interest is the fossil fuel era, which comprised of coal and oil regimes, which may help us understand the sustainability transition, where a renewable energy domination is anticipated. The study will discuss media's role during the coal regime, as well as the rise of oil. This may assist in forecasting the new energy regime's politics and in understanding media's role in the present sustainability transition.

1.4. Why the 1902 Strike

The 1902 strike is a critical point of departure for this study, this is based on numerous accounts that highlight its historical role in energy politics. Scholars and experts such as Mitchell (2011), Grossman (1975) and many others recognise it as the turning point in American and global energy politics. Mitchell (2011) hypothesises the 1902 strike as the trailblazer to the first wave of global democracy. Grossman (1975) attributes it to the recognition of the American labour movement and a turning point in government policy. The outcome of the Pennsylvania industrial action, was of interest and consequence for labour and mine operators throughout America and worldwide. Other coal dependent economies appear to have realised that the Pennsylvania strikes would set a new precedent. This is made evident by news reports suggesting that the political economy of labour movements worldwide, began to gain traction off the back of the Pennsylvanian strike (NY Times, 1902a), bringing power to the proletariat and democracy to the world (Mitchell, 2011). It is worth noting that the 1902 strike was meant to only last for 3 days, however, the call was made after 3 days to make it permanent, resulting in the closure of 357 collieries (NY Times, 1902b) and 9 months of industrial action. More than 147,000 miners were affected, as the labour tensions worsened, 30,000 strikers left the region as they either felt threatened or felt that the industry was in demise (Grossman, 1975). Between 8,000 and 10,000 migrant workers are said to have returned to Europe during the strike, illustrating its impact (Grossman, 1975). This study is centred around the 1902 strike because it recognises the full force of the strike, which marks the onset of global democracy according to Mitchell (2011). Locating the study within the 1902 strike event and its aftermath recognises the epicentre of the onset of a global shift in energy politics according to Mitchell (2011). It forms the backdrop to understanding shifts in the politics of energy in the past and there hints are the likelihood of future shifts with a future renewable energy regime. The influence of the strike presents a clear starting point that identifies the 'what', which subsequently calls for an investigation to help hypothesize the 'how'. This research is an attempt at probing the 'how'.

1.5. The Research Problem

Ever since it was first harnessed, energy has been the driver of development and the economy. Alongside the good it has also fuelled a most ‘wicked’ problem. The science suggests that humankind might not survive the climatic consequences of its reliance on hydrocarbons, unless there is a deep transition to a greener society (Geels, Sovacool, Schwanen, *et al.*, 2017; IPCC, 2018a; Schot & Kanger, 2018; Swilling, 2019b). In addition to driving development and climate change, socio-metabolic shifts from one fossil fuel to another have also established energy as a kingmaker (Mitchell, 2011). Delivering political currency to workers during the age of coal, energy created both winners and losers; however, with the advent of cheap oil dominant individuals and corporations wrested power (Mitchell, 2011; Wade, 1985). With power vested in very powerful corporations, oligarchies were formed to reduce democratic pressures from the masses. Timothy Mitchell’s argument is oil undermines democracy. With this revelation, it becomes clear that fossil fuels are not only at the heart of the present environmental crisis, but also a political one. The current democratic paradigm is shaped and reshaped by oil as a central force which organises politics around the economy or corporate management. According to Timothy Mitchell (2011:143) the economy played a key role in sculpting a new dynamic within politics, it entitled “*experts (who) began to displace democratic debate and whose mechanism set limits to egalitarian demands*”. Through his conception of a ‘carbon democracy’ Timothy Mitchell (2011) also notes the social inequalities that were shaped by the present economic paradigm, a theory supported by Schot and Kanger (2018) as well as Swilling (2019b), who attest to social disparities that arise as a result of economics, especially on account of fossil fuels.

The substance of this study is to comprehend the role of media during historical events around energy. The study further reviews if media frames were instrumental in power formations and in facilitating the global spread of political ideologies, namely democracy. I am particularly interested in understanding if media helped shape or distort power and polity. Research abounds on how media has been used in politics (Campante & Hojman, 2013; Prior, 2013) however, there are very few studies that specifically focus on media in energy politics. It is anticipated that the findings will lead to a more nuanced perception of the dynamics that outline media and energy politics.

Such an elucidation may illustrate how past precedents could help inform future roles of media in energy politics and social dynamics. The research problem described above is succinctly condensed into the following research statement:

This study investigates key historical moments, which contextualise the role of media within energy politics that helped forge major global socio-political revolutions. The study is deemed apt due to the rise of a new renewables regime.

1.5.1. The Research Questions

This study investigates – If media is a useful tool for bringing about political awareness and in so doing, does it give rise to new forms of energy politics? To get to the bottom of the study, the following research questions guide this enquiry:

- What were the ideologies revealed in visual or lexical patterns, that shaped the discursive composition of reality within media reports during the 1902 coal strike?
- What role did media play in the global spread of social democracy?

1.6. Rationale

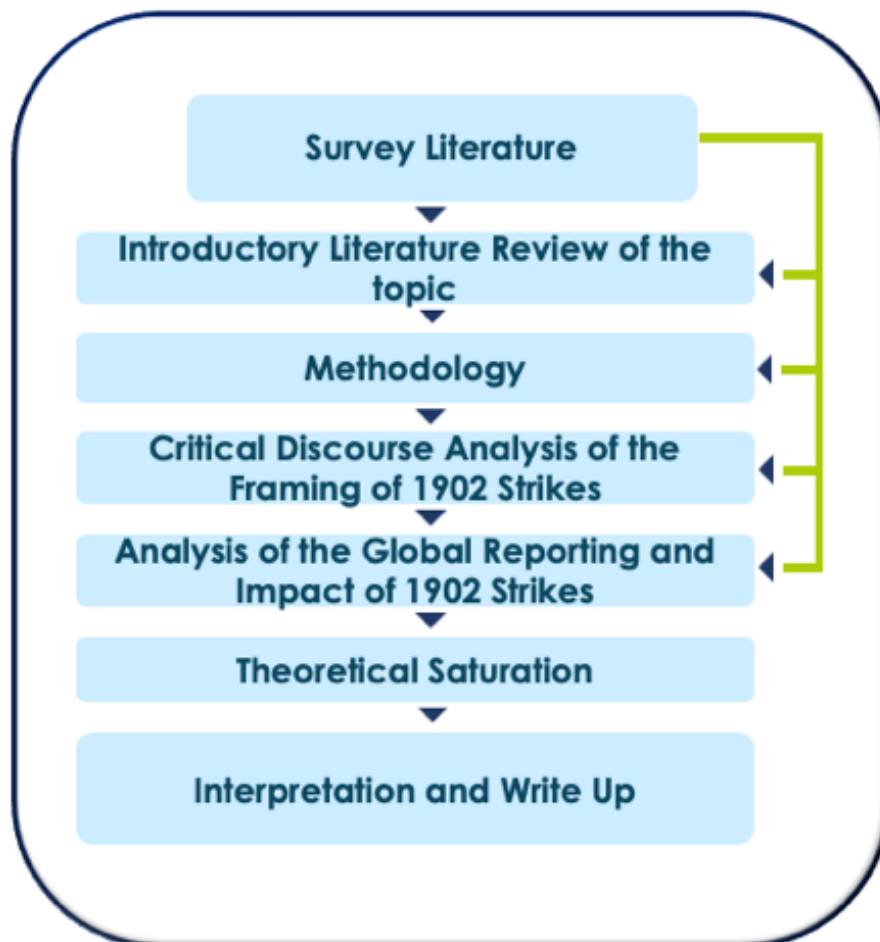
Humanity is on the brink of an important transition to a cleaner and more sustainable form of energy. This has been precipitated by an environmental poly-crisis, brought about partly due to the excess carbon dioxide (CO₂) and other greenhouse gases emitted into the atmosphere. The climatic challenges have resulted in an increase in inclement weather and natural disasters, which threaten human lives and the existence of the whole planet. As climatic debate and the decarbonisation discourse escalates, there is a growing interest in energy transition literature. However, the scholarship on media and energy politics is largely nonexistent. This research emerges from within the cavernous void brought about by the scholarly oversight.

Energy is a key aspect of economic and social development; it is vital to human wellbeing. Ever since humanity learned how to harness and convert different forms of energy – health improved, life expectancy grew, and the quality of life increased. This makes energy an indispensable component of human existence. In the past a dominant form of energy often resulted in distortions of political power (Mitchell, 2011). As society is on the brink of a monumental shift from an economy that is dominated

by fossil fuels to one dependent on new renewable forms of energy, a socially just transition is not only contingent on decarbonising the economy and securing jobs, but also on engendering a society that fully participates in the process and enjoys energy democracy in all its fullness. This requires an active media. Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng and White (2009:4) put forward the theory “*that press systems are linked to different political systems and philosophies*”, following this line of thinking, the study explores dominant energy regimes and the impact of media on social politics. Understanding that media was key to the energy politics of 1902 and the rise of democracy, provides a reflective tool for today’s media and the present energy politics.

1.7. The Research Design

Figure 1: The Framework of Research Methods and Techniques



Source: Author (2020)

1.8. The Research Gap

While labour action was the unintended consequence of the industrial revolution, unions have largely remained unpopular among legislators and corporations. Unions have long been recognised as essential to the working classes. As this research will show unions are also critical in developing and sustaining both “*industrial and political democracy*” (Baccaro, Benassi & Meardi, 2019). The link between democracy and the trade unions was established by Webb and Webb (1897) who described its emergence alongside that of the “*labour problem*”. Their work in “*Industrial Democracy*” connected the workplace to a much broader political environment. The 1902 anthracite strike in Pennsylvania was deemed crucial to democratisations as per Timothy Mitchell (2011). However, little evidence of media’s role in the expansion of democracy from an energy perspective is at the fore. This is in contrast to the role of media in the 1984-85 strikes in the United Kingdom, which is well researched by scholars like Wade (1985), Philo (1989), Milne (2004) and Glasgow University Media Group (1993) among others. Ironically the 1970s and 80s were recognised as the “*third wave of democratisation*” by Huntington (1991) a period when 30 countries transitioned to democracy. The 1902 disruptions occurred within the “*first wave of democracy*”. The 1902 strikes that reverberated around the world were part of the first wave (Mitchell, 2011). The strike in Pennsylvania is iconic for its role in industrial and social democracy. However, the media’s role is largely unknown and thus media’s role in power politics is lost to history.

1.9. Delimitations

The history of media’s role in energy politics is an overlooked research topic, more so concerning the 1902 coal strike. This study attempts to sketch out this history and gain some understanding of the period in question. The study will focus on two aspects – the first will be location bound to the Pennsylvanian strike. The second aspect looks at the global response as news of the strike and the triumph of labour spread to other parts of the world. Focusing on this time period addresses a gap in media scholarship within energy politics. However, social politics are a complex affair, thus it is not the aim of this study to credit media as the only influence to the 1902 power dynamics.

1.10. Research Outline

The who, the what, the when and the where, regarding energy politics and media is covered in a literature review in *chapter 2*. The chapter gives a descriptive background and it also highlights what has been researched in the field. The literature review goes as far back as the Palaeolithic, Neolithic, and the industrial eras, to survey the different configurations of power and how they influence various forms of energy. The review also reveals the role of media in the distortions of power that emerge and how political agendas and media frames are critical in shaping discourse and shifting perceptions.

Chapter 3 lays down the methodological framework used in the research

Chapter 4 explores the link between the strike, media and democracy by using critical discourse analysis to unpack the impacts of media on the industrial landscape.

Chapter 5 takes a broader sweep by exploring how media helped spread Timothy Mitchell's 'carbon democracy' throughout the world. It is argued that media expedited the new configurations of power both in the USA and abroad.

Chapter 6 addresses the main findings from the research. The study concludes with limitations, implications and recommendations.

Chapter 2: Literature Review – Coal, Oil and the Media

2.1. Introduction

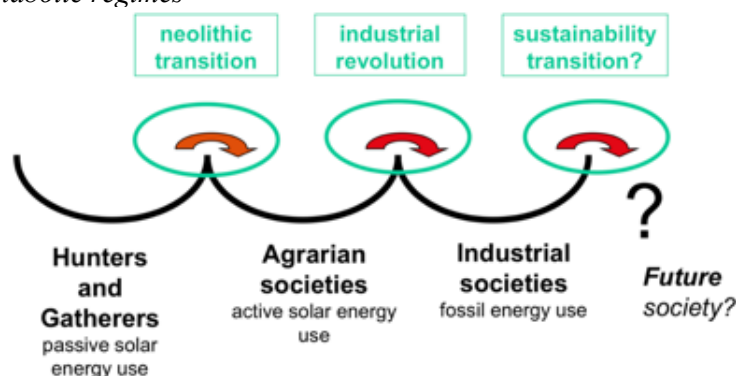
This chapter reviews a wide variety of literature as it pertains to the topic of energy, power dynamics and the role of media. The chapter stratifies the history of power dynamics into periods that are linked to changes in energy source. These stratifications help reveal how social politics evolved with time. They further expose how society became stratified into social classes which became the backdrop to the period in question. The social stratifications and the civil tensions within them are the basis for this study, which is centred around the 1902 anthracite strikes of Pennsylvania. The rationale behind the literature review is to make explicit the context of the relationship between energy and politics – it ultimately also incorporates the function of media as part of the social dynamics. The literature on media theory, specifically that of agenda and media framing is also reviewed to further illuminate the topic. Media theory demonstrates why it is crucial to understand how media is shaped and that objectivity is relative. Understanding media theory and the fallacy of its claims to objectivity helps to point out the biased roles of media throughout history. It also demonstrates the potency of media in driving an agenda and framing that agenda for a predetermined outcome – such as political distortions within a society. The argument that energy stratified society is supported in this chapter as is media's ability to drive certain socio-political agendas. This is pertinent today, given the pending energy transition and media's distorting role in history - especially 1902.

2.2. The Early History of Energy and its Politics

Energy has a long historicity that is conjoined to life. It is the very essence of it. In the its absence, all forms of materiality wither. Life ceases to exist and everything becomes barren. Energy exists beyond our planet in galaxies and other celestial bodies of the cosmos. Yet from far deep in space its impact is felt on earth. The solar and lunar systems, alongside other energetic forces play a critical role in supporting the earth and all its ecosystems. Energy has not only sustained the organic natural systems on earth but it has also enabled artificial forms of inventiveness spawned by human creativity. While, humans have not always had the ability to harvest and

manage the power of energy, they have depended upon it ever since the beginning of time. Sieferle (1997) makes the contrast between different socio-metabolic epochs while recognising the socio-ecological patterns that govern them. He also makes the distinction between their varied energy sources (*Figure 2*) and the technologies used for energy conversions. By organising societies in this manner, it becomes easier to understand the survival challenges faced, as well as the paths they plotted in improving their well-being on account of energy. It also helps to anticipate the direction of the pending energy shift, as per the Fischer-Kowalski (2017) adaption of the Sieferle et al. (2006) modes of subsistence conception (*Figure 2*).

Figure 2: Socio-metabolic regimes



Source: Fischer-Kowalski (2017) adapted from Sieferle et al. (2006)

In the earlier periods of time, media as we know it today, was inexistent. Beyond 'word of mouth', which is difficult to account for at the best of times, all other forms of media as they are constituted today did not exist. However, the nexus between earlier forms of politics and energy helps to establish a pattern between the two, which highlights the influence of one over the other, albeit subtle. Understanding this background and the evolutionary process, will later serve to illustrate the linkages and dramatic impacts caused by media in energy politics. The following section therefore assumes 'word of mouth', however, it also unveils the understated dynamics of energy and politics.

2.2.1. Passive Solar Use – A Political Equaliser

Fischer-Kowalski, Krausmann and Pallua, (2014) describe a period in history when humans had little control over the food that they acquired from the earth's ecosystem to sustain themselves. During this time their energetic needs were met through the consumption of plant matter produced from the sun's energy. Sieferle (2001:205) identifies the period in question as the age of the hunter-gatherers, whose energy

system is “*passive solar energy utilisation*”. They relied on the sun to produce food through photosynthesis and they foraged for it. In essence, humans virtually operated on a prehistoric version of the ‘drive thru’ system, where they merely consumed the food they found and caught. This could not sustain large clusters of human population due to the scarcity and limited food options, as collection entailed mobility. This not only influenced cluster numbers but also limited population growth. This is also observed among the various indigenous groups around the world that still live a hunter-gatherer lifestyle today, such as the many ethnic San groups that are often homogenised into one ‘KhoiSan’ cluster with the Khoekhoe (herders). Many of these clans (San) still live in small clusters that are dotted throughout Southern Africa in countries like South Africa, Angola, Namibia, Botswana and Zimbabwe (Hitchcock, Clench & Murwira, 2016; Vicente, Jakobsson, Ebbesen, *et al.*, 2019). Living in small clusters ensures food security and survival, especially when food grows and breeds naturally. The essence of the subsistence conception that was developed by Sieferle *et al.* (2006) and later adapted by Fischer-Kowalski (2017) illustrates how even at their most primordial, humans still needed energy. Hunter-gatherers had two primary energetic focal points, the first was the food they derived from the environment and the second was a fuel source in the form of biomass (Fischer-Kowalski *et al.*, 2014). It is worth noting that even during those early pre-Neolithic periods, energy enthroned a socio-political order. It was a system that was commensurate with small social cliques, ensuring order and sustenance. Though hotly contested, Svizzero (2014) zeroes in on archaeological evidence that points to pre-Neolithic trade and wealth accumulation, which indicates an economic paradigm. He even postulates that there were forms of social inequality, further implying a political system. However, it is more widely accepted that Pre-Neolithic societies were small egalitarian social groups that were mobile, displaying minimal gaps in power and wealth (Lee, 1992). While they passively consumed solar, their social convictions were anything but passive, in fact, Lee (1992) describes them as fiercely egalitarian. Meaning their social politics were active and purposed. Boehm (1993) called it ‘reverse dominance’, where many act in unison to suppress ego and the rise of tyranny, in contrast to today’s standard where many look up to one or a handful of leaders. To this day, San hunter-gatherers still conform to egalitarian systems (Gray, 2011; Suzman, 2017). Egalitarian clusters amount to socio-political structures that are aligned to passive solar use, which puts energy forward as a socio-political equaliser.

2.2.2. Active Solar Use – Stratifying Clusters into States

The Neolithic transition to an agrarian society did not happen in a single global sweep. Whelan (2016) postulates that it began approximately 12000 years ago, however, it was an event that was staggered throughout the world and in some societies it stretched over several millennia. Once again drawing on the present day San hunter-gatherer communities, the hypothesis of a time-lapsed transition seems plausible, it also highlights existing societies that have maintained their pre-Neolithic state. Nevertheless, Whelan (2016) finds that experimentation with seed led to a new agrarian dispensation. Agriculture required productive labour, which resulted in the agglomeration of people to meet production needs and improve food security. However, population also grew due to stability and humans being less nomadic (Whelan, 2016). With larger groups of people came greater social administration and the demise of the once fiercely guarded egalitarian societies. The agrarian era saw the rise of land tenure, which led to wealthier classes of society (Whelan, 2016). The assigning of gender roles also took place during this time, which resulted in woman being designated domestic responsibilities in the home (Whelan, 2016). Men worked outside in the fields and with time, this gave rise to social constructs that ascribed 'significance' to the role of the man, which in turn gave man both social and domestic prominence (Whelan, 2016). These are socio-political distortions that arose within a new energy dispensation, the active utilisation of solar as observed by Siefert et al. (2006) and Fischer-Kowalski (2017). The human ability to plant and domesticate animals, meant they no longer had to forage for food, instead they learnt how to actively manipulate the ecosystem and its produce for greater yields towards human metabolic needs (Fischer-Kowalski *et al.*, 2014). Humans colonised the ecosystem for the purposes of concentrating solar energy on processes such as photosynthesis (Fischer-Kowalski *et al.*, 2014). They were essentially 'harvesting' the sun and this changed the social politics of the day. A new and active utilisation of solar brought with it unprecedented forms of institutionalisation, putting in place new rules for social engagement (Svizzero, 2017). Gellner (1989:21) puts it this way, the Neolithic transition "*encourages, and often perhaps necessitates, the emergence of specialized agencies of coercion*". Taking the form of social bodies, political bodies as well as economic bodies (North, 1994) these institutions dramatically altered the social landscape giving rise to complex political organisation that reflected the new stratified societies. It was

the beginning of centralised power, a precursor to the origination of state and a significant pull from egalitarian norms. The precondition was an agrarian era, closely aligned to the revolution from a passive to an active solar regime.

The social developments of the Neolithic era are often narrowly perceived within political and economic paradigms (Petersen & Skaaning, 2010) however, a socio-ecological view recognising the materiality of energy appears to be largely neglected.

2.2.3. King Coal – The rise of a Fossil Fuel Era

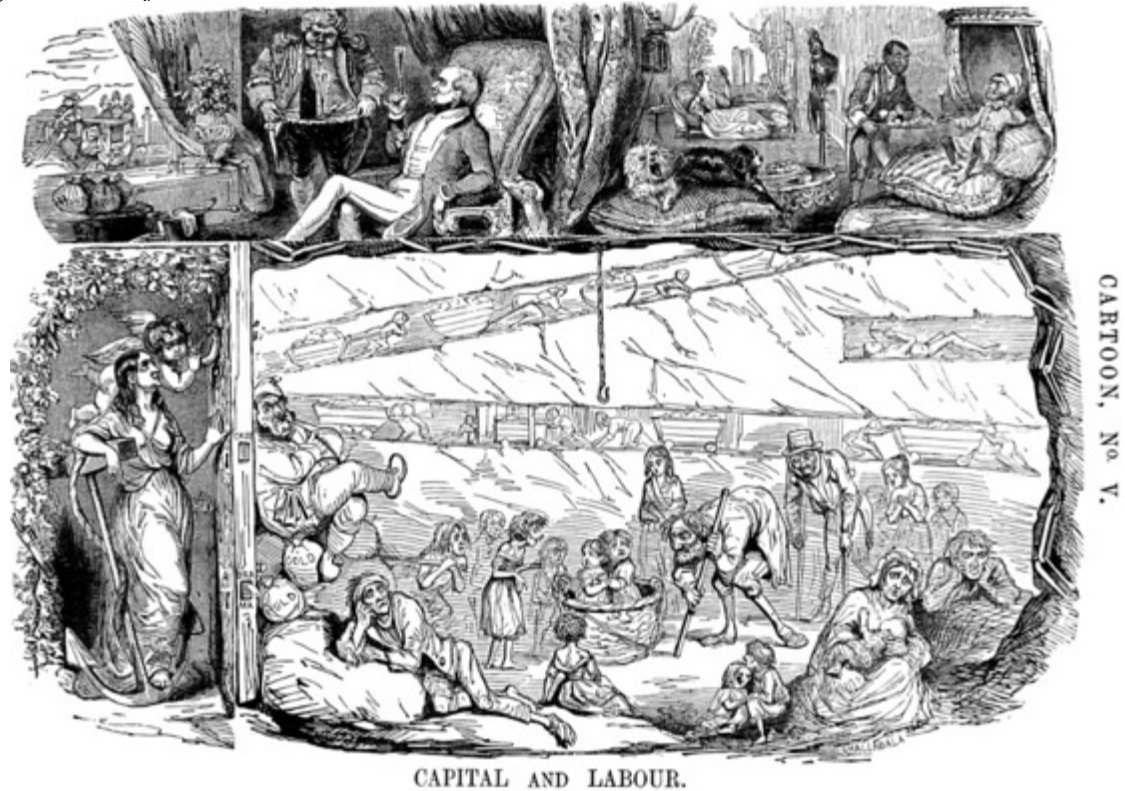
Triggered by the newly refined steam engine, the industrial revolution began in mid to late 18th century England (Sieferle, 2001). The amelioration of the steam engine led to the mechanisation and fossilisation of the economy. It was an unprecedented watershed event in human development history, which signified a conclusive techno-economic break from the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods. The steam engine drove industrial automation, new demand for coke and coal resulted in an energy spike and an intensive mining sector soon developed (Yun, Jung & Yigitcanlar, 2018). The application of coal grew with the industrial revolution to include use in cotton mills, iron works and railways (Clark & Jacks, 2007). Domestic appetite for coal also grew from pre-industrial levels of 2.5 million tons and by the 1830s, England was consuming approximately 22 million tons of coal (Flinn quoted by Williamson, Barnes & Pillatt, 2017) for lighting, cooking and heating. Coal was to become the dominant energy system and as it grew incrementally pervasive it reinforced a new fossil economy, complete with complex levels of stratification.

2.2.4. Capital and Labour: King Coal Confers Power and Privilege

The weekly satirical magazine popularly known as ‘Punch’, or The London Charivari, published a cartoon on August 12, 1843, inspired by the Horne Report on Child labour in the coal mines (*Figure 3*). The cartoon was accompanied by the following inscription:

“It is gratifying to know that though there is much misery in the coal-mines, where the ‘labourers are obliged to go on all-fours like dogs’, there is a great deal of luxury that results from it. The public mind has been a good deal shocked by very offensive representations of certain underground operations, carried on by an inferior race of human beings...” (Punch, 1843)

Figure 3: Stratifications in the Coal Sector



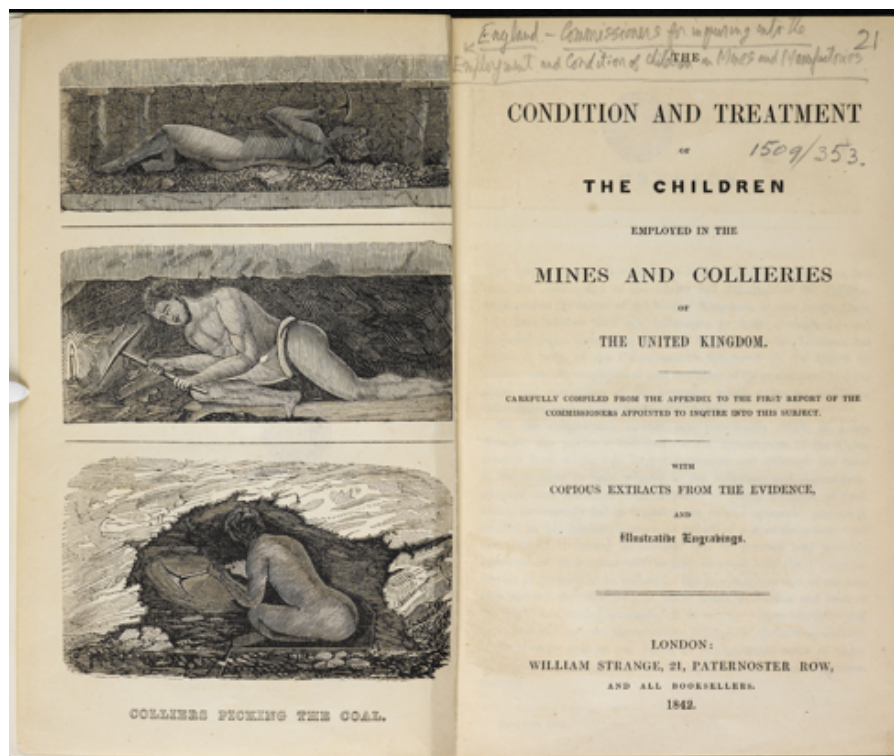
Source: Hammerton (1843)

The magazine sympathises with the working class who are downtrodden for the benefit of aristocratic gain and luxury, as illustrated by the cartoon. The incriminating report referenced by Punch (1843) depicts the horrendous and extremely dangerous conditions of the mines. The children in *Figure 3* are seen digging in coal seams that are not only uncomfortable for any worker, much less children, but they are also extremely treacherous. Turner and Blackie (2019) point out two curious allegorical figures depicted to the left of the image who are said to represent hope, yet appear to be anchored down and locked out.

The Horne report, by the Children's Employment Commission (CEC) also made use of vivid imagery that illustrated conditions underground (*Figure 4*). Illustrating the abysmal state of mining, the report took an almost emotional tone as it raised the condition and treatment of mineworkers. It begins to describe a particularly distasteful section in the report in the following manner:

"We are now about to enter upon the most painful and revolting part of the subject to which this pamphlet relates..." (CEC, 1842:19).

Figure 4: Conditions in the Mine



Source: CEC (1842)

The report details slave-like conditions for children, who were often forced to start working in the mines from as young as 5 years of age. They were subjected to beatings using fists, boots, pick handles, belts and other objects that corporals could lay their hands on. The safety conditions were appalling resulting in numerous accidents such as falling down shafts; objects falling on miners while descending or ascending; ropes and chains snapping; suffocation by carbonic acid gas; burning or suffocation as the result of carburetted hydrogen gas exploding; being crashed by horses and their carts (CEC, 1842). While the report focused mainly on the distress of children it also highlighted the broader suffering of all mineworkers.

“The persons employed in these mines may be divided into three classes-male adults, female adults and children of both sexes” (CEC, 1842:19).

Apart from drawing attention to the abhorrent mining conditions, the report is said to have also inspired protest literary works such as Charles Dicken’s famous ‘Christmas Tale’. In another protest publication from across the Atlantic, American author Sinclair (2017 [orig. pub. 1917]) absorbs his readers into the reality of coal miners in the Rocky Mountains. He bears the sole motive of engendering some form of social justice and true liberty. During his research Sinclair (2017) experienced first-hand the deplorable

conditions that coal mineworkers were subjected to. While pretending to look for work in the coal mines, he was violently assaulted upon suspicion of being a strike leader. Sinclair uncovers the heinousness meted out to coalminers who sustained the fledgling American economy. His publication was as much about the inhumane treatment of the men who unearth the coal, as it was about the exploiters. In the book's introduction Brandes 2017 [orig. pub. 1917]) tellingly describes Sinclair's efforts as:

"...earnestly pointing to the honeycombed ground on which the greatest modern money-power has been built. The fundament of this power is not granite, but mines. It lives and breathes in the light, because it has thousands of unfortunates toiling in the darkness. It lives and has its being in proud liberty because thousands are slaving for it, whose thralldom is the price of this liberty."

The description by Brandes (2017) has an uncanny 'word-picture' resemblance to

Figure 4. Brandes could have been describing Hammerton's 1843 cartoon and by parallelism the terrible conditions in British coal mines. America was a mirror image to Britain's oppression of pit workers. The point being – the crisis was not unique to Britain, similarly shocking conditions in many other places were also emerging, including South Africa (Witbank News, 2006); Germany, Scotland and Colonial Zimbabwe (Knotter, 2015); Canada (McQuarrie, 2015); Australia (Newspapers.com, 2019); France and Belgium (NY Times, 1902a); China, India and Japan (Thomson, 2003); Catalonia and Russia (Lepie, 2015); Turkey (Atalay, 2015); New Zealand (NZ-History, 2014), the list is endless. These countries were all in various stages of the industrial revolution. The period depicting hostile working conditions is staggered and it ranges from the early 1800s for the early adopters through to the early 1900's for the late-comers. Whatever the circumstances, it was apparent that coalmine conditions were the same throughout the world, it was an unconscionable sector with grossly unfair labour practices. A clear indication private profits are influential (Jakob & Steckel, 2022:325). *Figure 5*, illustrates a motley South Africa pit-crew in Malahleni (Witbank), noticeable are the child miners. The image is dated between the late 1800s and the turn of the century, as the South African war was raging, which may have temporarily ceased the mining operations, even as the coal barons from the rest of the world continued to exercise their power. Their privilege was fuelled by fossil energy in societies that had become complexly stratified. The coal mines were contestably the most dreadful work environment, to emerge from the industrial revolution.

Figure 5: Late 1800s-Early 1900s Emalahleni (Witbank) coal mines with African child labourers



Source: (Witbank News, 2006)

Globally the age of coal brought with it social tensions. The mineworkers were clearly devoid of any value, their lives were baseless apart from the returns derived from their harsh labour. As far as the coal barons were concerned, miners only existed to serve the fossil fuel elite, who 'rightfully' exerted their lordship over unassertive menials. All descent was silenced. The coal barons supplied jobs and paid salaries, to society they were demi-gods. The coal mine labourers were owned by the mine bosses, who used every opportunity to dominate and exploit. Even when wages were paid, the bosses used all means possible to claw money back by charging extortionate prices for provisions, rent and medical care that did not exist (Graebner, 1976). The power and control was firmly consolidated within the coal barons.

Szeman (2016) refers to the concept of petro-humanities, a term that highlights the power of energy beyond its energetic capabilities. An earlier reference suggested that fossil fuel is much more than a mere combustible. This is evident in the social fault-lines of inequality and poverty versus ostentatious wealth. The coal mines not only typified the social status quo, but they also amplified it. Coal reinforced stratification. The ability to constitute social disparities was among the earliest signs of the power of energy, fossil fuels in particular were distorting the humanities. These distortions are evident in other ways.

2.3. The Social Politics of Fossil Fuel Energy

Up until now the power of energy has been detailed in three distinct concepts. First, was the portrayal of energy, as a basis of the social and political formations that arose within passive and active solar use. Second, was the role of energy in triggering and enabling development and human wellbeing. A third observation pinpoints energy's ability to wedge powerful fault-lines between poverty and wealth. A fourth concept highlights how fossil energy propelled humans into a leading geological force of nature, trumping all other forms of natural phenomenon such as volcanoes, earthquakes, etc. This has been achieved over time through rampant resource use and excessive CO₂ emissions. The advent of the printing press by Gutenberg (Park, 2014), followed by the rise of news in print and the first official newspaper in 1605 (Abernathy & Sciarrino, 2019) introduced new forms of communication into society. This section continues to build upon the conception that energy has a hand in socio-political formulations and that the anthracite³ strikes of 1902 reinforce this theory, it also introduces newsprint – the new medium into the energy-politics nexus.

2.3.1. King Coal Instates Democracy

According to Grossman (1975) the former historian for the US Department of Labour, the 1902 coal strike was a turning point in American labour policy. While writers such as Sinclair (2017) used the medium of print to address the issue of social injustice in the mines, John Mitchell⁴, a central figure of the American labour movement, encouraged the use of mass labour action as a form of protest (Mitchell, 2011). The author, Timothy Mitchell (2011) points out how coal mines were dependant on a massive labour force. A multitude of coal mine workers were needed to dig the mines, others had to separate rock from the coal in breaker rooms, while many others handled the logistics of moving the black coal from the pits of the earth to the surface, a transport network system was needed to distribute the coal. Timothy Mitchell (2011) theorises that the enormous workforce made it possible to unilaterally down tools and cripple the energy supply chain. It had the effect of sending the coal markets into a

³ Anthracite is a compact and hard type of coal. It has a sub-metallic layer and tends to be black. It has the fewest impurities and a higher ability to generate heat compared to most coal (Grossman, 1975).

⁴ **John** Mitchell, an American trade unionist who steered the 1902 coal strike, is not to be confused with author of 'Carbon Democracy' **Timothy** Mitchell, who is referred to by his full name (except intext) to set him apart.

tailspin, thus exerting pressure on the mine bosses, as society grew increasingly indignant and impatient with disruptions to the coal supplies. This is precisely what transpired. The strikes crippled industries and domestic life, as the coal reserves dwindled. In 1890 the New York times reported, “*the possibilities of a gigantic and ruinous labour conflict open before us*” (Mitchell, 2011:22). The labour action was ongoing and frequent. It was also reported that the coal strikes in particular lasted the longest, highlighting the coal mineworkers confidence. The public outcry was potent. It took an entire labour force, united in their cause and in numbers to shut down the coal supplies. The network of mineworkers could not be circumvented to get to the coal.

Figure 6: America behind Roosevelt and mineworkers



Source: Pystew (2014)

The 1902 strike went on for almost five months without any sign of relent (Grossman, 1975). Markle (1902), in his article “*The operators side of the great coal strike*”, attempted to discredit the unions, however, vividly depicted in satire and discourse, President Theodore Roosevelt emerged in support of the worker. Images of the American people in their patriotic ‘Stars and Stripes’ flag, towering over President Theodore Roosevelt, who in turn dwarfed the mine bosses, as depicted in the cartoon (Figure 6) helped shape social perceptions about who was in the wrong. They also helped inform a collective position of a nation rallying against injustice and seeking a resolution in order to get their coal-power back. Figure 6 illustrates new stratifications of power in the social

dynamics. Access to coal was at the pinnacle of the dispute and by association so were the coal workers who granted it. Roosevelt's disdain for rich capital and inhumane labour conditions is unequivocal. In *Figure 7*, Theodore Roosevelt "*teaches the Coal Barons a lesson*". The cartoon captures the bad blood between Roosevelt and the barons succinctly. The halos on JP Morgan, Baer and the other capitalists juxtaposes their angelic public personas against their school boy bullying of the workers. Media amplified the union voice and garnered public sympathies.

Mitchell the unionist capitalised on the labour tensions and the support of the American people, and negotiated for the workers (Grossman, 1975). The barons relented, agreeing to demands for a 9 hour shift and 10% increment. On the surface, Mitchell secured a favourable deal that led to better pay, less hours and other benefits, at a much deeper level, a more profound shift had occurred (Mitchell, 2011). The political institutions became deeply fractured, shifting influence to the workers (Mitchell, 2011).

Although there had been other strikes before, the 1902 strike was pivotal on account of President Theodore stepping in, this was a monumental endorsement of the workers cause (Durand, 1903). It was hailed as a turning point in US labour policies and recognised for bringing the Federal Government into a new phase, of willingness to engage in national strikes that are deemed critical (Grossman, 1975). It also implied that the President recognised the labour movement. In previous strikes the American government defaulted to being neutral, but, in the event that it got involved, more often than not, it would be to suppress labour through the military (Grossman, 1975).

According to Timothy Mitchell (2011) a fundamental distortion of power dynamics had taken place and power was wrestled from the herculean coal barons, placing it in the hands of labour and by association the once frail network of mineworkers. Mine bosses had lost absolute control, while mine workers found a voice that transcended beyond the strikes of the early 1900s. The victorious strike action brought realisation of the coal mine workers power in numbers and it soon became the prototype for achieving social democracy in other troubled hotspots. Coal by its nature required an enormous labour force (Graebner, 1976) which made it possible to collectively down tools and broker new power dynamics.

Figure 7: *The Washington School Master*



Source: Bryan (2019)

2.4. Oil – An Heir Apparent is Born

Oil was first found in China, although the actual dates are contested depending on the source of information. In the Sichuan province of China, the 1000 meter deep Xinhai well is testament to the drilling inventiveness of the Chinese (Vogel, 1993). It was 400 years before Europeans caught up to the Chinese who were already drilling 100 meters into the earth for brine (Vogel, 1993). Not only was this the precursor to deep oil drilling, natural gas was also found in the process and its first commercial use was to fuel the fires that evaporated the brine for salt production (Vogel, 1993). This was the process that led to China discovering oil (Li & Du, 2004). However, in spite of its historical claim to oil, the country's modern gas and oil industry is young when compared to America (Li & Du, 2004). The birth of the latter-day oil industry was conceived by Edwin Drake's discovery in Pennsylvania in 1859 (Wicks, 2009). While it was not the first oil discovery, it was the first significant find backed by capitalist intention to exploit it for illumination and lubrication (Wicks, 2009). An article in the *Pittsburg Dispatch* by Sanford (1889) outlined the decline of whaling stock, which drove the search for new sources of illuminating oil. Perhaps figuratively referring to their decimation, Sanford described the whales as having "*acquired a greater degree of cunning*" and being "*more shy*". The article by Sanford (1889) was also an inadvertent exposé into the destructive nature of humans, it highlighted their fondness for

satisfying immediate need, with very little concern for the environment. The quest to replace the dwindling volumes of whale oil, led to an uptick in the search for 'coal oil'. At first, 'coal oil' was distilled for kerosene and the viscous residue lubricated machinery. After the definitive 1859 oil strike, it was a few years before it could be followed by another defining discovery at Spindletop in 1901 and within a year American oil production tripled (Kaiser, 2012; Wicks, 2009).

2.4.1. An Oil Coup D'état Deposes King Coal

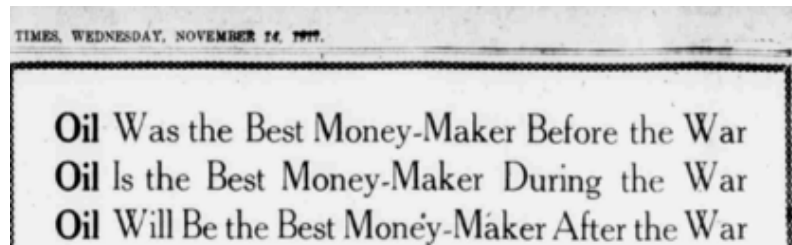
It is vital to note that the shift to oil was catalysed by two phenomena – the first was a techno-economic growth, as new uses for oil were discovered; the second was the political manoeuvrings towards an energy transition. Both are briefly synergised in this section. Coal and oil share intersecting histories, they were discovered by the Chinese and both re-emerged during the first industrial revolution. However, coal's dominance was entrenched by the steam engine that led to widespread mechanisation. Two major events helped propel oil into the economy, the first was the historic oil finds (Edwin Drakes and Spindletop) and second was the Ford Model-T motorcar in 1908 (Williams, Haslam & Williams, 1992). The Washington Times (1908) reported on the 22nd of November a notable increase in demand for used cars, as well as dealerships, this was a true indicator of aspirational lifestyles. Motoring enterprises such as Henry Ford and the used car market, were paving the way for a transition from mass consumption, to individual demand to self-drive and self-consume. This was all predicated on cheap and abundant oil. The new form of energy began to remove barriers and restrictions, in a new age of abundance so aptly described by Potter in the 'People of Plenty':

“The man best qualified for this role was the completely mobile man, moving freely from one locality to the next, from one economic position to another, or from one social level to levels above” (Porter, 1954:96)

World War I (WWI) precipitated the conversion of all naval fleets, which were retrofitted to run on oil (Dahl, 2001). Military trucks, tanks and aircraft were also powered by oil, making it a strategic source of energy for the armed forces. The militaristic quest for advantage in war and the incremental rise of oil is portrayed in numerous news articles, including this call to enlist by the Daily Prospector (1917:2) *“every branch of the (military) service is open but there is a demand for gasoline engineers. This is a war of gasoline engines”*. Perhaps more cogent of the systemic shift to oil dominance is an

advertisement for oil bonds and investments (*Figure 8*), which were used to finance America's war campaign. Britain's Lord Curzon, is said to have bragged that the allies had "*floated to victory upon a wave of oil*" (Priest, 2012:236). By 1919, petrol sales outstripped those of kerosene (Muzzy, 2018).

Figure 8: Oil Investment Advertisement



Source: Oklahoma City Times (1917)

This paragraph is not a reductionist claim that the war was merely about energy politics. The causes of both world wars were numerous and convoluted. However, a key decisive factor in who won both WWI and World War II (WWII) is clearly hinged on who controlled oil (BBC, 2020; Priest, 2012). The allies, particularly the Americans, drove publicity exercises that extolled oil and their military might, which was predicated on access and control of oil. An advertorial headline in the Washington Evening Star (1943:8) boldly asserted, "*America's Oil and American Victory!*", a statement that entrenches the importance of oil and the greatness of America. Such statements rallied Americans together and helped to justify the hegemony over oil and oil producing nations. After the end of WWII, oil proved very crucial, at the Anglo-American Petroleum Agreement, Franklin Roosevelt reputedly said - the "*Persian oil ...is yours. We share the oil of Iraq and Kuwait. As for Saudi Arabian oil, it's ours*" (Webb, 2012:80). This was a classic display of western hegemony, as the US and UK overlooked the Arabs, while sharing the bounty. A post-war recovery package for Europe and Japan, dubbed the Marshall Plan, was put together and it was underwritten by American oil (Priest, 2012). Marshall funds were used in part for a pipeline between Saudi Arabia and the Mediterranean (Feis, 1946) and it was all part of the US plan to alter Europe's energy systems from coal to oil. Many other geopolitical events such as the Suez Canal crisis of 1956 (Priest, 2012) played into global oil tensions, that helped change the energy system.

Around the 1950s, oil became America's primary source of energy (Black, 2012; Priest, 2012). This coincided with the 'great acceleration' – a period that led to a sudden surge in growth, resource consumption and environmental destruction (Steffen, Broadgate, Deutsch, *et al.*, 2015). Oil was central to this sudden upswing. Cohen (2004) describes a new age of 'conspicuous consumption', which refers to the proliferation and expansion of oil extravagance. Her description of 'conspicuous' highlights the pervasiveness of oil, pointed out by the Evening Star (1948:17) headline, *"Industry Breaks All Records To Supply Biggest Demand in History!"*. It even topped the wartime record. The article further states *"Oil is energy for America. Oil means more comfort, better living, greater convenience – for you"*. Ongoing media narratives coupled with social influence helped to grow consumption and soon led to the subtleties of oil that spawned social ostentatiousness – this is Cohen's 'conspicuous consumption'. Consumerism and growth was driving a new demand for oil, especially as many other oil by-products were ameliorated for use, increasing the demand. The original plan to use oil for illumination and lubrication purposes, was soon dwarfed by an abundance of unintended consequences, which included, the production of plastic from petrochemicals; food products such as twinkies created from complex chemistry; chemically enhanced farming from synthetic nitrogen fixers; use in pharmaceuticals such as medicinal drugs (Black, 2012). An advertorial in the Montana Farmer-Stockman (1953:14) hints at the pervasive subtleties of oil by turning their readers' 'imaginaries' to other lesser known products made from oil: – *"from industrial chemicals, to crab grass spray, to highway asphalt"*. Today, according to the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP) there are over 6000 products produced from oil by-products, including soap, tyres, toothpaste, detergent, ropes, fabric, shaving cream, cooldrinks, mayonnaise, cosmetics, glue, aspirin, glycerine, food preservatives, etc. (CAPP, 2020). Oil's grip is pervasive, inspiring neologisms like the 'ecology of oil' (Black, 2012), 'oil ontology' (Scott, 2018), 'petrocultures' (Szeman, 2016). Deliberately coined, each phrase powerfully demonstrates how oil now defines life.

2.4.2. King Oil Re-channels Democracy

Like coal, oil gave workers new kinds of power (Mitchell, 2009:406).

Timothy Mitchell's (2009:399) postulation is – whoever controls the channels and flows of fossil fuels controls democracy. In his study he shows how powerful influencers not

only shape how democracy is constituted, but also how it is channelled and how it is instituted. Timothy Mitchell lays bare the many forms of democracy, showing how they each rise and fall, he does this by tracing the “*concentration and control of energy flows*”. Following his theory on social democracy in the time of coal, Timothy Mitchell further builds on the notion of democratic dimensions, this time focusing on political arrangements that are aligned to oil. He also elaborates on geopolitical matters that include Keynesian economics, the Marshall plan and how oil took over from gold as the global financial standard. This section of the survey bounds Timothy Mitchell’s oil politics theory to the labour arena, by discussing how the ability to undermine energy operations through mass action is curtailed in the time of oil.

Access to affordable energy improved the lives and wellbeing for the masses in most of what is today referred to as developed countries. The extractive industries within the fossil fuel sector were also very critical in the establishment of labour relations. They shaped how workers and the fossil fuel industries organised politically, as well as ensuring their representation in government (Mitchell, 2009). The influence of fossil fuels has also had geopolitical impacts that shape the relationships between nations specifically the role of liberal democratic regimes (Kelz, 2019). The appropriation of the environment for energy is inextricably coupled to social relations and for this reason it exhibits historical contestations of power and the asymmetries that emerge.

While this study is mainly located within the paradigm of social politics, the reflections of Philippe Schmitter on political transitions provide some of the impetus for this study. Philippe states that “*democracy is not inevitable, but it is revocable*” (Schmitter, 1994:57) which implies that the state of democracy whether social or political is dependent on a wide set of variables falling into place. In the event that all the variables align (by design or fortuitous distortion) to install a system of democracy, the continuity of such a system is not guaranteed, however, its ruination is. This suggests that the democratic state of a given society is not fixed. In *section 2.4.1* a new age of oil displaced coal as the dominant energy source and with it came a new shift in power.

Section 2.2.4 highlights the dense network of mineworkers that were critical to the extraction and transportation, resulting in the coal barons being heavily dependent on their labour. However, this dependence on mass labour was also a big risk as it posed a major threat to their operations, wealth and power. The advent of oil as a dominant

energy source and its control helped elevate whoever 'owned' it (Black, 2012; Mitchell, 2009). Oil is a key component towards exercising some form of hegemony (Black, 2012; Mitchell, 2009). Those that control the oil or the access to it have the power. This is vividly depicted by Daniel Fairview, in the film, "There will be Blood". Daniel is prepared to concede on many fronts as he prospects for oil including feigning faith, he even gets baptised in submission – not to God but to Eli, who leads the church and whose father owns the land the church sits on. Oil flows in the veins of the land and rests deep with its reservoirs. The balance of power shifts as soon as Daniel assumes ownership of the property and oil is found. Eli relinquishes control and the situation consolidates Daniel's power. The film is an adaptation of another of Sinclair's books "Oil" which reveals how power flows with the oil, and it rests upon those that control or have access to it. Power follows oil. Sinclair recognises this power and in a manner that pre-empts investigative journalism, he exposes the negatives of oil. To understand how the social dynamics of power transitioned within a new dispensation of energy, this brief section draws heavily on the work of (Mitchell, 2009). It demonstrates how oil curtailed true representation to embrace capitalism's undemocratic nature.

The coal mines required a vast labour force with a wide network spread throughout the coal value chain. Timothy Mitchell (2009) predicates that the conversion of energy systems was hatched up as a way to subdue the coal mineworkers efforts. The new network was less labour intensive and it comprised an interconnected structure of pipelines, that snaked from deep within the earth to ports, refineries or wherever it was needed. Although vulnerable the pipelines could not easily be sabotaged. The labourers did not have to work underground, which means they worked in spaces where they were constantly supervised. The fluidity of oil eliminated the need for coal heavers thus incapacitating their ability to remove workers from critical points of the energy system. The multiplicity of pipeline also meant oil could be rechannelled through other networks in the event of any challenges. Therefore production continued almost unhindered. Timothy Mitchell (2009:165) eloquently expresses this point:

"whereas the movement of coal tended to follow dendritic networks, with branches at each end but a single main channel, creating potential choke points at several junctures, oil flowed along networks that often had the properties of a grid, like an electrical grid, where there is more than one possible path and the flow of energy can switch to avoid blockages or overcome breakdowns"

Timothy Mitchell (2009) states that the organisational structures of labour gave them the ability to unilaterally disrupt coal energy networks, thereby shaping a new form of mass politics in the early part of the 20th Century, - the post-war restructuring of the fossil fuel grid, once again reshaped the energetics of democracy. The reworking of the energy system and how fossil energies were extracted and transported made them less vulnerable to the political efforts of labour. Therefore striking a deadly blow to the forms of social democracy that had emerged. According to Timothy Mitchell (2009) the narrow manifestations of modern politics of democracy can be traced to oil. Timothy Mitchell describes these as the limits of democracy that emerged with oil, depriving society of welfare democracy and rerouting the structured centres of power to corporations, governments and the west.

The media exhibited less sympathies for the 1946 and 1949 strikes, which were on record for leading to more down time than any other strikes before, resulting in great inconvenience to society (Ohio Daily Express, 1950). The 1949 coal strikes were significant as anthracite production dropped for the first time in the history of strikes, to levels last seen in 1902 (Sunday Star, 1950). *“With King Coal sitting uneasily on a throne that doesn’t feel as comfortable as it used to...”* – was the claim from the Sunday Star (1950:3) which demonstrates how mainstream reporting merged with other social and political discourses in discrediting coal in favour of oil (*see 2.4.1*). The Evening Star (1947) reported that both individual and industrial pledges for a shift to oil were escalating, as strike action dragged on. ‘The flight from coal’ unveiled society’s growing sense of resentment for the strikes and the miners. With the option of oil, it is likely that the public became less sympathetic to the miners compared to the strikes of 1902. The tensions were widespread and they were also felt in Europe. The quest for oil and the crushing of coal workers occurred on both sides of the Atlantic. Long before the annexation of post-WWII Middle Eastern oil by America to safeguard its political and economic interests, the British had occupied Iraq, in the 1920s, to secure oil and to overpower democratic miner unions (Stoller, 2012). In essence, the war against industrial democracy began in the early 1900s.

The initial quashing of coal workers and unions by the British government [and later by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (Wade, 1985)] was intended to limit dependency on the anti-capitalist mine labourers. This was a complete reversal of the American

events of 1902, when miners received the support of government, the public and media. *“The politics of coal were about vested interests” (that were)... “independent of the governance structure” (Jakob & Steckel, 2022:325).* Labour leader Arthur Scargill, and his National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) were openly denounced by media – *“News of the World (1984) has reportedly made it clear we are opposed to Mr Scargill and his strike”,* this was the general attitude towards coal miners. Curiously the mineworkers were accused of subverting democracy by Margaret Thatcher and British Home Secretary Leon Brittan (Wade, 1985). In her analysis of the role of media in the coal strikes of 1984, Wade (1985) observed media distortions in their coverage. The multiplicity of events across the world suppressed coal. The ‘new’ oil economy restrained the labour-leaning left from demanding social insurance, higher wages and voting rights, it also curbed military reliance on coal. The despotic strategies by the US and the UK secured their own domestic ‘democracies’ (Stoller, 2012). The global switch to oil was a fight against labour (Stoller, 2012). Oil took from labour, what coal had imparted. Coal conferred democracy, but oil recanted it. To command oil is to command democracy (Mitchell, 2009). Oil is to democracy, what active solar use in Neolithic times, was to egalitarian politics.

The rise of democracy in the age of coal was an unintended consequence of the fossil fuel regime. Switching to oil brought much benefit to the anti-democratic forces of capital and it was designed accordingly. As mentioned the material realities of oil were numerous. However, this section sought to highlight the negative effects of oil on democracy. In its entirety the fossil fuel regime spawned innumerable unintended consequences that had an impact on social, economic and environmental factors.

2.5. A climate in Crisis

A ‘new’ crisis has emerged from the fossil fuel era. The political arrangements of fossil fuels particularly those of oil have entered into a new period of uncertainty, characterised by environmental challenges and a climate in crisis. The prospects of peak oil and environmental degradation bring new threats to the future of growth, prosperity, democracy and the dominion of oil itself. Pre-industrial levels of atmospheric carbon concentration are estimated to have hovered around 273 parts per million (ppm) (Steffen, Crutzen & McNeill, 2007). Since the 1950s they have risen

dramatically as per the 'Great Acceleration' owing to greater resource consumption levels, which have pushed up the demand for energy, resulting in higher CO₂ emissions (Steffen *et al.*, 2015). The safe operating space for atmospheric carbon concentration is below 350 ppm (Steffen *et al.*, 2007) yet in contrast, the levels as of June 2020 were 416 ppm (NOAA, 2020). The higher concentration of CO₂ has pushed the global surface mean temperature (GSMT) from average pre-industrial levels of 13.7°C to about 15°C (Baird, 2018) resulting in inclement weather and disastrous climatic consequences (IPCC, 2018b). If CO₂ emissions continue to be released into the atmosphere at the present levels, such a scenario would lead to irreversible changes to the earth's biosphere. It will negatively alter the oceans chemistry and cause further damage to natural eco-systems, which will ultimately result in the demise of human lives, due to adverse weather conditions (IPCC, 2018b). Climate change has become a pressing global issue. Corrective market measures are necessary for a low carbon energy transition (Baker, 2018) from fossil fuels to cleaner renewable forms of energy. Humanity is once again on the vanguard of another energy regime. As this study has shown, new sources of energy install new political arrangements. How have energy, politics and media converged to influence the political prospects of the future?

2.6. Communication Theory

2.6.1. The Scholarship of Media, Energy and Politics

Media tends to be the space where political contestations take place. These contestations may take a variety of forms, including the cultural, social and fractional politics. The different forms of democracy that arose during the coal strikes, found a crucial artery in media, as noted by the various reports and illustrations referred to in this literature review. While the role of media in politics is clear, there is very little research that traces its role in energy politics. Historians have religiously and rigorously tracked both media and politics, scrutinising big moments from the past as well as some of the smaller ones. However, there exists an academic need to understand the historical contexts of media's role in energy politics and the revolutions that emerge from it. The field of energy politics and media is small requiring greater scholarship. Such scholarship will add an extra dimension to Timothy Mitchell's carbon democracy, by exploring the intersections of fossil fuels, democracy and media.

2.6.2. Media in Energy Politics

Early proliferation of news flyers may have emerged with Johannes Gutenberg's contested invention of the moveable type printing press in the 15th century (Eldred, Schwab, Kusko, *et al.*, 1984; Park, 2014). With the occasional printing and distribution of newspapers, the evolution of media began in earnest. The first official newspaper is believed to have been printed in 1605 (Abernathy & Sciarrino, 2019). Media stories relating to energy and politics from the early days of the printed press by all accounts appear to be non-existent, making it impossible to consider that period from a media study perspective. The role of media is relegated to retrospectively reporting on historical events from the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods. Be that as it may. The lines of reasoning set out in the segments on passive and active solar utilisation (*sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2*), help to lay out the backdrop to this study as a useful way of understanding the impacts of energy. This line of thought is influenced by the work of Timothy Mitchell (2009, 2011) on carbon democracies. The literature review brings to light 'energy politics' from the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods.

Wade (1985:273) dissects the role of media during the UK coal miners strikes, which took place between March 1984 and March 1985. She, describes media as the "*selector, narrator and interpreter of information*", a statement that brings into question the media agenda within the energy discourse. In exploring themes of media coverage, Wade acknowledges distortions made by media. She suggests that contortions in media coverage isn't unusual. Wade (1985) finds that coverage of the labour dispute either ignored or undermined the workers reasoning, instead choosing to focus on the violent details of the dispute. Wade (1985:274) references violent headlines that painted a jaded picture, that put miners in a negative context:

"Bloody Battle...this picket's injuries sum up the worst violence in the 15-week pit war" - (The Sun, 1984 in Wade 1985:274)

"Outlawed street battles after ban on flying pickets" - (The Daily Star, 1984: in Wade 1985:274)

"Men at the front of Scargill's total war" - (The Guardian, 1984 in Wade 1985:274)

"Now it's murder . . . this was not industrial action. This was not picketing. This was murder" - (The Daily Express, 1984 in Wade 1985:274)

The Glasgow University Media Group (GUMG) conducted an extensive analysis of the UK TV media content and how it galvanised negative societal reactions to the coal mine strikes (GUMG, 1993). The GUMG found that the allocation of media space was skewed in favour of the mine bosses and it worked against the miners. Journalists acted as gatekeepers. They also found that media generally adopted an inhospitable attitude when it came to the labour unions and disputes. News interviews were conducted with the assumption that strikes were wrong and that unions were inherently strike prone. In another study, the GUMG concluded that media networks generally adopted a narrow theoretical framework and that:

“Within this view (framework) there is a limited range of explanations for conflict and crisis and such explanations as are used by the media, amount largely to blaming the workforce” (GUMG, 2009:232)

The Mirror, a newspaper once known for its sympathetic tone towards the miners' cause changed its editorial attitude, after it was bought by new management in July of 1984 (Williams, 2009). In spite of the dominant media discourse, a few titles in the British press including the Other Voice, Durham Street Press, Islington Gutter Press, and the Brighton Voice among several others, broke rank with the mainstream to present the miners view (Williams, 2009). The Other Voice was noted for setting the record straight on many issues, including exposing the BBC for reversing video footage to depict police charging towards stone throwing miners rather than the complete opposite context, illustrating what had really transpired (Williams, 2009).

As with any newsworthy coverage, there are different parties that compete for attention, but in the case of the energy politics post 1902, the odds were stacked against the miners, especially in the main stream media. This is confirmed by Milne (2004) in his book, 'The Enemy Within', – a term used by Margaret Thatcher to refer to the miners. Milne exposes the extraordinary lengths that the British government was prepared to go to destroy the power of the miners and their union. The media was prepped and cued, ready to play their part in discrediting the movement in a smear campaign (Milne, 2004).

2.6.3. Two Media Theories

Two aspects of communication theory stand out from the study thus far – the first is the ability of media to swing public perception in support of an agenda through framing. The theory highlights the role of media content in legitimising a cause. Studies depict the role of media frames most clearly in the 1946, 1949 American and 1984-85 British coal strikes, though by no means is the theory excluded from the 1902 framing of the Pennsylvanian anthracite industrial action. The second theory puts forward the logic that informs the media frames. This can be understood to be the underlying agenda. Such as in the 1902 Pennsylvanian strikes, where the agenda was possibly in favour of labour, and the reinstatement of coal supplies. The broader outcomes were the new socio-political dispensation, which democratised miners. However, in the American labour action of 1946 and 1949, as well as the British industrial action of 1984-85, media favour shifted to the mine bosses and in a much broader motive, it legitimised the attempt by both governments to dismantle the power vested within the labour movements. Both notions are briefly expounded in the sections that follow.

2.6.4. A Political Agenda Behind Labour Action Coverage

Media tends to convey messages that are far more than just a call to action about what products to buy, or how best to be entertained. All forms of media have the ability to shape discourse, influence social constructs and help trigger forms of materiality. Philo (1989) suggests that media frames tend to be located within cultural and political notions about what is normative and admissible within a society. He further argues that such notions include opinions about the social order when it comes to media access; set beliefs about who is conferred the right to speak; the political institutions that are deemed dominant, as well as what would be defined as socially ‘acceptable’ behaviour. What Philo is getting at, is that, the daily ‘inference’ of news is based on a theoretical framework, which implies that editorial decisions about what information is presented across the media spectrum, is informed by the unspoken assumptions as postulated above. Wright and Reid (2010) reinforce this theory by elaborating how situating media frames in a broader political paradigm tends to confer some form of public legitimacy. The notion of a narrow frame of reference situated in a broader political narrative, aligns with the view held by GUMG as mentioned aforehand in *section 2.6.2*. This review draws heavily on two major events, which highlight how media

became the battle front for settling industrial disputes. The coal strikes were numerous, however, the 1902 Pennsylvania dispute set a new trajectory in labour relations. While the subsequent coal strikes entrenched the new politics, they also set a new incremental agenda which sought to wrest power from labour. This has been demonstrated in *section 2.4.2* of this study. This review mostly focused on the 1902 Pennsylvania strikes, with some reference to the 1946 and 1949 American labour action as well as the 1984-85 British coal dispute. These were pivotal moments in energy and the subsequent power dynamics that arose with them. The media reports during such times, not only informed public opinion, but they also had an impact on how each separate event developed. To arrive at the final media frames required that the process be embedded within a theoretical framework. In the case of the 1902 Pennsylvania strikes, a cultural proclivity towards comforts rendered by coal, the negative pressure of disrupted lifestyles, the economic impacts and most critical of all the political voice lent by President Theodore Roosevelt in all likelihood informed the general media coverage (Grossman, 1975). President Roosevelt's engagement is a clear confirmation of the political notions referred to by Philo (1989). His involvement was even more telling considering that neither precedent nor political obligation compelled him (Grossman, 1975). If media coverage assumes the political legitimacy of a certain type of system according to Philo (1989) as well as Wright and Reid (2010) then it can be hypothesised that the 1902 coverage of the anthracite strike, was driven by an ideology, which aligned with the American President. Roosevelt was portrayed as anti-capital and pro-mine workers. Evidence of this is supported by the context and content of reporting (*see Figure 7*). During the American 1946, 1949 labour action as well as the 1985 British strikes, a clear politically motivated displacement agenda is noted and it was evidently anti-coal workers as highlighted in *section 2.6.2*. To further demonstrate the political-cultural complex in reporting, Philo (1989) in his study of the 1984-85 strikes, highlights how violent behaviour could be ascribed to the assumption that violence is wrong and therefore one side is to blame and such a report is situated within and contributes to political and social cultures. The underlying political and or cultural bias informs the media content, which assumes a predicted angle of reporting.

2.6.5. A Media Framing Theory

While studying customer responses to a media campaign, McQuail (1977:74) discourages against limiting the scope of media studies to audience members. He suggests that *“research approaches might ...take more notice of the content whose effects are being studied”*. This view is acknowledged by McLeod, Kosicki and McLeod (2002) who say the process of inquiry is a complex construct that should cover both the audience and media content. According to McQuail, some media studies fail, due to the limitations placed on tracking audience reactions, by so doing, they miss the substance of the message being conveyed, as well as its connotation to the broader audience. To this end Philo (1989) contends that media is much more than just random piecing together of news or opinion. He calls attention to how campaign messages during an election, tend to not just be about suffrage rights and how to exercise them. As noted above, the campaign message *“assumes the legitimacy of a certain type of political system”* (Philo, 1989:7). McQuail argues that over time, media plays a vital role in establishing a certain type of social and political culture. The outcome is contingent on how the communication is framed. Wright and Reid (2010:1391) also acknowledge that media has the tendency to shape discourse and interpretation, which ultimately result in some cultural outcomes. In their study on media frames of US biofuels, they describe the impact of media, stating how it contributes to *“consensus, resistance or even moral panic”*. The reverse psychology used by the satirical magazine ‘Punch’ (Figure 3) in portraying mining conditions, is exemplary. The publication frames the hopelessness of coal miners, and a sense of ‘no light at the end of the tunnel’, which was juxtaposed against the opulence and ostentatiousness of mine bosses. The framing challenged the norm by appearing to conform to the consensus, yet it sowed the seed of resistance, which culminated in moral discourse with President Theodore Roosevelt personifying the moral panic. The framing changed with latter strikes in 1946, 1949 (USA) and 1985 (UK). Therefore framing theory predicates that *“an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations. Framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue”* (Chong & Druckman, 2007:103). The process of framing crafts meaning. According to Goffman (1974:21) frames are *“the principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them”*. Entman (2007:164) defines framing as

“the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights the connections among them to promote a particular interpretation”. Oosthuizen (2001:465) contends that *“news is anything but a true reflection of reality”*. In his line of thinking Oosthuizen captures the essence of media, which he elaborates as *“a frame or window on reality that seeks to or can only reflect part of this reality”*.

Oosthuizen explains the rationale behind framing theory, illustrating how media concentrates on certain events or aspects of an event, with the intention of defining them within an established context and meaning. It never tells the full story, instead, narrow framing guides an audience towards what media wants the public to know. In essence, media influences how events are understood, much like the coverage of the 1902 strike, which differed in public perception to the 1946 and 1949 American industrial actions. In his seminal work on frame analysis, Goffman (1974:21) found that frames tend to *“locate, perceive, identify, and label”* information as it pertains to society. In some cases as noted in this study, the agenda can be very subversive. Understanding how media reports, helps to clarify how the same story can have a different twist and a varied outcome. Years before Goffman introduced the theory of framing, Cohen (1963:13) in Entman (2007:165) said this about the role of media:

(it) “may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling readers what to think about... The world will look different to different people, depending ... on the map that is drawn for them by writers, editors, and publishers of the papers they read.”

Essentially, frame theory dispels the myth of fortuitous or purely objective reporting. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996:125): describe the following framing techniques:

- *Metaphor: To frame a conceptual idea through comparison to something else*
- *Stories (myths, legends): To frame a topic via narrative in a vivid and memorable way*
- *Tradition (rituals, ceremonies): Cultural mores that imbue significance in the mundane, closely tied to artefacts*
- *Slogan, jargon, catchphrase: To frame an object with a catchy phrase to make it more memorable and relate-able*
- *Artefact: Objects with intrinsic symbolic value – a visual/cultural phenomenon that holds more meaning than the object itself*
- *Contrast: To describe an object in terms of what it is not*
- *Spin: to present an idea in a way that conveys a value judgement (positive or negative) that might not be immediately apparent; to create an inherent bias by definition*

Upton Sinclair and Charles Dickens, whose literary works have been referred to elsewhere in this review, each carried critical social commentary about the deplorable conditions of coal miners and social inequality respectively. Both used the second framing technique of ‘stories’ while addressing and drawing attention to grave social injustices. Both writers were muckrakers who publicised scandalous events for a greater social good. An example of the ‘contrast’ framing technique is the use of satire by the ‘Punch’ magazine (*Figure 3*) which juxtaposes miserable miners against cheery mine bosses. The contrast being the magazine’s depiction of a “socially acceptable” image of inequality, which favours the upper crust, while in fact the publication was sympathising with the “enslaved” miners. The British media’s framing of the 1984-85 labour action took the form of the ‘Spin’ technique, which jaded society’s view of the miners, by framing them negatively, while propping up support for Margaret Thatcher and her government’s agenda. In each case of reporting highlighted throughout this study, content framing has carried agency, albeit with different outcomes for each strike. It has influenced how the message is portrayed and the eventual outcome.

Framing is closely tied to the theory of agenda discussed in *section 2.6.4* because it draws the audience’s attention to a subject. According to the University of Odisha (2017) framing could be deemed an additional level of agenda setting – where in the agenda theory the audience is told what to think about – and in the second level framing theory, the audience is guided in how to think about the issue.

While one sets the agenda the other provides the angle from which to perceive that agenda. Drawing on the various scholars referenced in this study, it follows that such a process is not luck by any stretch of the imagination, this is a conscious decision made by practitioners of media. Therefore, it can be postulated that the different agendas that facilitated the dominance of each energy source, the subsequent transitions to new forms of energy and the polarisation of power was facilitated by a conscious process of communication. This is very key given the pending new energy regime. Wahome (2018) argues for the need “*to increase reportage on renewable energy*”. Reflecting on the numerous energy injustices as highlighted in this study, including those illustrated by scholars such as Schot and Kanger (2018) as well as Swilling (2019b), it would be well reasoned to assume that – reporting on renewable varieties of energy, may result in new forms of social politics depending on how media

is composed. This may well address issues of energy justice and other social forms of injustice. It is on this basis that such a study is key for today, as it not only establishes media's role in energy politics, but it is also a litmus test for the overall effect.

2.6.6. Framing vs Discourse Theory

Tannen (1993:4) describes how discourse analysis illuminates the linguistic process by which frames are produced in interaction, framing produces a theoretical "*foundation for the discourse analysis of interaction*". Framing analysis dissects how an issue is described and problematised, as well as the impact it has on how it is broadly received. Discourse analysis is an expansive methodological approach (Tannen, 2007) of which framing analysis is a subset. In other words framing analysis is a discourse analysis method. The text, context and research questions determine the appropriate approach. In this instance, the study unravels power and relations that are depicted within text, an exercise best suited for critical discourse analysis (CDA) according to Meyer (2001); van Dijk (2001); Fairclough (2003) and Janks (2006). Further to this, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) state that since discourse is socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power – confirming its suitability for CDA. In discussing framing Fairclough (2003:53) gives examples demonstrating how reporting on Libya and the UN - an impartial geopolitical body, can lead to "*a build-up of framing which is heavily conducive to an interpretation unfavourable to Libya*". In such an instance the UN's impartiality is brought into question. The example given by Fairclough illustrates how the frequency of a particular type of framing can shape the discourse and lead to certain interpretations that are based on authorial weightings. In that regard, framing plays a very big part in discourse. Wodak (2008) and Fairclough (2003) both describe discourse as social practice, they further posit that

*Describing **discourse** as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which **frame it*** (1997:258)

Fairclough and Wodak clearly emphasize the relationship between discourse and framing. They also confirm framing as a subset of discourse, which Tannen (2007) described as the broad approach. It can therefore be understood that the discourse(s) analysed in this study is/are social practices framed by a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) that constitute it.

2.7. Media and Energy Justice

Swilling (2019) and other scholars hypothesize that renewables could advance energy democracy. Meaning a 'just transition' from fossil fuels coupled with reconfigurations of economic, social and political power. Partially this means democratisation of energy production and distribution; social ownership of infrastructure and decentralised energy systems. Media's role is pivotal. It can catalyse the process, demystify policy, engender good citizenry and inform how everything unfolds. Understanding media's past role gives it purpose in the present-day transition. Failure may trigger an unjust transition, where inequality, social injustice and political emasculation persist.

2.8. Summary

This chapter clearly outlines some of the themes that have emerged from various studies undertaken in the field of energy, social politics and media. The social dynamics that arise from developments as a result of changes in energetic sources are made explicit. The chapter began by looking at the Palaeolithic and Neolithic social arrangements while acknowledging the dominant energy dynamics. In more recent times humanity has experienced changes in energy sources which had a profound effect on the overall social dynamics. The main energy sources considered were solar and the predominant fossil fuels – coal and oil. The advent of media presents a new dynamic that plays a more catalytic role in how political distortions are forged based on certain agenda and how media is framed to drive such agenda. This is made evident during the coal strikes of the late 1940s in America and it is well pronounced in the British strikes of the mid 1980s during Margaret Thatcher's premiership. However, the gap in research lies in a period that comes long before the iconic strikes that take place in the 40s or 80s. The following chapter outlines how the role of media in Pennsylvania's 1902 strike will be investigated. It also lays out the philosophical approach, the methodology and methods used to analyse media involvement.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology and Methods

3.1. Introduction

The following chapter describes this study's methodological approach. The content is an overview of the methods and framework applied to the research objectives. This chapter relates the research paradigm, based on the philosophical assumptions that underpin this thesis. Included are the methods of analyses, as well as the methods used to gather data. The chapter culminates in how the final conclusions are drawn.

3.2. Research approach and strategy

3.2.1. The Philosophical Paradigm

Creswell (2014) says the research plan should be informed by the researcher's philosophical assumptions, the research design and the process of collecting data, analysing and interpreting it. This research is mostly bounded within constructivism, however, an aspect of it leans towards pragmatism, defined by Bryman (2012) as an external observation of events based on empirical evidence. This means they regard measurement as trustworthy. However, Onwuegbuzie, Leech and Collins (2011) explain that qualitative dominant mixed-methods analysis calls for a philosophical stance that assumes a constructivist paradigm. According to constructivism, a researcher's worldview is influenced by their reality (Dahlbom, 1992). It is therefore beyond the bounds of possibility to remain impartial, especially given the historical, cultural and social realities that guide each individual. Constructivism also known as constructionism is defined *“as an ontological position in relating to social objects and categories—that is, one that views them as socially constructed”* (Bryman, 2012:33). The constraints mentioned above suggest that a researcher is prone to proclivities which influence how they view and interpret text. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002:22) say:

“the researcher always takes a position in relation to the field of study, and that position plays a part in the determination of what he or she can see and can present as results. And there are positions in terms of which reality would look different. But that doesn't mean that all research results are equally good.”

Therefore the analyst must consider their position relative to the subject matter, this has implications for the text examined and the type of interpretative process employed. A greater challenge faces researchers who belong to the culture being analysed. Some cultural nuances may be taken for granted and overlooked due to familiarity (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). This issue affects research in one's field of expertise, which in a sense is one's culture. Such a cultural setting breeds some familiarity and may lead to neglect in some instances, clouding a true reflection of reality. Fairclough (2003:130) calls it "*naturalised pre-constructions*", which offer another view. Awareness of one's cultural biases helps to minimise noise in the analysis and its exegesis. One way of mitigating such bias in discourse analysis is to follow good strong arguments developed from well researched theories. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002:22) say:

"It is by seeing the world through a particular theory that we can distance ourselves from some of our taken-for-granted understanding and subject our material to other questions than we would be able to do from an everyday perspective."

3.2.2. Qualitative Crossover Analysis

This study is mainly qualitative, but with some quantitative input. Strauss and Corbin (1990:17) define qualitative study as "*any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification*". Qualitative research tries to make sense of social life, meaning it draws attention to lived experiences, people's lives, behaviours, sentiment and emotions, it also looks at social movements, organisational performance, geopolitical interactions, as well as cultural events (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This expressive method generates descriptive words rather than numbers for the analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The qualitative approach is suited to making sense of the social dynamics and the role of media in energy politics as it explores the what, how and when of an event instead of probing quantities or the measurement of phenomenon (Bricki & Green, 2007). This study explores the 'what' and 'how' by critically analysing the essence of media frames, used during the 1902 Pennsylvania coal strike to establish some form of sensemaking.

A section of the study crosses into mixed-methods. The transitivity analysis in *chapter 4* albeit not reliant on numbers, found merit in tallying the participant frequency rates. This helped clarify text dynamics, illustrate dominance and powerlessness. Mixed-

methods employ both qualitative and quantitative approaches; they address studies that benefit from more than just qualitative or quantitative research (Creswell, 2014). The quantitative element in the study triggers the pragmatic angle.

3.2.3. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a transdisciplinary approach within the broader discourse analysis (DA) discipline, which can be applied to a wide variety of texts such as newspaper articles (Bryman, 2012). Fairclough (1995:4) clarifies “*text*” as the “*written or spoken language produced in a discursive event*”, encompassing the visual, the auditory, as well as semiotic gestures in communication. Mass communication is conveyed through mass media and nearly all their research “*is based on the assumption that the media have significant effects*” (McQuail, 2010:378). In exploring these effects this research takes interest in CDA, which focuses on language and its ability to effect socio-cultural and ideological shifts. Foucault (1977) was interested in unearthing the specific discourse qualities that underlie its ability to influence and exercise power. To that end CDA is defined by Phillips and Hardy (2002:3) in Bryman, (2012:536) as:

“an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that brings an object into being . . . In other words, social reality is produced and made real through discourses, and social interactions cannot be fully understood without reference to the discourses that give them meaning. As discourse analysts, then, our task is to explore the relationship between discourse and reality.”

Bryman (2012) urges analysts who use CDA, to heed the “*idea of a pre-existing material reality that constrains individual agency*”, adding that discourse be analysed from the context of social fabric, as well as power dynamics. Fairclough (2003) agrees that dialogues are structures and cultural practices that emerge in society and they are based on social realities expressed through words that conjure societal meaning.

“Critical discourse analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality” (van Dijk, 2001:352).

CDA has interest in the use of ideology, language and power dynamics in discourse. It is a transdisciplinary approach to text analysis, meaning it has more than one

approach. Interdisciplinarity broadens the investigation to the ideological and political shaping of discourse, as well as how ideology, politics and power relations are influenced by discourse. This is the point van Dijk makes in the statement above. The approach is well suited for media text analysis. Fairclough calls the interdisciplinary nature of CDA “*social theory of discourse*” and Coffin (2001:99) says it’s the “*dynamic interplay between text production, the text itself and text interpretation or consumption.*”

The use of CDA is intended to unearth how social action in 1902 was shaped through media discourse. Terre-Blanche and Durrheim (1999) claim that writers tend to both overtly or implicitly motivate their audience towards an ideology or a particular action. The media text in question is likely to give important clues that illustrate its role in distorting the energy politics of the day. CDA may unveil how media content achieved the socio-political outcomes that were realised at the time of the anthracite strikes.

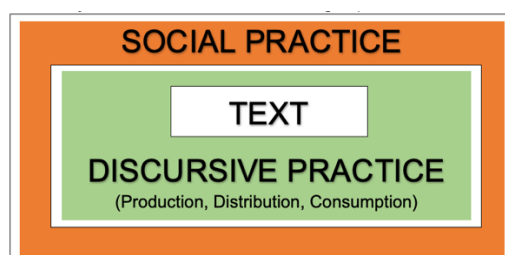
3.2.4. Different approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis

According to van Dijk (2001) CDA describes any number of approaches that could be used to analyse talk and text. One such approach is based on the work of Fairclough, referred to as a “*socio-cultural approach*” (Amoussou & Allagbe, 2018:14), which focuses on a comprehensive dissection of text. Another approach to CDA is firmly grounded within social variables, which include elements such as context, action, ideology and power. This “*socio-cognitive approach*” (Amoussou & Allagbe, 2018:15) to CDA was developed by van Dijk, who acknowledges discourse as social practice which tends to focus on social cognition as the point of mediation between society and text. However, it fails to recognise the discursive elements within discourse. Van Dijk (1993:257) describes social cognitions as “*socially shared representations of societal arrangements, groups and relations, as well as mental operations such as interpretation, thinking and arguing, inferencing and learning*”. Van Dijk (2001) puts forward two levels of CDA within the *socio-cognitive approach*: In the “*micro level of social order*” he notes verbal interaction, language use, communication and discourse. Within the macro, he recognises dominance, power and inequalities. His theory being discourse studies should triangulate between culture, cognition and language. A third major approach of CDA is based on the work of Ruth Wodak, who focuses on a *discourse-historical approach* (Amoussou & Allagbe, 2018:15). Wodak’s approach involves the analysis of

historical processes and their links to hegemonic narratives. Wodak (2008) agrees with Van Dijk (2001) and Fairclough (1995) that discourse is embedded within social practice. A vital tenet of CDA is *"that all discourses are historical and can therefore only be understood with reference to their context"* (Wodak, 2008:20). On this basis Amoussou and Allagbe (2018) conclude that all discourse is diachronically and synchronically linked with other communication events, that are either contemporary or historical.

3.2.5. Fairclough Framework of Analysis

Figure 9: The Framework of Research Methods and Techniques



Source: Fairclough (1995)

While CDA recognises several approaches, this study is based on Fairclough's framework, which blends the three-dimensional perspective built upon his critical theory of discourse. Fairclough says language is an ingredient of social practice. Fairclough's (1992:71) framework *"focuses on discourse as a specifically discursive practice"*. According to Fairclough a discourse or discursive event is the occurrence of discursive practice, composed text as well as instances of social practice (see Figure 9). The 'discursive practice' alludes to how texts are assembled and later construed. The element of 'text' represents its analysis as a form of discourse. 'Social practice' addresses institutional concerns within the social analysis and how they shape the 'discursive practice'. Gill (2018) expresses how discourse is constructed to align with the environment, for instance in a boardroom or a place of worship:

"you might give a different account of what you did last night depending upon whether the person inquiring was your mother, your boss or your best friend. It is not that you would deliberately be duplicitous in any one of these cases (or at least not necessarily) but simply that you would be saying what seems 'right' or what 'comes naturally' for that particular interpretative context" (Gill, 2018).

Gill (2018) says the interpretive context can produce a few contrasting results from the most neutral of accounts, for instance the statement, 'my house key broke'.

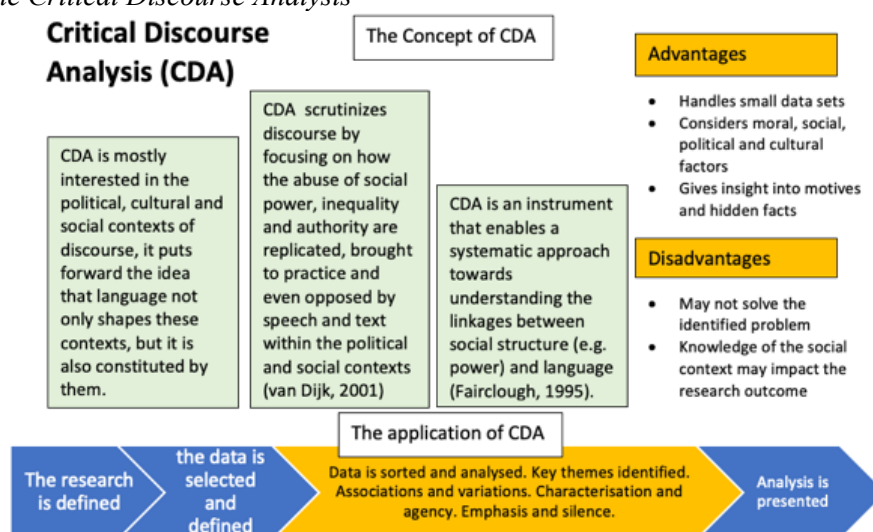
- To an invited guest it could mean, “you are no longer welcome to visit me”
- A good friend may perceive it to be a veiled request to stay the night
- A locksmith might regard an accusation of poor workmanship

Thus, their respective responses would offer analytical clues. This shows that talk is not just talk, but an active part of social practice. One of the goals of discourse analysis is to explore the function of text or talk noting how they are carried out (Gill, 2018).

Alongside the 3 paradigms of discourse are 3 paradigms of analysis, which triangulate description, interpretation and explanation. According to Fairclough (1995) the description period of analysis revolves around the meanings and forms of text (i.e. text analysis). During this process the linguistic characteristics are outlined. The interpretation phase as stated is about the production and comprehension of text, which focuses on the cognitive process of the actors. This is a process of giving meaning to the link between the interpretative process of discursive practice and its production. Lastly, the explanation phase involves analysing the link between social practice and discursive practice and expressing it in words (see Figure 9).

CDA is very relevant to this study, since discursive practice as espoused by Foucault (1977) alludes to power relations and how reality takes form as a result of the power dynamics represented in discourse. CDA is evidently concerned with the political and therefore this study seeks to scrutinise media discourse that emerged with the 1902 Pennsylvanian coal strikes, by using Fairclough’s critical discourse framework.

Figure 10: The Critical Discourse Analysis



Source: Authors adaptation of Xinhang (2019)

3.2.6. Challenges in Critical Discourse Analysis and Fairclough's Framework

A major criticism of the Fairclough approach is its overwhelming prevalence of textual properties capable of being included in a CDA. Fairclough (1992) acknowledged this challenge. Widdowson (1995) also points out the overlapping tendencies of CDA that make it difficult to 'smoothly' tackle each aspect of analysis, Widdowson suggests that Fairclough's framework might be less than cogent for those who are not versed in linguistics, particularly those of CDA. While Widdowson does not dismiss Fairclough's model entirely, he expresses concern about the vagueness of some aspects of CDA.

On a much broader scale Carvalho (2008) presents CDA as the most definitive approach to research for use in media discourse studies. This notion is supported by Kalsi (2017) who confirms its relevance within the social sciences and humanities; however, he also alludes to the methodological and theoretical debate. CDA is contested by scholars such as Hammersely (1997) in Seidlhofer (2003) who question the moral high ground adopted by researchers during their studies. He contends that the validity of a critical process is anything but obvious, suggesting that those who advocate for CDA appear to take this for granted. He questions the fundamentals of *"the term 'critical' (which he insists) has become little more than a rallying cry demanding that researchers consider 'whose side they are on'"* (Hammersely 1997:244 in Seidlhofer 2003: 128). Again, this draws attention to the challenge of subjectivity, as well as the researcher's stance, which Hammersely (1997) in Seidlhofer (2003) claims is erroneously elevated to a greater worth. Other scholars have labeled CDA as an *"ideologically committed"* approach, while others argue that it is methodologically varied, and it has even been suggested to be more interpretative than analytical. A criticism which Fairclough (1996) addressed by clarifying that CDA involved less subjective understanding and that it was more explanatory in nature. However, Kalsi (2017) points out how such critique is also directed at other research traditions such as ethnographic studies, critical theory, postmodernism and social constructivism. He asserts that CDA is continually being refined and it is on a constant improvement pattern. He concludes the matter by citing Carvalho (2008:162) who says that, an *"ideological commitment...does not mean analytical distortion"*. Thus, Carvalho boosts the analytical and theoretic benefits of conducting CDA. For this study, Halliday's analytical approach to CDA, which is explained in the section below, is deployed.

3.3. Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar

Adopted within CDA is Halliday's (2004) *Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG)* or *Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)*. SFG and SFL are used interchangeably in this study. Fairclough's analytical questions for CDA text are informed by SFG. Janks (2006) favours the Halliday process which caters for one, some or all of the following factors:

1. *Lexicalisation*
2. *Patterns of transitivity*
3. *The use of active and passive voice*
4. *The use of nominalisation*
5. *The choices of mood*
6. *The choices of modality or polarity*
7. *The thematic structure of the text*
8. *The information focus*
9. *The cohesion devices*

CDA yields several points of entry or analytic pathways (Janks, 2006). This study is guided by the theoretical conception of CDA in its application of Halliday's SFG. It focuses on the linguistic attributes of text that are analysed using the transitivity approach, as a function of discourse ideation. Transitivity is applied in *chapter 4*, to 2 texts; while a 3rd text will require CDA's multimodal analysis. A thematic analysis, will be deployed in *chapter 5*. The following section briefly explains transitivity, which Janks (2006) and others have referred to as being complex.

3.3.1. Transitivity – An Author's Viewpoint

According to Van Dijk (2003) it is possible to report phenomena using variations of sentence construction. Sentence construction in a report or story can point to the underlying hand of an actor – their role, agency and perspective. Transitivity gives the newsroom some options for story description and therefore the choices that are made, bear witness to the viewpoint and the underlying ideologies of the producers of news. Transitivity points to the participants, the processes and the circumstances within a story. Transitivity captures the dynamism of a particular environment through language. According to Janks (2006:336) Halliday states that:

“Transitivity specifies the different types of processes that are recognised in the language and the structures by which they are expressed.”

Transitivity in the Halliday sense differs from that of traditional grammar where intransitive and transitive verbs relate to their ability to take in an object. In the traditional sense the distinction between intransitive and transitive is key. In Halliday's transitivity analysis the verbs are identified along with their corresponding process. According to Halliday reality is reflected in a process. The process types are construed from within the transitivity system which shape experiences into the following: mental process (sensing), material process (doing), behavioural process (between sensing and doing), relational process (being or having), existential process (being) and verbal process (saying). It is these patterns within the identified processes that are established in order to decode the embedded ideology within news. Three components make up a process – the process itself; the process' participants and the circumstances that surround the process. Halliday's semantic process in brief:

1. *The Process* – this is indicated within the structure of the clause by the verb
2. *The Participants* – this is a function of the entities within the process
3. *The Circumstances* – are indicated by prepositional and adverbial phrases

“Material, mental and relational are the main types of process in the English transitivity system”, meaning they are the cornerstone of grammar accounting for the majority of textual clauses according to Halliday (2004:171). However, of the six process types, this study focuses on three based on Goatly's (2000) power hierarchy of participants (PHP) - Material, verbal and mental processes.

3.3.1.1. What are Material Processes

Material processes (MP) entail the function of 'doing' and they take 'doing words' into account (Halliday, 2004). The process is indicated by the verb in the clause. The subject in the clause is termed an '*Actor*' and its direct object is the '*Affected*' (Goal). The *Actor* and *Affected* can be abstract and not necessarily always human. A material process depicts an entity that does something to another. The material process not only manifests in physical events but also in the abstract. The clause depicting the material process can either be in the passive or active voice as in these examples:

The mine owner (*Actor*) shot at (*process*) the workers (*Goal/Affected*)

The workers (*Goal/Affected*⁵) were shot at (*process*) by the mine owner (*Actor*)

⁵ Goatly's vocabulary uses "*Affected*" instead of "*Goal*" note both may be used interchangeably in this study

3.3.1.1. What are Verbal Processes

Processes of saying are referred to as verbal processes (VP) within the transitivity framework. The participants are *Sayer*, *Receiver*, *Target* and *Verbiage*. The *Sayer* is the one who speaks; the *Receiver* is the one addressed; the *Target* is impacted by the message and the *Verbiage* is the expressed message. For example, in the clause – She (*Sayer*) told (*Verbal*) Tom (*receiver*) her secret (*verbiage*)

3.3.1.2. What are Mental Processes

Mental processes (MeP) entail the function of sensing, these tend to be perceptual or internal. They relate to experiences of the world. Mental processes construe the “*quantum of change*” within ones consciousness (Halliday, 2004:197). The mental process has 2 participants, an “*Experiencer*⁶” (senser) and the “*Experience*” (*Phenomenon*). Mental processes fall in the category of thinking, feeling and seeing. For example, in the clause – She (*Experiencer*) saw (*Process*) him (*Experience*). The next section tackles sample sizes, data retrieval and selection.

3.4. The Corpus Selection Criteria

The corpus of data was collected from texts in several newspapers during the 1902 Pennsylvanian coal strike. The selection criteria for *chapter 4* was purposive, it focused on American media published after October 3, when President Roosevelt intervened. Three texts were used for CDA - An editorial article, a letter to the editor and a cartoon. This text selection was guided by the 1st research question. The corpus for *chapter 5* included international news about strikes in Pennsylvania and other locations abroad. The sample size in *chapter 5* was motivated by need to comprehend the event rather than the obligatory sample sizes that are tabulated for quantitative studies (Morse, 2000). The articles helped tackle the 2nd research question. This was done by finding new angles until they were exhausted or repetitive patterns emerge (Morse, 2004).

⁶ Goatly's uses “*Experiencer*” instead of “*Sensor*” and “*Experience*” in place of “*Phenomenon*”

3.4.1. Selecting the text for Critical Discourse Analysis

In *chapter 4* the CDA approach is applied to 3 texts, Text 1 was retrieved from the Ohio State University history department's online repository on the 1902 coal strike - <https://ehistory.osu.edu/exhibitions/gildedage/1902AnthraciteStrike/PublicOpinion/conference>. Text 2 was retrieved from the New York Times, which curates the online archives database on the URL <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/browser>. The search criteria were the phrase "1902 Pennsylvania coal strike". Text 3 is from <https://ehistory.osu.edu/exhibitions/gildedage/1902AnthraciteStrike/Caroons/Default>.

3.4.2. Selecting Text for Thematic Analyses

Chapter 5 deploys the thematic analysis. The text used was sourced from several news archives, which included <https://gallica.bnf.fr>; and <https://www.kbr.be/en/> or <https://www.belgicapress.be/>. The search criteria used were "grève mineurs Pennsylvanie". For the archive <https://www.belgicapress.be/> French terms such as "Hornu grève", "grève mines hornu", "grève mineurs hornu", "grève hornu" were used. The Flemish data was sourced from <https://www.belgicapress.be/> and <http://aalst.courant.nu/> archives using the criteria "Borinage staking". The English text for Germany was retrieved from <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/> based on the criteria "1902 Pennsylvania coal strike". The New York Times reported on other strikes around the world linked to Pennsylvania, such as in France and Belgium. The German language text was sourced from <https://www.europeana.eu/en/> using "Bergarbeiter Pennsylvanien"; "Bergarbeiter Mitchell"; "Amerikanischen Bergarbeiter".

Foreign text translations were done online using the google translate tool and verified by French, German and Dutch (for the Flemish) speaking colleagues. There were two challenges faced in translating text – the first was the Optical Character Recognition software that battled to differentiate some old text letters. The second challenge was due to text being in old language, which took time to understand. Both challenges were overcome through broad consultation with fluent language speakers, paving the way for data analysis.

3.5. Three Tools of Analysis

This study employs 3 tools of analysis in *chapters 4 and 5*. The tools offer another level of triangulation, and they are briefly discussed below, starting with power hierarchy.

3.5.1. Tool #1 – Power Hierarchy of Participants (Texts 1 and 2)

Goatly (2000:288) puts forward the participant hierarchy process (PHP), that is rooted in the transitivity system, which he arranges in order of decreasing power:

1. *Actor in Transitive Material process (MP)*
2. *Actor in Intransitive Material process*
3. *Sayer in Verbal process (VP)*
4. *Experience in Mental process (MeP)*
5. *Experiencer in Mental process*
6. *Affected in Material process*

Goatly (2000) says that a hierarchy of power relations among participants can be derived from text. The clause types that emerge in the analysis, help identify the roles depicted by the participants in the text. Constructing patterns of participant representation from an ideological viewpoint, gives insight on who is grammatically construed as powerful, the ones deemed less powerful and even those without power. The ordered hierarchy of participant power illustrates how *Actors* are perceived as most powerful, especially when they ‘Act’ on another participant in a transitive clause. *Goals* or the *Affected* are powerless since they are *Acted* upon by *Actors*. Goatly, (2000:288) says, a *Goal* is merely “*the victim of the power of Actors*”. A *Sayer’s* ability to communicate and impact the consciousness of another living participant denotes their power. Haig (2012) highlights that the *Actors* in MPs are not all powerful, some may portray the lack of power, as in - *The man failed*. However, - *John shot the canon*, depicts an inherent power. Goatly (2000) effectively deploys the framework to expose media bias. In addition to the framework’s potential for analysis, Haig (2012) found Goatly’s research and conclusions cogent. From within the broader field of Halliday's (2004) SFL, which is based on CDA, Goatly’s hierarchy is deployed to analyse power dynamics in Text 1 and Text 2, and for Text 3 a multimodal approach is required.

3.5.2. Tool #2 – The Grammar of Visual Design for Text 3

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1998) images can be analysed in order to understand them. In part the research seeks to grasp the exchange between visual

and verbal elements in media discourse. This is achieved by analysing paralinguistic text such as gesture, intonation, rhythm, facial expressions, etc. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998). Such text is multimodal and the theory behind it was developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (1998) and is known as *grammar of visual design*. Its primary purpose is to broaden CDA to include the use and structure of images. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1998) visual texts are messages that are independently structured and organised. They can be associated with written text, but they are not necessarily reliant on them. Kress and van Leeuwen (1998) argue that multimodal texts generate meaning, and the purpose of study is to understand their power and meaning. This form of CDA allows for semiotic analysis by deconstructing texts. It is used to analyse printed advertisements (Kuswandini, 2018), magazine covers (Upiter, 2012), children's books (Moya Guijarro & Pinar Sanz, 2008) websites (Liu, 2015) etc. After employing CDA the chapter that followed required a different tool of analysis.

3.5.3. Tool #3 – Analysing Global Media Narratives

Chapter 5 applies the analysis of media narratives as a research method. Webster and Watson (2002) say that a clear, well-planned review as a research method is a solid foundation for refining scholarship and theory. MacNamara (2005:2) depicts media analysis as “*a technique which aims at describing, with optimum objectivity, precision, and generality, what is said on a given subject in a given place at a given time*”. A qualitative narrative analysis probes the link between text and the reader, while accepting that media text is polysemic. Graef, da Silva and Lemay-Hebert (2018) state the value of narrative research for understanding political and social change. They highlight how the compelling 9/11 narrative, concocted by the Bush Administration justified the Iraq invasion on patriotic grounds. In her study, “*Using Narrative Analysis to Explore Print News Media Stories of Violent Crime*” Graef (2019) says media is an institutionalised narrator of the society in which it both operates and shapes. *Chapter 5* deploys a ‘*media reporting trends analysis*’; what it means is, the study will review global media, in a process loosely based on the narrative study methods used to cite and interpret large chunks of chronicled stories. The contrast between a standard narrative analysis and this version, is the latter’s focus on brief text excerpts like news headlines and one-liners. The data will be cited and interpreted until analytical saturation leads to a central argument that tackles the research question. *Chapter 5* merely seeks to establish if

media may have enabled Timothy Mitchell's carbon democracy on a global scale. Therefore, the key variable is whether or not media reported the Pennsylvania strike and the impact. The next section outlines the data processing strategy.

3.6. Steps to Analysing the Data

3.6.1. Method of Analysis for Text 1 and 2 (Critical Discourse Analysis)

- Read Text 1 and 2. Select relevant verbs and categorise into clause types.*
- Perform analysis of transitivity, noting patterns of power and powerlessness.*
- Draw conclusions to notable patterns of power and powerlessness*

3.6.2. Method of Analysis for Text 3 (Multimodal)

- Study visual text*
- Describe visual text in segments of Social Distance, Modality, Vectors, Power*
- Perform analysis of transitivity on the linguistic text*
- Draw conclusions from the visual and linguistic text*

3.6.3. Method of Analysis for Media Content (Review)

- Identify the data according to geographic and thematic criteria*
- Categorise data based on geographical location and theme*
- Reach analytical saturation Describe and Summarise findings in the report*

3.7. Validity and Conclusions

The research findings were partly informed by analysing language use in *chapter 4*, which underlined author ideology (Halliday, 2004). By identifying such proclivities within the text, this study revealed certain power dynamics, as perceived by the author (Goatly, 2000). The study not only finds value in clear shifts of power, as determined by the dominance of a participant, it also considers an author's ideological conflicts (Goatly & Hiradhar, 2013). In a conflict the text shows patterns of deviation from the accepted ideological norm, Janks (2006) called this "*values in transition*". Such patterns of conflict are valuable and thus contribute towards the conclusions drawn in this study, even when the underdog fails to achieve power dominance.

By drawing on the broad system of language characterisation as set out in the clauses of *chapter 4*, the authors' experiences of reality [whether fictional or mental (Haig, 2012)] emerge. In *chapter 5*, a wide sweep of the global news unveils international interest in the strike. This study in part, draws its findings from the heuristic framework set out in *section 3.5.1*, which probes the grammatically indexed power relations within the analysed text. When coupled with the analytics of *chapter 4*, the study not only unveils ideologies from the ideational metafunctional characteristics of the texts, but it also reveals their global impacts. Thus, leading to the findings of this study.

To enhance the validity of this study, three principles are drawn from Gee (2005), namely *convergence*, *coverage* and *linguistic details*. In *convergence* the findings ought to display a degree of harmony between the lexical and contextual analysis. In *coverage* the analytics and findings of the study should apply to other news and information. "*This includes being able to makes sense of what has come before and after the situation being analyzed and being able to predict the sorts of things that might happen in related sorts of situations*" (Gee, 2005:114). The final principle of *linguistic detail*, is where the analysis is enhanced by being linked to linguistic structure. What Gee is saying is that evidence must be produced from the text to corroborate the claims made. This study is more than just a dig in the past, it has contemporary relevance. It helps to probe if media has been as effective in the current renewables' era. It is also key to assessing if renewables have the same political impact as fossils did in 1902. Will today's working class seize power, or will it be centered elsewhere? The need for solid methodological approaches, data collection, analysis and findings are therefore vital.

3.8. Summary

In this chapter, the research methodology and methods which were shaped by the constructivist and pragmatist theoretical approach are tackled. The research design is mostly based on a qualitative probe with some quantitative crossover. Also discussed are the varied sources of data from online archives, with stories on the 1902 strikes. The data required for *chapter 4*, which used transitivity rules of verb identification and classification is discussed, as is *chapter 5's* data - a thematic choice of titles and news story excerpts. The chapter also tackled the methods of analyses used, namely critical discourse analysis and a narrative analysis of text. The next chapter unravels media

content and its great impact on the 1902 strike in Pennsylvania, it also brings the role of newspaper reporting into sharp focus, as well as highlight its broader global impact.

Chapter 4: The 1902 Strike in Pennsylvania

4.1. Introduction

To draw some heuristic insight, this chapter confronts the following research question:

- What were the ideologies revealed in visual or lexical patterns, that shaped the discursive composition of reality within media reports during the 1902 coal strike?

In *chapter 4*, it is argued that some media texts following President Roosevelt's intervention in the 1902 strike, signal a shift in discursive practice that may have helped trigger the reconfiguration of the social dynamics. This chapter therefore hypothesizes that – the text will by way of ideological tension point to a shift in discursive practice. The concept of the rise of social democracy among mineworkers and the proletariat is based on the hypothesis of Timothy Mitchell (2009). This method of analysis triangulates three different texts; the first is an editorial article published by "*The Public Opinion*" in Chambersburg; the second is a letter to the editor of the "*New York Times*" and last is a cartoon printed by the "*North American*" of Philadelphia. Critical discourse analysis is deployed in all three. The approach for the first two written texts required a transitivity analysis, while the third text is visual, which called for the analysis of visual grammar. The detailed analysis reveals how the authors were dealing with the realities of the 1902 coal strike and how their texts displayed ideologies in transition. While the authors pointed to the coal operators' power, the text also revealed how ineffectual and bigoted the operators were in dealing with the strike. The operators were exposed as the target of negative social sentiment – a vital clue of their waning power and the author's ideological tension, signalling values in transition.

4.2. Text 1 "The Coal Strike Conference" – The Public Opinion

The article chosen for Text 1 appeared in *The Public Opinion* on Thursday the 9th of October 1902. The author/s are unknown. *The Public Opinion* was first published as a weekly before becoming a daily (except Sunday) in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania from the year 1869. During the 1902 Pennsylvanian anthracite strike, *The Public Opinion* included summarised narratives from diverse newspaper editorials with

varying perspectives on the industrial action. The selected article appeared after TR's initial intervention. "*The Coal Strike Conference*" article or Text 1, has the added intertextual benefit of diverse newspaper narratives, which made it appealing as a broad study into editorial ideology during the 1902 strike. Before Text 1 is analysed, one important peculiarity is worth noting – it is the use of personification.

4.2.1. Personification and the Endowment of Consciousness in Text 1

The quoted news texts are personified within the article (*see Table 1*). According to Dodson (2008) this is a common type of personification, which is referred to as 'casual' personification, where human characteristics that are ascribed to objects are so pervasive in use, they almost go unnoticed. Personification tends to be used as a stylistic tool for a variety of reasons which according to Dodson (2008) include:

- *To decorate or amplify;*
- *To educate or clarify;*
- *To motivate or manipulate;*
- *To expose the cause of something;*
- *To provide new insight;*
- *To deflect attention away from difficult topics.*

In the case of the analysed article, it serves to decorate and amplify a story that would have otherwise been narrow in its description and limited to lifeless verbs, such as 'it is written', The New York Times published or 'it is recorded', etc.

Table 1 Personified Processes for Text 1

Publication	Verb
The New York Tribune (Rep.) thinks that ...	thinks
The Herald (Ind.) says that...	says
The Columbus Dispatch (Ind.) declares that...	declares

Source: Adapted from The Public Opinion (1902)

Text 1 personifies newspapers as symbols that participate in verbal and mental action. The text being analysed synthesises several other news articles about the Pennsylvania coal strike conference of 1902. The author in part constructs their story by selectively quoting from the other newspapers. The process of intertextuality is woven into the author's own work, culminating in a synthesised news story published by The Public Opinion entitled, "The Coal strike Conference" (*see Appendix A*). The news sources are each aligned to different political camps. This is noted from the abbreviation placed after each publication in the article, for example *dem.*, *ind.*, or *rep.* The process assigned to each publication gives it a personifying characteristic, with

verbs such as *'thinks'*, *'says'*, *'declares'*, etc. Halliday (2004) incorporates symbolic processes such as 'a clock telling time', or 'recipes that say rosemary', as verbal processes. According to Halliday (2004) inanimate objects can also be endowed with consciousness to assume a mental process. Table 1 gives examples of inanimate newspapers found in Text 1, that participate in either verbal or mental action and have been analysed accordingly. With this understanding, the analysis of Text 1 unveils the article's most powerful *Actor-participants* and the *Affecteds*.

Table 2 Process/Participant/Phenomenon Aggregation for Text 1

Process & Patterns		Process Participants							
Material Processes (43,56%)		Tr ⁷	In ⁸	Ell ⁹	Pro ¹⁰	Actors	%	Affected	%
1.	...Operators	15	0	4	3	15	33,33	5	12,5
2.	...Mitchell/Union/Miners	6	1	0	0	7	15,55	7	17,5
3.	...End strike/resume mining, etc	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	20
4.	...President Roosevelt	3	0	1	2	5	11,11	5	12,5
5.	...Public	3	0	2	0	4	8,89	0	0
6.	...Responsibility	2	0	0	0	2	4,44	0	0
7.	...State/ Gov Stone	2	0	0	0	2	4,44	3	7,5
8.	...Agreement/ Wage Scale	2	0	0	0	2	4,44	3	7,5
9.	...alternative means to mine coal	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	7,5
10.	...Other (non-pattern misc.)	14	0	1	2	8	17,78	6	15
Totals		49	1	8	7	45	100%	40	100%
Total Material Processes		43							

Verbal Processes (45,54% of all)		Sayer	%	Target	%	Receiver	%
1.	...News publishers	16 (17)	35,42	0	0	0	0
2.	...Operators	15 (16)	33,33	10 (13)	36,11	4 (10) ¹¹	34,48
3.	...Mitchell/Union/Miners	4 (6)	12,5	8 (12)	33,33	2 (8)	27,59
4.	...TR	4	8,33	4 (7)	19,44	7 (9)	31,03
5.	...Public	5	10,42	2 (4)	11,11	1 (2)	6,9
Totals		48	100%	36	100%	29	100%
Total Verbal Processes		46					

Mental Processes (11,88% of all)		Experience	%	Experiencer	%
1.	...Operators – miners opposition	3	27,27	7	58,33
2.	...Operators – pro-self/aggrandising	2	18,18		
3.	...Operators – debt to society	1	9,09		
4.	...Public – operators opposition	2	18,18	3	25
5.	...Public – pro-miners	1	9,09		
6.	...News publishers – miners opposition	1	9,09	2	16,67
7.	...News publishers – pro miners	1	9,09		
Totals		11	100%	12	100%
Total Mental Processes		12			
Aggregation of all Process Types		101			

Source: Adapted from *The Public Opinion* (1902)

⁷ Tr – Transitive clauses

⁸ In – Intransitive clauses

⁹ Ell – 'Ellipsed' *Actors*

¹⁰ Pro – Pronouns or possessive determiner depicting *Actors*

4.2.2. The Analyses of Material Processes within Text 1

As stated, a material process (MP) involves an *Actor*, a Goal¹¹ and ‘doing’. Goatly’s hierarchy of participant power relations is applied to the MPs identified in *Appendix B*. All uncited text in bold and/or italics is quoted from *The Public Opinion* (1902).

4.2.2.1. The Institutionalised Power of the Operators

Overall there are 43 MPs in Text 1 - “*The Coal strike Conference*” news article (see *Appendix A*). The category with the greatest prominence were the operators that are depicted in *The Public Opinion*, totalling 15 MP clauses (see *Table 2*). The article in *The Public Opinion* synthesises several other texts from various news reports, by incorporating excerpts from their published accounts into its story.

As *Actors* in MPs, the operators’ frequency of 15 times are all transitive, with 4 ellipsis and 3 ‘*it*’ pronouns representing them. Included are 3 MPs that they share with the miners. The operators are the most powerful group represented in the article. The frequency of minor *Affecteds* acted on by the operator MP clauses in the text include: ...the union, where 1 of the 2 MPs states,

-it (operators) *Actor* refuses to deal MP with it(union)*Affected* ;

...and coal (1 MP)

-owners *Actor* ...cannot or will not mine MP coal*Affected*

The frequency of major *Affecteds* that are impacted by the operators total 7 MP clauses, including suggestions of self-aggrandisement, as well as references to their involvement and efforts at ending the strike. Some examples below:

-concession offered MP by the operators *Actor* was to reemploy the miners*Affected*

-operators *Actor* allege that they are making MP every effort to mine coal*Affected*

-operators *Actor* offer to submit MP ...differences*Affected* to the decision of...county judges

The next highest frequency of participant representation depicting a “*victim of the power of Actors*” (Goatly, 2000:288) is President Roosevelt. The text reveals just 1 MP clause describing his intervention and 5 MP clauses that are mostly antagonistic towards him. A few examples are laid out below:

¹¹ Goatly uses different labels for some processes e.g. *Affected* instead of *Goal* or *Experience* for *Phenomenon*

- (operators) Actor instead of meeting MP the president Affected in the spirit of his invitation
- (coal trust) Actor defying MP him (TR) Affected

The clauses suggest that the operators were on the defensive against a plethora of other *participants*, concomitantly they were also on the offensive. The portrayal of the operators as powerful *Actors*, suggests that their main prowess thus far has been to devote their resilient energies towards deflecting, distractions and self-preservation, rather than producing concessions that are acceptable to all the stakeholders. In spite of their power, the operators are depicted in ways that suggest that they are cornered and trying to fight their way out. In the next section, the clauses see miners as hostile.

4.2.2.2. Miners as Actor-Participant in Text 1

The coal miners are portrayed in 7 MPs as active *Actors*. The study ranked Mitchell, the union and the miners under one *Actor-Participants* banner. The text reveals their destructive prowess as *Actors*. Barring 1 MP that criticises the union president by arguing that, “*Mitchell Actor would have done well MP to accept the operators’ offer, Affected to submit local differences to the decision of the county judges*”; the rest of the clauses put forward a more violent and unethical, marauding crew that lacks intelligence:

- union Actor organized MP and acting MP in defiance of federal and state laws Affected
- violence and intimidation Affected practiced MP by the miners Actor
- miners Actor were not competent to make MP and could not be depended upon to keep MP a contract Affected

4.2.2.3. Actors with Lower Dominance in Text 1

Lesser dominance is realised in the text for some *Actor-participants* who revealed minor frequencies of appearance as *Actors*. Worth mentioning are:

President TR – who in 5 MP clauses is applauded because he “*did the best*”; by “*trying to remedy*” the coal troubles. However, he is disparaged for “*putting the presidential office*” at risk of failure and warned that suffering is better “*than to abdicate government*” on account of the strikers.

The Citizens on the other hand are represented in 4 MP clauses, 2 of which do not identify them. It is assumed the public are the ones omitted, as they

are more likely “*to freeze*”¹² or “*to starve*”¹² on account of the strike, when compared to the aristocrats. For that reason the “*indignant*” citizenry is expected to devise ways “*to deal with their enemies*”.

Several other lesser MP clauses appear in the text depicting a variety of *Actors*. The *Actor-participants* range from both inanimate to sentient beings, such as the state, Governor Stone, agreements, etc. The participants all act on a mix of *Affecteds*, including TR, Mitchell, workers, operators, etc.

4.2.2.4. The *Affecteds* within the Material Process of Text 1

The most dominant of the *Affecteds* were references to ‘ending the strike’ (20%), followed by miners (17%). The operators’ and TR were tied to 3rd place (12%). This suggests that the strike termination was foremost for all that were involved, although their motives and conditions differed. Perhaps the miners’ higher frequency is the writer’s way of reconciling with the elitist discourse of *section 2.2.4* which allows operators to dominate, while the threat of the miners is subdued under the prejudice of classism. In other words, the miners are under control; yet, there’s also the conflict that manifests in statements such as *the meeting clears away all possible doubt as to where the impending public calamity lies* and *who can doubt where the full responsibility of the strike lies*, these statements appear to draw culpability for the strike away from the miners.

To recap, the MPs from Text 1 reveal the author’s perception of the most dominant power being the operators. The MPs confirm their long established institutional power as per *section 2.2.4*. However, they are most portrayed as powerful when defending their position and deflecting the issues at hand. Their concerns appear to be preserving wealth, maintaining a good image and passing the blame. The miners’ action in the MPs, is constructed around violence. Text 1 shows the miners are equally *Acting* to the same extent as they are being *Acted* upon. The other *Actors* such as the president and the citizens are frequently designed to side with the miners cause for a better deal. The critical issue as shown by the *Affecteds* is the termination of the strike.

¹² Construed materially to show operator indifference, alluding to efforts to maintain power and status quo (to strike) rather than consider other proposals

The next section, continues with the analysis of Text 1 for further insight into the state of reporting and the power dynamics as construed by the author/s. Like the MPs, the next section also deploys pattern analysis, but in a different process type.

4.2.3. Analysing the Verbal Processes Found in Text 1

The Verbal Processes (VP) in Text 1 (*The Coal Strike Conference*) totalled 46. The VPs are more than MPs (43) in frequency, suggesting that opinion about the strike was almost as important as the active steps taken in MP clauses. The news articles are represented as the most powerful *Participants* within the VP clauses, due to their higher occurrence (17) as *Sayer*. This renders the accumulative representation of the editorial newsrooms as the most powerful within the VPs. Their view of the coal strike and the mediation conference by TR is construed to be of great importance. The *Receivers* that are acted upon by the newspaper *Participants* are mostly ‘ellipsed’, presumably they are the readers. The news articles are synthesised into 1 text by the author to act upon the operators, who are the *Targeted Participants*. Mostly vilified for their role and stance in the strike, the operators are disempowered as receivers as per Goatly’s participant power hierarchy (PPH). The writer of the text acknowledges both the defaming and the deplorable actions of the operators, as depicted in the following few examples of the synthesised articles published by The Public Opinion:

- The Journal *Sayer* **compares** VP the attitude of the coal trust, (to) shaking its fist **Verbiage**
- It (North American) *Sayer* **condemns** VP the operators
- The Boston Post *Sayer* **says** VP ...operators declared themselves...public enemies **Verbiage**

The fact that the author of the text awards so much grammatical power to *Sayers*, who in turn impact one particular group of *Participants* – the operators, with disapproval, indicates the newsworthiness of the operators attitudes. It also shows how the text producers were at odds about the operators regarding the strike, a far cry from the past when workers bore the brunt (see 2.2.4). This pattern of censure is continued in the overall depiction of the operators as *Receivers*, who were the most dominant in all the VPs analysed for Text 1. Out of 11, the operators were only viewed positively in just 1 VP clause as *Receivers*:

- Evening Post (Ind.) *Sayer* **agrees** VP with the operators that “when the fundamental rights of property are at the mercy of torch and dynamite it is better to freeze... **Verbiage**

The rest of the clauses with operators as *Receiver Participants*, either perpetuate the pattern of censure, present offers or are instructional, depicting a switch in discourse where operators (and miners in some cases) are subject to schoolboy dictates:

- (TR) Sayer urged VP operators and...miners to agree upon a basis for the resumption of work Verbiage*
- President Roosevelt Sayer in earnest words pointed out VP (to the operators and miners) the seriousness of the situation raised by the continuance of the strike Verbiage*
- The welfare of the whole people Sayer ... may demand VP the cutting of the anthracite knot, if it cannot be untied by ordinary processes Verbiage*

The operators at this point are considered the speedbump – a knot requiring removal. The censure of operators as *Targets* and *Receivers*, points to a discursal shift considering their privilege and influence (*section 2.2.4*). To better grasp the opposition to the operators calls for a closer look, as they are the next most powerful Sayers.

The 2nd most dominant *Sayer Participants* were ascribed to the operators. Unlike in the MPs, the coal barons fail to stand out as the most powerful *Participants* in the VPs, this is evident from the number of VPs that have an operator-related *Participant* as a Sayer. Out of the total 46 VPs, 16 are represented by the operators. More than half (8) of the VP *Receiver* clauses allotted to the operators act on President Roosevelt (TR). This means the producers of the article allotted a third of the grammatical power to the operators and about half of that power was directed against TR. The operators verbalised 3 distinct viewpoints to the president. First, they vilified the union:

- operators Sayer charge VP that the miners' union is an anarchistic association Verbiage*
- they Sayer refuse VP to recognize it in any way Verbiage*
- [they] Sayer claiming VP that a compromise with the forces of disorder and anarchy would be a far greater evil Verbiage*

Then they made demands while simultaneously questioning the President:

- [operators] Sayer lectured VP him arrogantly on the subject of his duty Verbiage*
- and demanded VP that federal troops be sent to 'squellch' Mitchell Verbiage*

Past instances of labour strife were quelled by military intervention, to force resumption of work. Mine operators could exert influence on government by providing political or financial support (Jakob & Steckel, 2022:326) and then expect favours in return. By demanding for federal troops, the operators were not only asserting their privilege, but also evoking tradition. They were exercising their 'right' to military intervention from

government, such as in 1834, when President Jackson crushed a strike; in 1877 President Hayes used troops to prevent striking mail workers and again in 1894, President Cleveland used the military to break up the Pullman strike (Grossman, 1975). Their despairing attitude points to a shift from past precedence where the army was at their disposal and the media portrayed them in a discourse of the “dutiful and entitled”. There is an emerging unsureness and their status is shifting.

Thirdly, the operators attempted to represent themselves in a most positive light:

-concession **offered** VP by the operators **Sayer** was to reemploy the miners **Verbiage**

-operators **Sayer** **allege** VP that they are making every effort to mine coal **Verbiage**

-Operators **Sayer** offer VP to submit...differences to the decision of...judges **Verbiage**

The dominant VPs suggest there was a newsworthiness to the operators sayings according to the writer. Concomitantly, it begins to reveal the text writer’s ideology who portrays powerful operators from a “school boy” discourse, depicting them as a group in need of censure, control and guidance, breaking the elitist discourse of the past. It also breaks from the MP clauses depicting the miners as *Affecteds* under control.

4.2.3.1. Power to the people

The author of Text 1, acknowledges the power of the people who rebuff the operators’ verbal attacks on the president. The people in part debunk the operators’ claims to social and ethical superiority. The citizens are shown as likely to address the anthracite difficulty by some extreme and decisive method. The ‘*cutting of the knot*’, suggests that operators are not indispensable and since they are the ones blamed for the difficulty, it is likely they are the ones to be cut in an extreme and decisive manner:

-(the welfare) **Sayer** may **demand** VP the cutting of the anthracite knot **Verbiage**

-[public] **Sayer** the position **Verbiage** of the operators **condemned** VP

-public **Sayer** will **credit** VP him (TR) with trying to remedy a lamentable situation **Verbiage**

-optimists **Sayer** will **say** VP ..moral effect of his (TR) interference will appear later **Verbiage**

Only 1 public opinion offers a dissenting voice that censures TR’s involvement:

-critics **Sayer** will **say** VP that he (TR) showed poor judgment **Verbiage**

President Roosevelt is not just at the *Receiving* end of the textual VPs. Further instances of grammatical prominence are construed to reflect the two ‘protagonists’, the leader of the federal government and the leader of the workers union.

4.2.3.2. Presidential Powers

The VPs ascribe the fourth greatest grammatical prominence to both TR and Mitchell. The American president and the union president, each have the benefit of 4 VPs. In Mitchell's case, this excludes 2 instances, which depict labour/operators and labour/press as equal Sayers in the same VP clauses (*see Appendix C*). However, for analysis, *Table 2* groups labour, the union and the miners together for a total of 6 VPs. As individuals, neither president is more dominant than the other. President Mitchell and President TR's identities are each 'ellipsed' in two VP clauses. The omission creates ambiguity and mystification of their Sayer agency, reducing their overall power in the text. Each represents roughly 8% of the *power-Participants*. President TR's messages solely address labour and the operators as his *Receiver Participants*. TR's central message is for the *Receivers* to consider the general public. He also seeks an end to the strike. A few processes that represent TR follow below:

-President Roosevelt Sayer in earnest words **pointed out** VP the seriousness of the situation Verbiage

-[TR] Sayer **urged** VP the operators and representatives of the miners to agree upon a basis for the resumption of work Verbiage

-For **calling** VP this fruitless conference President Roosevelt Sayer is unanimously praised Verbiage

President Mitchell on the other hand directly addresses the operators in three instances and on a fourth occasion, his message is simultaneously directed at both TR and the operators. All of the messages by Mitchell as Sayer attend to some aspect of ending the strike, either by way of arbitration by a third party, or acceptable conditions by which he would terminate the labour action. However, it appears Mitchell is averse to the operators' idea of the county judges as a third party, possibly because he views them as biased towards capital and therefore part of the oppressive system:

-Mitchell Sayer would have done well to **accept** VP the operators' offer to submit local differences to the decision of the county judges Verbiage

-President Mitchell Sayer **offered to call** VP the strike off Verbiage

-(Mitchell) Sayer it be **referred** VP to the president and a tribunal of his selection Verbiage

-(Mitchell) Sayer the wage scale thus **agreed** VP upon to date back Verbiage

Just as some Sayers were portrayed as being quite dominant, the text also has high *Receiver* representation. Two *Participants* were notably dominant as *Receivers*.

4.2.3.3. Notable Receivers within the Verbal Processes

Receivers that are worth mentioning are those most depicted as *Participants*. The operators occupy the highest degree of grammatical appearances in this regard. As *Receivers*, they are not powerful at all – they are depicted as passive and powerless. They are the sentient beneficiaries of messages from *Sayers*. The messages tend to have some “*effect on the(ir) consciousness*” as *Receivers* (Haig, 2012:4). A total of 29 *Receivers* are constructed within the text. Almost a third (10) of the *Receivers* in the article represent the operators, meaning they are the majority focus of messages from TR, Mitchell and the public. The verbiage directed at the operators is mostly from a discourse of social activism against them. As the most aggregated *Receivers*, the text appears to make the operators less virtuous, thus by calling attention to them in this manner, they assume more responsibility for the coal troubles. As *Receivers*, the issue of the coal trouble is brought to bear on their consciences and their consciousness, thus the VPs are an attempt to evoked their thoughtfulness or mindfulness in some instances. In others they are either taken to task or presented with alternative solutions, which they invariably turn down. President Roosevelt is the second most depicted *Receiver*. The operators are responsible for 7 of the 9 VPs directed at TR, some VPs denigrate TR and attempt to coerce him to champion their cause.

To recap, unlike the MPs, the operator dominance is broken by the VPs. Their power and control is contrasted by their lesser *Sayer* frequency and vilifying VPs. The writer’s configuration of the text reflects their conflict regarding the power ascribed to the aristocrats. The portrayal of the power dynamics gives strong insight into the authors ideology, as well as that of the socio-political and institutional contexts they are writing about. In addition to their reduced dominance as *Sayers* (second only to the newsrooms), the operators show numerical prominence as *Receivers*. The power of the operators is subjected to relentless ‘pushback’ from society, including by TR, the newspapers, the union, and the public. The ‘pushback’ is clearly illustrated by the operators notability as *Receivers*. As a result, the application of operator power and influence in this instance, appears less straightforward when compared to past times.

4.2.4. Analysing the Mental Processes Found in Text 1

The mental processes (MePs) with operators as *Experiencers* reveal patterns, which renounce Mitchell and the union as workers' representatives. The operators direct half their *Experiences* towards the miners. They refuse to endorse or bargain with the union, evoking a sense of 'our privilege is your disadvantage'. The same hierarchy of oppression that outlaws the union legitimises the coal barons. The author perceives the coal barons to be pronouncing themselves as exemplary of the norm, from which the rest of society is to be structured:

- they (operators) **Experiencer** *refuse to recognise*¹³ **MeP** *it (union) in any way* **Experience**
- the coal monopoly **Experiencer** *assumes* **MeP** *its own right to exist* **Experience**
- (the coal monopoly) **Experiencer** *presumes* **MeP** *to deny the right of the miners' union to exist* **Experience**

The next set of clauses feature MePs that do not recur in the text. The MePs reflect an ill-perception towards the operators, who are presented as their own *Experiencers*:

- attitude...shows that they (coal operators) **Experiencer** *do not realise* **MeP** *the duty they owe the public* **Experience**
- those who (operators) **Experiencer** *regard* **MeP** *themselves as the only persons* **Experiencer** *interested* **MeP** *in the coal* **Experience**

The author suggests that the operators only see coal as a means to personal gain and nothing more. The value of coal as a resource for development and a societal commons is secondary to their pursuit of wealth and power. By securing their power (influence), only then is society entitled to power (energy). However, the phrase '*the duty they owe the public*', turns the operators' conception of privilege on its head and suggests that they ought to 'serve', rather than be merely power hungry moguls. By pointing out this social indebtedness, the writer evokes some ideological contestation. A third set of MePs render the citizens as *Experiencers*. The three MePs devised for the citizens of Text 1 align with feeling and perception. The feeling was:

- indignant people **Experiencer** *will... find* **MeP** *a way to deal with their enemies* **Experience**

The enemies in this case are not the miners, they are coal barons – the operators. An enemy to the miner is an enemy to the citizen. The citizens are provoked and they are fed up. The author chooses the strong phrase, "*deal with their Enemies*", to establish

¹³ This process is interpretable as verbal (call on) or mental (officially regard) in this instance the operators are disregarding the union, this leads them to not being acknowledged therefore not called on or "engaged"

the *Experience*, which singles out the operators. “*Enemies*” applies to hostility. The operators are an impediment to development. Where there are enemies there is war, and the writer is suggesting that an even greater skirmish is likely to arise on account of the operators’ retardation of progress. The citizens are the protagonist of justice. The operators enmity towards the coal miners has evoked emotions of fear, anger, a sense of injustice, compassion and authenticity from the citizen. Clearly the coal barons are perceived to be the root of the problem, they are a threat to development, this is further substantiated by the following two perception MeP clauses:

-who (in society) Experiencer now can doubt MeP where the full responsibility for the strike lies Experience

-Mitchell’s offer will be generally (society) Experiencer regarded MeP as fair Experience

Over 36% of the *Experiences* negatively portray the miners, while 20% take a positive view. Another 40% oppose the operators or show them to be self-aggrandising. To sum up, the coal barons in Text 1 are more ruminative, but less thoughtful. Their processes tend towards ruinous contemplation and a negative societal outcome. The frequency by which the article entitles them to MePs, reinforces their power. However, the impact of their power is largely seen as negative and crushing, as it “*presumes to deny others their right*”; while they “*assume their own right(s)*” and “*refuse to recognise*” the union. Conversely, society is construed as mindful and thoughtful towards the deprived workers, while simultaneously slamming the operators.

4.3. Text 2 – Letter to the Editor “To Terminate Coal Deadlock”

Text 2 is a letter to the editor, by J. De Grandmont, published in the New York Times (NYT) on October 12, 1902. While it is not an editorial article, its perspective is from a reader who resonates with the NYT’s ideology. McCluskey and Hmielowski (2012:305) found that letters to the editor reflected “*the political stance of the newspaper*”. Hynds and Martin (1979) observed that letters to the editor were the most popular, attracting about half of a paper’s audience. Thus, the letters would have been a key institution of the public sphere with vast influence (Jorgensen, 2002). Davis (1921:248) describes the NYT’s “*position as an independent Democratic newspaper, (which) was maintained in the early years of the twentieth century with the qualification that it was somewhat more independent than Democratic*”. In 1901, the paper had a paid circulation of about 102, 472 copies a day. As a patron, De Grandmont not only valued the paper’s reportage,

but also contributed as a member of the public. The following analysis gives insight into De Grandmont's view of the miners and the coal barons that preyed upon them.

Table 3 Process/Participant/Phenomenon Aggregation for Text 2

Process & Patterns		Process Participants							
	Material Processes (62,07%)	Tr ¹⁴	In ¹⁵	Ell ¹⁶	Pro ¹⁷	Actors	%	Affected	%
1.	...Operators	12	0	4	5	12	63,16	3	15,79
2.	...Mitchell/Union/Minors	1	0	0	1	1	5,26	4	21,05
3.	...Author	2	0	2	0	2	10,53	0	0
4.	...Proposals to end strike	0	0	0	0	2	10,53	5	26,32
5.	...President Roosevelt	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
6.	...Public	1	0	0	0	1	5,26	1	5,26
7.	...controversy/deadlock	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10,53
8.	...Other (non-pattern misc.)	1	0	0	0	1	5,26	4	21,05
	Totals	16	0	6	8	19	100%	19	100%
	Total Material Processes	19							

	Verbal Processes (20% of all)	Sayer	%	Target	%	Receiver	%
1.	...Operators	2	33,33	1	25	3	37,5
2.	...Mitchell/Union/Miners	3	50	0	0	4	50
3.	...TR	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.	...Public	0	0	0	0	1	12,5
5.	...Placards	1	16,67	0	0	0	0
6.	...arbitrate	0	0	3	75	0	0
	Totals	6	100%	37	100%	8	100%
	Total Verbal Processes	6					

	Mental Processes (16,67% of all)	Experience	%	As Experiencer	%
1.	...Operators – neglect responsibility	2	40	1	20
2.	...Author – agrees with anti-strike ideas	2	40	2	40
3.	...Public – know Mitchell can end strike	1	20	2	40
4.	...Public – know operators can end strike	0	0		
	Totals	5	100%	5	100%
	Total Mental Processes	5			
	Aggregation of all Process Types	30			

Source: Adapted from NY Times (1902)

4.3.1. A Quantitative Summary of Text 2

The aggregation in *Table 3* summarises the various processes found in Text 2. Although the study is predominantly qualitative, some quantitative details are worth bearing in mind. Much like Text 1, the quantitative aspects briefly featured here are useful in drawing out some conclusions about the weightings of the grammatical

¹⁴ Tr – Transitive clauses

¹⁵ In – Intransitive clauses

¹⁶ Ell – ‘Ellipsed’ *Actors*

¹⁷ Pro – Pronouns or possessive determiner depicting *Actors*

construction within Text 2. *Table 3* reveals that the writer, J. De Grandmont's¹⁸ opinion is dominated by 19 (62,07%) material processes (MP). The data in Text 2 also shows that the author deployed 6 (20%) verbal processes (VP), 5 (16,67%) mental processes (MeP) which are all featured in the data as part of Goatly's (2000) power hierarchy framework. The material processes deployed in Text 2 are highlighted in *Appendix F*.

4.3.2. Analysing the Material Processes Found in Text 2

The higher proportion of MPs suggests that J. De Grandmont in their letter to the editor, is primarily interested in portraying events and action. The role of the MPs can be appreciated by analysing a few selected processes from the text. All uncited text in this section highlighted in bold and/or italicised is quoted from the NY Times (1902:31).

-In your issues of today there appears a letter of refutation to Mr. Hewitt's pronunciamento, signed MP by F.M.F Cazin. I entirely coincide with that gentleman's ideas, and wish to state in support of his views as follows MP

The letter to the editor by J. De Grandmont, starts by introducing their stance towards the strike impasse between the union and the coal barons. The two opening sentences above, consist of two clauses and one MP each. The first sentence has a MP in the second clause. The *Actor* is F.M.F Cazin, a member of society and a reader of the NY Times (1902b) who has challenged the proclamation by Mr. Hewitt, one of the major players in the coal industry. The *Affected*, is '*Mr. Hewitt's pronunciamento*'. The passive clause tells readers that there is a dissenting voice in society, which contests the coal situation in Pennsylvania. Hewitt is a coal giant in America, he is politically connected and very wealthy (NY Times, 1902c). This is depicted in J. De Grandmont's letter, as Cazin's political economy is diminished by the passive ordering of the clause – '*Mr. Hewitt's pronunciamento, signed by F.M.F Cazin*'. A very subtle portrait of 'David vs Goliath' is evoked. The MP, '*follows*', in the second sentence and second clause by De Grandmont, indicates detail and echoes support for Cazin. Meaning De Grandmont is also a dissenting voice.

¹⁸ Text 2 does not reveal J. De Grandmont's gender, thus '**author**', '**writer**' and the possessive determiner '**their**' will be used interchangeably to refer to De Grandmont.

4.3.2.1. Active Participants in Text 2 and their Power

Several participants within Text 2 are depicted as being active (*See Appendix F*). The majority of verbs in the text are transitive, meaning something or someone is *Affected* by the described action undertaken by the *Actors*. According to Goatly (2000), Halliday (2004) and Haig (2012) this may reflect a power dynamic, as per Goatly's (2000) framework of hierarchy. The *Actors* within a clause are generally perceived to wield power (Goatly, 2000; Haig, 2012). In a transitive clause they wield even greater power than within an intransitive one. All MPs in Text 2 that are transitive, will naturally rank all *Actors* associated with them a more powerful *Participant* type (Goatly, 2000).

The greatest grammatical prominence is ascribed to the coal operators, starting with Hewitt. Out of the 19 MPs, 12 are directly linked or associated with the coal operators. In 4 of the clauses, the author either mentions the name '*Hewitt*' or directly refers to '*the operators*'. In another 5 instances the pronoun '*they*' and the possessive determiner '*their*' is used to stand proxy for the coal barons. The author broadly ascribes maximum power to the coal barons, who are depicted in the role of *Actor*. As noted above, Hewitt had already attempted to induce Mitchell to yield. Other instances of operators' power prominence include:

- they **Actor** can **terminate** **MP** the strike **Affected/Goal**
- they **Actor** could **post** **MP** placards **Affected**
- they **Actor** are ready to **resume** **MP** work **Affected**
- operators **Actor** ... would neither have **recognized** **MP** the union **Affected**
- their **Actor** first duty is to **operate** **MP** the mines **Affected**
- without **surrendering** **MP** their **Actor** self-pride **Affected**
- and not **sacrifice** **MP** the stockholders **Affected** to their **Actor** self-satisfactions?
- post placards¹⁹ **Actor** **stating** **MP** that they are ready to resume work **Affected**

In the clauses that follow, the participants are 'ellipsed' as the power dominance continues, however, the operators maintain the role of *Actor* in a transitive context.

- nor [would they] **Actor** have **given in** **MP** to its demands **Affected**
- and [they (placards)¹⁹ should] **Actor** **state** **MP** those conditions **Affected**

In the examples set above, each of the clauses presents an active participant in the form of *Actors* (operators). The *Actors* are understood to be powerful enough to impact

¹⁹ See section 4.2.1 for explanation on inanimate objects that are personified to stand proxy for human agency

others – the *Affected*. The operators' 'ability' to terminate the '*strike*' and resume '*work*' is made apparent. '*Work*' and '*strike*' in this instance are the *Affected* participants or Goals and they appear the most as *Affecteds*, meaning the writer sees action towards strike settlement as most important. However, for a solid five months the operators have failed to end the '*strike*', in spite of their power. According to J. De Grandmont, the operators could end the '*strike*' without negotiating with the '*union*' or compromising their '*self-pride*', this scenario further highlights the potential impacts on the *Affected*. Conversely, the operators privilege would be preserved, their power maintained and profits secured. The processes De Grandmont envisages the operators engaging in, clearly applies their power and observes their privilege. Other impacts include '*stockholders*', '*demands*' and '*conditions*' which are all *Affected* by the operators' power. The letter shows that De Grandmont understood the power wielded by the operators; however, De Grandmont also carried the belief that the operators are responsible for the coal calamity and neglecting the working proletariat. An abuse of the operators privilege of power. Although the operators dominate the MPs and they clearly have power over the working classes, De Grandmont's letter also locates a few other instances of power as observed in the following utterances:

-one word from you Actor **will end** MP the strike *Affected*

-Without [my] Actor **going into** MP the controversy of the two *Affected*

-refutation to Mr. Hewitt's pronunciamento *Affected*, **signed** MP by F.M.F Cazin Actor

The 1st of the 3 active participants in the clauses above portray Mr. Mitchell the union leader. The actions of the writer of the letter are depicted in the 2nd clause. Although they 'ellipsis' themselves, they are nonetheless a *Participant* and one who has an opinion about the labour impasse. The ellipsis could be interpreted to mean their views are not theirs alone, rather there are many others who may also share such views. One of the key *Participants* in the clauses above is the '*strike*', which is an *Affected*. The feeling is that Mitchell should rather focus his efforts on ending the '*strike*', and this would be the best use of his influence and time. The clauses that follow are intransitive MP types, meaning they are not powerful enough to affect another *Participant*. However, according to Goatly (2000) and Haig (2012) they still rank high on the power hierarchy.

-support Actor of his views as **follows** MP :

-this most unfortunate deadlock Actor **would terminate** MP immediately.

The *Affecteds* show the following *Participant* frequency levels, 'ending the strike' 26%; Mitchell and the miners 21%; the operators 16%; the deadlock 11%; the public 5%

and other miscellaneous *Participants* tally 21%. The MPs in Text 2, illustrate how the mine operators are predominantly depicted as *Actors*, who engage in Goal orientated action. They are perceived to personify power. As per De Grandmont, society expects them to exercise their power by contributing towards a peaceful solution. As *Actors* they *Affect* numerous *Participants* such as Mitchell, the union, mines, the stockholders, etc. However, other *Actors* like Mitchell, Cazin and De Grandmont are limited in their scope to *Affect*. The next level in the PHP are verbal processes. The next section probes the power and impact of *Sayers* on the *Receivers* of their messages.

4.3.3. Analysing the Verbal Processes Found in Text 2

The verbal processes (VP) are about 20% of the process types represented in the data from Text 2. After the MPs, De Grandmont's letter to the editor, portrays interest in vocalisation, opinion and the 'means to expression'. *Sayers* are the next most powerful in the PHP. As stated their power "*lies in their ability to send messages and thus have an effect on the consciousness of other sentient participants*" (Haig, 2012:4).

The VPs ascribe the greatest grammatical prominence to the coal operators and Mr. Mitchell. About a third of the power-participants are portrayed by the operators. As *Sayers*, the operators are powerful when directly compared to Mitchell as an individual. The operators resist ideas that are not theirs. Their reluctance to negotiate with the union or subject themselves to arbitration, shows they still believe in their own ability and mastery to end the strike. Their loyalty is to themselves and the shareholders – the wellbeing of other stakeholders is an inconvenience:

-the operators Sayer should say VP the single word "arbitrate" Verbiage

-Operators Sayer speak VP of their duty to the stockholders Verbiage

As seen below, Mr. Mitchell the strike leader almost enjoys the same prominence as the operators, as they both feature 2 VPs each. However, the operators maintain the upper hand as the unionist is 'ellipsed' in one of the clauses:

-Why don't you[Mitchell] Sayer speak VP this word Verbiage

-Mr. Mitchell Sayer would call off VP the strike at once

Both the operators and the author, appear to value Mitchell as a *Sayer* for the purposes of pacifying the miners and ending the strike. This is the partial gist of the text, stressed by verbs such as '*speak*' and '*call off*'. Mitchell is not valued for his engagement with the operators and certainly not for his attempts to renegotiate the terms of labour.

Two additional VPs highlight another 2 grammatical power *Participants* within the text. The 2 VPs represent the public and the union as *Sayers*:

-“*Why don’t you speak this word*”... Verbiage *can be applied*²⁰ VP *with equal justice to... operators*

In the 1st of the 2 VPs in the clause above, the author adds relevance to the *Participant* in very general terms, by ‘ellipsing’ them as a *Sayer*. Perhaps the ellipsis bears the connotation of society’s hushed utterances, especially by those that know, as per the writer who admits “*that it is not common logic...*”. De Grandmont’s sense of fair-play is a consistent thread, throughout the text and it is illustrated by terms such as ‘*can be applied*’ and ‘*say*’ in reference to the operators’ duty to end the strike. This sense of fair-play is poetic justice for the miners and hints at some strain in the writer’s ideology. In the 2nd VP clause the union is portrayed as a capable and freethinking collective:

-*those demanded* VP *by the union Sayer*

So certain is the cause, the author narrates their pleas for fair-trade by using the term ‘*demanded*’, an ultimatum when compared to the word choice for the operators, ‘*say*’, which is less forceful. In the very same clause De Grandmont, defends the operators’ power by stating that the terms of the settlement would not have to be “*those demanded by the union*”. Curiously, the workers’ “*demanded*” efforts in harnessing political power and their economic dues are subject to the operators. At no point are the operators constructed to directly address or deal with the miners. All contact appears to be handled through an intermediary – in this case Mr. Mitchell or the placards.

When ‘Mr. Mitchell’ and ‘the union’, coalesce into one group labelled ‘the miners’, on the basis of their collective purpose, the grammatical dominance within the VPs shifts to the mining proletariat. In spite of being perceived as a negative ineffectual revolution by the operators’ – De Grandmont affords the miners power in voice. Turning them into the most powerful *Sayers*, to unveil the strongest power contestation in the VPs.

To sum up the portrayal of labour and capital in the VP clauses. The power rendition shifts, as miners’ attain voice and some political economy. De Grandmont confers them leverage, intimating their rise in power. However, the operators are not muzzled

²⁰ Construed to mean ‘the same thing could be *said* to the coal operators’

and their caste remains explicit. Portrayed as patronising, they are attentive only to their wellbeing and the investors. To this end, in true classist style, the operators are set on wielding their power until the miners relent. De Grandmont appears to be saying – this is no longer possible. The operators are to either allow a 3rd party to ‘*arbitrate*’ or cede to some workers’ demands. To do so, would recognise workers’ rights and accept loss – A big challenge for the operators, considering that arbitration was 1st mooted by the union. The next section focuses on perceptual or internal processes.

4.3.4. Analysing the Mental Processes Found in Text 2

The text assigns 5 process types to mental processes (MeP). The 2 main *Experiencers* are the author and the public depicted in 2 MePs. A 3rd *Experiencer* is portrayed by the operators with just 1 MeP. The 3 *Experiencers* display three clear patterns. The 1st 2 *Experiences* are by De Grandmont and perhaps the most accurate of all:

-I Experiencer entirely coincide MeP with that gentleman's ideas, Experience and wish MeP to state in support of his views as follows Experience ...

The next set of processes are based on perceptions that are held by the author and an operator. Though the actual *Experience* is strictly that of the *Experiencer*, both Hewitt – the operator and De Grandmont – the author, claim to know the mental *Experiences* of the public, both claims are presumptuous, overconfident and in a sense egotistical. De Grandmont puts forward both processes as their argument:

-Hewitt writes to Mr. Mitchell, “The public Experiencer knows MeP that one word from you will end the strike Experience. Why don't you speak this word?”

-The public Experiencer knows MeP that if the operators should say the single word “arbitrate” this most unfortunate deadlock would terminate immediately Experience

In De Grandmont's letter, Hewitt's MeP clauses appear first. De Grandmont subverts Hewitt's processes by responding with counter MeP clauses, that challenge his notion.

Thirdly, there is a MeP which questions the operators' mental *Experiences* by illustrating their failure to discern the order of their priorities.

-has it not occurred MeP to them Experiencer that their first duty is to operate the mines Experience

The MePs persists in a pattern that unveils some of De Grandmont's distorting ideologies. Given that the operators are censured *Experiencers* undermines their position and moves against the expected elitist discourse. De Grandmont queries

operator logic by introducing doubt, regarding their inferences. De Grandmont presents to the reader reason for scepticism, by deflecting the operators' notion that *"the public knows"*. Their rebuttal cites the same *Experiencer* – *"the public"*, but proposes a different *Experience*. Suggesting that Hewitt has misrepresented the Experience of *"the public"* and De Grandmont is setting the record straight. This is done at the expense of the operators. Signifying that the drawn out 5 month strike is due to the operators' misdeeds as they dodge *"the single word arbitrate"*, by which the *"most unfortunate deadlock would terminate immediately"*. In a 'coup de grâce', De Grandmont sows seeds of distrust in the fertile soil of the public, against the operators. The analysis of Text 3, in the next section cements doubt in a less cryptic manner.

4.4. Text 3 - The Ghost of Lincoln

Though the cartoonist's name and the exact publication date are not clear, the Ghost of Lincoln appeared in The Philadelphia North American in October 1902 (OSU, 2020). This paragraph is cited from Bloom's (1952:10,11) PhD thesis, which states that the paper was founded in 1839 as a religio-commercial journal and it published until 1925, when it was purchased by the owner of the rival Public Ledger. Its boast was that it was *"impartial but it was not neutral"*. The daily was labelled a *"republican stalwart advocate"*. At one time, the paper took a stand against labour unionisation. The North American remained loyal to the city of Philadelphia and its economic interests.

Figure 11: Cartoon depicting Roosevelt and the Ghost of Lincoln



Source: OSU (2020)

4.5. Analysis of the Ghost of Lincoln (Grammar of Visual Design)

Although the linguistic textual elements in the satirical depiction of the role played by TR are limited, it is possible to draw some heuristic insight as a starting point. Thus, to derive some meaningful inference from the text requires a process of triangulating it with two other elements of CDA. This is to be achieved by: -

1. analysing the social elements
2. and analysing the 'processing of discourse'

The satirical image in *Figure 11* is largely comprised of non-linguistic text in the form of visual communication. The process of analysing an image begins with its description as the foundation for interpretation according to Schroeder and Borgerson (1998). They contend that the relationship between interpretation and description tends to be blurry and that interpretation is derived from the descriptive detail that emerges from the image. Description of the visual texts involves the articulation of subject, colour, form, genre, light etc. Following Schroeder and Borgerson's (1998) view that transdisciplinary readings are beneficial for explicating and grasping advertising campaigns as representational systems, their theory is applied to this study, in a multimodal CDA exercise that helps to unravel the role of media in the 1902 coal strike.

For this multimodal study, the framework of analysis draws on the following elements as per Kress and van Leeuwen (2006): narrative processes; power and angles; modality; composition and social distance. Only a portion of the framework proposed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) is applied to this analysis in a more streamlined and less intricate approach. The complete framework as proposed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) which was initially put forward in 1996 tends to be more complex, an observation that was confirmed by Jewitt and Oyama (2000) and Scollon and Scollon (2003). The streamlined framework proposed for this analysis is sufficient in locating the political economy depicted in *The Ghost of Lincoln*. The elements within the streamlined semiotic framework are synthesised within the analysis. This section analyses visual text to complete *chapter 4's* triangulation process.

4.5.1. Lincoln's Posthumous Visit to Roosevelt

In October of 1902, The Philadelphia North American newspaper included a visual text depicting the Ghost of Lincoln as part of its cartoon section. Similar instances of

President Abraham Lincoln's (AL) revisionism are not unusual in American folklore, popular culture and political contexts. Revisionist depictions of Lincoln date back as far as Gustav Fuchs' (1867) print entitled, *"The spirit of our martyr visiting his tomb"*. It is perhaps one of the earliest introductions to the spirit of AL, which depicts the parted statesman emerging from a forest to look at his grave; Edwin Marcus (1917) published a cartoon of AL towering over President Wilson holding up a calendar, as he pondered taking America into world war 1. In the 1920s Harry Houdini posed with AL to prove that images of ghosts were easy to fake (Kutz, 2013). When Obama won the US elections, Luckovich (2008) evoked the presence of AL turning to an astonished Martin Luther King, jr. and uttering *"You're not dreaming"*, as they both looked down from the clouds. Other common revisions include Spielberg's (2012) *"Lincoln"* movie and Reynolds' (2020) book titled, *"Abe: Abraham Lincoln in His Times"*. There are numerous other examples of AL's posthumous reprisals of his role as a statesman. The Ghost of Lincoln in the Philadelphia North American newspaper was yet another reprisal of AL, this section explores one of his many pluralisms as it pertains the strike.

4.5.2. The Visual Text within the 'Ghost of Lincoln'

In *Figure 11*, AL appears in the form of an apparition as he hovers over a deeply contemplative TR. The depiction of AL as a spirit suggests that something about him lives on that has cast a spell on America ever since his death in 1865. In 1902 his cast shadow fell upon TR, as he attuned to the pressing issue of the day. In her doctoral thesis, Kutz (2013) explains that Americans repeatedly portray AL as a ghost and try to imagine how he would respond to certain issues in contemporary America. The Ghost of Lincoln allowed the satirist to grapple with AL's legacy for American labour relations and to shift discourse from tyranny and elitism to populism. Visiting TR, he strives to fulfil his mission of equality. In the cartoon, TR is dressed in a smart suit, and he pensively stares across his worktable. The notion of contemplativeness is evoked by his left hand, which props up his chin deeply burdened by thought. His right hand holds the stylus in readiness to pounce on the paper with fresh ideas from his brooding.

4.5.2.1. Power in the Whitehouse

Although they both wielded power at different periods in their respective tenures as leaders of the US, the two presidents are not depicted in an equal standing. The satirist

could have had them both sit at the table and engage, but instead they were positioned at different levels. President Lincoln towers over TR in a very fatherly, authoritative and yet supportive posture. This image of support is evoked in his right hand as he ‘gently’ taps TR on the shoulder. In Allwood's (2002) chapter on bodily communication, she states that touch is a primary means of expression and that it can either indicate hostility or friendliness. Other expressions such as the distance, the spatial orientation and AL's posture (Allwood, 2002) signal that the interaction between TR and AL is affectionate. The tap or hand on TR's shoulder by AL is a tactile expression of intimacy and it depicts a trusting relationship. It tells the audience to have faith in their ‘leaders’ who have ‘worked closely together’ (Heinonen, Karvonen & Tainio, 2020; Luangrath, Peck & Gustafsson, 2020). Perhaps an indirect invitation to the reader to find ways to participate in the cause for social justice on account of TR's attention and continued participation being orchestrated by AL (Heinonen *et al.*, 2020). President AL's left hand appears to gesticulate towards the bold text on TR's piece of paper. Perhaps to further guide some sort of process. Despite his towering posture there is a gentleness in AL's demeanour, which contrasts greatly with that of TR. The great architectural pillars in the background seem both irrelevant and superfluous at the same time, but they are pertinent as they are suggestive of the highest office in the land. Scott (1939) noticed that all the Davidic kings in the bible had their coronation ceremonies standing next to great pillars. His observation ascribes special significance to pillars in special ceremonies such as a crowning. Social interpretations of a pillar have become so ubiquitously synonymous with strength and majesty. The use of ‘pillars’ as the analogy for illustrating support and mainstay is second nature. Examples such as “*The Two Pillars of Asset Pricing*” (Fama, 2014); “*The Three Pillars of Sustainability*” (Purvis, Mao & Robinson, 2019); “*Seven Pillars of Support for Inclusive Education*” (Loreman, 2007) illustrate just a few from the much broader applications of the concept. The pillars in the Ghost of Lincoln indicate power that rests in those who have held office within the grand structure, that is propped up by the sturdy, lofty pillars. The pillars are also symbolical in how they stand for institutions that hold up the ideals, hopes and values of the American people. One such institution is the Whitehouse and the presidency. The majestically pillared office represents the voice of the people. It carries agency against elitism. It turns its back on the social norms that have upheld a classist discourse. The pillars stand erect behind both presidents, as if to say they both have the strength and support of the people; first AL then in turn TR, who has the support

of AL and the people. The presence of AL engenders and lexicalises a sense of hope from the past. Perhaps AL represented the uncertainty of this hope at one point in history and TR becomes its embodiment and fulfilment. When viewed from a semiotic viewpoint, TR's depiction is of a higher modality compared to AL, highlighting a level of certainty, as per Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) framework.

4.5.2.2. Lincoln the Ghost in Low Modality

To briefly explain modality Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) refer to the discipline of linguistics, where it is understood to describe the believability of expressed perceptions about the world. When applied to visuals Kress and van Leeuwen suggest the use of modality markers, which could illustrate any credibility issues that could be surrounding an image or any of its elements. According to Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) modality points to manifestations of factuality set in varying forms of realism. Examples of this range from surrealism to hyperrealism. The depiction of a 'hazy' AL is one such modality marker. It is not fake news. It shows the reader that AL did not visit TR, but his ideals have transcended time and death to visit the serving president. According to Jewitt and Oyama (2000:151) the greater the similarity between an object's depiction in an image and what the naked eye sees in reality "*the higher the modality*". In this case TR is closer to reality, even though the image is sketched. Modality can be established through the saturation of colour; colour modulation; colour differentiation; representation; brightness; illumination; conceptualisation and depth (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Manipulation of any of the above produces forms of modality. Although a photograph is not reality it is considered to be of "*high naturalistic modality*", when the same image is manipulated to display greater sharpness, "*more colour saturation*" or "*deeper perspective than the average photo, its modality decreases*" to appear "*more than real or surreal*" (Jewitt & Oyama, 2000:151). This is also true when haziness is applied. The Ghost of TR also introduces intimacy.

4.5.2.3. A meeting of great minds

According to "*proxemics, the study of personal space and interpersonal distance*", intimacy either fosters the contraction or the expansion of personal space (Bailenson et al., 2001:583). The cartoonist reduces the space occupied by AL and TR, and by so doing fosters a level of intimacy. The intimate interaction suggests a meeting of ideas, ideals

and principle. One could also infer a posthumous relationship, albeit gapped by almost 40 years, TR may have been an avid understudy of AL. A less intimate depiction would have been both sitting across the table from each other and AL holding his thumbs up. However, AL hovers over TR as a parent would to supervise their child's homework. A transfer of knowledge, ideas and ethics takes place during a mentoring relationship – this is the connection that is established here. A political father figure - who during his time held some very unconventional views about labour. Like TR, the views held by AL may not have been popular with capital, they certainly were not welcomed by the deeply alienated pro-slavery Confederate States of America. In his speech delivered on the 6th of March in Connecticut, he said...

"I don't believe in a law to prevent a man from getting rich; it would do more harm than good. So while we do not propose any war upon capital, we do wish to allow the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with everybody else" (Lincoln, 1860).

In the statement above, AL's opinion towards capital is evoked, in that same breath he strongly advocates for fair labour practices and an environment conducive to the accumulation of wealth not just by capital but also by labour. This way of thinking may have made both presidents kindred. According to the cartoonist, what AL started in the 1860s – equality and democracy, was being invigorated by TR in the early 1900s.

In many news articles TR is quoted and often reported as having been or at least seeking to be non-partisan in the labour dispute. There is an element of intertextuality here between the two powerful presidents. This is highlighted in the following passage:

"He is going to lay the facts before the contending parties and ask them to get together. He will represent to them the public need and urge them, as a matter of patriotism and public decency, to stop their warfare and settle their differences" (NY Times, 1902c:1).

The following was also published in the New York Times:

"...the president has firmly announced his determination not to attempt to influence either side toward a particular form of settlement" (NY Times, 1902d:1)

The two quotes above regarding TR are in alignment with the statement from AL's speech made on the 6th of March in Connecticut, where he supports free accumulation of wealth by both capital and labour. However, in order to achieve the delicate balance between capital and labour, AL had to address the social and political notions of

capital's superiority complex. In his address to the Senate and House of Representatives during his first annual message of the year, he states:

"No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which if surrendered will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost" (Lincoln, 1861).

The presence of AL within the framing of TR's victory against capital is both a reminder of his prescient and astute remarks, and the source of comfort suggesting TR had done the right thing. The cartoonist constructs even greater intimacy within the text.

4.5.2.4. The Social Distance

An earlier paragraph within this section recognised the intimacy between the two presidents, however, another level of intimacy is presented by the framing of the image. In photography the composition of an image is determined by the camera set up. The various set ups include the longshot, medium shot and close-up. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) in a longshot the camera is set at a distance from the subject and it depicts the human occupying half the frame. The close up tends to be closer, showing head and shoulders of the subject and a medium shot is in-between the two – depicting a human figure from the head to the knees. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) state that the producer of a visual text must decide the relationship as well as the distance between the text and the audience. The distance determines the different relations that are possible, for instance Hall (1964) in Kress and van Leeuwen (2006:125) says in an *"intimate distance"* we see the head or face only in an image. The head and shoulders capture *"close personal distance"*; *"close social distance"* reveals the whole figure; *"far social distance"* exhibits some environment around the full human figure, etc. The framing of *Figure 11* according to Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006:125) framework is *"far personal distance"*. In a *"far personal distance"* frame you can see the subject from the waist up. Using social distancing portrayals enable the audience to imaginarily come close or be distant. In this way images of people can either be portrayed as friends or strangers (Jewitt & Oyama, 2000). The *"far personal distance"* framing brings the reader into an intimate level of familiarity of both presidents, the time dimension they both represent and their present discourse.

Neither of them engages the reader by making any eye contact and therefore erode any compulsion to engage in “*an imaginary social relation*” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006:120). The two presidents are framed purely as subjects intended for the viewer’s own scrutiny and reflection. The non-visual texts ensured that the reader was made privy to the supposed discourse between the two presidents.

The composition of both the written and visual texts, considering TR’s preoccupied moment, AL’s reassuring presence and a writing page that is mostly blank, created in semiotic terms the sense that – ‘more is to come’.

4.5.2.5. Vectors in the Visual Text of Lincoln’s Ghost

Narrative processes are the dynamic elements of an image. These processes depict action which enables certain inferences to be made about the characters. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006:59) describe them as “*unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements*”. Actions are visually represented by vectors, which can be created by a line (visible or invisible), a road, an arrow, a body or limb or tool depicting action (Jewitt & Oyama, 2000; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006:59). The participant from whom a vector emerges is called an actor, and the targeted participant is the goal. An example of an actor is a car, and the road is the vector, altogether they depict ‘an unfolding’ journey. Images without any narrative processes are deemed conceptual and inanimate, they lack vector portrayal and are therefore static or steadfast in essence (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). However, the visual text in *Figure 11* is not inanimate as both presidents serve as actors. Several elements within *Figure 11* act as vectors by directing the reader to the goal, which is the written linguistic text, “*STRIKE SETTLED*”. They include the following:

- AL’s line of sight and his gesturing left hand (Jewitt & Oyama, 2000)
- TR’s poised stylus
- The focal point of their discourse is around TR’s “assignment” which is set forth on the partially written paper, this gives the impression of a parent/child dialogue about an assigned task.

The visual narrative in *Figure 11* indicates directionality, relationality and functionality by employing vectorial elements as described above. The reader’s eye is persistently forced to look towards the linguistic text by means of the vector pathways. The central

message is – the strike is over, and its conclusion is on account of TR but through the prescience and ‘guidance’ of AL. Another point to note about the forced pathway which guides the readers eyes towards the mostly blank page, is that it is a vector that draws one’s attention to the idea that more is yet to be written on the topic. It is an unfinished story. This is confirmed in the next section by the analysed statement “*the greatest work remains – the reconstruction of the forces of capital and labor*”.

4.6. Material Processes in the Ghost of Lincoln

Kress and van Leeuwen (1998) state that written text can be connected with visual grammar, but, they are not necessarily dependent on each other. Janks (2006:335) says that “*an analysis of modality and polarity, establishes a hierarchy of power which is confirmed by... the transitivity analysis*”. This section probes the written text in the Ghost of Lincoln. The only two material type processes were:

Strike Actor *Settled* MP

Well done MP, Mr. President Actor

They both were intransitive. The author constructs one *Actor* for each clause and there are no dominant high frequency *Actors*. Although, depicted as *Active*, TR appears in a passive clause, which slightly diminishes his power compared to the other *Actor* – ‘*strike*’. TR’s appearance suggests that he was very important to the process, but the strike settlement and the resumption of work were constructed as most important.

4.7. Synthesizing All Three Texts

The three texts point to ideology in transition, this is observed as the first two writers grapple power representation. Text 1 and 2 would have left readers in doubt about the operators’ political status, giving workers ‘the benefit of the doubt’. The third author is unequivocal in their satirical depiction of ‘power to the working class’ - triggering a cultural shift. Understanding media’s role, offers an applicable tool for such a time as this. Historical conduct, is cautionary to how renewables and media are handled, for better citizenry and a more just energy and political transition.

4.8. Summary

Three Pennsylvania coal strike texts were triangulated and analysed using tools of critical discourse analysis. Text 1 was an editorial article produced by 'The Public Opinion'. The author ascribes the greatest power to news publishers critical of the mine operators. After the newspapers, the operators are the next most powerful *Actors*. Despite their power, the threat in material processes is established as the attitude of the operators. The same pattern continues for verbal and mental processes. Text 2 was a letter to the editor published in the 'New York Times'. In Text 2 there is an obsession with the operators' *Actor*-power. Although miniscule, the miners and author display some political leverage that challenges the operators' power. This is done when the author only confers power to the operators in the material clauses. Ideological contestations are subtle in the verbal and mental clauses. The lexical patterns showed much reproach towards the operators. In Text 3, the analysis of visual grammar sketched a distinct ideological stance. Theodore Roosevelt's authority helped to settle the strike. He defies tradition by aligning with the union, lending his weight towards a shift from undemocratic elitism to populism. It was argued that the texts proffer social contestations, that marked the shifting discursive practices, pointing to a transition in social politics. Text 1 and 2 cultivated mixed attributes, on the one hand the operators' power and on the other their debilitating vilification. All texts were infused with displays of humanity for the miners. The new discursive arrangements of populist and non-elitist narratives defied institutionalised classism and gave the mineworkers agency. This chapter unveiled the depth of ideological contestation, the next one addresses the scale of media reporting.

Chapter 5: Global Spinoffs from the Pennsylvania Strike

5.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the research question:

- What role did media play in the global spread of social democracy?

The research question grapples with the global response to the Pennsylvanian coal strike. It probes media's role in disseminating news about the strike all over the world, which sheds some insight into Timothy Mitchell's claim in 'Carbon Democracy' of a global shift in power dynamics. *Chapter 4* postulated the start of an ideological shift in media. Evidence of the suggested shift is reflected in media publications that reported on the strike in America. This chapter investigates the global domino effect of the news coverage, and the mimicking of the Pennsylvanian strike in France and Belgium. Three articles about Germany, France and Belgium, published in The New York Times in October 1902, led to the following hypothesis: *if news reports on the Pennsylvania strike induced a carbon democracy, then global media created the conditions for information flows that triggered wider impacts*. A narrative review is deployed to test the hypothesis. The focus on Germany, France and Belgium analyses the media trends at the time and the response to those trends. It is argued that the international news network ushered in the beginnings of the global social democracy, posited by Timothy Mitchell's seminal work. *Chapter 5* infers that the global media reports were both pervasive and influential.

5.2. Global Media Coverage of the Pennsylvanian Strike

The New York Times' archives included some news reports from other regions in the world that had an interest in the Pennsylvania strike. This observation led the study to consider the broader impacts of the 1902 labour dispute. A broad sweeping analysis of Newspapers.com (2019) - the international news archive, unveiled the prevalent reporting, including locations and media content. The archival site revealed the universality of news reports about the strike. The strike received a lot of media coverage throughout the world (De Denderbode, 1902; Newspapers.com, 2019;

Gallica.fr, 2021). To get a sense of the ubiquity, an online archival search using the criteria “Pennsylvania coal strike”, yielded 42,822 newspaper issues globally (Newspapers.com, 2019). The articles were written during the 5 month strike period. Canada had 333 media matches, the UK had 29 and Australia 19. In Australia, the Sydney Morning Herald published the strike in 10 issues (Newspapers.com, 2019). In the UK, The Guardian had a least 23 issues and The Times and The Observer had at least 6 issues between them (Newspapers.com, 2019). The same search criteria for the year 1903 returned 16,435 matches (Newspapers.com, 2019). The figures quoted above specifically focused their search on English regions only. The 1902 Pennsylvania industrial action was of interest and consequence for labour and mine operators worldwide. Many realised that it would set a new precedent.

5.2.1. Significance of the Pennsylvania Strike to other Regions

Sydenstricker (1916:22) described the Pennsylvanian strike as a

“struggle (which) became a matter of intense national interest, and the aroused public opinion brought into play forces both financial and political”

Although he gives an insightful summary, Sydenstricker failed to recognise the strike’s international impact. News of the unrest in Pennsylvania spread almost immediately. The Guardian (1902:5) in the United Kingdom (UK) published a story titled “*The Threatened Coal Strike in America*” on the 7th of May; just two days earlier the NY Times (1902e:1) had published “*Coal Strike Threatens*”. The miners eventually downed their tools on May 12th 1902 (NY Times, 1902f:3). On the 13th of May several American papers ran the story, including NYT (Pg.3); The Times-Democrat of New Orleans (Pg.1); The Times of Philadelphia (Pg.6); The Boston Globe (Pg.7); The Great Falls Tribune (Pg.1); The Scranton Tribune (Pg.3); Wilkes-Barre Semi-Weekly Record (Pg.1); The San Francisco Examiner (Pg.7) among many others (Newspapers.com, 2019). Internationally the story broke in Canada on the 13th of May in the Calgary Herald (Pg.3); in the UK it was published on the 17th in The Guardian (Pg.8); The Age in Melbourne printed the story on the 19th (Pg.5) - (Newspapers.com, 2019). Other areas included New Zealand (Manawatū Standard, 1902); Ireland (Newspapers.com, 2019); Belgium (Le Patriote, 1902); Germany (NY Times, 1902f); France (NY Times, 1902h); Algeria (Les Nouvelles, 1902); Madagascar (Le Madagascar, 1902); Reunion Islands (Le Journal de La Réunion, 1902); Brittany (L’Ouest-Éclair, 1902) etc.

Section 5.2 shows the volume of news covering the strike and its geographical reach. It is clear from the figures extrapolated from Newspapers.com (2019), that news about the strike was in demand. In many instances it made front page as readers from all over the world sought to understand the details. Part of the intrigue may have been the sheer number of strikers involved (145,000) the strike duration and the subsequent loss in manhours may have also stirred interest (NY Times, 1902g; Sydenstricker, 1916). Most pertinent would have been the standoff between labour and the mine operators. Who would concede defeat and who would be victor? To the ordinary global citizen, the impact of the strike on American society and its broader impacts on the economy due to highly carbonised industries, would have kept readers in other regions fixated. According to the NY Times (1902k), Sydenstricker (1916) and Brown (2009) many immigrants were employed within the Pennsylvanian coal region. This cosmopolitan trait also made any news about the strike relevant to readers in the global context. The impact of the labour unrest on the American economy had a direct effect on international trade and to some extent, an indirect impact on other economies. To subsidise the American coal shortfall, other forms of carbon were imported from other countries during that period. The retardation of productivity, would have had other impacts on locally consumed goods and the export of other products. Demand for imports would have soared. These and other scenarios ensured that any news about the anthracite strike, remained relevant beyond American borders. While it was likely the initial reports were just general news, increasingly the information had greater significance for other mining regions.

In a study on lessons learnt “*from other people’s action*”, Conell and Cohn (1995:366) highlight how workers tend to seek out information about labour action elsewhere. They contend that this pursuit by labour for information, tends to be overlooked within the studies conducted on resource mobilisation and the resultant theories. In actively seeking information about other labour strikes taking place elsewhere, workers are likely to observe the merits of embarking on their own strike action. Information makes strikes appear economically viable, unveils support and reassures those who are sitting on the fence that success is possible. Conell and Cohn (1995:366) further argue that “*strikes stimulate other strikes*” and these ‘spinoff’ forms of dispute can happen even if the labour movement is not legally formalised. Their inference supports

assertions by McAdam (1990) who states that an ongoing strike is likely to motivate onlookers to also take part. This was a view held by Luxemburg in Conell and Cohn (1995) – who from as far back as the 19th century, believed that news about strikes and unrest could radicalise workers sufficiently to result in disputes, which otherwise would not have materialised. Similarly, according to Conell and Cohn (1995) a strike can fail to take off if there is a lack of information or perception of powerlessness. Such information was vital to the 1902 global labour movement gathering critical mass. Several countries notably reacted to the Pennsylvania strike.

5.3. Countries React to the Pennsylvanian Strike

According to Timothy Mitchell (2011) between 1881 and 1905, the rate of strike action by coal miners in the US, was recorded at about three times that of all the other leading industries. The next highest industry was rated at 50% of the coal extractive industries. The coal strikes are said to have lasted longer on average when compared to the other sectors. Timothy Mitchell (2011) says this pattern was replicating itself in Europe and across other coal mining regions in the world.

The New York Times published a few international reactions to the Pennsylvanian strike. Three of the most notable international reactions took place in October 1902. The month of October is very significant in as far as the strike was concerned, the 1st reason being – It is the month that TR intervened in the labour dispute. Within days of his involvement the 2nd reason is manifest – a strike settlement that had been elusive. The strike had been a very tense five-month standoff. Labour in Germany, France and Belgium responded to the Pennsylvania strike in the month of October as it reached its climax. This is relevant given Conell and Cohn's (1995:366) statement that *“successful strikes generate more imitation than unsuccessful strikes”*. Of the three countries, two culminated in direct strike action. The following section analyses the events and circumstances of the German, French and Belgian labour movements.

5.4. Analysis of Translated Text

The original intention for this chapter was to continue with CDA in analysing text from other regions. However, Fairclough (2015) warns that CDA, should not be carried out on texts that are translated. This is problematic because the essence of the original

text is either diluted or lost. Language tends to have certain social and cultural nuances that are rich in contextualised expression and meaning, such as idioms which tend to get lost in translation and yet they are essential to the original text. To perform CDA on translated material compromises the analysis of a text's original social reality (Fairclough, 2015). The original texts analysed for this chapter are written in German, Flemish and French. To perform CDA on the translated material would compromise the output. For this reason this chapter is a narrative analysis of the texts and not CDA.

Apart from the texts written in German, Flemish and French, there were also some articles published in English in The New York Times (NYT) from correspondents in Germany, France and Belgium. The likelihood of the text having been translated was high, since the stories originated from non-English speaking regions. However, it was also assumed that the texts could have been written in English by an English-speaking author and submitted for publication in the NYT. The challenge became an editorial one. According to Bell (1991) articles are subject to several authors within the same newsroom. Bell (1991) cautions that a story can also be subjected to additional editors every time it is circulated from one newsroom to the next, putting it through an editorial process that flavours it to the values and subtleties of the receiving newsroom. In essence, performing CDA on the stories from the German, French or Belgian correspondents, presents a challenge that compromises the integrity of their original depth and to some extent meaning. Despite the origins the stories now have a NYT twist and therefore do not meet the criteria for a CDA. For this reason, CDA will not be performed on the articles from correspondents in Germany, France and Belgium.

This section will now address the research question:

- What role did media play in the global spread of social democracy?

This is achieved by conducting a review as part of the overall methodology. The review is intended to explore how news of the coal strikes might have spread and possibly influenced varying reactions from other parts of the world. By examining the existing body of literature, this narrative analysis provides a qualitative survey including very brief quantitative input. However, the study also draws heavily on grey literature due to the lack of data that synthesizes the activities of media with social movements (McAdam, 1982; McAdam & Su, 2002) especially for those early times.

5.5. The German Media Response to the Pennsylvania Strike

5.5.1. Germany's Media Coverage of The Strike

Figure 12: German Press On The Strike

GERMAN PRESS ON THE STRIKE.

BERLIN, Oct. 6.—The coal strike in the United States is attracting more and more attention here. The newspapers print rather full accounts of the conferences at Washington.

The press sides with the miners and censures the operators for their unyielding attitude. The Frankfurter Zeitung, regarded as the best financial authority in Germany, to-day devotes a leading article to the strike. It alludes to the spirit of the operators as "lunacy of fancied greatness," which may very well develop, and adds:

"When the coal combination sees it is able to throw 70,000,000 of people into anxiety and need and remain beyond reach it will naturally get the idea that it holds possession by the grace of God, like the potentates of old Europe."

The paper also alludes to the probable effect on the Continent of the withdrawal of English coal for America, says it is likely that England will draw from the Continent the deficit caused by the shipments to the United States, and concludes:

"Hence, if the strike continues, the price of coal will rise on the Continent."

The New York Times

Published: October 7, 1902

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Source: NY Times (1902j)

The strike mediation conference in Washington took place at the behest of TR. This demonstrates TR's involvement and how it led to the matter being expedited. Prior to the Whitehouse's engagement the strike negotiations took place mostly in Pennsylvania. The article above published in the NYT corroborates the above-mentioned point by Conell and Cohn (1995) who emphasize how other non-striking workers, are inclined to hunt for information about labour tensions elsewhere. The outcomes of such conflict tend to influence others. The article in *Figure 12* connects a German audience to the Pennsylvanian strike. The author notes that German "newspapers" (in the plural) were reporting on the labour tensions in great detail.

While it is uncertain who the audience were, the sweeping statement about multiple publications suggests a broad audience and it is assumed that they included miners. The foreign correspondent's NYT article mentions one publication by title – The Frankfurter Zeitung (FZ), which was an internationally respected and renowned paper founded in 1856 by Leopold Sonnemann (Eksteins, 1971). The FZ was crafted for "*the well-educated, politically and culturally interested German middleclass*" (Eksteins, 1971:5).

In one of many articles throughout the 5 month period the *Freiburger Zeitung* (1902) published the “*Der Kohlenarbeiterfreit in Amerika*²¹” (*The coal workers' dispute in America*), the article is an update on the American coal strike crisis. It also announces TR's mediation. There are numerous other examples of newspapers in Germany, such as on the 16th of October, when the *Berliner Börsenzeitung* (1902:3) noted that:

“Angesichts der bevorstehenden Präsidentschaftswahlen waren Republikaner und Demokraten gleichermaßen bemüht, durch ostentative Betonung ihrer Arbeitnehmerfreundlichkeit und ihrer Ablehnung des Trusts”

(In view of the preceding presidential election, Republicans and Democrats alike were at pains, by ostentatiously emphasizing their labour-friendliness and their opposition to the trust)

On the 14th of October, the *Hamburger Nachrichten* (1902:18) published a story simply titled “*Der Ausftand in Pennsylvanien*” (*The state of Pennsylvania*) which reported on developments in the American strike. The news was also published by foreign based German media that had circulation in Germany, an example includes this paper from the following German speaking part of Italy:

On the 14th of October, *Bozner Zeitung* (1902b) printed “*Das Ende der Kontroverse ist noch lange nicht erreicht.*” (*The end of the controversy is still a long way off*)

This was followed up on the 17th by “*Präsident Roosevelt wird beauftragt, alle Bergarbeiter zur Wiederaufnahme der Arbeit zu bewegen.*” (*President Roosevelt is ordered to persuade all miners to resume work*)

The directive would most likely have come from the mine operators as observed in the analysis of Text 1 in *chapter 4*, also see *Appendix A*. Just the day before, (16th Oct) the *Meraner Zeitung* (1902:3) published a story claiming, “*Der Streit ist endlich beigelegt*” (*The dispute has finally been settled*). There were many other examples of German interest in the American coal strike, a few are included in *Table 4* below:

²¹ Due to some spelling reforms, changes in meaning and some words falling out of use, all German “quotes” in this section (5.5) are adapted from the original articles published in 1902 for clearer understanding.

Table 4: German Coverage of the American Strike

	Date	Heading/Story	Translation	Source (Paper)
1.	14.10.1902	<i>“Der Ausftand in Pennsylvanien”</i>	<i>The state of Pennsylvania</i>	(Hamburger Nachrichten, 1902:18)
2.	16.10.1902	<i>“Der Kampf der amerikanischen Bergarbeiter”</i>	<i>The American Miners' Struggle</i>	(Volkszeitung, 1902:3)
3.	07.10.1902	<i>“Präsident Roosevelt telegrafierte eine Botschaft zur Beilegung des Kohlestreiks</i>	<i>President Roosevelt telegraphed a message for the settlement of the coal strike</i>	(Berliner Tageblatt, 1902:2)
4.	06.10.1902	<i>“Der Kohlenstreik in Pennsylvania”</i>	<i>The coal strike in Pennsylvania</i>	(Neue Hamburger Zeitung, 1902:1)
5.	10.10.1902	<i>“Der Streit der Kohlearbeiter in Pennsylvania”</i>	<i>The coal workers' dispute in Pennsylvania</i>	(Hamburger Anzeiger, 1902:1)
6.	13.10.1902	<i>“Der Vorsitzende der Bergarbeitergewerkschaft, Mitchell, stellte fest, dass die Bergleute im Bereich der bituminösen Öfen Kämpfe austrugen”</i>	<i>The miners' union president, Mitchell, noted that miners were picking fights in the bituminous furnace area</i>	(Altonaer Nachrichten, 1902:3)
7.	09.10.1902	<i>“Mitchell hat für Mittwoch eine Versammlung der Bergarbeiter einberufen, um den Vorschlag von Präsident Roosevelt zu diskutieren”</i>	<i>Mitchell has called a meeting of the miners for Wednesday in order to discuss the proposal of President Roosevelt.</i>	(Börsen-Halle, 1902:1)
8.	14.10.1902	<i>Zahlreiche Werke mussten ihren Betrieb einstellen.”</i>	<i>Numerous works had to close their operations.</i>	(Bozner Zeitung, 1902b) ²³
9.	10.10.1902	<i>Mitchell antwortete einen Appell an Roosevelt in Bezug auf die Beendigung des Streiks des Streiks mit dem Hinweis, dass er der Forderung des Präsidenten nicht nachkommen werde. des Präsidenten.”</i>	<i>Mitchell answered an appeal to Roosevelt in regard to termination of of the strike to the effect that he would not accede to the of the President.</i>	(Bote für Tirol, 1902:3) ¹⁴
10.	11.10.1902	<i>“Nach Angaben der New York News wird Roosevelt den Präsident der Kohlearbeitervereinigung Mitchell einen Brief schicken, in dem er die Arbeiter auffordert, die Arbeit zu den alten Bedingungen wieder aufzunehmen”</i>	<i>According to New York News, Roosevelt is to send president of the coal workers' association Mitchell a letter in which he urges the workers to resume work under the old conditions</i>	(Der Burggraefler, 1902:2) ¹⁴

Source: Adaptation, Translation and Synthesis of Europeana (2021)

These and other newspapers were the mouthpiece that regarded the Pennsylvania strikes as newsworthy and relevant to a Germanic society. Polanyi (1985) contends that the telling of stories is a social function steered by social norms. The ‘tellability’ and newsworthiness of a story is regarded as a norm; therefore a story or news in this instance must be worth telling and be interesting, otherwise its narrators may be judged harshly by their audiences (Labov, 1972). Judging by the assertion that the “newspapers print rather full accounts of the conferences at Washington”, it is clear that the Germans wanted to know what was going on in Pennsylvania (Figure 12). The contribution points to German media interest in the American strike, which is

contextualised within the broader interest of a German public that is supposedly swaddled in an adverse opinion of American capital. The political ideologies and the German interest groups were varied, including those who had a disdain for political or capitalistic authority. One such group was featured in the NYT on November the 1st.

5.5.2. German Anarchists on Pennsylvania Strike

Figure 13: German anarchist press on American coal strike



Source: NY Times (1902f)

The article in *Figure 13* was authored by a Berlin based foreign correspondent and submitted to the NYT by special cable. The story provides further confirmation of a German interest in the anthracite strike, but from a different perspective. The author discusses the German anarchist media, which supposedly labelled TR's intervention in the coal strike a failure. In all, the link between the Americans' labour dispute and the Germans, further echoes Conell and Cohn's (1995) point about strikes and their potential to catalyse other forms of action, including, though not limited to strikes.

If the German working class had contemplated strike action, they may have had the political backing of the local press, especially those with similar views to the NYT correspondent. Presumably that same media would have been pro-German labour. The article in *Figure 12* shows how censure was applied against capital and the political economy was in favour of labour. The impact would have most likely gone a long way towards shifting public sympathy and installing power upon the working classes.

5.5.3. Labour Action Averted in Germany

The coverage of the anthracite strike does not lead to any notable labour stoppage in Germany. According to Conell and Cohn (1995) a strike may fail due to insufficient information regarding the likelihood of success, however, this seems unlikely given the NYT statement about the pervasiveness of German reporting about the Pennsylvanian strike. Another reason could be a perceived lack of favourable bargaining conditions and the absence of opportunities for striking, this also appears to be improbable on account of Eksteins' (1971) description of a liberal and democratic Germany. Meaning the reasons could be more aligned with Germany's political and economic stability at the time (Eksteins, 1971). It is likely that labour unrest was kept in check by responsive mechanisms for social justice that ensured grievances were resolved before they escalated. This notion is backed by Rimlinger (1959:399) who stated that coal mine workers in the Ruhr mining region were inclined to accept "*rigorous but fair*" discipline. He further explains that the acceptance was an "*expression of a work ethic and of a deeply rooted, religiously oriented, concept of the master-workman relationship*". According to Rimlinger (1959) this attitude towards work and authority has lingered on, in spite of the secularisation of the religious grounds that once inspired it. The German coal mine workers are therefore conservative and willing to compromise (Rimlinger, 1959). However, on the other end of the spectrum German mine managers and foremen controlled miners using a system of "*iron handed subordination*" (Rimlinger, 1959:398; Goldstein, 2010). Somehow the conservative nature of the miners, the domineering management system and the heightened levels of social justice, all seemed to work together in staving off a German strike. This is not to say there were no strikes in the Ruhr, on the contrary, the miners were also prone to 'downing tools' when need arose, according to Goldstein (2010) in his comparative study on labour history. He highlights violent incidents in Germany, which relate to labour strikes during the 1830 to 1930 period. Unions were illegal until 1869, however, many emerged in 1848 as repressive instruments of control were abolished (Goldstein, 2010). In spite of the evidence of Germany's history of labour action, Rimlinger (1959) argues that the 'quickie' strikes were endemic to Anglo-American mines and were never a problem to Germany. While the Pennsylvanian strike was not a 'quickie', Rimlinger's statement speaks to German discipline. The decision to strike was well-considered by all stakeholders and any imprudent strike would be considered "*reckless insubordination*".

5.5.4. So Were the German Articles Futile?

The German strike articles served a purpose. They illustrated the potential of imitation even in instances where strikes do not erupt. What is clear is that knowledge is key regardless of how it is employed. When the stakes are high and a known strike is of profound significance, it is most likely to be tracked – even from as far afield as Germany. Chong (2014) argues that news about other strikes can lead to dialogue as well as enable the appropriate interpretation of the audience's own status quo. This ability to interpret the miners own state of affairs, helps to transform any vague notions of dissatisfaction into well-articulated demands. The effective expression of miners' grievances, coupled with management's ability to address the voiced concerns in a 'just' manner, may well have averted conflict in the German instance. It is likely that the news of the Pennsylvanian strike, may have provided opportunity for action, in this case in the form of dialogue, either within individual institutions of labour and capital or in some form of collective bargaining between the two.

The status quo of German labour at the beginning of the 20th century as described above, which embodied characteristics of social justice, exemplary work ethic, draconian control and managerial responsiveness, clearly depended on a constant inflow of news, as a means of maintaining the state of affairs. This implies that any viable solution to labour strife that is highlighted in the news reports, could potentially also be imitated by workers or capital in dealing with their situation. The news may present some interpretative frameworks that could help resolve a strike or avert it altogether, meaning the workers are not solely inclined to imitating industrial action, but could also consider other forms of recourse available to them. This in itself does not represent failure, rather it could also present the emerging political economy of the worker in a different way. This manifestation of social democracy appears similar to what was achieved by the Pennsylvanian miners, although driven by a different output, i.e., the upper hand in negotiations or being in a position to make ultimata, which demands a favourable settlement from capital. This outcome cannot be entirely disassociated from the Pennsylvanian strike, especially when capital realises that a new boldness is stirred up among its workers, by the knowledge of a victorious labour movement elsewhere under similar circumstances. A boldness that could lead to collective action as the rational response *“to external economic and political realities”*

(Conell & Cohn, 1995:367). For capital to call labour's bluff in such an instance could have precipitated the German coal strike. This point is made poignant by the labour dispute witnessed in France, which is discussed in further detail below. The French operators called their bluff and by so doing compelled the coal mine workers to heed the call to 'down tools', and in October 1902, they began their industrial action.

5.6. France's Response to the Pennsylvania Strike

The coal mining sector in France embarked on an industrial action on the 8th of October 1902 (Otago Daily Times, 1902). A total of two-thirds of the mining workforce representing 70 000 colliers 'downed their tools' (Otago Daily Times, 1902). The NY Times (1902o) quoted a significantly higher figure of 120 000 strikers. The strike called for a 10% increase in wages (Otago Daily Times, 1902). The strike took place in the North of France, the Loire and Carmaux districts (Otago Daily Times, 1902). Curiously, the French strike was described as bearing resemblance to the Pennsylvanian one (Het Nieuws van den Dag, 1902; NY Times, 1902m).

The forerunner event which seemed to have precipitated the French strike, appears to have been the American anthracite industrial action and its wide circulation in global media including the French newspapers.

Figure 14: News Article Announcing the French Coal Strike

FRENCH COAL MINERS' STRIKE.
 Already 36,000 Have Ceased Work and
 General Orders Affecting 100,000
 Men Are Expected.
 PARIS, Oct. 7.—Telegrams received here from Lens Pas de Calais says that 36,000 miners have ceased work in the Pas de Calais region. Large numbers of troops are arriving at all threatened points. Several minor disturbances have been reported, but no serious trouble has as yet occurred.
 The National Committee of the French Miners' Federation met this afternoon at the Labor Exchange here, with the intention of deciding whether an immediate general strike was to be ordered, agitation in favor of such a step having been in progress for some time. The meeting lasted three hours and then adjourned until tomorrow, without arriving at a decision.
 The reason why the committee failed to vote with regard to ordering a general strike is understood to be because discussion of the matter developed a division of opinion. The majority was in favor of an immediate strike, but the minority desired first to attempt to negotiate with the Government. The minority induced the majority to postpone action and give it an opportunity to approach the Government with the view of securing promises of early legislation which would render the strike unnecessary.
 M. Basly, a Socialist Deputy, who represents an important district of the Pas de Calais coal fields, says he is confident that a general strike will be voted and that 70,000 out of 100,000 miners will obey the order. He adds that the strike will extend over the Pas de Calais, the Nord, the Loire, and the Carmaux regions.

The New York Times
 Published: October 8, 1902
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Source: NY Times (1902n)

5.6.1. In the French Media

The French media covered the Pennsylvanian strike comprehensively. Their news articles started appearing at the beginning of the strike. A search in the French archives for “grève mineurs Pennsylvanie” (*Pennsylvania miners’ strike*) revealed that L’Aurore had twenty five issues, each with at least two extracts that reported on the American strike directly (Gallica.Fr, 2021). The first article on record in L’Aurore (1902:2) appeared on the 2nd of July. “*La grève des mineurs de Pennsylvanie*” (*the Pennsylvania miner’s strike*) briefly reported on the death of several miners from violent confrontations. On September 26th L’Aurore, (1902b:2) in “*Le Congrès des Mineurs*”, (*congress of the miners*) reported on a dispatch addressed to Mr. Mitchell, president of the National Union of American Miners in New York, which read:

French National Congress sends fraternal greetings to the striking Pennsylvania miners.

This was a display of solidarity from the French labour movement, which stood in support of the strike in Pennsylvania. The dispatch was a clear sign of French interest in the American strike. French labour had a vested interest in the progress and successful outcome of the Pennsylvanian strike. According to the French news archives website, Gallica.fr (1902a) during the month of October, the publication L’Aurore had nine issues reporting on strikes in general, four of them covered Pennsylvania. La Charante had five issues on record, out of those, four gave an account of Pennsylvania (Gallica.fr, 1902b). La Fronde had eight Pennsylvanian articles out of ten issues that also had general strike stories (Gallica.fr, 1902c). These results are based on the search for “grève mineurs Pennsylvanie” on Gallica.fr.

Table 5: French Coverage of the American Strike

	Date	Heading/Story	Translation	Source (Paper)
1.	10.05.1902	“Grève de Mineurs en Amerique”	<i>Miners’ Strike in America</i>	(Le Grand Écho, 1902:1)
2.	15.05.1902	“Etats-Unis Grève Monstre”	<i>USA Monster Strike</i>	(La Dépêche, 1902:2)
3.	10.06.1902	“Là Grève des Charbonnages Américains”	<i>The American Coal Strike</i>	(Le Temps, 1902:1)
4.	10.06.1902	“La Grève des Mineurs de la Pennsylvanie s’étend”	<i>Pennsylvania Miners’ Strike Spreads</i>	(Le Figaro, 1902:1)
5.	24.07.1902	“La Grève des Mineurs de Pennsylvanie”	<i>The Miners’ Strike in Pennsylvania</i>	(La Croix, 1902:5)
6.	31.07.1902	“Grève Sangiante”	<i>Bloody Strike</i>	(La Justice, 1902:2)
7.	08.08.1902	“Les Mineurs de l’Pennsylvanie”	<i>The Miners of Pennsylvania</i>	(L’Intransigeant, 1902:3)
8.	29.08.1902	“La Grève de Pennsylvanie”	<i>The Pennsylvania Strike</i>	(Le Matin, 1902:3)
9.	01.09.1902	“Les Grèves en Amerique”	<i>The Strikes in America</i>	(La Petite Presse, 1902:1)
10.	02.09.1902	“Les Troubles Le Pennsylvanie”	<i>Trouble in Pennsylvania</i>	(Le Petit Journal, 1902:3)
11.	08.10.1902	“La Grève des Mineurs en Pennsylvanie”	<i>The Miners’ Strike in Pennsylvania</i>	(Le Pays, 1902:1)
12.	10.10.1902	“Les Grèves d’Amerique”	<i>The American Strike</i>	(Le Rappel, 1902:3)

Source: Authors synthesis of Gallica.Fr (2021)

Interest in the American labour tensions began even before the strike, Le Grand Écho (1902) announced the Americans intention to strike on the 10th of May 1902 (see *Table 5*). Two days later the Pennsylvanians struck. *Table 5* shows a selection of stories that are published by various French newspapers. The list is not comprehensive, as it only highlights two stories from two different publications each month. According to online French archive Gallica.Fr (2021) there was significantly more reporting on the American strike, on a daily basis by numerous newspapers in France. The table clearly illustrates coverage by different French newspapers from the onset. The reporting was consistent. In some cases the initial stories in the beginning were very brief, such as these two lines published by Le Figaro (1902)

Figure 15: Update of the American Strike in Le Figaro

	campagne.	
e	Etats-Unis. — La grève des mineurs de la	sa
l-	Pennsylvanie s'étend.	ll
la	Angleterre. — A la Chambre des commu-	ta

Source: Le Figaro (1902) also see Table 5

During October, towards the end of the Pennsylvanian strike, the news reports and the details in some newspapers such as Le Figaro (1902b) increased slightly, while others became quite thorough. Le Petite Presse (1902a:2) published an in-depth 4513 word article titled “Les Mineurs de Pennsylvanie” (*Miners of Pennsylvania*). The same page carried a different article that focused on TR, whose impact on the strike is illustrated in *chapter 4* and by the French media which also took note of the ‘TR effect’.

On the 6th of October, Le Gaulois (1902:3) in “*Un Rôle Courageux,*” (*A Courageous Attempt*) presumed TR’s initial attempt as an intermediary a failure. However, the article goes on to praise TR’s efforts and paints him as a humanitarian with compassion for his people. The tone of the article almost depicts such behaviour as generally not synonymous with politicians. The article positively describes his political persona; his qualities as a statesman; the firmness of his character and the nobility of his feelings (Le Gaulois, 1902a). Although the article eventually presumes TR’s failure, he is highly praised and his compassionate side is juxtaposed against the strong and resolute stand which he makes against capital (Le Gaulois, 1902a). The article appears to be designed to capture the hearts and imaginations of the French reader.

It paints the magnanimity of the battle by drawing attention towards the virtue of the warrior and cements the very strategic notion of the good Pennsylvanian fight against injustice. After the Pennsylvania strike ended Le Gaulois (1902b:1) again hailed the brilliance of TR as a man of foresight in *“Sa Majesté L’or” (His Majesty Gold)*. However, the article came short of crediting him with ending the strike, instead the publication attributes this to Mr. John Pierpont (JP) Morgan, who had become instrumental in the negotiations on behalf of and on the instruction of TR.

The front page of Le Petite Presse (1902:1) under the heading *“La Grève des Charbonnages aux Etats-Unis” (The Coal Strike in the United States)* narrates the following heart-warming message:

“M. Mitchell a fait parvenir au président Roosevelt les chaleureux remerciements des mineurs pour a généreuse interveution.”

(Mr. Mitchell conveyed to President Roosevelt the warm thanks of the miners for the generous intervention.)

Though seemingly innocuous and respectful, the message from Mr. Mitchell is in recognition of a precedence previously unknown to the Pennsylvanian miners. To the world outside, including the French, as well as the Belgians, it is a sign of political solidarity and majority between the state and labour in America. This American display of neighbourliness is likely to have helped build up the French and Belgian resolve to partake in labour action. In as far as the French were concerned, it may have also reassured them that strike action was a risk worth taking and that they had nothing to lose, but everything to gain, including some new political friends and a new dispensation of political power, delivered by coal and illuminated by media.

This section of the study postulates that among other catalysts, media reporting about the strike in America prompted the French wave of industrial protests. The news coverage created a trove of information, which kept the public and the unions abreast of developments elsewhere. This is in keeping with Conell and Cohn's (1995) theory, that access to information is a catalyst for new strikes to erupt, such as the 1902 French labour revolt. News about the French coal strike was published in at least two

countries – America and Belgium. In a domino response to strike stimuli from America and France, the Belgians also undertook their own version of the work stoppage.

5.7. Belgian Response to the Pennsylvania Strike

Section 5.2 clearly illustrates that information about the Pennsylvanian strike was broadly published beyond the borders of the United States of America. The frequency of publication in some places shows that there was a keen interest in what was going on and this was facilitated by regular updates throughout the strike period. *Section 5.5* gives a more detailed look at a country that had a vested interest in the strike on several levels, which included economic and political. What the German case study reveals is that the news output didn't always result in strikes, however the outcomes were knowledge and political empowerment. In such instances the long entrenched political economies were bound to be tested sooner or later opening new spaces and ideals for disruptions. While in the case of Germany a strike was averted, in some instances, such as France and Belgium, the labour unrest could not be avoided.

Figure 16: News Article Announcing the Belgian Coal Strike

BELGIAN COAL STRIKE LIKELY.
Mine Owners Said to Have Refused the
Men's Demand for an Increase
in Wages.
MONS, Belgium, Oct. 13.—It is said that
the Mine Owners' Federation has refused
the increase in wages demanded. A gen-
eral strike will, it is expected, be declared
on Thursday.
The miners of three pits in the Grand
Hornu Colliery struck work this morning.
The increase in wages is demanded by
the miners on the ground that the price of
coal has risen in consequence of the strikes
in the United States and France.

The New York Times

Published: October 14, 1902

Copyright © The New York Times

NY Times (1902a)

5.7.1. Belgium's threat to Strike

The pending Belgian coal strike as reported in 'The New York Times' (*Figure 16*) is not to be confused with the general suffrage strike that occurred in Belgium during the month of April in 1902 (Mahaim & Westergaard, 1902). The Belgian coal strike was announced in the same October month that the Pennsylvanian one ended. Incidentally that was the same month in which TR had become involved in the mediation process,

breaking a 5 month impasse. Although 'The New York Times' (NYT) announced the possible onset of the Belgian strike, very little information regarding both strikes is published in the articles. The first story appeared on the 13th of October on page 1 (NY Times, 1902l) and the second story was featured on the 3rd page the following day (NY Times, 1902a). Both articles merely announced an imminent Belgian coal strike. The 'dateline' issued on the first story published on the 13th suggested Charleroi, Belgium as its location. The second story on the 14th of October, 1902, was in Mons, Belgium. They are very brief and no sources are mentioned. The strike in Belgium was triggered after the American and French industrial actions (NY Times, 1902a).

It was established earlier in this study that workers and labour often scrutinise news about strikes in other regions. Potential strikers are likely to institute industrial action on the basis of the successful outcomes of other observed labour tensions. Although the Belgian situation reveals very limited details it is assumed that access to reporting about the Pennsylvanian coal strike would have given the Belgians incentive to undertake labour action. This assumption is predicated on the proximity of time surrounding both the Pennsylvanian and Belgian events. It is also pertinent that these events both reflected the same sector and product. While Conell and Cohn (1995) make the case that other strike news drive new strike outbreaks, an article titled the "*Belgian Miners Proposal*" (Figure 17) also illustrated how unions from different countries influenced each other (NY Times, 1902q:5). The article reported how labour from 5 countries (Germany, Austria, Belgium, France and Britain) on the 24th of October proposed an international conference to push for better salaries in the coal mining sector as part of a concerted effort (NY Times, 1902m). All efforts were notably triggered in the month of October after the Pennsylvanian labour success. The preceding 5 months of Pennsylvanian labour action had failed to register any undertaking beyond the mere 'wait and see' attitude observed among the other unions of the world. However, in the 5th month of the Pennsylvanian strike – in October a gamechanger engaged the conflict – TR. His involvement not only precipitated the end of the conflict, but it also appears to have influenced other states to emulate his intermediary role. This is evident in the French strike. The Pennsylvanian industrial action triggered a news domino effect that spread all around the world. It also led to a ripple effect which ushered in the French labour action, and soon thereafter the Belgian strike, as outlined in the following section.

Figure 17: Miners Call for International Common Action Conference

BELGIAN MINERS' PROPOSAL.
**Action to Secure an Advance of Wages
in Five Countries Urged.**
LONDON TIMES—NEW YORK TIMES
Special Cablegram.
LONDON, Oct. 24.—The General Council of Belgian Miners, says the Brussels correspondent of The Times, proposes an early international meeting of British, French, German, Austrian, and Belgian miners, in order to take common action to secure an advance of 15 per cent. over the present wages.
This demand, the correspondent says, is described as a just and legitimate one.

The New York Times
Published: October 24, 1902
Copyright © The New York Times

Source: NY Times (1902m)

5.7.2. The Belgian Strike

Although the NYT failed to give detail or substance to the Belgian strike, several newspapers in Belgium confirm that indeed it materialised (De Denderbode, 1902; Het Handelsblad, 1902a; Het Nieuws Van Den Dag, 1902). While it is not clear how long the strike lasted, according to De Denderbode (1902) it appears to have started soon after the 13th when it was announced (*see Figure 16*). The Aalst based newspaper reported 500 workers rushing “home with the utmost calm” on the 14th of October (De Denderbode, 1902:2). The 14th is also on record in Het Laatste Nieuws (1902) as the likely strike date. The Belgians were demanding 15% pay increase on account of the price of coal increasing due to a global rise in demand driven by the drop in production as strikes in America and France continued (De Denderbode, 1902; NY Times, 1902a) – also *see Figure 16*. De Denderbode (1902) also reported 450 miners ceasing work in the Borinage, although it appears that their downing of tools was hastened by an invasion of French strikers. Het Handelsblad (1902) also confirmed strike action in the Borinage region, however, the article made reference to partial strikes at various locations. On the 17th of October 1902, Het Nieuws Van Den Dag (1902:1) in an article titled “*De Werkstakingen*” (*The Work Strike*) citing 1500 strikers between Flenu and Quaregnon in the province of Hainaut, declared that the strike was spreading.

Notably the strike in France was geographically within range of Belgium, which lies to the north of the French border. The proximity between both countries according to some reports, enabled France to influence and in some instances even force Belgium's 1902 strike action (De Denderbode, 1902; Het Handelsblad, 1902a). However, this indirect connection between Pennsylvania and Belgium, provides just one aspect of the driving force behind the Belgian strike. The other ingredient was a more direct connection forged by various news publications, which helped the Belgians stay informed about the American strike, as well as the French one.

5.7.3. Belgian Access to Strike News

The Belgians were exposed to two sources of coal strike news. The first was their neighbour to the south – France. The French had recently embarked on their own coal miners' strike. This information was filtering into Belgium as it was reported on by mainstream media. Het Handelsblad (1902:1) published a story that was dated the 9th October confirming a French strike truly underway stating, *“the strike is now an accomplished fact everywhere”*. The article painted a pervasive industrial action in France for the Belgian readers. Het Handelsblad (1902:1) also published a story on the 10th of October titled *“Werkstaking in Frankrijk” (Strike in France)* detailing that the city of Lens was under siege as military personnel positioned themselves. The soldiers who included the infantry and cavalry had been deployed to stem the miners 'insurrection'. A typical response in those days as seen in Pennsylvania when General Stone initially deployed military to force calm, rather than find meaningful ways to engage the strikers. The French strikers were seen as a nuisance that had to be 'dealt' with because they had no political economy and were therefore not worthy of respect or decency. The default in France was to support the capitalists and force workers to stand down and ultimately return to work. Other reports as stated in *section 5.7.2* published stories about cross border invasions by French strikers who were trying to encourage the Belgians to do the same (De Denderbode, 1902). Het Nieuws van den Dag (1902:1) reported on the 17th of October that the strike was expanding in an area known as Decazeville. The Belgian article's reference to *“the news that the miners' strike in America has ended has made quite a deep impression in France,”* is a strong indication of the leverage and impact of the Pennsylvanian strike. According to Het Nieuws van den Dag (1902) the significance of the American strike was not lost on France. The

Belgian press deemed the French reaction to the strike newsworthy, which would have reinforced the overall importance of the American labour action. Het Nieuws van den Dag (1902), Het Handelsblad (1902), De Denderbode (1902) and other publications clearly demonstrated Belgium's indirect interest in the American strike. However, there was also a direct curiosity that led to articles about the anthracite strike being published in the Belgian press.

Het Nieuws van den Dag (1902) not only focused on Belgian and French strikes, but they also published articles about the coal strike in America. On the 17th of October the publication printed a comparative news thread, that concentrated on each of the three striking countries. Direct reporting on the Pennsylvanian anthracite strike provided the second source of coal strike information. Long before the 17th of October, a variety of news publications were replete with a constant flow of news about the American strike. Het Handelsblad (1902:1) on the 10th of October reported "*De kolennoed in Amerika*" (*The coal shortage in America*) and that the American miners seemed determined to continue the fight. The paper further adds, "*it is believed President Roosevelt will continue his efforts at mediation*". This record of the American president's willingness to play the role of intermediary would have caught the attention of the local miners and the rest of society illustrating that in other countries the working class were represented by the highest office. Het Handelsblad (1902:1) also reported on the 10th of October "*Het weigerend antwoord van M. Mitchell*" (*Mr. Mitchell's refusal*) the article outlined the union's rejection of the American President's proposal that they return to work, adding that it was unreasonable to expect the miners to resume working after the owners had rejected the recommendation of a tribunal for arbitration. Although, Het Laatste Nieuws (1902:1) appeared to mostly focus on France and Belgium during the month of October, on the 15th in "*Werkstakingen in Fransch-Viaanderei*" (*Work strikes in French-Viaanderei*) – it likened the French strike to that of America by drawing some parallels. The news reports were not exclusive to the Flemish newspapers, but they also published in the Belgian-French publications. "*Les Désordres en Pennsylvanie*" (*The Disorders in Pennsylvania*) appeared in L'Indépendance Belge (1902:4); Journal De Bruxelles (1902:2) reported on "*La grève noire*" (*The black strike*) and Le Peuple (1902:1) published "*La grève des mineurs de Pennsylvanie*" (*The Pennsylvania miners' strike*).

Evidently the news reports highlight both knowledge and a clear understanding of the Pennsylvanian strike, it is plausible that this knowledge would have subsequently triggered the Belgian strike, which erupted as the American one ended. On the 17th of October, Het Nieuws van den Dag (1902:1) announced “*einde der werkstaking in Pennsylvanie*” (*The end of the strike in Pennsylvania*). This was echoed by Het Handelsblad (1902b:1) in the article “*einde der Amerikaanshe werkstaking*” (*End of the American strike*). Both articles published their views on the settlement in America. The latter published a series of shorts or summaries with two specifically dedicated to TR in the form of accolades for his involvement. According to Het Handelsblad (1902b:1) the second accolade was from The Daily Telegraph, which paid “*warm tribute to President Roosevelt, whose intercession has been applauded by the whole world*”.

5.8. President Roosevelt’s Geopolitical Impact

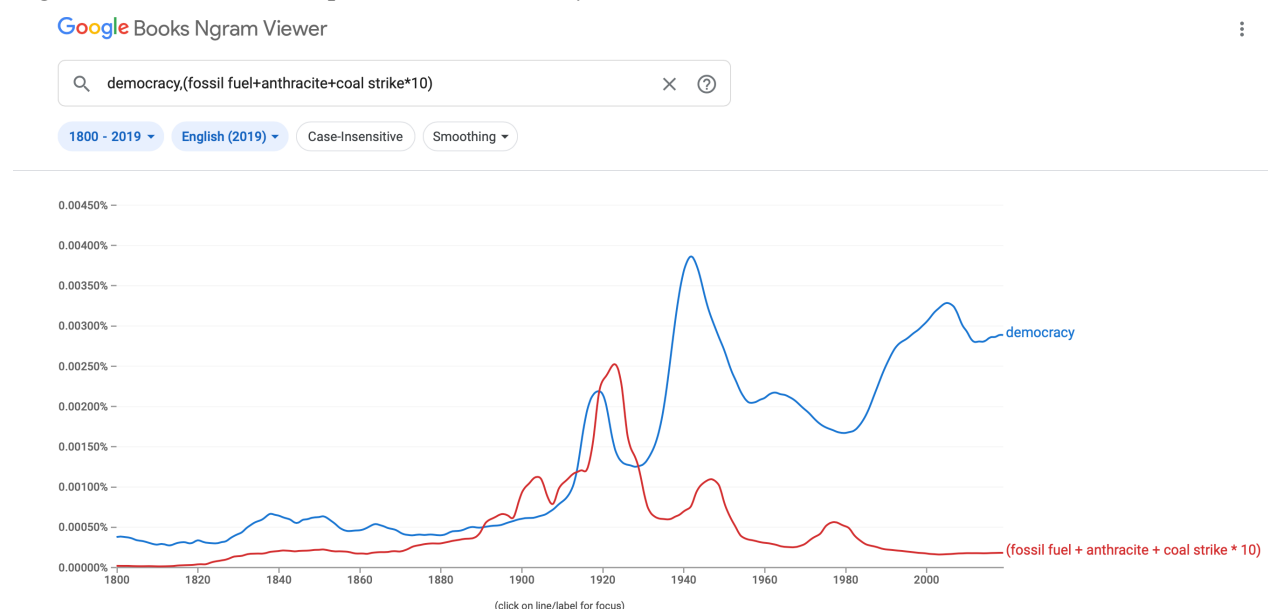
It is mentioned earlier in the study that Grossman (1975), the former Chief Historian for the US department of Labour, considered TR’s involvement a critical intervention and perhaps the hallmark of his tenure as US president. Although controversial at the time, studies have highlighted TR’s unprecedented move as a turning point in American labour relations (Grossman, 1975). *Chapter 4* of this study illustrates some of the praise (and criticism) of TR’s efforts, while recognising his seminal contribution. To Mitchell, TR’s involvement implied approval of the working class and the union. They were not just a band of anarchists. The impact of TR’s engagement spread far beyond America. The aforementioned statement by The Daily Telegraph, quoted in Het Handelsblad (1902b:1) gives some glimpse into the ‘TR phoria’ that emerged - “*...he (TR) deserves the congratulations of the entire world*”. At the time it was said he received thousands of telegrams wishing him happiness (Het Handelsblad, 1902b).

While praise was bestowed upon TR, the French prime minister recognised the link between the strikes in America and France. When called upon to intervene, Premier Émile Combes (ÉC), eagerly accepted the proposition to engage in arbitration (NY Times, 1902n), essentially following TR’s example. Realising his influence, he applied it towards reaching a settlement. Just as TR recognised the American working class and the union, it is postulated that ÉC ratified the workers’ cause. Boniface (2016) describes a reluctance by the military to maintain order in the North and Pas-de-Calais

during the miners' strike of 1902 – perhaps an early sign of the transitioning political economy. The French press and public followed TR's diplomacy, as did the Belgian papers. In *Het Handelsblad* (1902b) TR was honoured for his role and *Het Nieuws van den Dag* (1902) acknowledged the magnitude of America's role.

While other leaders watched TR and the American strike, some citizens of the world scrutinised their premiers. The Belgians monitored interventions by both TR and ÉC. On October 10th in the report “*werkstaking in Frankrijk*” (*Strike in France*) a group called ‘National Board’, petitioned Belgium's prime minister to persuade employers to arbitrate with workers involving government (*Het Handelsblad*, 1902c:1) – a clear sign of the broader impact by TR. The international newspapers created an information highway facilitating the flow of news for workers seeking facts about industrial action elsewhere (Conell & Cohn, 1995). Interest in the American strike appeared to be a universal fascination, enticing more than just coal workers. This concurs with Timothy Mitchell's (2011) hypotheses, which also notes general strikes erupting on account of the Pennsylvanian one. However, this study bound its inquiry to the coal strikes 1902. It is clear that the cumulative effect went far beyond 1902 as shown in *Figure 18*.

Figure 18: The Relationship between Democracy and Coal Strikes



From Google N-Gram Viewer - Search Terms “fossil fuel+anthracite+coal strike” Accessed 03.11.21

Referencing a corpus of books from a given era, Google's Ngram tracks phrases that are entered into its search engine to illustrate their relationship. While there is contention about its accuracy, particularly when it comes to the similarity in old text

letters such as 's' and 'f', which could distort how Google reads words like 'suck', as well as other optical character recognition challenges, it is a tool that gives some insight into social change. Though this study focused on newspapers, the search phrases "*democracy*", "*fossil fuel+anthracite+coal strike*" (amplified by 10) in Ngram, produced the graph above. The results show an uptick in the popularity of "fossil-fuel+anthracite+coal strikes" in the years after 1902, this is coupled with the rise of democracy (Mitchell, 2011). The results indicate a cultural shift reflected in the books at the time, giving impetus to the hypothesis of a 1902+ uptick in coal strikes and democracy. Such was the universal impact of TR, the American coal strike and media. Thus, media and this study becomes critical to political contestations within energetic regimes, such as renewables which are likely to drive new configurations of power.

5.9. Summary

It was key to connect other parts of the world to what was happening in Pennsylvania in 1902. A clear link allowed the study to reveal one of the ways, that would have enabled the flow of information to other corners of the world and solicited a response in some instances. Coal dependent regions appeared to have a vested interest in the Pennsylvanian strike event of 1902. This chapter explored how news filtered from the strike epicentre by utilising the news network to other regions. This was done by briefly analysing the universal reports on the strike in America, to gauge the global interest in general. The result was an extensive circulation of news on the strike from Canada to Australia. The heart of this chapter focused on the German, French and Belgian responses to the strike news. Analysing the aforementioned three countries, presented an opportunity to triangulate some of the global responses to the American strike, by enabling a more detailed and localised study. While two of the three countries struck, the third illustrated a distinct curiosity with the strike in America. The triangulation strategy highlighted some of the effects brought about by the global interest and in so doing addressed the research question:

- What role did media play in the global spread of social democracy?

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Through the lens of critical discourse analysis, *chapter 4* probed author perceptions and ideology by analysing 3 media articles. The examined newspaper accounts allowed for the study to triangulate 3 distinct texts. *Chapter 5* further deploys triangulation, in a narrative analysis describing the pervasive nature of global media reporting of the Pennsylvanian labour action. The process of triangulation focused on areas that were impacted by news of the Pennsylvania coal strike. The 3 regions of interest were Germany, France and Belgium. This chapter integrates the lines of argument from *chapter 4* and *5*, and seeks to derive some meaning from the research before bringing the study to a close. This is achieved by asking the following questions:

-How does the contestation of author ideology in the written text, help to enhance our comprehension of media's role in America's 1902 socio-energetic-political complex?

-Following the Ghost of Lincoln in the Philadelphia North American, - how does this help us deepen our understanding of ideological shifts and the localised media effect?

-And, if the politics of social democracy were conceived, as driven by the global media reports - Would this be a useful way of grasping the broader impacts of news?

The answers derived from the 3 questions above constitute the building blocks for understanding the role of media within Timothy Mitchell's (2011) carbon democracy hypothesis. It is argued that shifts in discursive practices and the pervasive reporting ultimately paved the way for pathways to Timothy Mitchell's carbon democracy.

Chapter 6 is structured as follows:

- The first section of this chapter summarises the essence of *chapters 4* and *5* by drawing on a concise series of thoughts, which address the 3 questions above.
- The second section brings the entire research to a conclusion by outlining some limitations, implications and recommendations.

6.1. Ideological Factors in the Text

6.1.1. Text 1 – Operators' Power Challenged by Editorial Prefects

Although *The Public Opinion* in 1902 was not representative of the national media, the specific text selected for analysis was appealing, because, in addition to its own, it synthesises the views of 18 other media outlets. This incorporation of multiple

perspectives from other newsrooms, gave some insight into the discursive contestations (Janks, 2006) that were taking place within America's news media at the time. The detailed analysis provided in *chapter 4* looked for patterns which might reveal possible ideologies or ideological conflict (Goatly & Hiradhar, 2013). The major ideological footprint uncovered in Text 1, includes the operators' power, who are depicted as most dominant in the MPs. Throughout the text, there is a general obsession with the coal operators' power and in turn, they are depicted as obsessed with classist privilege. Their privilege shows no bounds when they focus their dominance on TR. Their fixation with the president, implies that he owes them the duty to evoke all powers of government and squash the strike. The fixation is also due to the threat posed by the union. However, the media's monitorial role emerges as the most powerful *Sayer* in the VPs disrupting a pattern of predominant operator power from setting in. The author thinks very highly of the other media's published descriptions of the operators, this is observed in the frequent verbal clauses that are devoted to addressing the operators. The threat is constructed as coming from the operators by the verbal processes. The operators were seen to be disrupting the coal economics and therefore behind the energy politics. The operators serve as a distraction from the real socio-economic issues. They are constructed as obstinate, unethical and 'tone deaf' towards the needs of the workers and society in general. The operators' pattern as highest frequency *Receivers*, coupled with the disruption that hinders them from dominating in the VPs is indicative of the author's conflict. Their prevalence in multiple clause types that are devoted to negative sentiments, describing their values (or lack) and the general state of relations between them and other segments of society e.g., miners, the public, the president, suggests an all-round sense of frustration and acrimony towards the defiant operators. According to Goatly and Hiradhar (2013) the representation of social groups as defiant, is a potent tool in the operators resistance of change. The miners on the other hand are not very powerful within the text and they have not been spared their share of responsibility for the coal trouble. However, what stands out is the operators' ploy to reinforce their power positions, self-aggrandise and 'squelch' the union. In attempting to address our understanding of this finding, I ask...

...how does the interpretation of author ideology within the written text, help to enhance our comprehension of media's role in America's 1902 social politics?

The author's ideology is conflicted between the power of the operators, and strong opinion that suggests they are the actual rabblers. There is an antagonism between the ideologies. When compared to the literature review where media reportage generally sided with the operators in classist discourse, as did the citizenry, the state and federal governments, in this instance the data shows a deviation from the set precedence. The antagonism may point to what Janks (2006) referred to as the "*evidence for values in transition*". There can be no doubt about the operators' power, which points to the persistence of existing discourse, but the conflict is just as material, and it upends the classism. The operators are subject to other's perception of them in the mental clauses. The operators' own perceptions are considered less serious. If the notion of newspaper influence illustrated in *section 2.6* is to be accepted, then the shifting values noted in the text are bound to make an impact on the audience. The readers are likely to engage in some form of evaluation and possibly even trigger their own process of "*values in transition*". Text 2 unveils almost similar patterns of discourse as constructed by De Grandmond, a reader of the New York Times.

6.1.2. Text 2 – Operators' Power Challenged by the People

The operators in Text 2 are positioned as most powerful in the MPs, meaning they are dominant participants, simultaneously, they also have the highest frequency as *Affecteds* and *Receivers*, with some discredit within the MeP clauses. Like Text 1, these are values in discourse contestation. As dominant *Actors* in the MPs the operators are expected by society to resolve the strike peacefully. However, their focus seems inclined towards control – an all too familiar classist stance. They expect Mitchell, the labour boss to meet their expectations and dictate settlement conditions that benefit them. Mitchell's value according to the author and the operators, is to quell the miners, and not in his attempts to improve their wellbeing. De Grandmont, Mr. Cazin and Mr. Mitchell's ability to *Affect* is curtailed by the writer. The miners and the operators both fair equally as *Affecteds*, they come second only to the '*strike*' which has a higher occurrence as an *Affected* participant. This may suggest that ending the strike was a priority. The VPs tell a slightly different story, as the miners (Mitchell and labour) are constructed as the most powerful *Sayer* participants, narrowly edging the operators, whose power of communication is inhibited, and their classism softened.

J. De Grandmont's letter confirms and aligns with the findings of the literature review in *chapter 2*, which exposed a disenfranchised proletariat at the mercy of the captains of industry. Grandmont's recognition of the operators' power and advantage, does not sway him from subtly scathing them. Grandmont's position was that they needed to compromise and to some extent concede to the miners. This was radical given that the union was not recognised by the operators and that the mine workers had in the past conceded to social, political and even military might. While De Grandmont also realises that the miners can no longer be forced to capitulate and that arbitration is the only solution. This is a sobering thought considering that it is a solution devised by the union. De Grandmont sows seeds of doubt in the reader by employing mental processes that probe the operators' sense of reasoning. De Grandmont also manages to get the point across that the operators efforts have been futile for 5 whole months.

6.1.2.1. An Overview of Text 1 and Text 2

The transitivity analysis focused on instances of material, verbal and mental processes, in an effort to illustrate how power dynamics are perceived by the authors. The findings indicate that both writers chose to portray operators as generally powerful within the MPs. The ideology steering the MPs in both texts aligns in recognising operator dominion. The key factors sought out by this part of the study, were instances of ideological contestations whether subtle or overt that signal discursal tension. Both texts sufficiently illustrated author conflicts. Following Text 1, De Grandmont also prevents a pattern of operator power emerging in the VPs found in Text 2, which in itself, turns out to be a disruptive pattern across both texts. Both writers challenge the capitalist and classist expectations of the operators, while also checking themselves when it comes to their own classist discourse. However, the texts still revealed hints of classism and some dismissive media trends. This is observed in the diminished prevalence of mineworkers in both texts, although they also enjoy the most sympathies. Constructing them with significantly less MPs in both texts, meant the miners can't act without the consent of the operators, whom they are most answerable to in labour matters. The miners are expressed within a 'commodity ideology' and in addition to the classism, the writers also reveal a paternalistic discourse, one which they draw on to sketch the labour relations. One clear conflict is how both writers are drawn in their sympathies towards the mine workers, but not the union. In fact, there

is a media aversion to the union within both texts, the preference is for media to focus their guarded compassion on the working proletariat directly. Both texts acknowledge ideas from the union but remained sceptical of the union itself, while all operators ideas were 'shot down'. The disempowering of the union emerged as an ideological issue, as did the contention between the recognised but patronised operators and the resistant but obscured union. In the past, miners were a threat and the discourse in general privileged operators, the emergent ideology sees operators as a threat. There is a sense that the operators power is contributing negatively to the coal trouble. At times the analysis especially in Text 2 revealed the miners to be vocal and perceptive. In some instances, the operators' frequency of appearance as *Affecteds* or *Receivers* is as relevant as their *Actor* power dominance. They are impacted by other dominant types, often in objectionable ways, this is relevant from the perspective of the collective focus on operators. As such, the operators' counterintuitive classification, as high frequency, non-powerful types who are at times expressed as *Affecteds*, *Receivers* and in weakened *Experiences*, explicitly points to a tension in both writers' ideology. Society is unhappy with the conduct of the operators, thus suggesting their *Acting* and *Saying* is nothing more than a defence strategy, aimed in all directions, against many participants. If the texts were a judicial proceeding, then it would be a class action lawsuit against a classist upper-class.

The near absence of President Roosevelt is conspicuous and rather sacrilegious. It implies that both writers do not have an appreciation of the potency of his intervention. However, both texts present strong discursive contestations, the contention is even more pronounced when support for President Roosevelt, the union and the mineworker in Text 3 is integrated into the triangulation.

6.1.3. Text 3 – Operators' Power Challenged by the Patriarchs

Until 1902 a certain type of discourse prevailed within American society regarding the working classes, particularly the mineworker as established in *section 2.2.4*. The worker was disempowered and subjected to oppressive labour practices that were inhumane and slave-like. Alongside the dreadful labour conditions were the voiceless currents of thought that typified the coal worker and permeated the air. The ideological use of language as pertains the worker was not neutral nor were society's perceptions of

mineworkers and the lower classes. This social status quo appears to have also been prevalent in other parts of the world as illustrated in *chapter 5*. The discourse in society and in the media was mostly constructed within the confines of the culture of the day and it was also a product of the social history that continued to linger. It is what was referred to by Fiske (1994:3) as “*politicised, power-bearing language, (which was) employed to extend or defend the interests of its discursive community*”. The events of October 1902 began to shift some of society’s perceptions and the prevailing discourse, and this was evident in the newspaper reportage. This shift is to some extent unobscured by the analysis of transitivity in Text 1 and Text 2. However, Text 3 is unequivocal in its rendering of the shift which depicts the forces of The Whitehouse coming between the forces of labour and the forces of capital. The move appears by all accounts to be neutral, yet it recognises the union as an entity, thus elevating labour’s stature and suppressing operator privilege.

Following the Ghost of Lincoln in the Philadelphia North American, - how does this help us deepen our understanding of ideological shifts and the localised media effect?

The clearest indication of the discursual tension in the Ghost of Lincoln is when TR (and AL) break tyrannical convention, by not descending upon the workers with the full military might of the US, as did Presidents Jackson, Hayes and Cleveland. They instead challenge the classist tendencies of *section 2.2.4*. by siding with the workers. The text not only introduces a past president, but it also illustrates an ideology that is personified in the life and presidency of Abraham Lincoln (AL). Over and above that, the text also links the past with the (then) present, suggesting an issue that has been brewing for quite some time. The subject matter is therefore both old and contemporary, and its agency has stood the test of time. Introducing AL, moots the prevailing labour issues as of primary importance, such as to warrant the attention of two American presidents. It also speaks to the boldness of both leaders. Each one tackled a topic that was not popular among the aristocracy of their time. First AL and his condemnation of slavery and the confederacy, later backed by his “*Emancipation Proclamation*” (Lincoln, 1863); then President Roosevelt’s (TR) departure from political convention to seek ways to intervene in the labour dispute (Bryan, 2019).

6.1.3.1. The Ghost Flexes its Power

President Abraham Lincoln's depiction in the cartoon in Text 3, channels his ideologies on labour and capitalists to the reader. Incorporating his ideas, suggests that in his view the workers hold a degree of political power and when that power is threatened, the worker loses their ability to develop, resulting in their ultimate enslavement. This was the case of the coal miners in 1902, who were subjected to slave-like conditions, which are brought to the fore in *section 2.2.4*. The perspective introduced by the satirist points to TR's restoration of what the workers had sacrificed, and in so doing fulfilled Lincoln's ideals. What AL had recognised, stood for and endeavoured to correct so many years before had become manifest in TR. The presence of AL not only represents the LONGSTANDING will of the people; it also embodies TRUSTED political power and it points to the fact that POWER has finally come to rest with the people, the Pennsylvanian mineworkers and by extension to all labour in general.

6.1.3.1. Who is Really More Equal

Mr. Baer, a mine owner and the leading representative of capital in the 1902 labour dispute, responds to an appeal for concession by a photographer, by saying...

"The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country" (Baer, 1902:2).

This way of thinking elevated capital and undermined labour. At the time capital was widely accepted as the paternalistic authority, and thus greatly superior (Baer, 1902). The idea of equality [although AL prefers thinking of labour as more superior (Lincoln, 1861)] between labour and capital greatly de-escalates the paternalistic notions held by capital and afforded to it by society. Similarly, it elevates labour from a motley crew in need of a moralising authority in the form of capital, to an independent force imbued with their own workers' rights. The choice of text acts as an equaliser by normalising the inherent worth of labour. The publication of such ideals in the mainstream press, would have had a very profound impact on the audiences.

6.1.3.2. The Ghost of Lincoln's Media Effect

Both presidents had set out to address the social imbalances in a manner that acknowledges the workings of the liberalised markets. Depicting the presidents'

ideological consolidation in the media, would have enticed a social shift. The influence would be on two accounts. The first account being the example of leadership by two presidents who believe in ideals of equality. The second impact would be from the publication of this rare depiction of commendable authority within a mind-moulding medium, for an impressionable audience. Both presidents recognised the inherent rights enshrined within both labour and capital. While TR viewed neither side as being more equal than the other, AL contended that labour was actually superior (Lincoln, 1861). However, both recognised that the odds were socially skewed in favour of capital. In a “*non-partisan*” approach, their unified stand is publicised in a manner that can only be understood as the nudging of 2 great presidents, for a more equitable settlement to the prevailing labour injustices, with a stronger bias towards labour. This contrasts with the deeply entrenched views of society and capitalists, such as Markle (1902) who does not shy away from accusing Mitchell of double-dealing and associating him with being a professional agitator. AL’s channelled intervention through TR, publicly neutralises such attacks by legitimising and normalising labour as a force and not just disempowered subjects – And this is done for all to see and process. The idea of labour being a force – equivalent in lexicalisation to capital, (as both are recognised as forces), humanises the workers. They are dignified. If Timothy Mitchells’ hypothesis is anything to go by, then perhaps the experiences of Winston Churchill, the British home secretary a few years later were the result of AL and TR’s intervention, when he uttered:

“A new force has arisen in trades unionism” (Churchill in Mitchell, 2011:23).

The portrayal of the ‘federal government’s shift’ in ideology is reflected in the Ghost of Lincoln cartoon. Although it was not an official shift, but according to Grossman (1975) it marked a historic transformation in US labour relations. He attributes the establishment of the US Labour department to the 1902 strike and TR’s involvement. Media texts such as the Ghost of Lincoln are likely to have triggered a new social discourse that bifurcates from the condescending social constructs described in *section 2.2.4*. The influential capacity of media is narrated in *section 2.6.5* of the literature review, which states that the message “*assumes the legitimacy of a certain type of political system*” (Philo, 1989). A view which McQuail (1977) long argued by stating that, the role of media develops its potency over time to establish a particular type of social and political culture. This is achieved by how media (cartoon) is framed. This is further restated by Wright and Reid (2010) who admit that media framing is inclined to shape

meaning and discourse, which will eventually lead to some cultural transformations. The workers had earned the right to be recognised as a respectable force with the assistance of AL and TR and the creativity of the Philadelphia North American. Perhaps the Ghost of Lincoln may have even led to the self-introspection of the Philadelphia North American and an editorial transition from their stated “*stand against labour unionisation*” (section 4.4). Testament to the shifts in social culture is the following statement from Samuel Gompers in Grossman (1975) who says...

Several times I have been asked what in my opinion was the most important single incident in the labor movement in the United States and I have invariably replied: the strike of the anthracite miners in Pennsylvania . . . from then on the miners became not merely human machines to produce coal but men and citizens. . . . The strike was evidence of the effectiveness of trade unions. . . .⁶⁴

6.1.4. Global Media Drafting History

The effectiveness of trade unions as described above by Gompers, spread far and wide with the help of global media. *Chapter 5* outlined the pervasiveness of the global reports on the Pennsylvania strike. Starting with a sweep of locations such as Australia, Canada, the UK, Madagascar, New Zealand etc., that publicised the strike and accentuated the global curiosity. The final process of triangulation by narrative analysis, *chapter 5* probed three regions that covered the American strike extensively, namely Germany, France and Belgium. At the heart of the study, was to establish the extent of universal interest in America’s coal trouble and its broader impact. The findings of *chapter 5* are construed by asking...

...if the politics of social democracy were conceived, as driven by the global media reports
- Would this be a useful way of grasping the broader impacts of news?

Due to the challenges of performing CDA on translated or foreign language texts, a narrative review of grey literature was carried out. Based on the already well established assertions throughout this study (*mainly section 2.6.5 and chapter 4*) about the prevalence of ideology in media texts, it is clear that the international media including that of Germany, France and Belgium would have been infused with its own editorial and writer ideology. Thus, the articles would have made an impression on their audiences. Perhaps the German, French and Belgian case studies, provided the greatest evidence of the media impact on their readers, as each society responded to the news of the strike either with new levels of consciousness or by ‘downing their own

tools'. While there were numerous strikes that took place globally in other industrial sectors, which Timothy Mitchell (2011) attributes to the Pennsylvania strike, this study focussed solely on the coal-based responses. Overall, the research undertook to demonstrate ideology in media influences on politics, discourse (Wright & Reid, 2010) and culture (McQuail, 1977), *chapter 5* unequivocally substantiates the notion very clearly, as observed in the case of France, Belgium and to some extent Germany. It must also be noted that news reports were probably just one of several ways that contributed to factors influencing ideologies and even the ultimate decisions to strike. The advantage of news reports is they impact a large group of people at the same time with a lot of detail. With the assistance of an extensive network of newspapers, the strike in Pennsylvania had an impact on workers and possibly labour policies in other regions of the world. The substance of the impact is well documented in Timothy Mitchell's (2011) seminal book 'Carbon Democracy'.

6.2. The Media of Power

The aim of this study was to conceptually clarify the role of media in Timothy Mitchell's claim of a carbon induced democracy. Media's role is largely disregarded from the energetic process of ideological transition and power distortions within the American and international coal events of 1902. The analyses done in *chapter 4* and *5* shows that media discourse in 1902 had 2 main attributes: 1) in both subtle (Text 1 and 2) and overt ways (Text 3) it prompted socio-political transformation; and 2) it created the platform for the global dissemination of information about the American strike. This development played a critical role in the global spread of social democracy. This study enhances Timothy Mitchell's 'Carbon Democracy' hypothesis, by providing one of a few ways that the transfer of ideology occurred, this in turn helped to empower the working classes and by extension the rest of society's proletariat.

As this study draws to a close, it is prudent to highlight some of the recommendations, as well as the implications and impediments that were encountered during the investigation. They are outlined in the following brief section.

6.3. Limitations of the Study

1. The use of CDA within the study had the tendency of lending itself to describing the content being analysed but offered very little in revealing the why. The 'why' explanation is often left to conjecture.
2. Some process types were a challenge to classify. This was evident right from the beginning, but it was not immediately clear how to best manage such obstacles. Other verbs had a foot in more than one process type, making it problematic to choose the appropriate process and very difficult to analyse.
3. Gaining access to turn of the 20th century content was a challenge due to paywalls, the free archives were in foreign languages, thus limiting the available options for the study. I was limited to subscribing to a few online archives. Where inevitable translations were slow and painstaking.

6.4. Implications of this Study

1. If TR's intervention is to be seen as the precursor to policy for workers' rights, then it is posited that policy is critical to a few matters arising in this study:
 - a. Clearly the deep structural issues of social inequality, owing to the present capital system are not new developments and change is unlikely to be achieved quickly. However, it can happen gradually as policy and government must play a role and take their cue from these issues.
 - b. *Chapter 1* and *2*, refer to renewable energy. Part of the motivation for this study, was premised on the understanding that the role of media within Timothy Mitchell's carbon democracy, might prove relevant in the rise of a new energy dispensation and how the distribution of power is influenced. Again, public authorities must be involved. Since the notion of a carbon democracy espoused social justice, the transition to a new energy regime must be just and engender all forms of energy justice.
2. This study improves our appreciation of how text is deployed to disperse news. Thus, it allows the producers of news to reflect on the consequences of news discourse, since discourse not only reflects but also influences social dynamics of powerplay. It is envisaged that, by illustrating the contentions between writer ideology and the social realities of poverty, disenfranchisement and suppressed

agency, the reader will be in a position to critically assess all manner of text. Thus, readers may resist toxic patterns, such as newsroom practices that are pernicious to fair labour practices and the broader values of social equity.

3. Issues raised in this study do not only count for media and linguistic scholarship, they also contribute to energy humanities and social democracy theory.

6.5. Recommendations

The following recommendations are put forward:

1. To fully appreciate how media power dynamics and ideology played out during the 1902 strikes, analysis of transitivity and visual grammar should be performed on articles published before TR's intervention in the very same newspapers. This will allow for comparative analyses.
2. These research claims are concluded from a few publications. Further testing of the findings from this study could be facilitated by additional analysis of other text covering the same issues during the same period. Foreign language linguists could also add to the robustness of this research by performing CDA to non-English text and analysing the ideologies in foreign text media.
3. Similar studies could be performed on contemporary media discourse, to assess present discursive practices within the Renewable Energy Revolution and the political ideologies and power distortions that are emerging as a result.

6.6. Final Thoughts

This peek into the complex order of social politics, energy humanities, media and their intricate interaction, offers a profound gaze into understanding the human species and our cultural assumptions. In our hopes of ameliorating technologies, social orders and political paradigms for a better world, we ought to not forget who we are claiming to better that world for. Sustainability is at the very heart of every issue touched on in this study. It is as much about social systems as it is about technology and ecology. Media in part carries this responsibility and the need to turn the contentions of discourse into opportunity. Reducing contentious discourse and fostering harmony may help in advancing all forms of sustainability and this will require new discursive practices (Wright & Reid, 2010). I am both challenged and inspired towards our common future.

6.6.1. Reflections on Text in Chapter 4 and 5

In Chapter 4, using CDA, I analysed three texts, namely: “The Coal Strike Conference”; “To Terminate Coal Deadlock” and “The Ghost of Lincoln”. The three texts represented a body of ‘popular’ news articles which exhibited signs of shifting discursive practices regarding the mining proletariat in Pennsylvania. My grasp of verbs was rudimentary. It was based on concepts learnt in primary and high school. Chapter 4 gave me a more thorough understanding of the broader scope of verbs and their use. For an example I initially understood verbs to be words that depict an action, like ‘go’ or signify an occurrence, like ‘fall’. However, chapter 4 helped me to understand that verbs can also illustrate a state of being, such as ‘exist’, and that there are auxiliary verbs, such as ‘would’ or ‘should’. Although my media and writing experience served as a solid foundation, I have never majored in English or linguistics and therefore this MA thesis was a giant leap in faith. At times, I felt like I was “shooting in the dark” with very limited resources to rely on other than the research itself. The experience was a very enlightening one, although it was fraught with trials, it was equally littered with insights and the text was largely responsible for that.

6.6.2. Finding the Text

While searching various archives and trying to decide on the appropriate texts to analyse, I stumbled on an editorial article, which broadly explored a series of other news publications reporting on the strike. This article gave me broader insights and an appreciation of the framing tensions and diverse views that existed within the media. This experience also helped me to understand that in spite of my interests in observing shifts in reporting, it was imperative for those shifts to reflect some diversity. This would ensure that they did not necessarily exhibit similar politics or agendas, which would taint the analysis and fail in offering the broad spectrum of views. My understanding was that society in general was stratified with a bias for the more privileged classes. The reporting therefore generally proffered privilege, power and partiality on the mining barons, with very little thought for justice or equity for the disenfranchised mine workers. This understanding led to the determination that the texts had to originate from three distinct publications that are of divergent backgrounds and ‘could’ be antithetical on other issues. The texts themselves also had to be different. Having already decided on one text, the process of choosing the other two texts for

triangulation was daunting, and based on my criteria of variance, the two texts could not be editorial. I therefore settled on satire in the form of a cartoon and a letter to the editor. In this way, the voice of the readers was included, as was parody. This strategy made me feel that my analysis provided a broad spectrum of views from divergent sources.

6.6.3. Did it Work

The three texts worked particularly well. They were replete with examples of transitivity and presented a very well rounded view of types of text, the content illustrated perceptions, and each text clearly outlined author weightings, which helped to point out 'bias' and even 'agenda'. Though embedded within a qualitative approach, the crossover method allowed the research to quantify the process and the numbers were very revealing. The database showed that while power remained vested in the coal barons, there were significant shifts in discourse that bestowed prominence, transferred some political economy and gave voice to the proletariat, but the sway did not depict an outright transformation. I found these "numbers" to be very encouraging. Refreshingly, the three texts exhibited a show of solidarity with the working proletariat. I believe the texts were very important in how the readers were educated in their perceptions towards lower classes of society and the normative states. I also really got to appreciate how the issue was advanced by the media in a variety of ways. In spite of the stated limitation in depicting an outright transformation of political power, I found the texts to be largely positive.

6.6.4. What Could Be Done Differently

I believe my selection of the text was well carried out, the types of texts enriched the process of analysis. My biggest struggle was understanding CDA and using it effectively. It took me a while to realise that there were variations of CDA, and once I had settled on the appropriate approach, It took me longer to understand that it was not necessary to apply the entire CDA framework to my texts. I learnt earlier on that I needed someone to assist me in the process, however, I could not find anyone to coach me or review my work. The challenges made me realise that before I settled on an approach, I needed to have engaged a CDA 'mentor' to help me navigate the tricky analysis. My attempts to find assistance within the linguistics department at UCT

yielded no results, and when I widened the search to include other universities around the world, my email requests for assistance were in vain.

6.6.5. Takeaways

Much like social media today, the 1902 articles were a very critical aspect of the time. They were an important way to keep society informed, used productively they became a learning tool for engendering forms of social equity. I have personally used this research to enhance my understanding of social equity, energy humanities and the power of media. These concepts feature in my lectures and consultations.

The roadblocks and challenges that I encountered, served to strengthen my resolve and encourage me rather than discourage me in seeking my goal. The fact that I struggled to find mentors to help me figure out how to engage the method, convinced me that this was an untapped area that needed to be explored. It also helped me appreciate the value of the text, especially as I spent a great deal of time reading and subsequently by applying the framework. I believed that this was an important problem to understand in more detail and that my efforts would not be wasted. I also believed that my findings would make a useful contribution to the accumulated research on energy humanities, environmental destruction, social issues and the climate crisis. It is important to know this while doing thesis work, as it helps with motivation. One needs to feel that they are doing something that is of value.

6.6.6. Chapter Five Text

The text analysed in chapter five was a wide cross section of data from various parts of the world. I stumbled on the idea to include the three specific locations by mistake, as I was reading the New York Times' (NYT) archives I realised they had also reported on the outbreak of labour action in three specific countries. The three news articles that I found in the NYT helped to establish a critical link, which I pursued. The three articles introduced the idea of a more pervasive global outflow of the Pennsylvanian strike news and its impacts. This was very helpful especially after the initial disappointment of not being able to perform CDA on translated texts. In hindsight I realised that this was very good for the study because it broaden it to include a more comprehensive study of the rest of the world. The analysis performed in chapter five

was a thematic survey of numerous news articles, it was carried out with the hope of understanding how the text may have been instrumental in the global shifts. The three articles from the NYT were not analysed, they merely pointed me in the right direction. It was important to focus some attention on them because they established a link to reports in other parts of the world and subsequent strikes. I was particularly excited by this as I could see the direct link that validates claims by Mitchell (2011) by highlighting the 'how'. One of the ideas presented by the texts in chapter five that is noteworthy, is the idea of energy as a potent actor with the ability to influence social politics and cultures. This is opposed to the general view that energy is a benign element that merely powers households, businesses and economies. The presentation of fossil fuel attributes goes a long way towards understanding the every present firm grip that is beset on our politics, cultures and societies. The chapter five articles presented new insights on the concept of power and communications. Given this hindsight, I was left wondering what conditions of political and social transformation are likely to be generated by solar.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Text 1 - The Coal Strike Conference

Operators and Miners Called Together by the President.

Scanned from *Public Opinion*, October 9, 1902.

ACTING in accordance with the request of the president, the heads of the several anthracite coal companies and President Mitchell of the mine workers met in conference at on Friday with a view to ending the coal strike. President Roosevelt in earnest words pointed out the seriousness of the situation raised by the continuance of the strike and urged the operators and representatives of the miners to agree upon a basis for the resumption of work in the mines, basing his plea, not on legal grounds or official right, but upon the necessities and rights of the public and upon the duty and patriotism of the contestants.

In reply to the president the operators prepared individual statements, all of which take the ground that the obstacle in the way of the resumption of mining is the violence and intimidation practiced by the miners. The operators allege that they are making every effort to mine coal, that they have several thousand men at work and would have many more if their properties and the safety of their employees willing to work were protected by the state. The operators charge that the miners' union is an anarchistic association, organized and acting in defiance of federal and state laws, and they refuse to recognize it in any way, claiming that a compromise with the forces of disorder and anarchy would be a far greater evil than a temporary scarcity of fuel. The only concession offered by the operators was to reemploy the miners on the terms previously existing, disputes at individual collieries to be submitted for final determination to judges of the courts of common pleas.

On behalf of the miners, President Mitchell offered to call the strike off on condition that the issues culminating in it be referred to the president and a tribunal of his selection, the operators agreeing to embody the award of this tribunal in an agreement to run not less than one nor more than five years, and the wage scale thus agreed upon to date back to the day on which work was resumed. The operators rejected this proposal for the reasons stated, and upon the further ground that the miners were not competent to make and could not be depended upon to keep a contract.

For calling this fruitless conference President Roosevelt is unanimously praised by the press, public men, and the representatives of labor. Or as this aspect of the matter is summed up by the St. Louis *Republic* (Dem.): "Optimists will say that the moral effect of his interference will appear later; critics will say that he showed poor judgment in putting the presidential office where it was sure of failure. To be just, Mr. Roosevelt did the best he could, and the public will credit him with trying to remedy a lamentable situation."

The New York *Tribune* (Rep.) thinks that "there can be little doubt that Mr. Mitchell's offer will be generally regarded as fair, and the position of the operators condemned." The *Herald* (Ind.) says that "the attitude of the operators shows that they do not realize the duty they owe to the public." The *Journal* (Dem.) compares the attitude of the coal trust, "shaking its fist in the face of the president of the United States and defying him," with the "respectful, placable, and patriotic spirit" shown by Mr. Mitchell, and asks, "Who now can doubt where the full responsibility for the strike lies?" The *World* (Dem.) says that heavy as is the responsibility which rests upon the operators on account of the position they assumed "if the facts are as they state them, there is a much heavier responsibility resting on Governor Stone for permitting the mining of coal to be stopped by lawlessness, violence, and crime." The *Evening Post* (Ind.) agrees with the operators that "when the fundamental rights of property and labor are put at the mercy of torch and dynamite, it is better to freeze or to starve than to abdicate government at the behest of the rioters."

The Philadelphia *North American* (Ind.) characterizes Mr. Mitchell's plan as "perfectly fair," and it condemns the operators who, "instead of meeting the president in the spirit of his invitation, lectured him arrogantly on the subject of his duty and demanded that federal troops be sent to 'squellch' Mitchell and his 'outlaws.'" The meeting was a lamentable failure, but it clears away all possible doubt as to where the impending public calamity lies." The Philadelphia *Ledger* and *Record* think that Mitchell would have done well to accept the operators' offer to submit local differences to the decision of the county judges. The Baltimore *American* (Rep.) condemned both operators and miners, declaring that the public can no longer have any patience with either party. The Boston *Advertiser* (Rep.) says that since the mine owners either can not or will not mine coal, temporary receivers should be appointed to operate the mines until the public's needs are satisfied. The Boston *Post* (Dem.) says that the operators have declared themselves to be public enemies, and "the indignant people will somehow find a way to deal with their enemies."

The Columbus *Dispatch* (Ind.) declares that as a result of the conference the operators' fight is lost, an that action by congress is now imperative. "The coal monopoly assumes its own right to exist and presumes to deny the right of the miners' union to exist," the Chicago *Inter Ocean* (Rep.) says. "It scouts the union of the miners, refuses to deal with it, and yet insists that the miners and the whole American people and their president shall deal with the coal monopoly as if its own legal status were absolutely unquestionable. What impudence! What nonsense!" The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* (Dem.) says that "now a way will be found to mine coal which will not be to the liking of those who regard themselves as the only persons interested in the coal industry. The welfare of the whole people is the supreme consideration, and that may demand the cutting of the anthracite knot, if it can not be untied by ordinary processes."

In the opinion of the Detroit *Free Press* (Ind. Dem.) "Mr. Baer and his associates are the anarchists of capital, as the reckless elements of the union are the anarchists of labor. But of the two the moral responsibility of the former is the greater." This division of responsibility is common among western papers, the St. Paul *Pioneer Press* (Rep.) saying the neither the miners nor the operators come before bar of public opinion with clean hands.

Appendix B: Material Processes for Text 1

	Actor or Agent	Action (active voice /a/ passive voice /p/)
1.	Operators	...in reply to the president... prepared individual statements... (p) ^p
2.	They (Operators)	... making every effort to mine coal... (a) ^s
3.	Operators	...was to reemploy the miners on the terms... (a) ^{M7}
4.	Operators	...agreeing to embody award of tribunal in... (a) ^s
5.	attitude of Coal Trust	... shaking its fist in the face of the... (a) ^{p7}
6.	(Coal Trust)	... defying him (TR)... (a) ^p
7.	Operators	...instead of meeting the president in the spirit... (a) ^p
8.	Operators	...offer to submit local differences to the decision (a) ^s
9.	Owners	... cannot or will not mine coal... (a)
10.	It (Mine operators)	... scouts the union of the miners... (a) ^{U 6}
11.	It (Mine operators)	...refuses to deal with it (union)... (a) ^{U5}
12.	[Operators/Miners union] ²⁴	...disputes... to be submitted for final determination to judges (a) ^s
13.	[coal companies and Mitchell]	... acting in accordance with request of president ²⁵ (p) ^p
14.	coal companies and Mitchell	... met in conference on Friday... ending coal strike. (a) ^s
15.	(coal companies and Mitchell)	...with a view to ending the coal strike. (a) ^s
16.	Neither miners or operators	... come before bar of public opinion... (a) ⁶
17.	Mitchell	...would have done well to accept operators... offer (a) ⁵
18.	Miners	... violence and intimidation practiced by miners... (p) ⁴
19.	Miners' union	... organized and... (a)
20.	Miners' union	... acting in defiance... of federal and state laws... (a)
21.	Miners	...not competent to make ... (a)
22.	Miners	...not depended upon to keep a contract... (a)
23.	He (TR)...by	... putting the presidential office... sure of failure... (a)
24.	Mr. Roosevelt	... did the best he could... (a)
25.	Him (TR)	... trying to remedy a lamentable situation... (a)
26.	[TR]	...than... abdicate government at the behest of rioters... (p) ³
27.	[citizens]	...it is better to freeze ... (p)
28.	[citizens]	...or to starve
29.	The indignant people	...will... find a way to deal with their enemies... (a) ⁴
30.	The responsibility	...which rests upon the operators... (p) ³
31.	Heavier responsibility	... resting on Governor Stone... (p)
32.	State	...employees willing to work were protected by... (p)
33.	Governor Stone	...for permitting ... the mining... to be stopped by lawlessness... (a) ²
34.	Agreement	...to run not less than one than more five years... (a)
35.	Wage scale	...to date back to the day work was resumed ... (a)
36.	all of which (statements)	... take the ground that the obstacle in the way... (p)
37.	Issues	... culminating in it being referred to president... (a)
38.	torch and dynamite	... property and labor put at the mercy of torch... (p)
39.	Federal troops	... be sent to 'squelch' Mitchell and his outlaws... (a) ¹
40.	It (the meeting)	... clears away all possible doubt as to where... calamity lies... (a) ²
41.	Temporary receivers	...be appointed to operate the mines until... (a)
42.	Miners/Americans/President	... shall deal with coal monopoly... (a)??? ¹
43.		... a way will be found to mine coal... (a)
44.	It (anthracite knot)	...cannot be untied by ordinary processes... (a)

Source: Authors excerpt from Public Opinion (1902)

Appendix C: Verbal Processes for Text 1

	Verb	Sayer	Target	Receiver	Verbiage
1.	Compares	The Journal (Dem.)	Coal trust	Readers	The attitude of the coal trust "shaking its fist in the face of the president..."
2.	Condemns	It (Philadelphia North American)	operators	Readers	instead of meeting the president in the spirit of his invitation lectured him
3.	Says	Chicago Inter Ocean (Rep.)	Coal monopoly	Readers	Coal monopoly assumes its own right to exist and presume to deny the right of the miners
4.	Says	The World (Dem.)	Operators	Readers	heavy as is the responsibility which rests on the operators
5.	Says	Boston Post (Dem.)	Operators	Readers	Operators...declared themselves...public enemies
6.	Says	Cleveland Plain Dealer (Dem.)	[Operators]	Readers	a way will be found to mine coal which will not be to the liking who regard themselves as
7.	Says	The Herald (Ind.)	Operators/public	Readers	The attitude of the operators shows that they do not realise the duty they owe public
8.	condemned	Baltimore American (Rep.)	Operators/miners	Readers	Public can no longer have any patience with either party
9.	Compares	The Journal (Dem.)	Coal trust/TR	Readers	Who can now doubt where the full responsibility of the strike lies
10.	Says	Boston Advertiser (Rep.)	Miner owners	Readers	Since the mine owners either cannot or will not mine coal
11.	Saying	St. Paul Pioneer Press (Rep.)	Miners/operators	Readers	neither the miners nor operators come before bar of public opinion with clean hands
12.	Declares	Columbus Dispatch (Ind.)	Operators	Readers	as a result of...conference the operators fight is lost
13.	Summed up	St Louis Republic (Dem.)	Optimists/critics	Readers	Optimists will say moral effect will appear later; critics will say
14.	Declaring	The Baltimore American (Rep.)	Public	Readers	public...no longer have patience
15.	agrees	Evening Post (Ind.)	labour	Operators	when the fundamental rights of property are at the mercy of torch and dynamite
16.	Characterises	Philadelphia North American (Ind.)	Mr. Mitchell	Readers	Mr. Mitchell's plan as "perfectly fair"...
17.	pointed out	TR		Labour/Operators	...seriousness of situation raised by...strike...
18.	urged	(TR)		Labour/Operators	...agree on basis for resumption...
19.	basing	(TR)		Labour/Operators	...necessities and rights of the public...
20.	calling	TR	Public	[Union/Operators]	...conference...
21.	accept	Mitchell		operators	...to submit...differences to...judges...
22.	be referred	(Mitchell)	TR/Tribunal	[operators]	...to president and a tribunal...
23.	offered	Mitchell		[TR/Operators]	...to call the strike off...
24.	agreed	[Mitchell]		[Operators]	...to date back to the day on which work...
25.	offered	Operators	the miners	[TR]	...reemploy ... on the terms...existing
26.	claiming	They (Ops)	forces of anarchy	[TR]	...compromise...would be a far greater evil...
27.	refuse	They (Ops)	it (miners' union)	[TR]	...to recognise it in any way...
28.	charge	Operators	miners' union	[TR]	...is an anarchist association...
29.	allege	Operators		[TR]	...making every effort to mine coal...
30.	rejected	Operators	Miners	Mitchell	...proposal for the reasons stated...
31.	stated	Operators	Miners	Mitchell	...miners were not competent...
32.	lectured	Operators		him (TR)	...on subject of his duty...
33.	demanded	Operators	federal troops	him (TR)	...be sent to squelch Mitchel...
34.	refuses	It (Coal monopoly)	it (Union)		...to deal with it...
35.	to deny	Coal monopoly	right of miners'		...the right of the miners' union to exist...
36.	insists	Coal monopoly	TR/Union/Public		...deal with the coal monopoly...
37.	declared	Operators			...to be public enemies...
38.	state	they (Ops)		[TR/Union/Public]	...heavier responsibility on Governor Stone...
39.	to agree	Lab/Operators		Labour/Operators	...upon basis for resumption of work...
40.	praised	Labour/press	TR	[General]	...
41.	condemned	[Public]	operators		...
42.	will credit	Public	him (TR)		...trying to remedy a lamentable situation...
43.	will say	Critics	he (TR)		...showed poor judgment...
44.	say	Optimists	His (TR)		...moral effect of his interference will appear...
45.	demand	welfare		[operators]	...cutting of anthracite knot...

Source: Authors excerpt from Public Opinion (1902)

Appendix D Mental Processes for Text 1

	Experiencer (Sensor)	Experience (Phenomenon) + Process
1.	who (society in general)	...now can <i>doubt</i> where the full responsibility for the strike lies
2.	generally (society)	...offer will be... <i>regarded</i> as fair
3.	indignant people	...will somehow <i>find</i> a way to deal with their enemies
4.	they (operators)	...refuse to <i>recognise</i> it in any way (union)
5.	they (operators)	...do not <i>realise</i> the duty they owe the public
6.	they (operators)	...responsibility upon...on account of the position they <i>assumed</i>
7.	the coal monopoly	... <i>assumes</i> its own right to exist and...
8.	(the coal monopoly)	... <i>presumes</i> to deny the right of the miners' union to exist
9.	those who (operators)	... <i>regard</i> themselves as the only persons interested in the coal...
10.	only persons (operators)	... <i>interested</i> in the coal industry
11.	Philadelphia Ledger &	... <i>think</i> Mitchell would have done well to accept operators offer
12.	New York Tribune (rep.)	... <i>thinks</i> there can be little doubt...Mitchell's regarded as fair

Source: Authors excerpt from Public Opinion (1902)

TO TERMINATE COAL DEADLOCK

To the Editor of The New York Times:

In your issues of today there appears a letter of refutation to Mr. Hewitt's pronunciamiento, signed by F.M.F. Cazin. I entirely coincide with that gentleman's ideas, and wish to state in support of his views as follows:

Without going into the controversy of the two antagonistic unions, viz., the operators and the miners, it is not common logic that when Mr. Hewitt writes to Mr. Mitchell, "The public knows that one word from you will end the strike. Why don't you speak this word?" that this very imperative assertion and question can be applied with equal justice to the operators. The public knows that if the operators should say the single word "arbitrate" this most unfortunate deadlock would terminate immediately. Furthermore, they have another outlet by which they can terminate the strike without surrendering their self-pride. They could post placards stating that they are ready to resume work under certain conditions beneficial to the miners, and state those conditions. They would not have to be those demanded by the union, and in so doing there is not the slightest doubt that Mr. Mitchell would call off the strike at once. The operators on their side would neither have recognized the union nor have given in to its demands.

The Operators speak of their duty to the stockholders, but has it not occurred to them that their first duty is to operate the mines, and not sacrifice the stockholders to their self-satisfactions of pure stubbornness? The public has reached its Limit of Endurance. J. DE GRANDMONT. New York, Oct 5, 1902.

The New York Times

Published: October 12, 1902 p31

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Appendix F: Material Processes for Text 2

1	Actor or Agent	Action (active voice [a]/ passive voice [p])
1.	(by) F.M.F Cazin	...Hewitt's ¹ pronunciamento <u>signed</u> ... (p)
2.	[author]	...without going into the controversy ... (p)
3.	[author]	...to state ²⁶ in support of his views ² ... (a)
4.	The public (has)	... reached its (public) limits of endurance ... (a)
5.	(one word from) you (Mitchell)	...will end the strike ¹ ... (a)
6.	word ("arbitrate")	... deadlock ² would terminate immediately. (a)
7.	Mr Hewitt	... writes to Mr. Mitchell ¹ (a)
8.	[operators] ...say the single word "arbitrate"	... unfortunate deadlock ... (a)
9.	they (operators) (have another outlet to)	... terminate the strike ³ without... (a)
10.	they (operators) (have...outlet...without)	... surrendering their self-pride ² ... (a)
11.	They (operators) (could)	... post placards stating they are ready... (a)
12.	they (operators) [are ready]	...to resume work ⁴ under certain conditions ... (a)
13.	[operators]	... state those conditions ... (a)
14.	[operators] ...in so doing there is not the slightest	doubt Mitchell ² will end strike... (a)
15.	The operators (...would neither have)	... recognized ²⁷ the union ³ nor have given... (a)
16.	The operators (...nor...)	... given in to its demands ⁴ ... (a)
17.	Their (operators) (first duty is to)	...to operate the mines ⁵ ... (a)
18.	[operators] (...operate...and not...)	... sacrifice the stockholder to...stubbornness (a)

Source: Authors excerpt from NY Times (1902b:31)

Appendix G: Verbal Processes for Text 2

	Verb	Sayer	Target	Receiver	Verbiage
1.	speak	operators	Stockholders	[Public]	...of their duty to...stockholders...
2.	say	operators	arbitrate	[union/miners]	...if...operators should say...word arbitrate...
3.	demand	union	[conditions]	[operators]	...not...those [conditions] demanded by union...
4.	call	Mitchell	strike	[strikers]	...would call off the strike at once...
5.	speak	You [Mitchell]	word (arbitrate)	[miners]	...speak this word...
6.	stating	Placards	they (operators)	[miners]	...they (operators) are ready to resume work
7.	be applied	[public]	question	operators	...“why don't you speak this word?”

Source: Excerpted from NY Times (1902b:31)

Appendix H: Mental Processes for Text 2

	Experiencer	Experience + Mental Process (MeP)
1.	I (Author)	Entirely <u>coincide</u> with that gentleman's ideas
2.	[Author]	<u>wish</u> to state in support of his views
3.	The public	<u>knows</u> one word from you (Mitchell) will end the strike
4.	The public	<u>knows</u> that if the operators would say the word "arbitrate" this most unfortunate deadlock would terminate immediately
5.	Operator	...has it not <u>occurred</u> to them that their first duty is to operate the mines and not sacrifice the stockholders to their self-satisfactions...

Source: Excerpted from NY Times (1902b:31)