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Alignement et affiliation du lecteur imaginaires dans les campagnes des groupes activistes écologistes et sociaux

Paul Bennetts White

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UNIVERSITÉ LA SORBONNE NOUVELLE – PARIS 3

ED622 Langage et Langues,
UMR8094 LATTICE (Langues, Textes Traitements
informatiques, Cognition)

PhD thesis in Linguistics

Paul Bennetts WHITE

**ALIGNMENT AND AFFILIATION OF THE
IMAGINED READER IN ENVIRONMENTAL
AND SOCIAL ACTIVIST CAMPAIGN
E-MAILS**

Thesis directed by
Shirley CARTER-THOMAS

Defended on 29th November 2022

Jury:

Shirley Carter-Thomas (Lattice and Institut Mines-Télécom Business School): Professor

Benjamin Fagard (Lattice and CNRS): Director of Research

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Peter White (University of New South Wales, Australia): Professor

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Thèse de doctorat en Sciences du Langage

Paul Bennetts WHITE

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LECTEUR IMAGINAIRE DANS LES
CAMPAGNES DES GROUPES ACTIVISTES
ÉCOLOGISTES ET SOCIAUX**

Thèse dirigée par
Shirley CARTER-THOMAS

Soutenue le 29 novembre 2022

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Résumé

La recherche sur les discours sur l'environnement, notamment ceux qui encouragent une relation durable avec le monde naturel, s'est rapidement développée au cours de ces dernières années (voir Stibbe, 2020). Cependant, la plupart des études ont adopté une analyse du cadrage médiatique ou de contenu (Agin & Karlsson, 2021 ; Comfort & Park, 2018), et peu d'entre elles analysent le(s) texte(s) dans la perspective des rapports du niveau macroscopique au niveau microscopique. Cette thèse associe une analyse des « moves » (voir Swales, 2004) d'un corpus de 100 courriels de campagnes sociales et environnementales à une analyse qualitative des fréquences et des distributions des marqueurs d'évaluation (Martin & White, 2005), des marqueurs d'*interactant* (Tann, 2010 ; G. Thompson, 2012), des ordres et des questions (Kim & Thompson, 2010 ; Thompson & Thetela, 1995).

Les résultats identifient une série de différences dans l'utilisation de ces marqueurs entre, d'une part, un groupe préoccupé par des questions sociales (Freedom United) et, d'autre part, trois groupes focalisés sur l'environnement (The Green Party, Greenpeace et The Story of Stuff). Pour les marqueurs d'évaluation, les membres de Freedom United utilisent plus de marqueurs de *JUDGEMENT* sous la forme de "sanctions sociales" et moins d'"estimes sociales" que les autres groupes. Ils ont également utilisé moins de marqueurs d'*APPRECIATION* ainsi que plus de marqueurs négatifs et moins de marqueurs positives d'*ATTITUDE* que les autres trois groupes. Enfin, ils utilisent plus de marqueurs d'*ENGAGEMENT* contractuels, moins de marqueurs d'*interactant* inclusifs et moins de questions.

Pour parvenir à une vision plus globale de ces observations, certains marqueurs ont été interprétés comme signalant l'alignement du lecteur imaginaire, tandis que d'autres ont été considérés comme signalant l'affiliation du lecteur imaginaire. Parmi les études récentes proposant des cadres d'affiliation des lecteurs (Knight, 2010a ; Peter White, 2020a ;

Zappavigna et Martin, 2017), c'est principalement l'approche de Don (2019) qui est adoptée dans ce travail car elle distingue clairement les concepts d'alignement des lecteurs liés à des positions et des valeurs partagées, de l'affiliation des lecteurs reposant sur des normes culturelles, des connaissances et/ou des expériences partagées. Nous observons que Freedom United dépensait moins de ressources pour représenter le lecteur imaginaire comme fortement affilié que les groupes centrés sur l'environnement. Greenpeace a utilisé les marqueurs d'affiliation du lecteur d'une manière fortement stratégique qui soit pour compenser la réduction de l'alignement du lecteur vers la fin de ses courriels. Malgré l'utilisation de moins de marqueurs d'affiliation des lecteurs, on a observé que Freedom United, avec plus de cinq millions d'adeptes sur Facebook contre moins d'un million pour chacun des groupes environnementaux, réussit mieux à créer une communauté en ligne (c'est-à-dire à affilier son public) que les trois autres groupes environnementaux.

Des recherches futures sont nécessaires pour déterminer si la distribution des marqueurs utilisés par Freedom United est représentative de l'ensemble du mouvement militant pour les questions sociales. Si c'est le cas, il se pourrait que l'accent mis sur l'identité commune avec le lecteur comme moyen pour encourager l'action (c'est-à-dire, mis sur l'affiliation du lecteur) soit jugé plus approprié dans les campagnes de caractère environnemental plutôt que social. Ce qui peut à son tour être lié à la différence du niveau typique d'empathie ressenti par le public pour la souffrance humaine par rapport à la souffrance du monde animal ou naturel (reflétant la " hiérarchie de l'empathie ", voir Goatly, 2018:233).

Mots clés : discours sur l'environnement, Appraisal Theory, médias alternatifs en ligne alignement du lecteur, affiliation du lecteur .

Abstract

Research into environmental discourse, especially of the type which encourages a sustainable relationship with the natural world, has been rapidly increasing in recent years (see Stibbe, 2020). However, most studies adopted a framing or content analysis (Agin & Karlsson, 2021; Comfort & Park, 2018), with few analysing text from a macro to micro level. This thesis combines a move-structure analysis (Swales, 1990) of a corpus of 100 social and environmental campaign e-mails with a qualitative analysis of the frequencies and distribution of appraisal markers (Martin & White, 2005), interactant markers (Kim, 2009; Tann, 2010; G. G. Thompson, 2012) and the mood categories of commands and questions (Kim & G. Thompson, 2010; Thompson & Thetela, 1995).

The findings of this thesis include the identification of a series of differences in the use of these markers between the one social-issue activist group (Freedom United) and the three environmental-focus groups (The Green Party, Greenpeace and The Story of Stuff) investigated here. Broadly speaking, Freedom United were found to use more JUDGEMENT markers of 'social sanction' and less of 'social esteem' than the other groups. They also used fewer APPRECIATION markers and more negative and fewer positive markers of all ATTITUDE categories than the three environmental-focus groups. Finally, they use more contractive ENGAGEMENT markers, fewer inclusive interactant markers, and fewer questions than the other groups.

To create a more global view of these observations, certain markers were taken as signalling the alignment of the imagined reader (i.e., ENGAGEMENT markers), while others were taken to signal the affiliation of the imagined reader (i.e., inscribed vs. invoked ATTITUDE and interactant markers). While recent studies have proposed frameworks of reader affiliation (Knight, 2010a; Peter White, 2020a; Zappavigna and Martin, 2017), this study takes its main

inspiration from, and hopefully develops, Don's (2019) framework which clearly distinguishes the use of reader alignment, as signalling shared values or stances, from reader affiliation, as indicating shared knowledge, experience or cultural norms. Based on the data, it was observed that, overall, Freedom United spend fewer resources on portraying the imagined reader as highly affiliated than the environmental-focus groups. Of the latter, Greenpeace used the markers of affiliation most strategically to compensate for the reduction in the construed alignment of the reader on the campaign issue towards the end of their e-mails. Despite these differences in the use of markers of reader affiliation, it has been observed that Freedom United, with over five million Facebook followers compared to under 1 million for each of the environmental-focus groups, is more successful in creating an online community (i.e., affiliating their audience) than any of the other three environmental-focus groups.

The reasons behind the differences in approach between the one social-issue group and the three environmental-focus groups cannot be established with certainty. Future research is necessary to see if the distribution of markers used by Freedom United is representative of the wider social-issue activist movement. However, if it is, then it could be that emphasizing communal identity with the reader as a means to encourage action (i.e., emphasizing reader affiliation) is felt to be more necessary in environmental than social campaigns. This in turn may relate to the difference in the typical level of empathy the audience feels for human suffering as compared to animal or natural world suffering (reflecting the 'empathy hierarchy', Goatly, 2018:233).

Key words: environmental discourse, Appraisal Theory, online alternative media, reader alignment, reader affiliation.

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Note on the use of technical terms

In order to distinguish the use of certain terms as labels of appraisal markers¹ (Martin & White, 2005) from their more general use in this thesis, the following technical terms have been placed in small caps-locks throughout this document:

ATTITUDE	ENGAGEMENT	GRADUATION
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- AFFECT<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ HAPPINESS○ SATISFACTION○ SECURITY○ INCLINATION- APPRECIATION:<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ REACTION○ SOCIAL-VALUATION- JUDGEMENT<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ NORMALITY○ CAPACITY○ TENACITY○ PROPRIETY○ VERACITY	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- MONOGLOSSIC (MONOGLOSSIA)- HETEROGLOSSIC (HETEROGLOSSIA)<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ CONTRACT<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ DENY▪ COUNTER▪ CONCUR▪ PRONOUNCE▪ ENDORSE▪ JUSTIFY○ EXPAND<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ ENTERTAIN▪ ACKNOWLEDGE	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- FORCE<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ DEGREE○ VIGOUR○ REPETITION○ NUMBER○ MASS○ PROXIMITY○ DISTRIBUTION- FOCUS<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ SOFTEN○ SHARPEN- INFUSING / ISOLATING

+ (positive ATTITUDE)
– (negative ATTITUDE)

The first letter of the following Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) terms will be capitalised:

Field / Tenor / Mode

Appraisal Theory

Participants: Actor (Agent) / Goal (Affected) / Initiator / Senser

Finally, references to Professor Peter R. R. White will be given as 'Peter White' throughout the text to avoid any potential confusion with the author of the thesis, Paul B. White. Also, references to Professor Geoff Thompson will be reproduced as 'G. Thompson', to avoid confusion with Professor Sandra Thompson.

¹ For an explanation of the technical meaning of these terms, please see section '2.3. Appraisal Theory'

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Language, nature and communicating sustainability

The focus of studies of environmental discourse has changed over the last 30 years. Many earlier studies focused on the impact that language use has on the natural world with regard to certain lexicogrammatical structures in English. For example, Halliday (2001) states, in relation to a *Senser participant role*² (an entity who feels or thinks something) being applicable almost exclusively to human beings, that the grammar of English “makes it hard for us to accept the planet Earth as a living entity.” (Halliday, 2001:195). Another grammatical feature, grammatical metaphor (nominalisation), has been criticised for its ‘fossilising’ of processes (Halliday and Martin, 1993). However, as opposed to the linear agentivity cline of the conjugated clause, where the Actor (Subject) impacts on the Goal (Object), Goatly (1996) defended the use of nominalisations as better reflecting the concept of the interconnectedness of all life in which the Agent is necessarily also impacted by their own actions (see also *Gaia Theory*, Lovelock, 1986). Summarising these findings, Mühlhäusler (2001) claimed that “all is not well with English, or indeed SAE (Standard Average European) languages in general. Thus, language for talking about environmental issues... appears to be deficient.” (2001:31).

More recently, studies have focused on the criticism of texts considered to convey an ecologically-damaging worldview. Arran Stibbe, the author of the seminal work ‘Ecolinguistics: Language, ecology and the stories we live by’ (2015), outlines the main threads of this critiquing of dominant societal discourses from an ecological perspective:

² As described in the ‘Glossary of technical terms’, certain systemic functional linguistics (SFL) terms will be presented with a capitalised first letter, while all Appraisal Theory (Martin & White, 2005) terms will be presented in small caps-locks.

“consumerist discourses which encourage unnecessary consumption, economic discourses which represent the main goal of society as unending economic growth, the deceptive discourses of greenwash, or agricultural discourses which treat the natural world mechanistically as a resource to be exploited.” (Stibbe, 2018:165)

Stibbe (2018) argues for a more general re-direction of the field away from the criticism of texts conveying ecologically-destructive worldviews, towards those which promote harmony between human society and nature. This call is increasingly being heard, with, for example, two major conferences in Europe in 2022 focusing on new research into environmental discourse which encourages sustainability³. Such an approach requires going beyond the inherent limitations within structures of the lexicogrammar of English, which are very difficult to envisage changing, to confronting instead the more practical question of how to encourage ecological responsibility in spite of the ecological shortcomings of the grammar. Two examples of such work are Fløttum (2013) and Fløttum and Gjerstad (2017) who analyse two climate-change oriented texts, the first, a scientific paper, ‘Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change’, IPCC, and the second, a national policy document ‘South-African applied center for climate and earth systems science’, ACCESS. They demonstrate that “ACCESS is more polemical and polyphonic than IPCC” (Fløttum, 2013:12) in the use of refutation (e.g., *not*), concession (e.g., *while*) together with explicitly marked voice (*we*), ‘personally coloured claims’ (through adverbials, e.g., *clearly*) to foreground the author’s voice. Although these studies were undertaken using the ScaPoLine theory (Nølke, Fløttum & Noréy 2004), parallels can be drawn with Appraisal Theory (Martin & White, 2005), which is applied in this thesis. Also, the issues they raised, such as the foregrounding or backgrounding of different voices in a text, are relevant to the study of reader positioning undertaken here. Our overarching

³ The ESFLC (European Systemic Functional Linguistics Conference) on ‘Social Semiotics and Sustainability’ (University of Odense, Denmark, 24-26 August 2022: <https://event.sdu.dk/esflc22/>), where I will present ‘Reader alignment and affiliation in online environmental activist campaigns’; ‘Communicating Sustainability’ (University of Glasgow, UK, 6-7 September 2022: <http://communicatingsustainability2022.com/>)

research question is thus:

R1) How do activist organisations attempt to inspire their sympathetic readership to take concrete action on ecological/social issues?

1.2. Alignment and affiliation of the imagined reader

Bakhtin (1986:91) states that each text is “filled with the echoes and reverberations of utterances”, that is they include responses to previous contributions to an ongoing dialogue while also anticipating the possible future reactions of the reader. This thesis deals with the topic of reader positioning, or what has been termed the ‘reader-in-the-text’ (Hyland, 1999, 2009, 2010; Kim and G. Thompson, 2010; Kress, 1985; G. Thompson, 2001, 2012). The term ‘imagined’ (or ‘implied’, ‘intended’, ‘putative’ or ‘ideal’) reader places emphasis on the difference between the real-world audience, which can include an almost infinite range of reading positions towards a text, and the attributes of the reader which are projected by the author through the text, using a wide range of textual elements. In this thesis, the term ‘imagined’ reader is preferred to its synonyms as it is considered to best emphasize the difference between the textual-based construct and the real-world audience who receive the campaign e-mails investigated here. Additionally, ‘imagined’, as relating the reader-in-the-text as a construction of each individual author, accommodates the potential differences in the characteristics of this reader-construct by each of the four groups studied here. The realisation of the imagined reader can even change during the flow of a single text, at one time being highly aligned to the author’s position and at another in need of ‘correcting guidance’ from the author. This all means that the concept of the imagined reader is forever provisional and thus does not reference any kind of fixed object. Regarding the characterisation of this imagined reader by the writer, Hasan (1999) states that:

“all aspects of the interactant relation – their respective status, their social distance, the specific attributes of the addressee – are logically entirely created by the language of the text, none having a basis in reality for obvious reasons” (1999:238).

The concept of the imagined reader is ‘analytically elusive’ (Peter White, 2021:251), with the status, social distance and attributes of the imagined reader most often being implied by the writer’s choice of lexicogrammatical features rather than explicitly stated. A method which allows the analyst to tease out the characteristics of the imagined reader as textual effect is to look at markers of reader alignment and reader affiliation. These two aspects were combined in Poynton’s (1985) conception of ‘Contact’, but then subsequently separated by Hasan (2014) into ‘social attitude’ (alignment) and ‘social distance’ (affiliation). The approach adopted in this study follows the recommendations of Don (2019:80), who argues that these two measures of Contact “are not mutually exclusive, nor are they dependent on the other”. What this means is that two parties can feel closely affiliated (i.e., sharing knowledge, past experience, cultural heritage etc.) but be dis-aligned regarding the positions they take on any particular issue, as much as two parties can be unaffiliated, that is socially distant (i.e., without any previous physical or communicative contact) but still be aligned in their positions on a topic. So, while affiliation can be measured on the basis of social distance (that is on a cline of close-distant), alignment can be measured according to what can be considered as valid means of justification for argumentative texts in different genres. Peter White (2021) defines markers of reader alignment as signalling “anticipations that the reader either shares the attitude or belief currently being advanced by the author.” (Peter White, 2021:247). Don (2019) lists the foundations of reader alignment as being based on a range of types of justification:

- i. 'logic' (true/false)
 - ii. 'ethics' (good/bad)
 - iii. 'morals' (right/wrong)
 - iv. 'norms' (appropriate/inappropriate)
 - v. 'sense' (like/dislike)
- (Don, 2019:81)

While all five axes can be in play in a text, argumentation based on a shared sense of morals between writer and reader is likely to predominate in the kind of activist discourse that is the focus of this thesis. Example (1) has been taken from the corpus for the purposes of illustration⁴:

(1) “And worst of all, *the clean air strategy* **does nothing to stand up to the motor lobby and polluting diesel cars.**” (GP06, The Green Party, 22/05/2018)

For example, in (1), the implied target, the UK Government, is accused through invocation of acting immorally through sponsoring a clean air strategy which is evaluated as being insufficiently effective by the author.

While other studies have focused on the use of alignment and affiliation in persuading the imagined reader to adopt a stance on an issue, these studies have either dealt with mass media persuasive texts (editorials in Peter White, 2020b, 2021a, 2021b), narratives (Gibson, 1950; Booth, 1961; Prince 1980 (all cited in Peter White, 2021)), or with online discussion forums which allow for direct feedback in Don (2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2019). The texts forming the corpus of this study differ from these previously studied in three important aspects:

⁴ For more information on the precise content and constitution of the our corpus of environmental and social campaign emails, please see Chapter 4, in particular section ‘4.3. Corpus’ . The examples given from the corpus of this thesis in chapters 1, 2 and 3 are for illustrative purposes and are provided to justify the choice of theoretical framework applied. They do not represent the final observations from the annotations undertaken, which are given in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

Also, regarding the highlighting of example sentences, the ‘appraised entity’ (here ‘*the clean air strategy*’), where stated, will be placed in italics, while the marker (appraisal, interactant or mood) will be placed in italics and bold (here ‘*does nothing to stand up to the motor lobby and polluting diesel cars*’).

- i. they assume a base level of affiliation between author and audience, as the latter has already undertaken concrete action in signing up to receive the groups' campaign e-mails;
- ii. they aim to encourage the imagined reader to take concrete action (e.g., signing petitions, giving donations) instead of only adopting the authorial stance;
- iii. they don't allow for reader response, instead measuring communicative success by the proportion of recipients who take the requested action.

Thus, what is at stake here is a different quality of persuasiveness that relates not just to the positioning of the imagined reader as adopting the authorial stance on an issue, but also seeks to convince the audience to make the transition towards a higher level of affiliation based on concrete actions. The reminding and reinforcing of the imagined reader's value positions on the campaign topic is just the first step related to this rhetorical aim.

So, the question becomes, how do the four advocacy groups differ in the construed levels of alignment and affiliation of the imagined reader. As, G. Thompson (2012) states:

“within the same genre, different writers may construe different kinds of reader-in-the-text, and which thus help to highlight the choices that have been made:” (G. Thompson, 2012:81-82).

Similarly, we expect to identify differences between the four groups included in the corpus of the present thesis in the characteristics attributed to the imagined reader. The next research question is thus:

R2) How do four activist groups employ a range of lexicogrammatical features to encourage the reader to take concrete action?

1.3. Environmental communication, reader positioning and move-structure

To give an overview of the state of research into environmental discourse, we will provide an outline of the results of two recent review studies: Agin and Karlsson (2021), who looked at climate change discourse, reviewing 407 peer-reviewed journal articles; and Comfort and Park (2018) who reviewed environmental communication studies, including 605 peer-reviewed journal articles. The majority of the reviewed studies focused on various forms of mainstream media and its reception by the general public (48% in Agin and Karlsson, 2021:9; 46.8% in Comfort and Park, 2018.:7), with few studies of NGO-produced media (2.7% in Agin and Karlsson, 2021:10; 10.8% in Comfort and Park, 2018:7-8). Regarding the minority of studies which sought to highlight the characteristics of effective activist discourse, the methodology most favoured was that of a framing analysis, found in 25% of studies by Agin and Karlsson (2021:9), with Comfort and Park (*ibid.*:6) finding the keyword ‘framing’ as the most used, followed by content analysis and rhetorical analysis (Comfort and Park, 2018:9-10). Agin and Karlsson (2021:13) note in the context of climate change discourse that:

“...studies are predominantly media studies that use content analysis of traditional media, resulting in an overwhelming amount of different types of framing studies. However (...) very few studies investigate politicians, governmental agencies, non-governmental organizations, or multinational and transnational corporations.”

Related to the communicative impact of activist groups such as those included in this thesis, studies have revealed that independent media are ever more reliant on the research and communication activities of a multitude of NGOs (Wozniak *et al.*, 2014:3). This means that NGOs’ output reaches an ever-wider audience, either directly through their own communications or indirectly through as the sources used in mainstream media, all of which heightens their overall ‘symbolic’ power. This thesis addresses a research gap where a systematic linguistic analysis of the activist communications could help illuminate the

characteristics of this media type, which is of growing societal significance. In addition, the application of Appraisal Theory (Martin & White, 2005), which can reveal the fine details of authorial stance and imagined reader positioning, gives this thesis solid and comprehensive theoretical foundations.

This thesis will also demonstrate how dealing with the issues of reader alignment and affiliation separately (taking inspiration from Don, 2019) helps clarify the differences in strategy used by different writers in achieving the same aim of pushing the reader beyond passive alignment to active affiliation (i.e., taking concrete action). The first step in identifying reader positioning strategies, particularly regarding reader alignment, is to first carry out an analysis of authorial stance. As for reader affiliation, while this has been viewed as an emergent phenomenon of reader alignment (see Locher, 2004; Don, 2009), Don (2019) distinguishes affiliation as referring “specifically to relations where reference is made to, or knowledge assumed of, shared experiences, shared cultures, or shared histories of any kind” (2019:79). The central realisations of the markers of reader affiliation in this thesis are invoked markers of ATTITUDE, especially those which rely on shared cultural knowledge/experience, (pro)nominal interactant markers⁵ and the use of commands and questions.

An initial investigation of the macro-structure of the e-mails revealed a repetition of ‘move-sets’, which is a grouping of between two to five individual moves. Each ‘move-set’ is comprised of the following individual moves: ‘problem’, ‘solution’ and ‘call-to-action’. The last of these, ‘call-to-action’ encapsulates the communicative goal of the campaign e-mails and was the final individual move in 96% of the move-sets. The number of move-sets in any

⁵ Both Kim (2009) and G. Thompson (2012) have carried out analysis of ‘interactant pronouns’, which refer to human participants included in a discourse. The term ‘interactant marker’ will be used in this thesis as we include all nominal and pronominal references to the author, reader and third-party participants.

particular e-mail varied, with overwhelming majority of e-mails including three⁶. Related to this macro-structure, it is hypothesised that some of the campaign e-mails emphasise affiliation over alignment of the imagined reader in the third, and final, move-set. One way in which reader affiliation can be heightened is through the use of different (pro)nominal groups, often with reader-inclusive reference. These also play a functional participant role in the transitivity of the clauses in which they are embedded. This can also contribute to highlighting the elevated level of imagined reader affiliation, depending on the level of agentivity inscribed in different roles (e.g., Actor vs. Goal). This demonstrates how Tenor is realised through both the interpersonal and experiential metafunctions.

The overall aim of this thesis, in terms of linguistic theory, is to show how a separation between the interpersonal concepts of imagined reader alignment and reader affiliation is justified in that it enables a newer and greater sensitivity to describing the rhetorical strategies used in the type of persuasive discourse under investigation. The research question relating to the separating of these concepts is:

R3) How does the use of markers of alignment and affiliation of the imagined reader relate to the move-structure of the campaign e-mails?

⁶ For a more detailed discussion of the move-structure identified in the campaign e-mails, see section '4.4.1. Moves'.

1.4. Hypotheses and objectives

The main variables in this thesis concern the identities of the four groups whose campaign e-mails make up the corpus: Freedom United, The Green Party, Greenpeace and The Story of Stuff. A detailed background of each group is given in section '4.3.1. The history and key characteristics of the four organisations'. For now, an overview of the history and current status of each group is provided in Table 1 below.

	Freedom United	The Green Party of England & Wales	Greenpeace UK	The Story of Stuff
Year of founding	2016 (previously 'Walk Free' founded in 2009)	1973 (as 'The People Party')	1971 (Vancouver, Canada)	2007
Funding*	c. €575,000 (\$6-700,000)	c. €4,130,000 (£3,454,562)	€90,243,000 (Greenpeace International)	c. €1,505,000 (\$1,700,000)
Employees	6	185	211 (UK group)	7
Campaign focus	Social (modern slavery)	Environmental & Social	Environmental	Environmental
Formal status	NGO	Political Party	NGO	NGO
Reach** (Facebook group subscribers)	c. 5,470,000	c. 303,000	c. 870,000 (c. 3,080,000 Greenpeace International)	c. 616,000

* Data for 2019/2020 (currency conversion on 06/01/2022)

** Data as of 06/01/2022

Table 1: Overview of the characteristics of the four advocacy groups

As Table 1 shows, the four advocacy groups included in this study can be categorised according to four factors:

- **Age of the organisation:** two were established around 50 years ago (The Green Party, Greenpeace), while the other two are much younger (Freedom United, The Story of Stuff).

- **Funding and staff:** two are well-funded, with a large body of staff (The Green Party, Greenpeace), while the other two have much more modest funds and staff numbers (Freedom United, The Story of Stuff).
- **Campaign focus:** three are focused primarily on environmental issues⁷ (The Green Party, Greenpeace, The Story of Stuff) and one exclusively on social issues (Freedom United).
- **Formal status:** three are non-governmental organisations (Freedom United, Greenpeace, The Story of Stuff), and one is a political party (The Green Party).

As can be seen from the division of the organisations according to the four categorisations above, the primary difference between the four groups relates to age of the organisation, funding and staff levels, with The Green Party and Greenpeace representing the older, more well-established and well-funded organisations, and Freedom United and The Story of Stuff being the younger, ‘internet-enabled’ groups, functioning on more limited resources. The results of the linguistic analysis of the campaign e-mails is expected demonstrate links to the organisational culture of each group, especially with regard to communications policies and practices. The following hypotheses relate to the detection of differences in rhetorical format and style of the campaign communications related to the age, funding and staff numbers of each group:

H1

The more well-established groups (The Green Party, Greenpeace) will have a more developed, professionalised campaign writing approach. This means that they will use

⁷ As some of the content of the campaign e-mails of these three groups testifies to, there is no hard division between environmental and social issues. However, all of the campaigns of these three groups either focuses primarily on ecology, or includes it, while Freedom United rarely cover environmental impacts of the issues in their campaigns.

more lexicogrammatical resources to the construal of a highly-affiliated imagined reader, in addition to those focused on reader alignment, than the newer groups (Freedom United, The Story of Stuff).

H2

As a result of their lesser-developed communication strategies, the newer groups (Freedom United, The Story of Stuff) will construe the reader as performing only a limited role of assisting the groups' work. Thus, the imagined reader is portrayed as being less closely affiliated to the groups.

Other factors, such as campaign focus and formal status, are also thought to influence the rhetorical decisions made in each groups' messaging. For example, from an initial analysis it seems that Freedom United, who focus on the social issue of modern slavery, avoid the 'us vs. them' dichotomy which may be favoured by the environmental activist groups (The Green Party, Greenpeace, The Story of Stuff) to affiliate the imagined reader. The following hypothesis was formulated according to these assumptions:

H3

Freedom United use less negative JUDGEMENT ('social sanction') of the campaign targets ('perpetrators') than the other three groups (The Green Party, Greenpeace, The Story of Stuff).

Furthermore, the fact that the Green Party is an elected political party probably means that the target of their campaigns are more often likely to be public officials or governmental organisations than the other three organisations, who are more likely to focus their campaigns on private companies. Thus, the hypothesis related to this is:

H4

The Green Party will target politicians more frequently than the other three groups (Freedom United, The Green Party, Greenpeace).

Finally, there is one variable which cannot be accounted for in such a systematic way as those already outlined, that is the topic of each campaign e-mail. Some issues may require more persuasive effort to align the imagined reader to the authorial stance than others, for example, when Freedom United campaigned for an end to forced labour in US prisons. In the case of this particular campaign, the leader of Freedom United believed the issue was misunderstood by the general public, who might not object to convicted criminals being forced to work, but lacked knowledge of how the US penal system encourages re-offense, and therefore an ever increasing captive prison population⁸. Consequently, this last variable, campaign topic, will need to be taken into account when comparing the alignment work evident in each individual e-mail. The associated hypothesis is thus:

H5

Some e-mail messages of all four groups will include a greater emphasis on imagined reader alignment and/or affiliation due to the low social acceptability or obscurity of the campaign issue.

Nonetheless, when comparing multiple e-mails from each organisation, it is assumed that, despite this possible variation, the general tendencies and approaches of each group in their campaign messaging will become clear, as evidenced through frequencies in their use of markers of alignment and affiliation of the imagined reader.

⁸ Personal communication, 13/02/2021.

Finally, despite the predicted impact of the institutional status of each group (longevity, funding, staff numbers, formal status) on their campaign messaging, it should also be noted that the four groups have been selected in this thesis due to their comparable levels of online impact. This is demonstrated through the number of subscribers each organisation has attracted to their Facebook group, which has been identified as a measure of each organisation's '*reach*' (see Table 1). Although this is an imprecise tool for measurement of the overall impact of each group, it was selected as the statistics are readily available, and because Facebook is the most well-established of all social media networks used by all four groups. It was thus deemed broadly representative for the purposes of this overview of the characteristics of each group. It can be observed that considering their limited resources, the newer groups (Freedom United, The Story of Stuff) have attracted disproportionately large online communities of supporters, particularly in the case of Freedom United, indicating a high level of 'internet-literacy'. However, The Green Party and Greenpeace probably enjoy easier access to more traditional media, in the form of mass media journalism (newspapers, tv, radio) than do the newer groups. In any case, regarding the four groups' online presence, it can be said, despite the marked differences relating to funding and staff levels, that they can at least be considered comparable in terms of online visibility and *reach*.

Our objective is to compare the campaign communications strategies of the four groups concerned to characterise the persuasive effect of the texts in pushing a sympathetic readership into taking concrete action. The realisation, frequency and textual location of markers of reader alignment and reader affiliation are expected to reveal how the writers of these campaign messages use different strategies to achieve the same extra-linguistic goal, that is persuading the reader to take concrete action. Although some variation is likely to be

found between e-mails relating to different campaigns, the analysis of a corpus of 100 e-mail texts is expected to reveal general tendencies for each group.

1.5. Overview of the structure

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 provides the theoretical background, focusing on how various appraisal markers (Martin & White, 2005), interactant markers and mood choices (i.e., questions and commands) can be employed by the author to construe an imagined reader who is aligned to the authorial stance and affiliated with the author to various degrees at different points in the texts. This lays the basis for investigating how the different groups use reader alignment and reader affiliation strategies to fulfil the extra-linguistic goal of the text type, persuading their audience to take concrete action.

Chapter 3 covers research into the issue of the relationship of language to the environment, focusing on the field of 'Ecolinguistics' (Stibbe, 2015). It then continues to consider a variety of studies undertaken into the related topics of authorial stance, voice, evaluative keys in mainstream, alternative and NGO-generated media. Lastly, it provides an overview of the frameworks of the reader alignment and affiliation used in previous studies.

Chapter 4 gives details of the methodological approach taken in this thesis. Justification is given for the qualitative and quantitative approaches adopted for the annotation and analysis of the corpus. A detailed description of the construction of the corpus, including the histories and status of each group is outlined, which is followed by the annotation schemes used, the inter-rater reliability tests undertaken, a description of the annotation software used, and finally the interview procedure which was applied. References are made to both Chapter 2, regarding the theoretical framework, as well as Chapter 3, regarding the justification for the size of corpus and method of annotation.

Chapter 5 focuses on the distribution of appraisal markers in the four sub-corpora. In particular, it reviews the distribution of ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION markers, including relative frequencies of the polarity and types of inscribed vs. invoked attitudinal

markers. The objective of this chapter is to give an overview of the global differences in the use of Appraisal Theory categories among the four groups under investigation.

Chapter 6 focuses on the other markers of reader affiliation included in the theoretical framework of this thesis: interactant markers, commands and questions. Related to the analysis of the distribution of interactant markers, some examples of the transitivity participant roles assigned to the author, reader, private companies, politicians and natural entities will be provided.

Chapter 7 will then explore the distribution of markers of imagined reader alignment and reader affiliation related to the move-structure of the e-mails. In particular, the analysis will focus on how the use of these markers might correlate to the institutional status of the four groups, particularly regarding their campaign foci (environmental vs. social). Variation according to campaign topic across all four sub-corpora will be considered, with two whole e-mails on 'difficult' issues, which require more elaborated argumentation in order to align the imagined reader to the authorial stance, being analysed. Finally, the different techniques used by the four groups in the formulation of subject lines, which should entice the recipient to open the e-mails, will be reviewed.

Chapter 8 summarizes the findings from chapters 5, 6 and 7. The contributions this thesis to the study of environmental discourse, interpersonal positioning and the study of online activist discourse will be laid out. Some possible implications of the findings presented here for the authors of activist campaign communications will also be provided. Finally, the research limitations of this thesis will be considered, and suggestions for possible avenues of future research will be given.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Background

2.1. Introduction

The interpersonal function of language, viewed as a tool simultaneously emanating from and creating social realities, has received much attention, particularly since the early 1990s. In this chapter, consideration will be given to how the interpersonal metafunction has been theorised from a range of perspectives. We then turn to how this concept is dealt with under the theoretical framework chosen for the current study, Appraisal Theory (Martin & White, 2005). Related to this theory, we will see how its categorisations are related to the construal of imagined reader alignment and affiliation in text. Additionally, other markers, namely interactant markers, questions and commands, will also be reviewed according to their potential impact on the portrayed level of affiliation of the imagined reader with the writer. The goal of the chapter is to explain how the separation of these two concepts (reader alignment and reader affiliation) will help to uncover patterns in the strategies used by the four activist groups in encouraging their readership to take concrete action.

2.2. Interpersonal stance and voice

Related to the analysis of authorial stance, there exists some terminological proliferation regarding the related concepts of *evaluation*, *stance* and *appraisal*. From a Systemic Function Linguistics (SFL) perspective, the study of patterns of evaluation is termed as *appraisal*, which in general terms is “the indication of whether the speaker thinks that something is good or bad.” (Martin & White, 2005:75). Table 2 reproduces Martin and White’s (ibid.) review of the changing terminology used to talk about issues of evaluation, stance and appraisal from the 1980s to the early 2000s.

Approaches to Evaluation	‘entity focused’	‘proposition focused’
Chafe and Nichols, 1986		evidentiality
Ochs and Schiefflen, 1989	affect specifiers	affect identifiers
Biber and Finnegan, 1989	affect	evidentiality
Wierzbicka, 1990	emotion	
Bybee and Fleischman, 1995	evaluation	modality
Niemeier and Dirven, 1997	emotion	
Conrad and Biber, 2000	attitudinal stance	epistemic stance
Hunston and G. Thompson, 2000	opinions about entities	opinions about propositions
Hunston, 2000	‘status’ and ‘value’ on the autonomous plane	‘status’ and ‘value’ on the interactive plane

Table 2: *Approaches to evaluation* (Martin & White, 2005:39)

Despite the use of different terms, the studies in Table 2 all divide those linguistic features used to evaluate the world between the ‘entity focused’, in terms of ‘good’ and ‘bad’, from ‘proposition focused’ ones, which evaluate the truth-value of semiotic entities. Related to the writer’s position-taking on the contents of these propositions is often referred to as *stance* (Hyland, 2012; G. Thompson, 2012), which illustrates how authorial positioning is realised in texts. The theoretical frameworks which have included concepts of stance include: metadiscourse theory (Bondi, 2012; Hyland, 1998), systemic functional linguistics (Martin & White, 2005; Hood, 2004), multidimensional analysis (Biber, 1988), academic discourse

analysis (Hyland, 1998), the classical rhetoric tradition (Gross and Chesley, 2012) and reader-response (Tardy, 2012). Regarding the exact term used to indicate what in this study we will refer to as *stance* (Biber & Finegan, 1989; Biber, 2006; Jaffe, 2009), there is a relatedly wide variety of conceptualisations, including: ‘footing’ (Goffman, 1981), ‘intensity’ (Labov, 1984), ‘evidentiality’ (Chafe & Nichols, 1986), ‘affect’ (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1989), ‘point of view’ (Simpson, 1993), ‘hedging’ (Hyland, 1998), ‘positioning’ (Harré and van Langenhove, 1999), ‘evaluation’ (Hunston and G. Thompson, 2000) and ‘appraisal’ (Martin, 2000; Martin & White, 2005). What these all have in common is that the writer is not considered as an impartial mediator between an external reality and the reader. In fact, Bartlett (2014) argues that the speaker uses language to construe a world based on a complex interaction of personal and social factors. Bartlett (2014) explains that:

“construal refers to the way that speakers use the resources of the language to make particular aspects of a field salient, so that the particular way they construe events tells you as much if not more about the speaker than the people and events they are talking about” (Bartlett, 2014:44)

Different semantically-defined participants are assigned different grammatical roles, depending upon implicit hierarchies which reflect as much the concerns and worldview of the speaker as they do what they are describing. To illustrate this more clearly, Bartlett (2018:11-12) makes use of the concept of ‘positioning theory’ (Harré and van Langenhove, 1999) from the perspective of social psychology. The ability of a speaker to adopt a position (*stance*) on an issue depends on six factors (see Fig.1 below).

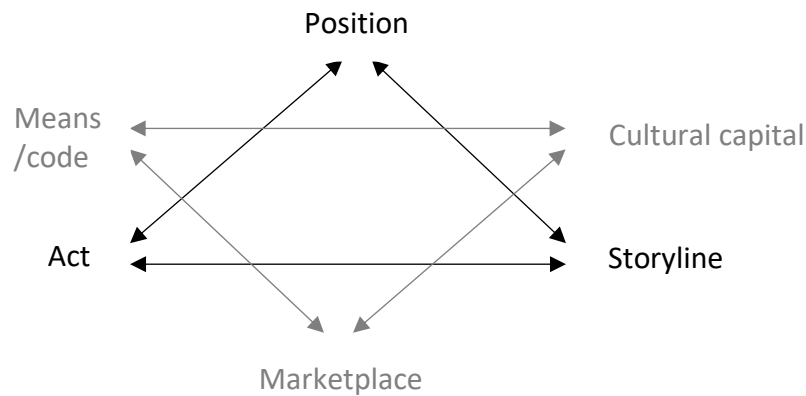


Figure 1: Positioning star of David (Bartlett, 2014:12)

The original positioning model included only the interaction of three factors: the storyline, act, and position, which represent the interaction of the speaker’s position-taking with other elements in an ongoing social discourse. However, Bartlett (ibid.) added three constraining factors: the speaker’s *cultural capital* that “endows their words with a *symbolic capital* beyond the value of their content alone” (author emphasis, Bartlett, 2014:11), the *marketplace*, that is assumed mode of reception by the intended audience or recipient, and the *means/code*, the speaker’s level of control over the language. Although we will not be using these terms in our analysis, we will nevertheless how see these factors condition differences observed between the campaign e-mails of the four groups, in particular related to cultural capital, that is, the varying social status of the four groups⁹.

Stance has been studied through the analysis of a wide variety of lexicogrammatical elements: personal pronouns, possessive determiners, indefinite pronouns, nominal phrases, hedges and boosters (Hyland, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000; Fløttum, 2012; Pic and Furmaniak, 2012); a noun that encapsulates a proposition (Schmid, 2000; Flowerdew, 2003; Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Francis, 1986; Gray and Biber, 2012; G. Thompson, 2012); modals of obligation,

⁹ For an overview of the different characteristics of the four groups, see section ‘1.4. Hypotheses and objectives’. For a more comprehensive outline, including the histories of the four organisations, see ‘4.3.1. The history and key characteristics of the four organisations’.

imperatives, questions (Hyland, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002b; G. Thompson, 2012); reported speech (Coffin, 2009; Martin & White, 2005); complement clauses (Biber *et al.*, 1999); the use of metatext (Fløttum *et al.*, 2006); and clause-initial elements (Celle & Lansari, 2014; Carter-Thomas, 2014). Regarding the frameworks applied in studies examining authorial positioning, the realisation of stance has included self-mention and explicit expression of opinion (Sancho Guinda & Hyland, 2012) to self-attribution of propositions, to unattributed expressions of stance (Bondi, 2012). In this thesis, we have chosen to apply Appraisal Theory (Martin and White, 2005), which covers many of the elements listed above such as hedges, boosters, modals of obligation and attribution.

Having been developed within the socially-oriented model of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, 2014), Appraisal Theory allows the researcher to potentially identify links between markers of stance and the other metafunctions of language, that is the experiential and textual. Regarding the overlaying of the three metafunctions in SFL, one example from this thesis is the objective not only to identify degree of inclusivity in interactant markers, particularly those that reference the writer and/or reader, but also to consider the participant role they fulfil within the transitivity of the clause¹⁰. Tenor is realised through both experiential and interpersonal choices, allowing for the investigation of the interaction of the two metafunctions in the construction of the characteristics of the imagined reader.

¹⁰ See section '2.6. Interactant nominal groups' for more information about the annotation of these nominal groups, section '3.2.2. Anthropocentric characteristics of English' for the treatment of transitivity and participant role markers in this thesis, and section '6.2.2. Interactant transitivity participant roles'.

2.3. Appraisal Theory

2.3.1. SFL and Appraisal Theory

Language as a social semiotic, as it is defined in SFL, has its basis in an understanding of language production as necessarily dialogic, with the possible implications of HETEROGLOSSIA (*dialogic expansion and dialogic contraction*, Martin & White, 2005:102) and polyphonia (*presence of multiple voices in a text*, see Fløttum, 2013). Martin states that:

“Language has evolved as part of our own evolution. It is not arbitrary; on the contrary, it is the semiotic refraction of our own existence in the physical, biological, social and semiotic modes. It is not autonomous; it is itself part of a more complex semiotic construct – which... can be modelled in stratal terms such that language as a whole is related by realization to a higher level of context (context of situation and of culture). This contextualization of language, we suggested, was the critical factor which made it possible to relate language to other systems -&- processes, both other semiotic systems and systems of other kinds.” (Martin, 1999:602)

This feature of language as an embedded system, within other semiotic and non-semiotic systems, implies the existence of functional links to those other systems. Bakhtin and Voloshinov’s notions that all acts of communication are structurally dialogic is one demonstration of this embeddedness. Being based in SFL theory, Appraisal Theory’s integration of a dialogistic outlook can be seen in Martin and White’s definition of the act of communication:

“to speak or write is always to reveal the influence of, refer to, or take up in some way, what has been said/written before, and simultaneously to anticipate responses of actual, potential or imagined readers/listeners.” (Martin & White, 2005:92)

Thus, the dialogic, interactive nature of any language production (including ‘monologic’ texts) can be seen not only when considering the language system as a whole, but also within individual speech acts. Voloshinov says that these individual speech acts relate to an ongoing discourse:

“in ideological colloquy of a large scale: it responds to something, affirms something, anticipates possible responses and objections, seeks support, and so on.” (Voloshinov, 1995, as quoted in Martin & White, 2005:92)

These functions may sometimes be expressed explicitly but are more often indicated through the use of particular lexicogrammatical structures which might not directly and immediately call to mind the presence of an interlocutor, that is another voice, in the text. For example, related to use of some epistemic modality markers which Hyland (1996) terms 'hedges' (e.g., *might, may, seem to, likely etc.*), the author can indicate their anticipation that the reader may hold a different view, or come to a different conclusion to that of the writer. Thus, the authorial voice engages with its potential readers/listeners, displaying solidarity in accommodating other possible viewpoints. This relates to the concept of face-work (see Brown & Levinson, 1987; Hyland, 2002a), and the need, especially in academic contexts, to avoid face-threatening acts which exclude possible alternative positions, conveyed through the use of high modality values or bare assertions.

While including 'hedges', and their inverse, 'boosters', identified by Hyland (1996), Martin and White's Appraisal Theory also covers a wide range of lexicogrammatical features including affect, modality, evidentiality, engagement, projecting sources and intensity. The criteria for identifying appraisal markers in Appraisal Theory are based on semantic and pragmatic functions, and do not fit with a predetermined range of grammatical features. In fact, Martin and White state that the interpersonal system of appraisal intends to:

"flag the existence of a wide array of resources that are used to negotiate group identity and so co-operate with Appraisal and negotiation in the realization of tenor relations". (Martin & White, 2005:34)

However, the use of Appraisal Theory categories for the analysis of the positioning of the imagined reader has only recently begun to receive attention. As Peter White (2020b) states:

"To my knowledge, there is currently nothing in the appraisal-framework literature where the focus is exclusively on that sub-set of the resources of dialogistic positioning which have implications for construal of putative readerships." (Peter White, 2020b:406)

The aim of this thesis is to contribute to this new work on the positioning of the imagined reader in texts, particularly through focusing on the separation and interaction of the twin concepts of reader alignment and reader affiliation. Before considering how the different appraisal markers relate to these two concepts, we will first consider how reader positioning simultaneously functions on different levels of a text.

2.3.2. Macro and micro reader positioning

Peter White (2021b) argues for the necessity of analysing the reader alignment choices made by a writer at different levels: “positioning may operate at both a text-global or macro level and at a text-local or micro-level” (Peter White, 2021b:261). Given that the corpus of this thesis consists of texts written with a persuasive purpose in mind (that is, convincing a sympathetic audience to take concrete action), the text-global positioning of the imagined reader is as someone who is potentially ‘uncommitted’ with regards to the authorial stances (i.e., campaign focus), but as having already demonstrated a base level of affiliation with the author in having signed up to receive the e-mails. So, the overall purpose of these texts is to persuade the reader to take action through both aligning them to the authorial stance, and, as a complementary strategy, possibly emphasizing their shared culture, knowledge and even identity. The use of persuasive elements of the text may reflect the presumption of the writer that, at first, the imagined reader is neither aligned on the campaign issue nor sufficiently affiliated to take the requested action. Peter White (2021b) details the implications for the annotation of a persuasive text genre such as is under investigation in this thesis:

“...for the author to adopt the communicative role of ‘persuader’ it is necessarily to position the addressee interpersonally as ‘persuadee’ – i.e., to project on to the addressee the possibility that they do not share the attitudinal and/or epistemic position being advanced in the text’s thesis. At the same time, and equally obviously,

the addressee is construed as ‘persuadable’, as potentially susceptible to being won over to the merits of the author’s viewpoint on account of justifications and motivations supplied for the purpose of winning them over.” (Peter White, 2021b:263)

However, while at the global text level, the reader is to be considered as potentially uncommitted and unaffiliated to the author, at the local level, the imagined reader might be construed as being anywhere along the clines from aligned to dis-aligned on the authorial stance and from affiliated to disaffiliated with the author.

Related to the Sydney Genre School (Martin and Rose, 2008), two types of persuasive discourse could be relevant to this thesis: ‘exposition’ and ‘challenge’. While ‘exposition’ presents a contentious proposition early on, which is then argued for in the remaining text, ‘challenge’ sources an external voice at the beginning, to eventually present a ‘counter-thesis’ towards the text’s conclusion. It is possible that different campaigns from the different groups studied in this thesis use these two genres of persuasive texts, essentially depending on whether they are launching a campaign on an issue from their own research and initiative (i.e., ‘exposition’), or reacting to topical events in politics or the world of business (i.e., ‘challenge’). A more pertinent distinction for this thesis, that is related to authorial stance and imagined reader positioning, is between ‘advocacy’ and ‘flag waving’ text types. While these differ according to the persuasive techniques employed, Peter White defines the overall objectives of both as:

“‘prosecuting a case’ – as directed at winning over the reader to the author’s viewpoint [advocacy] or as reinforcing the reader in a view they might already be favouring [flag-waving]” (Peter White, 2021b:261)

Related to the differences between ‘advocacy’ and ‘flag waving’, we must consider elements such as the force of attitudinal markers, the presence or absence of expansive ENGAGEMENT markers as well as that of JUSTIFY or explicit argumentation. Of the two types, ‘advocacy’ can be considered as a truly persuasive text, as it is in this text type that the reader is positioned

as uncommitted and thus as needing to be won over through argumentation. On the contrary, ‘flag-waving’ presumes an already highly aligned reader and thus exemplifies texts in which the writer does not go to the pains of making explicit the basis of their arguments. Again, it is possible that both approaches will be identified related to different campaigns by the groups studied in this thesis, although it is predicted that ‘advocacy’ should logically be the preferred approach for the activist groups studied. This is evident through the assumption that their objective is to convince as many of their audience as possible to take the requested action, rather than only bolstering the stance of those who are already aligned to the authorial stance.

The next section offers a brief overview of the impact that different appraisal markers can have on reader positioning, in particular related to the concepts of reader alignment and reader affiliation.

2.3.3. Attitude

2.3.3.1. Inscribed attitude

Appraisal Theory maps how the interpersonal metafunction is realised in discourse “by attending to three axes along which the speaker’s/writer’s intersubjective stance may vary” (Martin & White 2005:1). Those three axes are ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION. ATTITUDE is further divided into three sub-categories: AFFECT, that is the writer’s positive or negative emotional reactions; APPRECIATION, their assessments of objects or semiosis; JUDGEMENT, the writer’s evaluation of human behaviour (Martin & White, 2005:33). The three sub-categories, each divided into their own realisation systems, are shown in Figure 2 below.

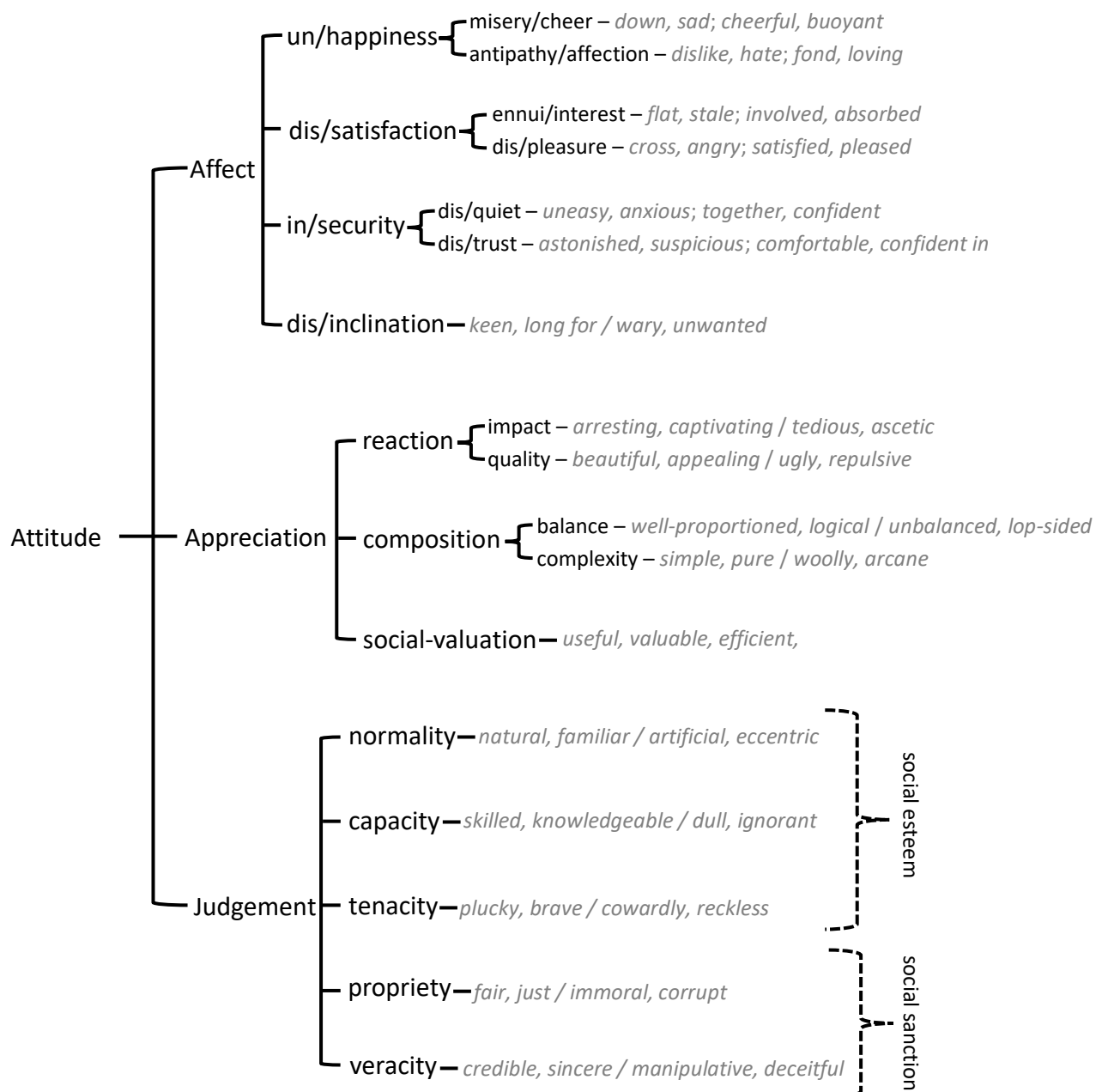


Figure 2: ATTITUDE system of Appraisal Theory (example from Martin & White, 2005:49-58)

Regarding the dialogic function of attitudinal markers, Martin and White state that:

“...declarations of attitude are dialogically directed towards aligning the addressee into a community of shared value and belief.” (Martin & White, 2005:95).

Thus, it will be demonstrated that the authors of the campaign materials studied in this thesis use the sub-categories of the ATTITUDE system to portray the imagined reader as being in alignment with authorial stances. For this text type, which include highly engaged in societal

and environmental stances, the sub-systems of ATTITUDE which are of most interest are expected to be JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION. Within the JUDGEMENT sub-system, there is a choice between the use of markers of 'social esteem', which are used "to laud someone for their TENACITY, CAPACITY OR NORMALITY is not to characterise them as a 'good person'" (Peter White, 2021b:258), while those of 'social sanction' "refer to secular or religious codes of ethics and legalities." (ibid.). The dialogic implications of the selection of negative 'social sanction' over 'social esteem' thus positions the writer, and hence the imagined reader, as going beyond simple criticism of a text participant to implying social censorship of them. Peter White (ibid.) states that:

"Assessments of 'social sanction' are therefore rather more charged interpersonally and socially than assessment of 'social esteem', since, unlike assessments of social esteem, they involve behaviour in accordance with, or in breach of, norms of behaviour which are institutionally codified. To negatively assess someone as dishonest (negative 'veracity') or corrupt (negative 'propriety') puts more at stake interpersonally and socially than, for example, to assess them as stubborn (negative 'tenacity'), unintelligent (negative 'capacity') or weird (negative 'normality')." (Peter White, 2021b:258)

An example of 'social sanction' of Nestle's water bottling operations in the USA is given in (2) below:

- (2) "Despite the clear message sent by this community, and *Nestle's claim to respect the democratic process, the company continued to look for loopholes and to push forward with plans to open the plant.*" (SoS07, The Story of Stuff, 04/11/2017)

The social sanction (negative VERACITY and DISTANCE) activated by the clause '*Nestle's claim...*' in (2) can be compared with the negative social esteem (negative CAPACITY) in '*leaders have continued...*' in (3):

- (3) "Young people have shown what is possible where *leaders have continued to fail to act.*" (GP21, The Green Party, 19/09/2019)

The sanction of Nestle in (2) implies an intention on their part to mislead the public, whereas the negative social esteem of politicians in (3) indicates an absence of the type of actions that

the author wishes to see from them, thus making (2) a stronger form of criticism than (3). However, given that attitudinal assessments are often conveyed in conjunction with contextual and co-textual cues, we expect that negative 'social esteem', especially that indicating negative TENACITY (i.e., lack of courage) and negative CAPACITY (often intellectual) can also constitute very strong criticism of the target as lacking in agency¹¹.

We will now move on to consider the realisations of attitudinal stance which has implications for both the presumed levels of imagined reader alignment as well as affiliation.

2.3.3.2. Invoked attitude

Martin and White (2005) note that, despite the risk of "an undesirable element of subjectivity into the analysis" (Martin & White, 2005:62), if the analyst declares themselves to have adopted a tactical reading position, that is a "the reading which is 'naturalised' by the overall trajectory of the meanings in a text" (ibid.:25), then it is possible to accurately identify evaluation in experiential tokens employed by the writer. For example, given the prosodic nature of appraisal, there can often be a colouring of a longer segment of text from an inscribed attitudinal marker to the subsequent experiential meaning, as the following demonstrates:

My mother cried go get their dad
He came running **fighting mad**
Mother's tears were falling down
Dad shaped up he stood his ground
He said you touch my kids and you fight me
And they took us from our family (*author emphasis*, Rose 1996:81 quoted in Martin & White, 2005:63)

Following the inscribed markers 'fighting mad' (negative AFFECT:SATISFACTION), 'stood his ground' (positive JUDGEMENT:TENACITY) and 'you fight me' (positive JUDGEMENT:TENACITY) all

¹¹ For more discussion on this issue, see section '5.3.2. Judgement'.

contribute to the attitudinal colouring of the experiential elements ‘they took us from our family’ (invoked negative JUDGEMENT:PROPRIETY) through intra-textual reference.

Within Appraisal Theory, inscribed ATTITUDE is that which provides “explicit positive or negative values” (Martin & White, 2005:53), while invoked ATTITUDE contains values which are “indirectly encoded” (ibid.:56). To separate the two categories, we must consider on what basis this explicitness, or directness, is to be judged: on syntactic or semantic criteria. Biber *et al.* (1999:986-996) opt for syntactic when they state that the most explicit form of evaluation is that which occurs within an overt grammatical device which signals stance, such as those containing a complement clause (most often a ‘that-clause’). Likewise, the transparency of the appraiser as being the author also increases the explicitness of the appraisal, with the most direct form being that of using first person pronouns. On the other hand, single words (adjectives, verbs or nouns) with evaluative meaning are considered to be the most implicit realisation of evaluation, as they depend upon the reader’s ability to distinguish them from, for example, simple descriptive or classificatory adjectives. Other approaches to the division of attitudinal markers according to explicitness include those of Hood (2004, 2010, 2012) and Fløttum (2012). Hood’s (2012) study, which was based on the axes of Appraisal Theory, describes explicit markers as being those which are realised through the ATTITUDE system, with more implicit realisations in the form of GRADUATION markers. She notes that these more implicit realisations of evaluation are often used by researchers when reviewing previous work carried out by their disciplinary colleagues. The rationale for using GRADUATION markers to invoke the attitudinal stance of the author is that it avoids the dichotomy of ‘good/bad’ present in the ATTITUDE system. For example:

- positive APPRECIATION/JUDGEMENT in “*many* [+ force: quantity] researchers”;
- expansive ENGAGEMENT:ENTERTAIN in “In *attempting* [focus: completion] to”;

- positive APPRECIATION/JUDGEMENT in “to uncover *a number of* [force: quantity] *broader* [force: scope] issues”.

Fløttum (2012), on the other hand, sees the more implicit realisation of evaluation as occurring dialogically through polyphony, and thus as invoked by ENGAGEMENT markers. She states that the dialogically-contrastive resources of negation (*not*), contrast (*but*) and concession (*while*) are more implicit appraisals than those found in ATTITUDE. While all the above studies, amongst others (Fløttum et al 2006; Mauranen 1993a; Sheldon 2013; Salager-Meyer et al 2003), represent important steps forward in the study of implicit, or invoked ATTITUDE, a more comprehensive approach was deemed necessary for the present study which includes invocation through experiential tokens, as well as invocation through markers of inscribed ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION. Given that the campaign materials studied in this thesis are written for a sympathetic audience who signed up to receive the messages, we expect to find a high frequency of invoked as well as inscribed evaluations. A framework which can identify as many of both inscribed as well as invoked attitudinal markers would therefore benefit the delicacy of the analysis undertaken. Regarding reader positioning, markers of invoked ATTITUDE impact on both reader alignment and affiliation.

Based on Martin and White’s (2005:67) description of invoked ATTITUDE, Don (2016) presents an amended system of overlapping categories of invocation in order to create a “more precise means of tracking and identifying how ATTITUDE is invoked in texts.” (Don, 2016:2). She proposes a spectrum of invocation, under which the category of ‘evoked’ markers covers the category which Martin and White (2005) classified as ‘afford’, and the category of ‘provoked’ markers cover Martin and White’s (ibid.) categories of ‘flag’ and ‘provoke’. The reasoning behind this binary division is that while ‘evoke’ relies on the experiential and cultural knowledge of the discourse community for their interpretation as

markers of ATTITUDE, 'provoke' is signalled in the text by some kind of marker. Don (2016) defines evoked ATTITUDE as "dependent on high affiliation in terms of assumed knowledge and shared experience of the world" (Don, 2016:10). All the 'provoked' markers instead rely on identifiable linguistic features, or as Don defines them: "local co-textual signals or other in-text indicators that an attitudinal value is at stake" (Don, 2016:8). The diagram used by Don (ibid.:9) can be found in Fig. 3 below, where the lowest categories (1-4) relate to the most implicit 'evoking' of ATTITUDE through cultural affiliation, while categories (5-8) refer to 'provoked' invocation through textual markers.

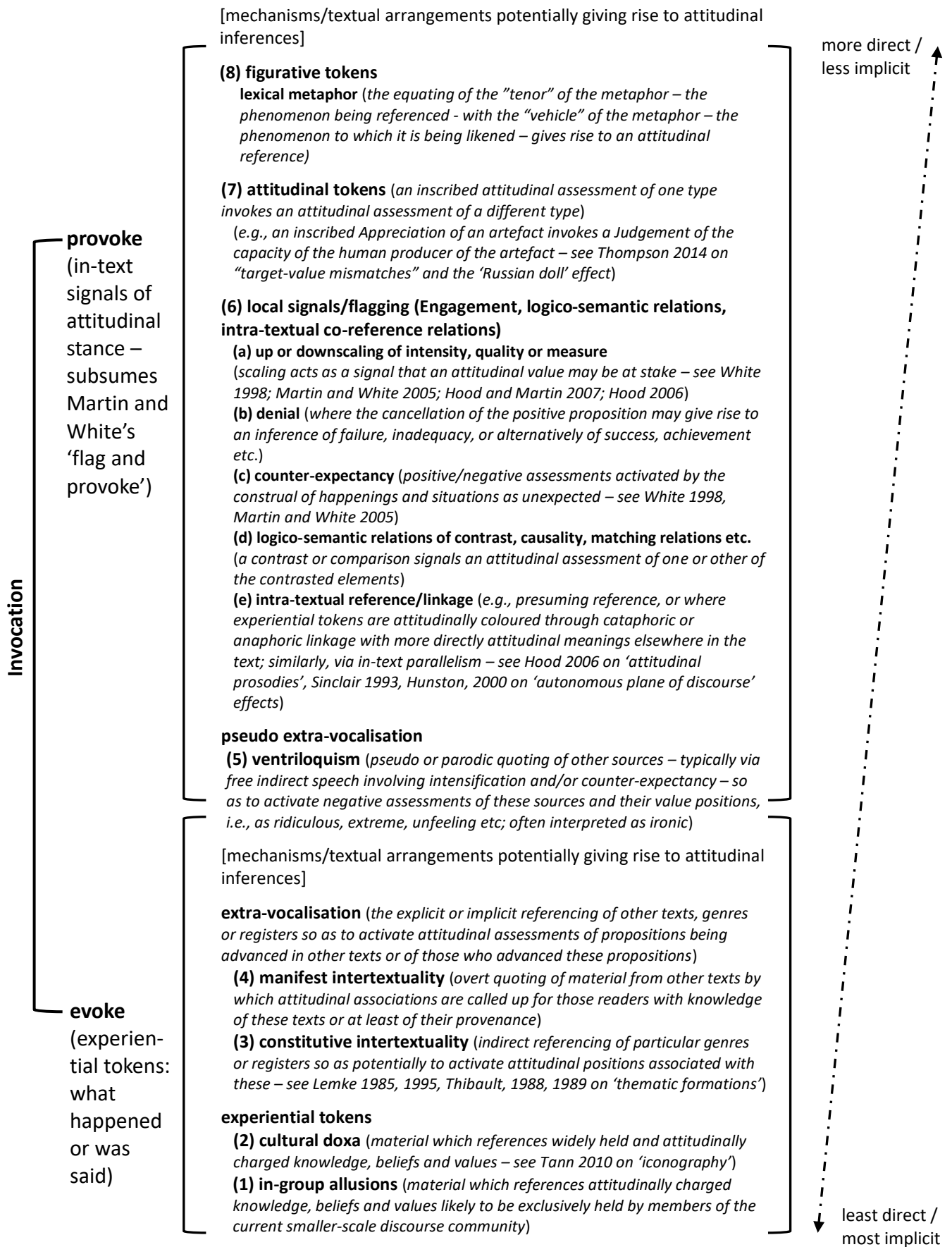


Figure 3: The Spectrum of invocation – provoke vs. evoke (Don, 2016:9)

The level of explicitness of invocation of different markers of invoked ATTITUDE (as signalled by the dotted double-arrow in Fig. 3) can be read as signalling the level of reader affiliation needed for its reception by the reader. For example, invoked attitudes based on category (1), ‘in-group allusions’ are those which depend most heavily on reader affiliation into a common culture/community with the writer for their successful reception, as they are based on *‘knowledge, beliefs and values likely to be exclusively held by members of the current smaller-scale discourse community’* (see Fig.3). That is, ATTITUDE is evoked through experiential tokens which contain no linguistic features which can be said to be explicitly evaluative, instead signalling a stance related to how their experiential content is viewed within a discourse community. At the other end of the spectrum, attitudes invoked by lexical metaphor are likely to be perceived and understood by a broad range of the general public as they are most often based on well-known metaphorical framings (see Lakoff, 2004). So, as regards levels of reader affiliation, while the markers placed under ‘evoke’ clearly imply high levels of reader affiliation, still others in ‘provoke’, especially those based on the presence of markers of ENGAGEMENT and logico-semantic relations, still may require a level of background knowledge of the author’s general value system on the part of the reader for their correct reception. For the purposes of brevity, two examples are given from Don’s (2016) study, one for ‘evoked’ and one for ‘provoked’ ATTITUDE, followed by two examples from the corpus of this thesis (4) and (5).

Below, we consider the first extract from Don’s (ibid.) study which draws on presumed sharing of cultural knowledge and worldview by the imagined reader for the correct interpretation of its attitudinal colouring:

“BTW these **Seattle** coffee shops seem to favor as background music Frank Sinatra and ‘The Three Tenors Sing Broadway Show Tunes’ – where’s the **cutting-edge rock** to be found? [sft11.5/matt] (*author emphasis*, Don, 2016:16)

The activation of authorial stance in the above quote depends on three factors: the implied invoked negative APPRECIATION related to one music genre (i.e. Frank Sinatra and ‘The Three Tenors’), the shared cultural norms regarding the appropriacy of these genres (as indicated through the inscribed positive APPRECIATION marker ‘cutting-edge’), and in-group cultural knowledge related to expectations of background music genres in Seattle cafés in the 1990s, and the implicit counter-expectancy structure this implies. Regarding the cultural knowledge that the construed readership is expected to possess, Don (2016:17) notes that:

“local references privy only to those addressees who know what style of music Seattle was famous for at that time, and also in fact, actual experience of “Seattle” coffee shops... Where’s the cutting-edge rock to be found? The question implies that cutting edge rock was expected, but was not evident in ‘these Seattle coffee shops’.” (Don, 2016:17)

Thus, as depending partly on ‘in-group allusion’, it is clear that the reception of the attitudinal stance of the message is dependent on reader affiliation. More precisely, while the stance towards rock music is communicated explicitly (i.e., ‘cutting edge’), the negative APPRECIATION of Frank Sinatra and The Three Tenors in this context relies on the reader’s knowledge of and acceptance of an in-group limited set of norms regarding the appropriacy of different music in Seattle cafés, thus indicating also background knowledge of the city as the cradle of a genre of rock music (i.e., *grunge*). For anyone who is not privy to such in-group cultural norms, the negative APPRECIATION of Frank Sinatra and The Three Tenors may not be evident. Thus, we see how this type of invocation involves both reader alignment and reader affiliation as the necessary basis for the perception of the attitudinal colouring of the text. An example of ‘evoked’ ATTITUDE taken from the corpus of this thesis is given in (4) below:

(4) “Equally notable was that *Thai Union is the only company that has engaged with a trade union, in this case the International Transport Workers Federation.*” (FU17, Freedom United, 05/06/2019)

Here, the invoked positive JUDGEMENT:PROPRIETY for the company Thai Union is perceivable in relation to the cultural doxa of the group, that is that they approve of companies' actions to help safeguard workers' rights. This perception of the author's value system is not in this case related to an inscribed stance, but instead through the accumulation of stances on related issues through this and other e-mails. Its perception by the imagined reader is dependent on that reader sharing knowledge of the author's worldview, thus demonstrating a high level of affiliation. As Don (2019) notes:

“writer strategies of ambiguity and implication at the same time greatly contribute to the construal of group affiliation, and to axiological or value alignments through assumptions of shared attitudes.” (Don, 2019:78)

That is, the attitudinal position which is evoked through an indirect reference to shared experience, culture, or more generally worldview, can powerfully affiliate the writer and imagined reader. In this way, we can see how evoked ATTITUDE has as much impact on reader affiliation as on reader alignment concerning the stance it expresses. Given that the corpus for this thesis was gathered as a result of becoming a member of the e-mailing lists for the four groups, we expect to find a relatively high frequency of evoked ATTITUDE. Also, our long-term membership of these lists fulfils Don's prerequisite that “analysts need to take the role of ethnographer and the reading position of participant-observer” (Don, 2016:11). That is, while the analyst needs to maintain an external, 'objective' view of the discourse, they also need a degree of affiliation with, that is, knowledge and experience of, the group's cultural norms for the perception and coding of such instances of evoked ATTITUDE.

The next excerpt from Don's (2016) study of 'provoked' attitudinal stance from the use of inscribed markers of ATTITUDE (category 7 in Fig.3):

“[...] would rather **hear your fear, suspicion or doubt directly** than to hear their echoes in all of our exchanges or in **the poverty of our exchange**. [sally4]” (*author emphasis*, Don, 2016:13)

Here, Don distinguishes between ‘local targets’ and ‘real targets’, with the ‘local targets’ appraised through the use of nominalised attitudinal markers as the possessors of ‘irrealis’ inscribed negative AFFECT:SECURITY (*‘your fear, suspicion or doubt’*). Meanwhile, the ‘real target’ is appraised with invoked negative JUDGEMENT:PROPRIETY as a result of the comparative ‘*rather... than’* combined with positive AFFECT:INCLINATION (*‘I would rather...’*) on the part of the author. Regarding the level of reader affiliation, the identification of the ‘real target’ requires knowledge of the ongoing discourse. However, this does not constitute cultural, in-group or inter-textual knowledge (as in the case of ‘evoked ATTITUDE’) and so the level of reader affiliation necessary for the perception of this provoked ATTITUDE is less than that for the evoked ATTITUDE categories. An example of provoked ATTITUDE taken from the corpus of this thesis is given in (5) below:

- (5) ***“Racist, xenophobic immigration policies couple with funding for the Libyan Coastguard are fueling [sic.] modern slavery in Libya.”*** (FU19, Freedom United, 15/08/2019)

Here, the inscribed negative APPRECIATION:SOCIAL-VALUATION in ‘*Racist, xenophobic immigration policies’* and ‘*fueling [sic.] modern slavery in Libya’* contribute to the negative JUDGEMENT:PROPRIETY for the real target, that is EU member states who are providing the funding.

However, the ATTITUDE system does not function in isolation in determining the presumed level of reader alignment, instead depending on the selections the author makes from the ENGAGEMENT system. The essential distinction in this system is between markers which acknowledge alternative voices or position, that is, HETEROGLOSSIA, and those lacking any kind of acknowledgement that the proposition advanced by the author is one of many possible alternative positions in the dialogic environment, that is, MONOGLOSSIA. We will first

consider the two sub-types of HETEROGLOSSIA, CONTRACT and EXPAND, before reviewing the reader positioning implications of the use of MONOGLOSSIA as well as presupposition.

2.3.4. Engagement

2.3.4.1. Contract

Martin and White define ENGAGEMENT as:

“The ways in which resources such as projection, modality, polarity, concession, and various comment adverbials position the speaker/writer with respect to the value position being advanced and with respect to potential responses to that value position – by quoting or reporting, acknowledging a possibility, denying, countering, affirming and so on.” (Martin & White 2005:36).

So, while ATTITUDE reveals the writer’s attitudinal position, ENGAGEMENT reveals their dialogical positioning, that is whether they expand the discourse space to allow for already existing or potential alternative voices or contract the discourse space to deny those voices a textual presence. Through the use of ENGAGEMENT resources, the writer “invite[s] others to endorse or to share with them the feelings, tastes or normative assessments they are announcing.” (Martin & White, 2005:95). The main sub-systems through which this expansion and contraction is realised are related to notions of evidentiality (see Chafe and Nichols, 1986), attribution and epistemological positioning (see Hoyo, 1997, Palmer, 2001). In particular, HETEROGLOSSIC sentences are those which allow for (and accept or refute to varying degrees) alternative voices in the text. MONOGLOSSIA, on the other hand, does not allow for other voices, instead employing the matter-of-fact style of bare assertions, but remains dialogic in its refusal to acknowledge existing or potential alternative voices¹². Figure 4 below gives an outline of the ENGAGEMENT system, with examples taken from Martin and White’s (2005:97-98).

¹² Explained in greater detail in section ‘2.3.4.3. Bare assertions and presuppositions’

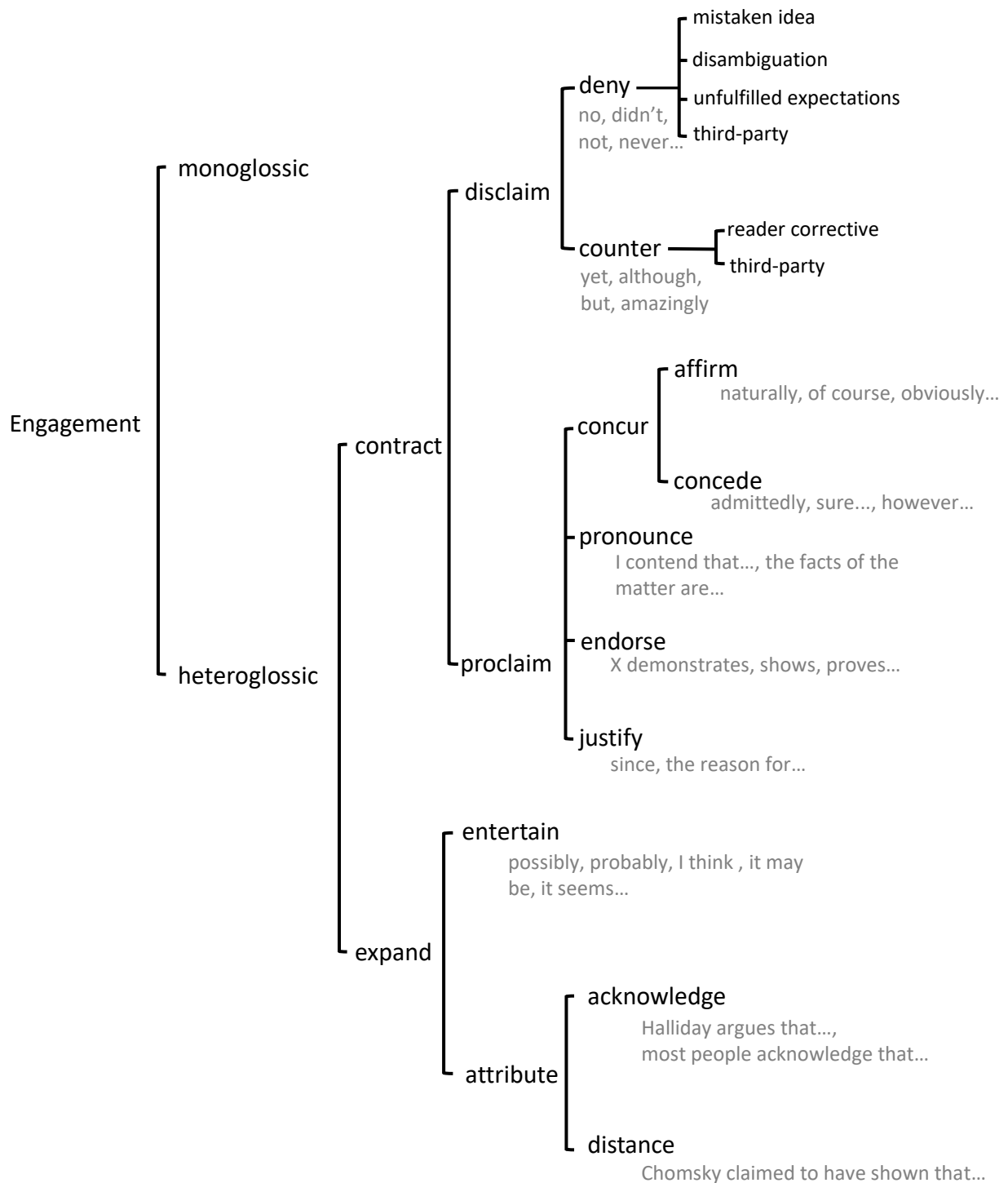


Figure 4: ENGAGEMENT system, with examples from Martin & White (2005:134) and additional DENY sub-categories from Don (2017) and CONTRACT sub-categories from Peter White (2021a)

Regarding the HETEROGLOSSIC branch of the ENGAGEMENT system, there exist two dialogic alternatives for the writer, to EXPAND or CONTRACT the dialogical space. CONTRACT contains two categories, DISCLAIM and PROCLAIM. DISCLAIM includes the structures DENY (*no, never etc.*) or COUNTER (*but, yet etc.*), through which the authorial voice sets itself up in opposition to an external voice. Related to DENY, Martin and White (2005) state that:

“negation is a resource for introducing the alternative position into the dialogue, and hence acknowledge it, so as to reject it.” (Martin & White, 2005:118).

The dialogic implications of the use of DENY are that it invokes the authorial position through its negation. It also varies according to its ‘directionality’, that is regarding the position of which text participant is being denied, the reader, third-party, or even the author’s own previous stances. Even when this denial is projected onto a presumed implicit misapprehension on the part of the imagined reader, Peter White (2021a) argues that this often indicates only a momentary dis-alignment of the imagined reader, against the global text portrayal of the reader as adopting, or being convinced of the merits of, the authorial stance:

“This use of negation, therefore, can be seen as in some ways ‘incidental’ to the more global positioning of the addressee. Potential author-reader unlikemindedness is presented as arising from misapprehension or misunderstanding on the part of the addressee, with the author acting to attend to this misapprehension.” (Peter White, 2021a:17)

Related to the Peter White’s (2020b) study, the following example of DENY is given:

“I’m not blind to Israel’s faults. I deplore the rightwards shift of the nation’s political culture. I mourn the collapse of Labor Zionism.” (Sydney Morning Herald, 28/07/2014, Peter White, 2020b.:409)

The writer denies the potential misapprehension on the part of the reader that he belongs to an out-group of journalists who are ‘uncritically, blindly’ supportive of all Israel’s actions. Thus, here DENY works to emphasise the value alignment on the issue between writer and reader, which can be summarised as being supportive of Israel but in a balanced way.

Regarding DENY directed towards the imagined reader, Don (2017) elaborates on the work of Pagano (1994) on ‘implicit denial’ and Delogu (2009) on the presumptive function of DENY. In this case, DENY necessarily implies a presumption of the imagined reader’s ‘unuttered thoughts’, which are negated. The *implicit* in ‘implicit denial’ thus refers to what is denied,

that is the supposed reader position, rather than the realisation of DENY which is achieved explicitly through the use of a range of negating adverbs, negative prefixes or adverbs of frequency. Don (2017) states that the use of DENY entails that:

“an Addressee is positioned as having, or at least needing to be relieved of, the corresponding proposition which is being denied...” (Don, 2017:9)

Don proposes three main sub-categories of ‘implicit denial’: ‘mistaken idea’, ‘disambiguation’, and ‘unfulfilled expectation’. Regarding the present thesis, it is ‘disambiguation’ and ‘unfulfilled expectations’ which are thought to be used most frequently as the writer probably avoids the direct, confrontational rhetoric of implying that the reader harbours ‘mistaken ideas’. Consequently, the following discussion will focus on the two categories of ‘disambiguation’ and ‘unfulfilled expectations’.

‘Disambiguation’ implies the most immediate sense of presumption of the imagined reader’s position by the author. Here, the writer either pre-empts or retrospectively corrects a projected misinterpretation on the part of the reader regarding what the writer has stated or will declare. Therefore, while there is a sense of dis-alignment with the reader, the degree of the potential dis-affiliation is much less marked than ‘mistaken idea’ as the DENY does not invoke a potential negative JUDGEMENT of the reader. An example given by Don (2017) is:

“This is **not** to say I am **without** a poetic strain. I post to FOP-L my warehouse stories are created solely for the literary effect.” (example 2.5, *author emphasis*, Don, 2017:20)

This is an example of retrospective ‘disambiguation’ as it is provided at the end of the user’s post. The implicit position which is denied is that the reader is construed as making assumptions regarding the content of the previous phase of the writer’s post. While it is the presumed reader position that is being implicitly denied, it nevertheless refers to what positions could reasonably be intuited from the writer’s previous stances.

The category of 'unfulfilled expectations' invokes a lower degree of reader dis-affiliation than 'disambiguation', as:

"the reader is made co-participant in some counter-expectation (co-textual signals include *but, yet, while* etc. as well as categorical assertion of the negated proposition)... it is the *writer's* previously unstated assumptions which are brought into play through denial teamed with counters and/or concessions." (Don, 2017:21).

An example taken from Don's study is:

"It came through in my prose **but** did **not** consciously dawn on me 'till later." (*author emphasis*, Don, 2017:22)

In the first part of the quote the writer acknowledges a negative colouring of his previous content, but acts to downgrade the invoked negative JUDGEMENT on himself through a COUNTER (*but*) and DENY (*not*) relating to the level of conscious intention. At the same time, the writer presupposes that the reader came to the same stance regarding the previous content, an expectation which is corrected. 'Unfulfilled expectations' signals an effort to align the reader to the writer's position, but as the focus of the negation is on the author's own previous (unstated) stances, it does not endanger the supposed level of affiliation of the imagined reader. Example (6) including 'unfulfilled expectations' has been taken from the corpus of this thesis:

(6) "The government admits that air pollution is a problem, **but they won't deal with it properly unless they feel some pressure.**" (GR01, Greenpeace, 06/01/2017)

Here, the presumption is that the imagined reader will think something along the lines of 'Ok, the government admits that air pollution is a problem, so there's no more need to act'. Instead, the imagined reader is corrected in this misinterpretation, which then immediately precedes the 'call-to-action'. The reason for the use of COUNTER and DENY here is thought to be the writer highlighting the urgency and centrality of the requested reader action, despite having taken a positive stance towards actions already undertaken on the issue. However, for the affiliated

reader, that is someone who has read many e-mails from activist groups such as the ones under investigation here, the mere presence of a positive stance (invoked by cultural doxa in *'The government admits that air pollution is a problem'*) could trigger the expectation of a 'unfulfilled expectation' (CONTRAST and DENY) highlighting the insufficiency of the 'good news'. Thus, the effect on the presupposed reader expectations is reversed by the frequency of use of the device. We can observe that the instances of DENY covered so far can be considered to have a greater impact on reader alignment than reader affiliation, as 'disambiguation' and 'unfulfilled expectation' do not imply a clear separation of writer-reader group identity. Instead, they function mostly to make 'correctives' to presupposed reader assumptions based on the writer's previous propositions, and thus contribute to the overall alignment of the reader to the writer's global stance.

There is one occasion, however, in which the use of DENY is thought to strongly impact on the level of affiliation, as well as alignment, of the imagined reader. This is when the source of the denied proposition is that of third parties, especially in the case when the identities of third-parties remain vague and under-defined. In Peter White's (2021a) study of newspaper editorials, he identifies a passage towards the end of one piece in which the Editor makes the following statements:

"I see all this and I will not be silent."¹³ (Peter White, 2021a:17)

The presupposed negated source of the denied statement, that the author should *'see all this and remain silent'*, is unlikely to be the imagined reader who has arrived at the conclusion of a text whose purpose was to persuade them to adopt the writer's stance, that is, align with

¹³ The original quoted content is longer than this giving more co-text. However, the first sentence was deemed sufficient for presenting White's interpretation and our perspective on this dialogic functionality of DENY.

the writer's value system. Instead, as Peter White (ibid.) concludes, the presupposed source is more likely to be an external third party:

“What seems most significant rhetorically here is the implication that someone, somewhere (we don't know who this is) is demanding that Dyrenfurth [the author of the piece]... refrain from speaking on this topic. At the very least then, by this mechanism the text construes an addressee for whom it is plausible that that [sic] such demands for 'silence' are being made of Dyrenfurth.” (Peter White, 2021a:17)

Through the negating of the presupposed stance of an under-defined third-party, the writer is using DENY to heighten reader affiliation, as writer and reader are seen as belonging to an in-group in opposition to the implied out-group. In this sense, the use of DENY here does not entail a presumption of imagined reader dis-alignment; quite the opposite, it portrays writer and reader as not only aligned but also as highly affiliated as being members of a common group. Their shared identity is defined by its opposition to an out-group who, in this case, do not believe in freedom of expression for people who hold the writer and reader's value positions. Example (7) comes from the corpus of this thesis:

(7) *“We will **not** rest until international companies stop accruing profits from repression and the use of slavery.”* (FU01, Freedom United, 27/05/2017)

The source of the denied proposition, that *'Freedom United will rest/give up...'*, is very unlikely to be the imagined reader, who, by continuing to read the text, demonstrates at least a base level of affiliation with the author. The function is instead to emphasize the perseverance of the author in opposition to the suppositions of a hostile, unidentified third-party. This in turn is designed to encourage the imagined reader to lend them their support, that is, to heighten reader affiliation.

Moving on to COUNTER, Martin and White (2005) state that this category of ENGAGEMENT:

“includes formulations which represent the current proposition as replacing and supplanting, and thereby 'countering', a proposition which would have been in its place.” (Martin & White, 2005:120)

One sub-category of COUNTER adopted for this thesis, ‘reader corrective’, regards reader alignment and is similar to that presented under the ‘unfulfilled expectation’ function of DENY outlined above. That is, it dissolves a moment of potential dis-alignment regarding a previous proposition of the author. The following example is given in Peter White (2021a):

“In 2014, I see the Palestinians. I see their suffering. The carnage. The deaths. The tears. I see the historical injustice that befell them in 1948 and the fact that 66 years later they still possess no independent state of their own. **And yet** I also see their flaws, especially of their leaders. The genocidal hatred of Hamas and terrorist groups in Gaza and the continued rejection of Israel’s existence.” (Peter White, 2021a:17)

The propositions following the ‘And yet...’ marker of COUNTER in the middle of the paragraph anticipate a misinterpretation of the reader that the writer only sympathizes with the Palestinians, which is corrected in the following propositions in which the writer presents criticisms of them. Thus, the use of COUNTER indicates momentarily reader dis-alignment, against a background of global text level alignment. As Peter White (ibid.) notes:

“Here, the implied unlikemindedness is a matter of an indicated anticipation that the addressee might misapprehend the author’s sympathy for the Palestinians as a sign of his being insufficiently critical. This potential misapprehension (a moment of unlikemindedness) is, of course, immediately corrected. The possibility of author-reader dis-alignment around this issue is defused.” (Peter White, 2021a:17)

An example of COUNTER which illustrates this momentary reader dis-alignment taken from the corpus of this thesis, is given in (8):

(8) “With supporters like you, the Registry has grown by over 1,500 statements! **But** *there’s more work to be done.*” (FU06, Freedom United, 12/05/2018)

Here, the presumed position of the imagined reader would be ‘*the Registry has grown a lot, so I guess the work is finished*’, which the writer immediately corrects. As previously stated, this re-aligning of the imagined reader is very similar to that found under the ‘unfulfilled expectations’ function of DENY as both seek to correct presumed reader assumptions based on the immediately previous dialogue. As such, these functions of COUNTER and DENY portray

the imagined reader as only momentarily dis-aligned with the reader, and therefore poses no great risk to the level of writer-reader affiliation.

The other sub-category of COUNTER adopted in this thesis is 'third-party', by which the author contradicts the stance of a third-party expressed in the immediately previous clause, as in (9) below.

(9) "Barclays might want us to think they're in the business of financing good times, **but the reality is much more bleak.**" (GR13, Greenpeace, 10/08/2018)

Here, the COUNTER invokes a negative JUDGEMENT:VERACITY through the explicit contradiction of Barclay's stance of presenting themselves as '*financing good times*' in the previous clause. Just as in DENY 'third-party', it is proposed that this sub-category of COUNTER strengthens the portrayed level of reader affiliation, as both writer and reader are construed as belonging to the 'in-group' who are collectively sanctioning the 'out-group' perpetrator.

Regarding the sub-categories of PROCLAIM, Martin and White (2005) state that the dialogic function of CONCUR:

"involves formulations which overtly announce the addresser as agreeing with, or having the same knowledge as, some projected dialogic partner." (Martin & White, 2005:122).

CONCUR signals a move by the writer to reinforce reader alignment on an issue through the use of AFFIRM or CONCEDE. Regarding reader affiliation, both sub-categories support the presumed stance of the imagined reader, and therefore result in a strengthening of writer-reader affiliation. Peter White (2021a) demonstrates how, through the presupposed answers assumed of the reader, rhetorical questions can realise CONCUR. At one point in the text, the author of an Editorial asks a series of three pseudo-questions without providing responses:

"First, what do Israel's critics expect?... Should it ignore the rockets and weapon's smuggling tunnels?... Would a few hundred Jewish Israeli deaths even up the blood-soaked scoreboard?" (Peter White, 2021a:10)

By not providing answers, the author is signalling that he expects the reader to be able to provide them. That is, the writer and reader are presumed to be sufficiently aligned on the issue being discussed that there is no need to make the responses to these questions explicit.

An example for CONCUR:AFFIRM for the corpus of this thesis is given in (10):

- (10) “**We know** why we need to stop fracking: it’s dirty, it’s dangerous and it’s driving climate breakdown.” (GP01, The Green Party, 31/08/2017)

Here the ‘we’ pronoun has an inclusive reference, meaning that the author affirms and approves of the presumed position of the imagined reader, hence strengthening both reader affiliation as well as reader alignment.

Moving onto PRONOUNCE, Martin and White (2005) define this as:

“formulations which involve authorial emphases or explicit authorial interventions or interpolations.” (Martin & White, 2005:127)

The dialogic function of such emphases, interventions or interpolations (e.g., *I contend...*, *The facts of the matter are...*, *The truth is...*, *You must agree that...*, *really...*, *indeed...*, *in fact...*) are that the writer is acknowledging and rejecting a counter position which may or may not be provided. In an example provided by Martin and White (2005), the rejected position immediately precedes the use of PRONOUNCE, realised through the wordings *I contend that* and *indeed*:

“There was a lot of talk during Daniel Schorr’s spot on “Weekend Edition” about George Bush’s not having a coherent postwar policy for Iraq. ***I contend that*** Bush and King Fahd do, ***indeed***, have a policy that entails the destruction of the Kurds and the Shiites.” (example 3.6., Martin & White, 2005:129)

An example of pronounce from the corpus of this thesis is given in (11):

- (11) “Coca-Cola have been making a lot of noise about sustainability recently, but their spin isn’t fooling anyone. ***The reality is that*** Coke are simply producing too much plastic, over 110 billion throwaway plastic bottles every year.” (GR07, Greenpeace, 21/03/17)

Here, the proposition which is rejected is that *'Coke are not producing too much plastic...'*, which can be attributed to a third-party, Coca-Cola. In fact, the previous sentence contained invoked evaluations of negative VERACITY on Coke, in *'making a lot of noise... their spin isn't fooling anyone'*, thus making the alternative position which is not acknowledged in the PRONOUNCE retrievable from the co-text. In this sense, PRONOUNCE can strengthen writer-reader affiliation in the same way as the third-party functions of DENY and COUNTER, however the identification of the source of the omitted proposition is dependent on the co-text, and might in some cases be indefinite.

Realised through verbs such as 'show', 'demonstrated' and 'proved', ENDORSE takes a clearly positive stance on the quoted proposition, while DISTANCE takes a negative stance.

Martin and White (2005) define ENDORSE as:

"formulations by which propositions sourced to external sources are construed by the authorial voice as correct, valid, undeniable or otherwise maximally warrantable." (Martin & White, 2005:126).

Thus, any attitudinal stances contained within the quoted proposition can be assumed to be that also of the author:

"Here the internal voice takes over responsibility for the proposition, or at least shares responsibility for it with the cited source. The subjectivity at issue, then, is a multiple one – that of both the external source and the inner authorial voice. And crucially it is the inner authorial voice which does the rhetorical heavy lifting, so to speak, intervening in the meaning making to construe the proposition as 'proven', 'shown', 'demonstrated' and so on." (Martin and White, 2005:127)

Regarding reader affiliation, the reader is construed as not only being in alignment with the writer regarding the proposition, but through the explicit inclusion of the source of the proposition, also with the external, quoted voice. Through the endorsement of some voices and the rejection of others (realised through DISTANCE), the writer creates in-groups and out-groups of affiliation for themselves and the imagined reader. The reference to external voices

in persuasive texts can also be motivated by the need for the author to heighten their credibility through affiliating themselves to some groups, while shunning others. The assumption behind this is that the imagined reader will find a particular configuration of an affiliatory network in accordance with their cultural values/worldview. For example, related to the corpus of this thesis, using DISTANCE when quoting the executives of multinational corporations while using ENDORSE when quoting activists reflects a construal of the imagined reader as accepting this configuration of social contact. An example of ENDORSE from the corpus of this thesis is given in (12) below:

- (12) “Sara Hennessey, a state police sergeant with the Department of Safety, which is endorsing the bill, ***put it simply***, “*They’re children, they’re being controlled by their traffickers.*” (FU16, Freedom United, 14/05/2019)

Here, the combination of the approval contained in the meaning of the phrase ‘*put it simply*’, together with the attitudinal prosody of the whole e-mail, which demonstrates a high level of empathy for child trafficking victims, led to the sentence being considered an example of ENDORSE. As a result, the imagined reader is portrayed as entering into relations of both alignment and affiliation with the quoted third-party source. If the writer’s objective were solely reader alignment, this could have been achieved through the use of MONOGLOSSIA or any of the contractive HETEROGLOSSIC structures other than ENDORSE. Instead, the choice to explicitly include external voices through direct or indirect speech includes the construction of identity networks of affiliation.

Zappavigna (2019) provides an example in which a politician contradicts the network of affiliation that they themselves established in their previous discourse and its implications. In the example, British politician Michael Gove is ridiculed for stating in a TV interview that Britons ‘have had enough of experts’, to then later quote ‘an expert’ in a tweet. While Gove’s first quote implies that he should consistently apply a DISTANCE strategy whenever quoting

‘expert’ voices from that point on, indicating a lack of affiliation to this group, his subsequent use of ENDORSE of a voice that he himself qualified as ‘expert’ led to the perception of an internal contradiction, leading to evaluations of negative JUDGEMENT:CAPACITY of Gove and hence ridicule. This illustrates that while ENDORSE clearly represents an attempt to align the reader to the writer’s stance regarding the quoted proposition, its broader dialogic function relates to the positioning of the reader to adopt various degrees of affiliation, along a cline of closeness/distance, with various other groups of external voices.

Finally, JUSTIFY, which was added after the formulation of the main theory (Peter White, 2003, 2012), presents the authorial voice as arguing for or substantiating a particular position, thus impacting principally on the level of construed imagined reader alignment. This indicates that the imagined reader is ‘uncommitted’, and who thus needs further argumentation to be convinced by/aligned to the writer’s stance (e.g., using connectives such as *because*, *since*, and *the reason for*). Peter White (2021a) states that JUSTIFY functions to:

“offer the reader motivation to accept this viewpoint – to present the proposition as well-founded” (Peter White, 2021a:15)

An example of JUSTIFY taken from the corpus of this thesis is given in (13):

- (13) “You know why we’re doing this. *He trashes climate action. He normalises sexual assault. He commits the most unspeakable acts of brutality at his borders. He is a dangerous man.*” (GP10, The Green Party, 30/11/2017)

The context of this extract was an e-mail from The Green Party, whose aim is to encourage the recipients to protest against President Donald Trump’s state visit to the U.K. As can be observed, no adverbial of reason or purpose is given at the start of these sentences, although ‘because’ could be inserted at the start of each without changing its meaning or function. However, the presence of an CONCUR:AFFIRM sentence at the start of the extract, ‘*You know why we’re doing this*’, results in a reduction of the portrayed reader ‘uncommittedness’, as

the JUSTIFY sentences can be seen as more of a reminder than an attempt at argumentation based on novel points. When the author relies only on bare assertion without JUSTIFY, Peter White (2021b) says that the text can be categorised as one of ‘flag-waving’:

“the primary purpose of which is not to persuade or convince but rather to rehearse and reinforce the beliefs and values which are presumed to be shared by the piece’s readership.” (Peter White, 2021b:247)

On the other hand, when the writer tries to engage a larger variety of reading positions through the use of JUSTIFY (amongst other ENGAGEMENT markers), then the text can be characterised as one of ‘advocacy’. We have already stated that the campaign e-mails probably fall into the ‘advocacy’ category, and thus should use high frequencies of JUSTIFY.

2.3.4.2. Expand

There are two main sub-categories of expand, ENTERTAIN and ATTRIBUTE. Regarding ENTERTAIN, a writer can create room for potential alternative voices through the use of: modal auxiliaries (e.g., *may, might, could, must*), modal adjuncts (e.g., *perhaps, probably, definitely*), or modal attributes (e.g., *it’s possible that..., it’s likely that...*), evaluative circumstantials (e.g. *in my view,..*), and a selection of mental verbs plus their attributive projections (e.g. *I suspect that..., I think, I believe, I’m convinced that, I doubt*). This category also includes ‘hedges’ related to evidential structures (e.g., *it seems, it appears, apparently, the research suggests ...*). Martin and White (2005) define the dialogic role of these markers as the means by which:

“the authorial voice indicates that its position is but one of a number of possible positions and thereby, to greater or lesser degrees, makes dialogic space for those possibilities.” (Martin & White, 2005:104)

Peter White (2021a) defines three levels of possible reader alignment: ‘likeminded’, ‘uncommitted’ and ‘unlikeminded’¹⁴. ENTERTAIN construes the imagined reader as

¹⁴ See ‘3.4.1. A framework of reader alignment’ for a full discussion.

'uncommitted' through its allowance of dialogic space for other voices. In some genres, such as academic writing, this openness to alternative voices can be seen as a face-saving act, thus demonstrating that the writer belongs to the academic community through a recognition of one of its central cultural norms (see also Hopper & Traugott, 2003:128). The use of ENTERTAIN in this context can be viewed as an act of community affiliation on the part of the writer, who at the same time construes the imagined reader as also being affiliated to this community. The unaffiliated reader may instead interpret the use of ENTERTAIN as a sign that the writer is not sure of what they are claiming, instead of as a sign of deference and respect for the authority of academic colleagues as experts in their specialised academic fields, who may present counter-arguments or revisions. Hyland (2010) refers to this affiliatory function of ENTERTAIN as one way in which academic authors demonstrate their 'credibility' to the imagined reader through affiliation to the same cultural norms.

In the case of persuasive texts such as activist campaign e-mails, the use of ENTERTAIN might have a slightly different function when related to the proposed solutions to campaign issues. That is, some writers employ indicators of epistemic uncertainty regarding the proposed solution as a method of emphasising the importance and centrality of the actions of each individual reader for the campaign to be successful, a strategy which can be paraphrased as: 'we might not succeed if you don't contribute'. Thus, we claim that ENTERTAIN values contribute more to reader affiliation than reader alignment. It dialogically construes an imagined reader who recognises its function as not primarily related to a value stance (i.e., genuine doubts over the validity of the proposed solution), but instead as emphasizing the centrality and impact of each reader's contribution to make the campaign a success. This reveals a construal of the reader as possibly harbouring doubts about the validity of the action requested as a realistic response, or instead regarding the impact that their individual actions

can have on the campaign's success. An example from the corpus of this thesis is provided in (14) below:

- (14) "Opportunities to safeguard our nature will rarely come up in parliament in the near future, and given the urgency of the nature crisis, *this might be our last chance to set things on track*. Email your MP." (GR25, Greenpeace, 05/03/2020)

The function of '*this might be our last chance to set things on track*' is not to entertain alternative positions on the issue, that is, reflecting true authorial doubt about the urgency of taking action, but instead is used to underline the importance of the reader's potential contribution (in this case through writing e-mails to their MPs). Thus, the function of ENTERTAIN here relates more to the construal of the imagined reader as highly affiliated to the author, in acknowledging this urgency, than it does to the reader being 'uncommitted' or 'unlikeminded'.

ATTRIBUTE allows the writer to cite other voices through the whole range of direct to indirect speech. Its dialogical function is to "disassociate the proposition from the text's internal authorial voice by attributing it to some external source" (Martin & White, 2005:111). This can be realised through the use of communicative process verbs (e.g., ...*said*...), mental processes (e.g., *believe*, *suspect*), nominalizations of processes (e.g., *belief*, *assertion*), or adverbial adjuncts (e.g., *according to*). The two sub-categories of ATTRIBUTE are ACKNOWLEDGE and DISTANCE. For ACKNOWLEDGE, neutral reporting verbs such as 'say' and 'report' indicate:

"locutions where there is no overt indication, at least via the choice of the framer, as to where the authorial voice stands with respect to the proposition." (Martin & White, 2005:112).

DISTANCE instead indicates a dialogic stance taken by the writer to separate their stance from the quoted material, particularly using the verb 'claim', to indicate:

"formulations in which, via the semantics of the framer employed, there is an explicit distancing of the authorial voice from the attributed material." (Martin & White, 2005:113).

In general, ATTRIBUTE can be said to possess a similar dialogic functionality to that of ENTERTAIN, as:

“like modals of probability and related formulations, they also explicitly ground propositions in a contingent subjectivity – that of the quoted source.” (Peter White, 2021a:14)

Regarding the activist texts investigated in this thesis, ATTRIBUTE works more towards creating networks of affiliation between the writer, reader and third-parties. The explicit inclusion of external voices in the text, even with the ‘neutral’ framing of ACKNOWLEDGE, implies that the cited voice has ‘evidential standing’ (Peter White, 2012). In general, the writer assumes that the reader accepts being affiliated into communities of shared social bonds, which, while being based on value alignments regarding particular issues, also go beyond this to establish which external voices have credence and possibly gravitas and which do not. Regarding all instances of ATTRIBUTE, Peter White notes that

“when attribution is used in journalistic texts such as this, the author is not, at least in the first instance, assuming likemindedness on the part of the addressee. The author presents as passing on the views or observations of another speaker for the reader’s perusal and consideration.” Peter White (2021a:15)

The rejection of third-party voices belonging to ‘out-groups’ is hypothesized to be one of the main strategies employed for strengthening ‘in-group’ bonds, i.e., affiliation, between writer and reader. An example from the corpus of this thesis is given in (15):

(15) “Nestle is the world’s largest water bottler, a company whose *CEO once famously claimed that access to water isn’t a human right.*” (SoS11, The story of Stuff, 14/12/2017)

The DISTANCE towards the proposition attributed to Nestlé’s CEO (*‘once famously claimed..’*) works on both the levels of reader alignment, in invoking negative JUDGEMENT:PROPRIETY on the source of the quote, while also strengthening the supposed sense of affiliation of the imagined reader and author as forming a united front against this third-party.

2.3.4.3. Bare assertion and presupposition

Regarding the status of propositions with high modality and unmodalized expressions,

Halliday (1994:89) states:

“Note also that even a high value modal (‘certainly’, ‘always’) is less determinate than a polar form: *that’s certainly John* is less certain than *that’s John*; *it always rains in summer* is less invariable than *it rains in summer*. In other words, you only say you are certain when you are not.”

Furmaniak (2011:59) draws on Grice’s (1975) ‘maxim of quality’ to similarly claim that unmodalised expressions, such as ‘*Peter is here*’, implicitly contains the embedding clause ‘*I know that Peter is here*’, thus revealing the MONOGLOSSIC text as in fact relating to authorial stance.

Related to the dialogic function of bare assertion, which is the most common dialogic function of MONOGLOSSIC statements, Peter White (2021a) elaborates on their high modality functionality:

“‘bare assertions’... can be understood as involving a choice by the speaker not to recognise or engage with the multiplicity of other voices and associated value positions in which all utterances are located.” (Peter White, 2021a:10)

Thus, if the completely unqualified assertion can be considered to communicate a modal stance, then there can be no neat dichotomic division of bare assertions and high modality propositions. That is, if high modality has always been viewed as having an interpersonal function, that is in qualifying a proposition through the contingent subjectivity of the writer, then MONOGLOSSIC statements must also have a dialogic, subjective effect. Regarding reader alignment, this dialogic impact does not principally impact on the truth-value proposition, but more on the construal of the imagined reader as either already holding the same view as the author, or at least as being able to align to the writer’s stance unproblematically. Thus, the implication for reader alignment when a writer selects, for example, negative ‘social sanction’

within a MONOGLOSSIC clause, is that the imagined reader is construed as being easily aligned to, or already holding, the attitudinal stance. Related to an editorial in a Chinese newspaper (*China Daily*) which criticises the visit of a Japanese politician to a contentious war memorial in Japan (*Yasukuna Shrine*), Peter White (2021b) notes that:

“By monoglossically advancing this [use of ‘social sanction’], the author signals the anticipation that the imagined reader will find unproblematic the suggestion that Abe not only insulted Japan’s neighbours but did so intentionally.” (Peter White, 2021b:269)

Thus, the use of MONOGLOSSIA does not indicate does not illustrate a kind of neutrality regarding the issue, instead construing the imagined reader as in alignment with the writer’s choice of categories in the ATTITUDE system. Therefore, MONOGLOSSIC statements are highly dialogically contractive, as they do not signal a recognition of the stance being promoted as one dependent on the author’s subjective interpretation. An example from this corpus of this study is given in (16) below.

(16) “***Unscrupulous agencies for work*** are one of the ***drivers of human trafficking and forced labor.***” (FU22, Freedom United, 31/10/2019)

As opposed to possible alternative formulations such as ‘*Potentially unscrupulous agencies for work might/could/may be...*’, the author of (16) decided to present their stance as a bare assertion, thus equating it with ‘factual information’ without any recognition of possible dissenting voices.

Another lexicogrammatical feature which also communicates a high level of reader alignment is that of presupposition. The use of grammatical metaphor (nominalisations), which invoke writer stance:

“involves formulations by which a particular proposition is treated as ‘taken-for-granted’ or a ‘given’, as an understanding, belief or attitude which is taken as universally held or agreed upon.” (Peter White, 2021a:10)

Related to Rachel Carson's (1962) *Silent Spring*, Peter White (ibid.) identifies 'crusade' in the following excerpt as encoding a presupposition of negative JUDGEMENT related to a cultural frame:

"The crusade to create a chemically-sterile, insect-free world seems to have engendered a fanatic zeal on the part of many specialists." (Carson, 1962/1990:11)

Thus, the 'crusading', together with negative APPRECIATION in its post-modification (to create a *chemically-sterile, insect-free* world), is treated as a 'given', the truth-value of the proposition is essentially closed off to argumentation or the accommodation of potentially divergent views. An example taken from the corpus of the present study is given in (17) below:

(17) "Tell the German Government **to end its love affair with coal.**" (GR14, Greenpeace, 08/10/2018)

Here the author presupposes the existence of the German government's 'love affair with coal'. Examples (16) and (17) show how the 'naturalising' or 'normalising' effect of bare assertion and presupposition in an attitudinal stance portray the imagined reader as maximally aligned. Presupposition leaves even less dialogic space for alternative positions, or interpretations, than bare assertions, due to the fact that the nominalised form more easily allows for the omission of participants and presents the stance as a 'fossilised' object (Halliday and Martin, 1993:20).

2.3.5. Graduation

GRADUATION is the third and final system of Appraisal Theory and deals with the upscaling and downscaling of the values of both ATTITUDE and ENGAGEMENT. Also, the GRADUATION of experiential tokens also has the potential to invoke ATTITUDE¹⁵.

¹⁵ See section '2.3.3.2. Invoked attitude' for more details on the invocation of ATTITUDE through the use of GRADUATION.

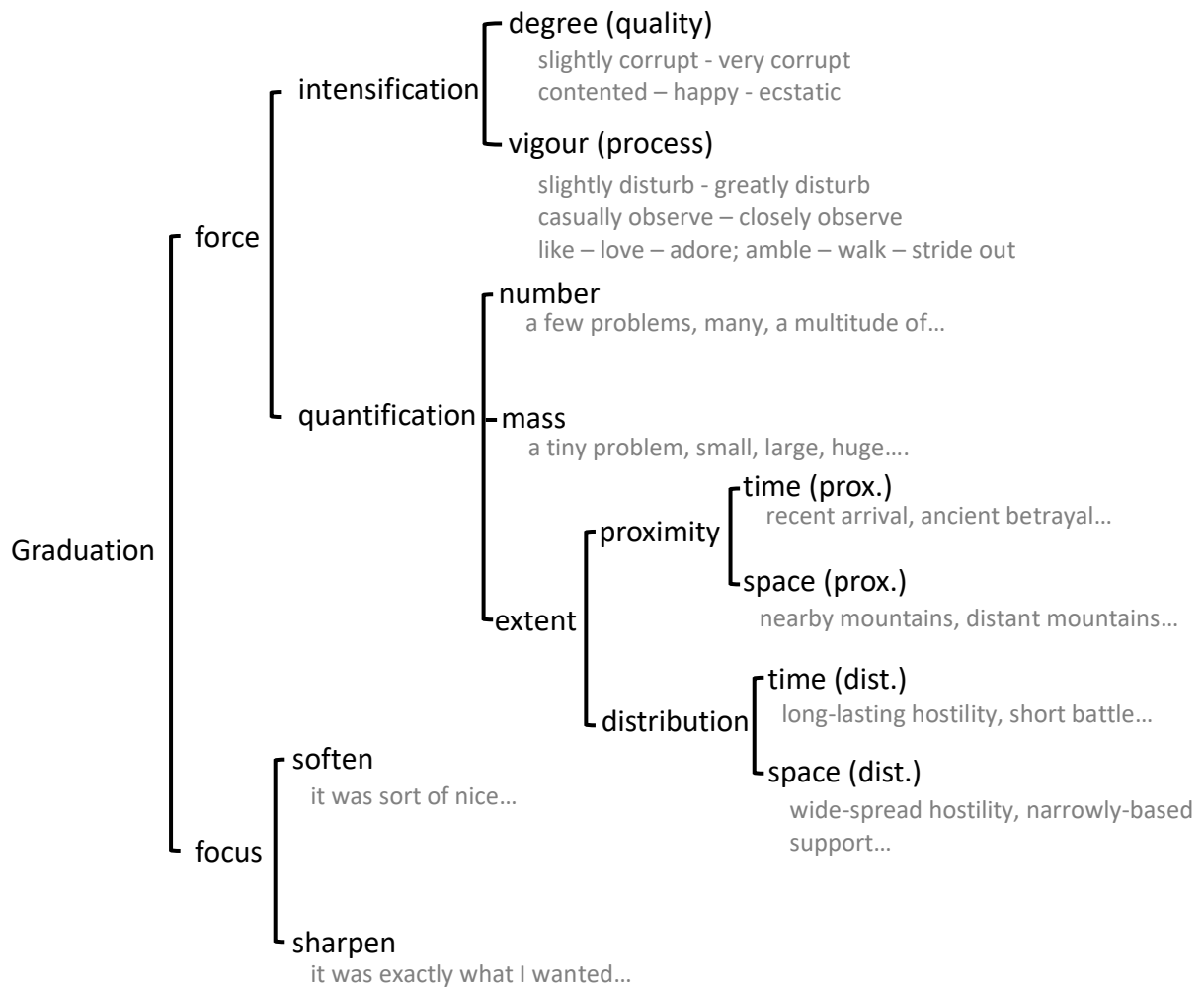


Figure 5: Graduation system, examples from Martin & White (2005:154)

Referring to Fig.5., FORCE includes comparative and superlative morphology, repetition, and some graphological and phonological features (e.g., *so touchy*, *infinitely more naked*, *quite clinical*, *most dangerous* *lower a little upset*, *somewhat upset*, *the least bit more information*). The FOCUS category instead modifies non-gradable entities, such that:

“graduation has the effect of adjusting the strength of boundaries between categories, constructing core and peripheral types of things” (Martin & White 2005:37).

This includes terms such as: *a fully-fledged*, *award-winning*, *gold-plated monster*; *all alone* *soften a word...spelled somewhat like terrorists*; *about 60 years old* (Ibid.). The attitudinal marker ‘problematic’ could be downscaled as ‘a bit problematic’ or upscaled as ‘very

problematic' through the INTENSIFICATION:DEGREE category. Likewise, related to ENGAGEMENT, the ENTERTAIN value in 'it is likely' can be upscaled to 'It is very likely' or downscaled to 'It is just possible' through the INTENSIFICATION:VIGOUR category. INTENSIFICATION can be realised explicitly (e.g., *very important*) or through infusion in attitudinal attributes (e.g., *crucial*), in an abstraction (e.g., *advantage*) or through repetition (e.g., *colorful, racy and witty*). Regarding QUANTIFICATION, this can be realised through the pre-modification of a nominalised quality (e.g., *greater competence*) or through processes with attitudinal colouring (e.g., *alleviated*). Lastly, regarding FOCUS, it is the prototypicality (e.g., *true happiness/sort of happy*) of non-gradable nouns which allows for upscaling and downscaling.

Regarding markers of ATTITUDE, both inscribed and invoked, GRADUATION serves to construe the reader as either 'likeminded' (upscaling) or 'uncommitted' (downscaling). An example of infused upscaling from the corpus of this thesis is presented in (18) below:

- (18) "The government's 'hostile environment' towards refugees and migrants is inhumane and it's *inexcusable*." (GP17, The Green Party, 05/02/19)

The use of the negative JUDGEMENT:PROPRIETY marker 'inexcusable' (as opposed to 'regrettable' for example) portrays an imagined reader for whom such a condemning stance is acceptable or at least tolerable. Regarding downscaling, example (19) from the corpus of this thesis demonstrates how this contributes to the portrayal of the imagined reader as 'uncommitted':

- (19) "More signatures means more public pressure, which *could* mean more reasons for our International Trade Minister to decide leaded petrol exports will be banned for good." (GR06, Greenpeace, 01/09/2017)

Here, the downscaling is infused in the choice of ENGAGEMENT strategy, that is the use of 'could' instead of 'will' or the bare assertion in 'means'. The imagined reader is therefore portrayed as being potentially uncommitted with the author as regards the appropriacy of the campaign action, that is signing an online petition against a government regulation. The term also

functions as ENTERTAIN, which, as previously argued, functions to apply greater pressure on the imagined reader to take the requested action in this text type.

We will now move on to consider other markers of imagined reader affiliation which are not included in Appraisal Theory.

2.4. Other markers of reader alignment and affiliation

2.4.1. Interactant nominal groups

In this section, we will look at the affiliatory functions of interactant markers¹⁶, before reviewing the positioning effects of commands and questions in the rest of this chapter.

Hyland (2010) claims that the most transparent way in which the reader is involved in a text is through the reference of nominal and pronominal groups. He employs the term *interpersonality* to describe the way in which the writer engages in social negotiations with the reader through highlighting important information and signalling their position regarding it. *Proximity* instead is used to describe how the writer negotiates and asserts their authority in a text. Hyland's (2010) defines five features of proximity:

1. **Stance:** mostly conveyed through the assessing of truth-value of propositions, the writer indicates their degree of alignment towards the various positions presented.
2. **Reader engagement:** the most transparent ways in which the writer involves the reader in the text, through the use of:
 - a. **Reader pronouns:** inclusive vs. exclusive use of *we/our/ours* etc., allowing the delineation of in/out groups.
 - b. **Personal asides:** interrupting the flow of the argument to make a brief comment on what is being discussed.
 - c. **Appeals to shared knowledge:** explicit signals inviting the reader to accept something as already familiar and established.
 - d. **Directives:** imperatives and deontic modality.
 - e. **Questions:** those where the answer is presumed to be given by the reader (rhetorical), those which are completely open and left unanswered, and to a lesser extent, those which are subsequently answered by the writer (expository).

Related to authorial stance, although this is not the explicit focus of this study, its analysis is a necessary step in the identification of reader positioning. In particular, the manner and forcefulness with which the writer adopts stances has direct implications for the portrayed characteristics of the imagined reader that they create through the text. Regarding 'Reader

¹⁶ As specified in section '1.3. Environmental communication, reader positioning and move-structure', while Kim (2009) and G. Thompson (2012) looked at 'interactant pronouns', the term 'interactant marker' has been used here as we include all nominal and pronominal references to the author, reader and third-party participants.

Engagement', the categories which have been adopted in the analysis of the corpus in this thesis are: reader pronouns, appeals to shared knowledge, directives and questions.

Fortanet (2004) notes of the dialogic function of interactant markers that they represent "an important indicator of how audiences are conceptualized by speakers and writers" (Fortanet, 2004:45). Many studies have investigated the discourse function of the inclusive and exclusive references of first-person plural pronouns and associated forms (*we*, *us*, *our*) (see for example Carter-Thomas and Rowley-Jolivet, 2017; Fortanet, 2005; Fløttum 2010, 2013; Hyland, 2001a, 2001b; Kim, 2007). Example (20) is taken from the corpus of the present thesis:

(20) "**We** know that the company is willing to spend millions to defend its water grab. But **we're** ready to fight as well! Together, **let's** keep fighting for a future free from privatization, for healthy public lands, for new generations, and for government agencies free of corporate control." (SoS11, The Story of Stuff, 14/12/2017)

In (20), the reference of the first 'we' ('*We know that...*') is exclusive to the author, that is they have this information, the second 'we' ('*We're ready to fight...*') has slightly ambiguous reference, while the last 'us' ('*Together, let's keep fighting*') is inclusive of the reader. In this way, the reader is gradually brought into the in-group identity with the author (and their organisation), against an out-group, in this case the company Nestlé. As Ewald (1998, quoted in Peter White, 2021a:10) notes:

"One way the implied reader functions... is to highlight a 'them/us' dichotomy between those who think as the author does and those who don't. The implied reader, of course, is among those who do." (Ewald, 1998:170, quoted in Peter White, 2021a:10)

Peter White (2021a) highlights the fact that, although Ewald produces no supporting argument as to why the reader should necessarily adopt the writer's stance, the selection of certain ENGAGEMENT resources (particularly those highlighting reader alignment such as MONOGLOSSIA) could provide the evidence. What is argued for in this thesis is that the

perception of the imagined reader as sharing a common identity with the writer relates both to markers of reader alignment as well as those signalling reader affiliation, of which pronoun and nominal reference is the most immediately recoverable. G. Thompson (2012) defines this use of the inclusive 'we' as the author intimating a 'cosy personalisation' in their style, which in this study functions to increase the portrayed affiliation of the imagined reader with the aim of encouraging the latter to take concrete action on campaign issues.

However, interactant markers do not only work to *heighten* reader affiliation. They can also signal social distance between writer and reader, that is reader dis-affiliation, indicating that writer and reader belong to different groups. In G. Thompson's (2012) study, he found that regarding the use of exclusive 'we' in newspaper editorials, 18 examples were found in *The Sun* sub-corpus, while none were found in *The Guardian* sub-corpus. G. Thompson (ibid.) declares that the use of exclusive 'we':

"...does not play a direct role in the intersubjective aspects of the data, of course; but choosing to make oneself visible in the text in this way does contribute to construing the discourse as being an exchange between specific individuals: a discursal I/we presupposes the addressed you." (G. Thompson, 2012:86)

However, we contend that the choice of excluding the reader from the reference of the pronoun plays as important a function related to reader affiliation as the use of inclusive reference. The use of exclusive 'we' and 'you' signals a construal of reader dis-affiliation and therefore social distance between writer and reader. Example (21) below is taken from the corpus of this thesis:

(21) "We want to help achieve the same success as Jordan, and we need your voice to help us." (FU02, Freedom United, 06/08/2017)

The three first person pronouns here ('we', 'we', 'us') refer exclusively to the author, while the second person 'your' refers to the reader. While the reader is given the role of 'helper', it is the author who is the Senser in 'We want...' and 'We need...' and Actor (Agent) in 'us'. So,

the exclusive author-reference 'we' is cast in a highly-agentive role (e.g., Actor, Sayer, Senser, Initiator) while the 'you' referring to the reader is cast in a low-agentive role (e.g., Goal / Beneficiary), with the implications being that the writer is construing a low level of affiliation of the imagined reader¹⁷. The frequency with which groups affiliate the reader through the use of nominal forms with inclusive reference, and how often they establish a distance between writer and reader through exclusive reference interactant markers is expected to vary between the four groups included in the present study.

Another way in which interactant markers are expected to impact on reader affiliation is through the creation of an 'us vs. them' dichotomy relating to the upscaling (quantity/mass) of nominal reference groups (see Tann, 2010). That is, reference chains to both the reader and the negatively evaluated third-party (expected to be most often 'private sector') are thought to expand in their scope from the beginning to the end of a text. The function of this is to emphasize the possible impact of a campaign, both in terms of readers who might take action (for example, starting from the exclusive, singular 'you' to transition to 'The Freedom United Community') as well as the scope of negatively evaluated participants who will be impacted by the campaign (for example, starting from 'BP' and transitioning to 'The oil industry'). Consequently, the relative scope of reference of interactant nominal markers must be analysed from a global text perspective, while the transitivity roles encoded in individual interactant markers will be investigated at the level of the clause.

¹⁷ Given the overarching focus on the interpersonal metafunction in the present thesis, the inclusion of the analysis of transitivity participant roles is justified by the additional illumination they can provide on the reader affiliatory functions of interactant markers. Therefore, we have not carried out a full corpus annotation of transitivity processes and participant roles, instead using this tool to analyse a selection of examples of interactant markers in section '6.2.2. Interactant transitivity participant roles'.

2.4.2. Commands and questions

Thompson and Thetela (1995) note that:

“Modal and attitudinal expressions normally convey the speaker’s own view of events without directly setting up interactional expectations in that way that mood choices – particularly the presence and ordering of subject and finite within mood – do (e.g., an interrogative normally expects a declarative as answer from the other person).” (Thompson and Thetela, 1995:106)

Although we consider modal and attitudinal expressions to play a crucial role in writer-reader interaction (as described in all of Chapter 2 up to this point), the functionality of mood as fulfilling a more directly interactional role means that the use of commands and questions is central to the question of construing reader affiliation. Related to the Mood system under SFL (see Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004:108-11), the interesting feature of the texts under investigation in this thesis is that they not only offer propositions (exchanges of information), but also proposals, in particular commands and questions, which realise exchanges of ‘goods and services’ (ibid.). As Halliday and Matthiessen note, propositions:

“can be argued about – something that can be affirmed or denied, and also doubted, contradicted, insisted on, accepted with reservation, qualified, tempered and so on.” (Ibid.:110)

Related to the intersubjectivity present in a text, these potential stances on a proposition are what is under consideration when we think of issues concerning authorial stance and imagined reader alignment. However, regarding commands, Halliday and Matthiessen state that they can only be obeyed or refused. Commands constitute both the central objective of the campaign e-mails investigated here, that is getting the reader to take action, and also the point at which reader affiliation is put most at risk. While ENTERTAIN can be used to save face regarding the propositions offered by the writer, various realisations of commands in the Mood system relate to the degree to which the writer threatens the face of the construed reader. In short, the more direct the form, the higher the presumed level of reader affiliation

as the writer feels able to use ‘face-threatening’ realisations such as second-person imperatives, as opposed to closed questions for instance. As Don (2019) notes:

“Social notions of ‘politeness’ which deem that we behave more distantly and are careful of what we say and do in social situations which are new, or where we are not well-acquainted with the other participants – in other words, with those with whom we are relatively *unaffiliated* – result in textual instantiations of a particular type of ‘distance’ in stance.” (Don, 2019:80)

In the case of commands, we have constructed a cline by which such ‘distance’ mechanisms are seen to reflect the use of different levels of directness of realisation: mood options, particular imperatives, signal a high level of directness; closed questions and declaratives including deontic modal auxiliary verbs in declarative clauses (e.g., *must, have to* etc.) indicate a medium level of directness; and lexical modal expressions (e.g., *be necessary to, there is a need to* etc., see Perkins 1983, Palmer, 1990) and metaphorical expressions (e.g., *it is time to, it is not too early to* etc., see Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004:631-634) are the most indirect forms (see Fig.6).

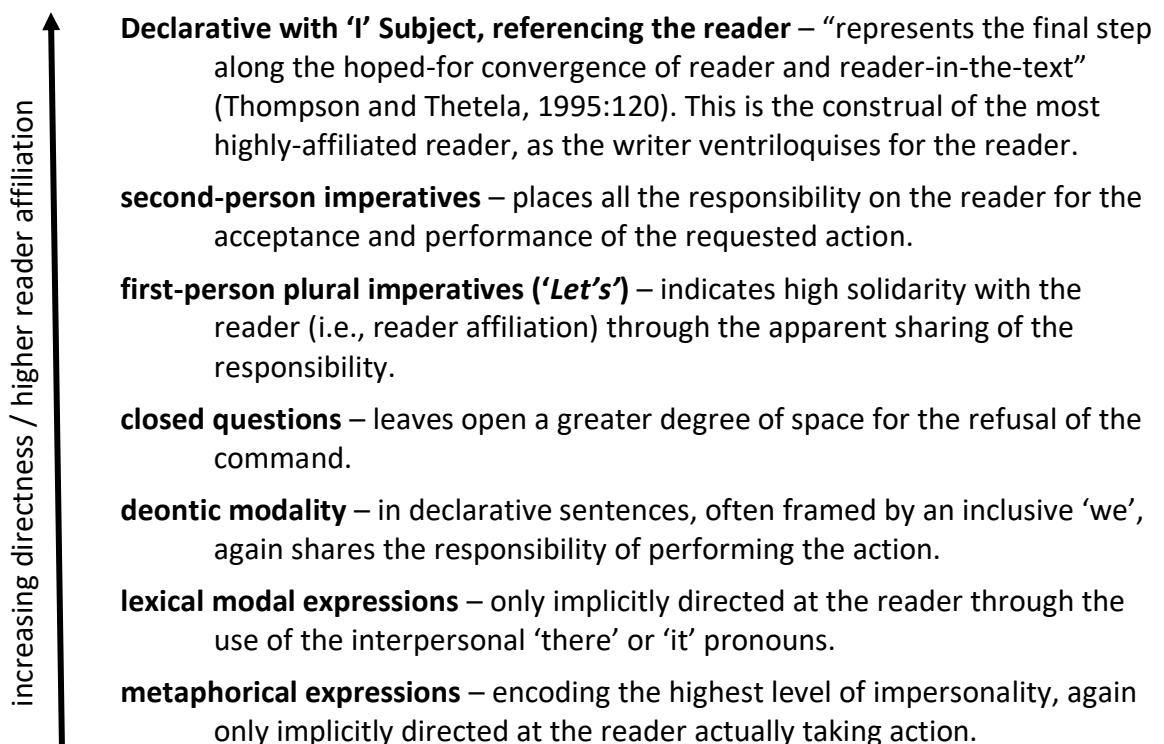


Figure 6: Realisations of commands and reader affiliation

Regarding grammaticalised expressions, commands can be realised as imperatives or interrogatives. Example (22) shows a command realised as an imperative and example (23) as an interrogative, both taken from the corpus of this thesis:

(22) “**Urge Liam Fox** to ban all leaded petrol exports immediately and set high standards for UK trade.” (GR06, Greenpeace, 01/09/2017)

(23) “**Can you add** your name to urge your country to take a stand in protecting workers?” (FU21, Freedom United, 23/09/2019)

The higher the level of grammatical encoding of the command, the higher the presumed level of reader affiliation. If a writer chooses to realise their commands using only the second-person imperative form, as in (22), which constitutes a face-threatening act (see Brown and Levinson, 1987; Hyland, 2002a), the reader is construed as highly affiliated. Whatever the realisation of commands, this is the point in the text at which reader affiliation is most put at risk, in the sense that the reader either takes action or they don't, i.e., obeys or refuses the command. However, the command, which is termed 'call-to-action' here, is the central objective of this text type, and so its use is unavoidable. What is of greater interest is how the different groups included in this study choose to navigate this socially awkward move. That is, whether they construe the reader as highly affiliated through the use of very direct, face-threatening realisations of commands, or instead attempt to cushion the impact of the command through the use of more indirect forms.

Although not noted in Fig.6, the use of commands directed towards third-party text participants can also impact on reader affiliation. Regarding the comparison of commands directed at third-parties in editorials in the British tabloid *The Sun* and broadsheet *The Guardian*, G. Thompson (2012) notes that the interpersonal style of *The Guardian* is more subdued, in particular that:

“it is noticeable, for example, that all the third-party commands are realized not by imperatives but by declaratives with deontic modality, which in principle allow more shades of negotiation over the imposition” (G. Thompson, 2012:92)

This is in line with the cline of realisations of commands in Fig.6, that is the use of deontic modality indicates a less ‘face-threatening’ approach than the use of imperative structures. When the writer commands a third-party to do something (for example a company or government official to take action to prevent climate change), they construe the imagined reader as being highly affiliated, both as taking the same position regarding the third-party as well as accepting the writer’s authority to make such a demand. Example (24) below is taken from the corpus of this thesis:

(24) “Tonight the Prime Minister failed to get her dangerous Brexit deal through Parliament. ***She should now accept defeat and rule out any further votes on her deal.***” (GP18, The Green Party, 13/03/2019)

In (24), the use of the deontic ‘*should*’, instead of, for example, ‘*Theresa May, accept defeat...*’, shows a slightly greater level of deference toward the target and thus construes the imagined reader as either adopting a similar level of deference, or as doubting to some degree the authority of the writer to make such demands. To allow for the annotation of commands directed with at the reader or towards third-parties, we have adopted the annotation categories of ‘obligation-imposer’ and ‘obligation-imposed’ as outlined in Kim and G. Thompson (2010). However, we oppose their view that:

“where the obligation is imposed on a third person: these have been excluded, since they do not have a reader-involving effect.” (Kim and G. Thompson, 2010:60)

Thus, the distinction between reader and third-parties as ‘obligation-imposed’ will be applied as both are seen to contribute to the construal of reader affiliation, as outlined above.

As regards questions which do not perform the function of a command, we again draw on the framework of G. Thompson (2012:92-3) who distinguishes between:

- **Orientation** - Discourse-oriented and real-world oriented questions
- **Directionality** – reader, third-party, rhetorical
- **Response** – no answer given (reader provides the answer), answer given, no answer expected
- **Type** – closed, open, tag

G. Thompson notes that *The Guardian* employs almost exclusively ‘discourse-oriented’ questions, signalling an imagined reader who is:

“constructed as relatively sophisticated in terms of textual competence, aware of the text as artefact rather than just a transparent vehicle of meanings.” (G. Thompson, 2012:92).

On the other hand, *The Sun* employs many ‘real-world oriented’ questions, many of which are left unanswered, which construes the imagined reader as being so closely aligned that explicit answers are not necessary. Regarding this high frequency of rhetorical questions, G.

Thompson notes that:

“The value added to the rhetorical effect in comparison with statements realized congruently as declaratives is a degree of intersubjective coercion, in that they are designed to simulate the interactional information-seeking nature of questions while at the same time imposing an ‘answer’ (at least for the compliant reader – which the reader-in-the-text is, of course).” (G. Thompson, 2012:90)

Similarly, Carter-Thomas and Rowley-Jolivet (2017) state that the use of such rhetorical questions to which the imagined reader is assumed to be able to provide the ‘obvious’ answer “constitutes a strong writer assertion rather than a true interrogative” (Carter-Thomas & Rowley-Jolivet, 2017:86). The authors of the campaign emails in the corpus of this thesis also use unanswered real-world questions. However, the goal of these may be both to align the imagined reader to adopt their stance, or alternatively as a more face-saving realisation of a command directed towards the reader, as in (23).

2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have considered how the application of Appraisal Theory, interactant markers and mood choices function to portray the imagined reader as positioned at various levels of alignment and affiliation with the author. In particular, we saw that much work has been undertaken into authorial positioning (Hyland, 2012; G. Thompson, 2012) including ‘positioning theory’ (Harré and van Langenhove, 1999, Bartlett, 2014). However, we also noted that there has been much more limited research undertaken into the question of reader positioning (Peter White, 2020b:406).

We also discussed how the issue of reader positioning can be approached from a macro, text level analysis, in which the writer is ‘persuader’ and the imagined reader ‘persuadee’ (Peter White, 2021b:263) in texts which can be considered as ‘advocacy’ as opposed to ‘flag-waving’ (G. Thompson, 2012:96), such as the campaign e-mails considered here.

Regarding measures of reader alignment, we considered how the use of ‘social sanction’ JUDGEMENT markers over those of ‘social esteem’ might indicate a more highly aligned imagined reader. Invoked attitudinal markers instead contributed to the portrayed levels of reader alignment and reader affiliation, particularly regarding the use of evoked ATTITUDE, whose perception relies on the sharing of cultural norms, experience or knowledge between writer and imagined reader (Don, 2016). Markers of contractive ENGAGEMENT construe the imagined reader as potential ‘uncommitted’ (unaligned) on an issue, whereas expansive ENGAGEMENT markers were argued to probably be used in these campaign e-mails as attempts to avoid the disaffiliation of the imagined reader (in the case of ENTERTAIN), or as encouraging the imagined reader to enter into networks of dis-affiliation (in the case of

DISTANCE) or high affiliation (in the case of ENDORSE) with third-parties. The use of bare assertion and presupposition was argued to indicate a highly aligned imagined reader, as neither acknowledge the existence of alternative positions or voices (Peter White, 2021a:10). Finally, the use of upscaling GRADUATION of attitudinal markers indicates the construal of a highly aligned imagined reader, while downscaling, particularly of ENGAGEMENT markers, indicates an 'uncommitted' or unalignment of the reader.

Aside from the use of Appraisal Theory, other markers of imagined reader affiliation were included in the form of interactant markers, commands and questions. Regarding interactant markers, these can be used to portray the imagined reader as highly affiliated through the presumption of a shared stance between writer and reader, particularly as opposed to a third-party through the use of a 'us vs. them' dichotomy (Ewald, 1998:170, quoted in Peter White, 2021a:10). Alternatively, the use of exclusive reference 'we', sometimes together with exclusive 'you' reader reference, construes the existence of social distance between writer and imagined reader (G. Thompson, 2012:86). Regarding reader-directed commands, a cline was proposed of realisations, with the most 'face-threatening' forms (see Brown and Levinson, 1987, Hyland, 2002a) portraying a highly affiliated reader, while the more face-saving ones an unaffiliated imagined reader. Commands directed towards third-parties were argued to vary in their impact on imagined reader affiliation according to the 'directness' of their realisation, with distinctions made between declaratives including deontic modality and imperative forms. Regarding questions, 'real-world' questions were seen to indicate a more highly-affiliated imagined reader than 'discourse-oriented' ones (G. Thompson, 2012:92-3).

Chapter 3 will compare the theoretical approach outlined in this chapter with those applied in other studies looking into issues related to environmental discourse, stance and

voice. This will be related to various text types, including mainstream and alternative media, as well as NGO communications.

Chapter 3. Literature review

3.1. Introduction

This chapter begins by exploring the relationship between language and nature, before providing an in-depth review of the anthropocentric characteristics of English. This is followed by an in-depth review of voice in media discourse related to Martin and White's (2005) 'evaluative keys'. Related to *voice* in media discourse, attention will also be given to how more discursal space is given to institutionally-powerful societal actors in the mainstream media, and how alternative media seeks to invert this power imbalance. This is followed by a discussion of how activist groups such as those under consideration in this study can be considered as producers of alternative media journalism, which, for younger generations especially, is becoming ever more the main source of information on societal issues. Finally, frameworks of reader alignment and reader affiliation used in previous studies are reviewed according to their suitability as a theoretical framework for this thesis.

3.2. Environment and language

3.2.1. Ecolinguistics

Halliday was not only concerned with developing a grammar of language as a social semiotic, but also with the impact that its structure has on our view of nature. In his 1990 speech to the 'Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée' (AILA), Halliday claimed that:

“there is a syndrome of grammatical features which conspire... to construe reality in a certain way; and it is a way that is no longer good for our health as a species.” (Halliday, 2001:193)

The field of Ecolinguistics has been developing from these beginnings. More recently, Arran Stibbe (2015) defines the focus of this field of research as being:

“about critiquing forms of language that contribute to ecological destruction and aiding in the search for new forms of language that inspire people to protect the natural world.” (Stibbe, 2015:1).

Although this might seem vague regarding the field's theoretical outlook, the analytical framework used in research in Ecolinguistics combines three major, well-established perspectives: Critical Discourse Analysis (van Dijk, 2008; Fairclough, 2014); Cognitive Linguistics, particularly related to metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 2004); and Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, 2014), including Appraisal Theory (Martin & White, 2005). In the recent 'Routledge Handbook of Ecolinguistics' (2018), the distribution of theoretical approaches in the section focusing on the intersection of linguistics and ecological questions are as follows:

- Five used a CDA approach (Alexander, 2018; Cook and Sealey, 2018; Kuha, 2018), or a variant of it ('Ecocritical Discourse Analysis', Döring, 2018; 'Positive Discourse Analysis', Stibbe, 2018);
- Three focused on semantics (Heuberger, 2018; Nash, 2018; Trampe, 2018)
- Two used a multimodal approach (Hansen, 2018; Stöckl and Molnar, 2018);
- Two used corpus analysis approach (Alexander, 2018; Penz, 2018);
- One focused on metaphor analysis (Mey, 2018);
- One focused on transitivity from an SFL perspective (Goatly, 2018).

While Appraisal Theory concepts are prevalent in the seminal work of the field ('Ecolinguistics: Language, ecology and the stories we live by', A. Stibbe, 2015) such as those of ATTITUDE and ENGAGEMENT, transitivity, particularly regarding agentivity and ergative processes, is also employed. Still, research into ecological positions in texts through a deep analysis of their lexicogrammar from an SFL perspective remain scarce.

Regarding investigations into environmental discourse which have not used Appraisal Theory as the basis for analysis, many studies, undertaken in English and French, can be cited including: environmental discourse as a text genre distinct from others, e.g. economic, scientific, moral and political discourses (Ramos, 2009; Chetouani 2009; Vignes 2009); the specific characteristics of environmental discourse (Rakotonoelina 2009; Biroš 2010); the central positioning of ecological questions in various text types (Escoubas-Benveniste 2009; Garric & Mariscal 2009; Mouriaux & Villanueva 1994; Vignes, 1996; Wozniak & Biroš, 2016); and the relation between scientific environmental discourse and its popularised science equivalent (Rinck 2009). However, when considering comparable studies which have not been undertaken from the perspective of Appraisal Theory, it is those which have looked into issues related to interpersonal positioning, such as polyphony, which are most relevant to this thesis. In particular, the work of Fløttum (2010, 2012, 2013), Fløttum and Dahl (2014, Fløttum and Gjerstad (2017) and Nølke, Fløttum and Noréy (2004), based on the ScaPoLine theory, as well as Carter-Thomas and Rowley-Jolivet (2017) which are particularly pertinent. These studies will be described in more detail in later sections, related to governmental environmental discourse in the case of Fløttum (2013), and frameworks of reader affiliation in the case of Carter-Thomas and Rowley-Jolivet (2017).

3.2.2. Anthropocentric characteristics of English

We have no direct access to nature. Rather, our relationship to it is shaped by the semantic and syntactic resources available to us through the language we speak. According to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, the syntax of a language:

“is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing our ideas but rather is itself the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual’s mental activity...” (Whorf, 1956:212)

Language is thus the lens through which we view and conceptualise the world, including nature. Whorf continues:

“We cut nature up, organize it into concepts and ascribe significances as we do... [based on] an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our languages.” (Ibid:213-4)

Various semantic and syntactic colourings of this linguistic lens have been categorised by Goatly (2018) along a cline of latency, as shown in Table 3 below.


	<i>Lexicogrammatical Category</i>	<i>Exempl</i>	<i>Latency</i>
1	Original metaphors	Economic growth in mature economies is a cancer	Blatant  Latent
2	Disputed terms	natural resources	
3	Affective lexis	wasteground, pest, landfill	
4	Conventional metaphors	urban centers	
5	Literal lexis	fuel	
6	Syntactic-semantic patterns	Traditionally, fishermen caught 100,000 tons of fish a year in the North Sea	

Table 3: Degrees of latency in lexis and grammar (Goatly, 2018:229)

As can be observed from Table 3, levels 1-5, from the most blatant down, deal with the semantics of lexis used to describe a physical phenomenon, from metaphorical down to more literal usages. Related to Appraisal Theory, ATTITUDE is on level 3 latency, and ENGAGEMENT on level 6. Furthermore, it could be argued that invoked ATTITUDE realises a greater degree of latency than inscribed ATTITUDE, as it requires an inferential logic for its perception by the

reader¹⁸. So, while authorial stance may be fairly easily deducible for the majority of readers of a text, especially when realised through the use of inscribed ATTITUDE, the mechanisms for imagined reader positioning, which are mostly achieved through the use of ENGAGEMENT categories, may be much less immediately accessible (or perceptible). Many readers may not be fully aware of the strategies that an author can use to attempt to align them to the authorial stance, as well as to encourage a deeper degree of affiliation, especially when this achieved through the use of ENGAGEMENT categories and/or invoked ATTITUDE. The most latent level is then that of the grammar of a language (*Syntactic-semantic patterns* in Table 3), as it is this which remains unnoticed in that it structures the conceptual level of the thinking process of the speakers of a language. This encoding of worldview through the syntax of English is most evident in two phenomena: the canonical event structure of material processes (Langacker, 1991), and the empathy hierarchy (Goatly, 2018).

Regarding the reader positioning function of transitivity, Langacker (1991) defined a typical clause as one which describes a physical action, which includes one energetic thing (Actor/Agent), which exerts a force on a less energetic thing (Goal/Affected), within a setting, and which might be observed by a viewer who is independent of the event and its setting (see Fig. 7).

¹⁸ Especially in the case of 'evoked attitude, see section '2.3.3.2. Invoked attitude'.

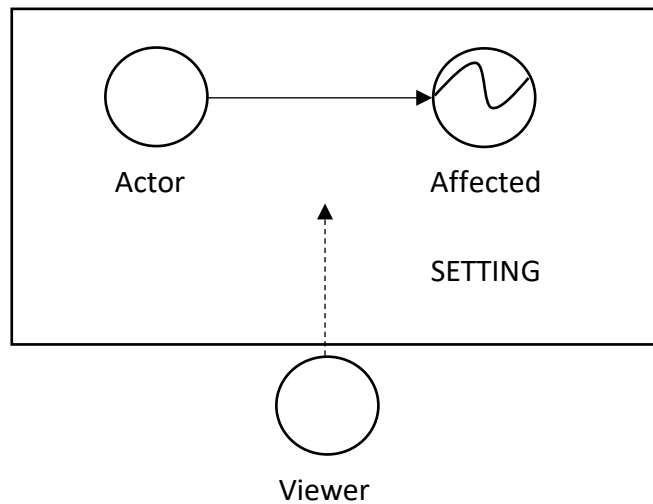


Figure 7: The canonical event model

Related to the concept of grammatical latency in Table 3, the example sentence in level 6 describes an action ('caught') in which the participants are divided between Actor/Agent ('fishermen'), who have a high level of agentivity, and Goal/Affected ('100,000 tons of fish') who are passively acted upon. The setting ('in the North Sea') is incidental to the action, as its unmarked sentence-final position indicates. In addition to this, the Actor (Agent) performs a volitional act, while the Goal (Affected) participant's involvement is non-volitional (Langacker, 1991:307). A discussion of a side-concern of this thesis is the relative levels of agency that the reader, third-parties and natural elements (ecosystems, wildlife etc.) are portrayed as possessing¹⁹. For the purposes of illustration, one example from the corpus is given in (25) below:

(25) "Our *oceans* still have much to teach *us*." (GR09, Greenpeace, 10/12/2017)

Here, a natural element '*oceans*' is placed in the high-agentive role of Actor (Agent) in the material process '*to teach*', with '*us*' being the recipient of the knowledge. However, it is

¹⁹ See sections '6.2.2. Interactant transitivity participant roles' and '6.2.3. Natural element participants' for a discussion of the different levels of agentivity accorded to different transitivity participant roles.

expected that not all roles given to natural elements will convey such high levels of agentivity. This expectation of natural elements being placed in low-agency roles is based on attribution of volition in the 'empathy hierarchy' (Goatly, 2018), which determines which kind of participant is more likely to occupy the Actor (Agent) role.

speaker > hearer > human > animal > physical object > abstract entity

As Goatly (2018:233) notes, this hierarchy explains the unlikelihood of occurrence of sentence (4) from the examples (1-4) below:

- (1) The dog chased me.
- (2) I was chased by the dog.
- (3) I chased the dog.
- (4) ?? The dog was chased by me.

The Subject position in example (4) is filled by 'The dog', which is lower-ranked than humans on the empathy hierarchy, and thus although the clause expresses the same meaning as example (3), the transformation into the passive seems stranger than in example (2) where the participant placed in the Subject position of the passive is human ('I'). While it is engrained with the semantic structure of English for non-human participants to be cast as less agentive than human ones, whether this is also the case for campaigns whose goals are to protect those natural elements will be the focus of section '6.2.3. Natural element participants'.

While the grammar of English is anthropocentric, that is, it reflects the separation of humankind and nature in its most elemental syntactic structures and semantic hierarchies, there is nonetheless a growing body of research under 'Positive Discourse Analysis' (PDA) which seeks examples of how the interdependence of humankind and nature can be

effectively communicated²⁰. In arguing for a ‘grammar of positive ecocultural identity’, Stibbe (2020) selects what he considers to be a text which promotes a harmonious human-nature relationship (Luther Standing Bear’s *Land of the Spotted Eagle*) looking at the use of pronouns, vocabulary choice, presuppositions, as well as metaphors, framings and evaluations. Some terms that were found to reduce the metaphorical distance between humans and nature were those used to refer to non-human animals through the use of ‘other’ or ‘fellow’ and superordinate terms which include both categories, such as ‘fellow creatures’, ‘other beings’, ‘earth entities’, ‘orders of life’, ‘other lives’. Evaluative terms for non-human animals includes ‘noble animal’ and ‘immemorial friend’, ‘his [the animal] power, skill and wisdom’, and those explicitly evaluating the human-animal relationship as ‘the great brotherhood’, ‘bonds of loyalty’. However, in this thesis, we will not attempt to make suggestions as to how to lessen the impact of the anthropocentric characteristics of the structure of English, instead focusing on the more practical question of how writers of activist campaign materials try to encourage their readership to take concrete actions. In this context, the use of innovative terminology or grammatical structures would probably distract from the main purpose of the texts. In fact, we think that such ‘eco-centric’ linguistic features would actually increase reader disaffiliation, as the reader might very well not feel that they belong to such a radical community as one which tries to push the limits of socially accepted lexicology.

²⁰ PDA was not intended to replace CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) and does not propose a new methodology. In fact, the ‘critical’ of CDA does not assume any negative ‘valuer’ to studies undertaken, the exchanging of ‘critical’ for ‘positive’ was simply meant to signal a subjective evaluation on the part of the researcher for PDA to explore the positively-evaluated “voices in the news media that offer radically different perspectives on the world from standard news frames” (Stibbe, 2018:169; see also Macgilchrist, 2007; Bartlett, 2012). The quality of the analyses is said not to be comprised through the element of subjectivity in the corpus selection due to the application of robust theoretical frameworks, such as that provided by Appraisal Theory.

3.3. Journalistic voices

3.3.1. Reporter, Correspondent and Commentator voices

The concept of *voice*²¹ was first introduced in the context of literary studies, with Lubbock (1957) stating that “the author can make use of both his own language and that of his characters” (Lubbock, 1957:68). However, it was in Bakhtin’s (1973) study of genre in the work of Dostoevsky that the concept of ‘voice’ started to become more fully elaborated.

Bakhtin (1986) states that from the perspective of dialogism, the speaker:

“presupposes not only the existence of the language system he is using, but also the existence of preceding utterances – his own and others’ – with which his given utterance enters into one kind of relation or another (builds on them, polemicizes with them, or simply presumes that they are already known to the listener). Any utterance is a link in a very complexly organised chain of other utterances.” (Bakhtin, 1986:69)

Bakhtin’s conception of *voice* blurs the boundary between an individual’s use of language and language as a social semiotic. This relates to the concepts of *narratology* (i.e., the study of narrative structure), and as previously mentioned *dialogism*, particularly HETEROGLOSSIA (*dialogic expansion* and *dialogic contraction*, Martin and White, 2005:102). All these concepts are instance of *intertextuality*, which Barthes (1973) considers in his essays ‘The Division of Languages’ and ‘The War of Languages’, as language use making “new fabric woven out of old quotations” (quoted in Tjupa, 2010:15). The areas of investigation regarding *voice* have included: author identity (Elbow, 1994, 2007), author presence (Jeffery, 2007; Petrić, 2010; Gea-Valor, 2010), authenticity (Stewart, 1972; Jeffery, 2007), style (Elbow, 1994, 2007), and expertise and experience (Matsuda and Tardy, 2007), as well as stance. Given the complex nature of *voice*, resulting from the totality of linguistic and contextual factors, some researchers (Tardy, 2012; Matsuda, 2001; G. Thompson, 2012) have based their analyses on

²¹ See section ‘2.2. Interpersonal stance and voice’ for more details on the realisation of this concept in discourse.

reader-response, that is the subjective impressions of many readers, rather than relying on a purely linguistic analysis. While reader reaction in the present thesis can be quantified according to the percentage of e-mail recipients who either opened the e-mail or additionally took the requested action, the approach taken here is restricted to how issues of authorial stance and the polyphony of textual voices work to position the imagined reader to adopt authorial stances, with a final objective that the reader should take concrete action.

To compare the use of voice in activist campaign e-mails and other text types, Martin and White's (2005) concept of 'Evaluative Keys' provides a useful framework. These keys include the 'reporter voice', 'correspondent voice' and 'commentator voice' (ibid.:167-184). 'Reporter voice' relates to the characteristics of 'hard news' coverage by the 'general reporter'. 'Correspondent voice' and 'commentator voice' are both examples of 'writer voice' which displays "less formulaic, more individualised 'writing' associated with media 'analysis', 'commentary' and 'human interest'" (ibid.:169). The choice of labels is associated to the typical hierarchy within mainstream media organisations, with the 'reporter voice' related to the reporting of breaking news written by reporters, 'correspondent voice' related to news pages analyses written by correspondents, and the 'commentator voice' related to the style of news editors and political/social commentators in their commentaries, opinion pieces and editorials in the broadsheet media. Related to the use of attitudinal markers in the three voice types, Martin and White (ibid.) observe that:

- 'Reporter voice' infers an "absolute prohibition on unmediated explicit judgement" (ibid.:168). Related to AFFECT and APPRECIATION, authorial (unmediated) tokens are permitted, but to a lesser degree than in 'correspondent/commentator voice'. Also, in 'reporter voice' attitudinal tokens are often attributed to third-party participants, rather than offered in the authorial voice.

- ‘Correspondent voice’ infers an approach in which “judgement values of social esteem occur in unmediated contexts, but where any judgement values of social sanction occur only in attributed contexts” (ibid.). Related to AFFECT and APPRECIATION, all authorial stances are permitted, with APPRECIATION often functioning to invoke authorial stance (i.e., JUDGEMENT).
- ‘Commentator voice’ includes “no constraints on any values of judgement – whatever the values (social esteem or social sanction), they may occur in unmediated contexts” (ibid.). Related to AFFECT and APPRECIATION, all authorial stances are permitted, but unlike the other two voices, the authorial presence can be heightened through the use of AFFECT referring to the emotional reactions of the author, and not just third-party text participants. Thus, the possibility of expressing JUDGEMENT (especially ‘social sanction’) goes hand-in-hand with the possibility of expressing authorial AFFECT.

The majority of the texts in the corpus of this thesis include examples of strong negative JUDGEMENT (‘social sanction’), placing them in the category of ‘commentator voice’²². The use of this voice highlights a high degree of power disparity between writer and reader, which implies a high level of reader affiliation. That is, only the reader who accepts the same worldview as the writer will allow them to occupy such a dominant dialogical position as that of the ‘commentator’.

We turn now to the use of the different evaluative keys in both mainstream and alternative media.

²² This observation has been stated here as it is not considered as a central finding of this thesis, which is more directed towards uncovering patterns of markers of the alignment and affiliation of the imagined reader. The concept of ‘Evaluative Keys’ has been introduced here simply as a basis for comparison of the results of this thesis with other studies using this framework (see Chapters 5, 6, and 7).

3.3.2. Use of journalistic voices in the media

3.3.2.1. Mainstream media

Regarding the relationship of institutional power and the mass media, Van Dijk (2018:56) observes that fundamental societal norms, values and power arrangements are seldom challenged, raising questions about the links between power brokers, particularly politicians, and the media. Fairclough (1995) argues that these social norms are maintained in news discourse by:

“the way in which it weaves together representations of the speech and writing of a complex range of ‘voices’ into a web which imposes order and interpretation upon them” (Fairclough, 1995:77).

Thus, the concept of ‘voice’ and the way in which textual space is given to the voices of different text participants gives rise to the idea of ‘representation’, which Burton (1990) defines as the “ways in which the media construct views of the world and of social groups in particular” (Burton, 1990:2). Referring to ‘reported’ speech in hard news coverage, Seghezzi (2007) concludes that although journalists avoid certain values of inscribed ATTITUDE, particularly JUDGEMENT, they nonetheless represent different social groups in attitudinally-charged ways by adopting the voice of another as their own (through ATTRIBUTION), often a person of high social status and visibility. However, Fowler (1991:12) doubts if this is due to an explicit bias towards power-holders in society, instead stating that true impartiality is probably unattainable due to the power relations within the media organisations themselves, which reflect societal distributions of power. Van Dijk (2008:32) expands on these reflections by asserting that the media producers, together with others (writers, artists, directors, academics etc.), hold ‘symbolic power’, that is, the power to influence what is prominent in public debate through their manufacturing of knowledge, beliefs, values and norms. The result is that mass media organisations often replicate the power structures embedded in

society in their discourse, particularly through the citation of institutionally-powerful sources (Burton, 1990; Fowler, 1991), and thus adopt a socially ideological position.

It is through the selection of different levels of prominence given to different news items that the media communicate an evaluation of salience to the reader. As Cohen (1963) states, the media “may not be successful in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about” (Cohen, 1963:13). This ‘agenda-setting’ (see McCombs and Shaw, 1972) by news organisations reveals the way in which they construct the reality of the world for their readership, which necessarily conforms to the principles of implicit ideologies. Althusser (1971) argues along Marxist lines that no social groups can dominate society without controlling ‘Ideological State Apparatuses’ (ISAs), of which the mainstream media is *the* prototypical example. This relates to Fairclough’s (1995) discussion of hegemony, which reveals the source of ‘common sense assumptions’ of everyday life. Burton (1990) suggests that the media have the effect of “endorsing the dominant ideology, the dominant view of power, relationships between groups in society, the dominant view of how things are run.” (Burton, 1990:261). Thus, contrary to the view of the media as enabling democratic participation through informing citizens of events in a neutral and objective fashion, these studies claim that through the use of multiple resources, including ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and the representation of societally-powerful social groups as salient voices, the mainstream media serve simply to reinforce existing societal power dynamics, thus acting as a force against radical change. Related to the framework applied in this thesis, the implication is that in the mainstream media the imagined reader is construed as affiliating with the voices of the institutionally-powerful (politicians, business leaders, academics), while being unaffiliated with other voices (e.g., activists), through the use of DISTANCE or simply their omission from the ongoing discourse.

The question we are concerned with in this thesis is what happens when activist organisations attempt to wield symbolic power through their communications, through construing the imagined reader as affiliated with their alternative worldview, as opposed to the dominant ones described above. This alternative worldview entails holding stances which are in direct opposition to recognised holders of institutional power, particularly politicians and private companies. This is the case for the activist organisations included in the present study, all of which produce media content aimed at aligning and affiliating the widest possible audience through its online divulgation. Before we consider what linguistics tools they employ to do this, we must first understand what makes their worldview and thus communications ‘alternative’. ‘Alternative media’ can be considered as such because it employs the opposite resources to the mainstream media, that is in giving prominence to the voices of less institutionally-powerful social groups and reversing the polarity values of ATTITUDE and the dialogic positioning of ENGAGEMENT markers, that is, employing negative JUDGEMENT (‘social sanction’) and DISTANCE, when appraising the institutionally-powerful social groups. The question of the definition of ‘alternative media’, as opposed to ‘mainstream media’, will be explored below.

3.3.2.2. Alternative media

A moves analysis (Swales, 1990) of our different campaign e-mails revealed them to include the following three moves: an informative description of the issue (‘problem’), a proposed solution (‘solution’), and a request for action to the reader (‘call-to-action’)²³. Each step contributes towards the global objectives of the activist campaigns, that is persuading the reader of the importance and urgency of the issue, and thus the necessity and moral

²³ See also section ‘4.4.1. Moves’.

obligation to take action. The e-mails include quotations and argumentation based on statistics and referenced sources, reflecting a concern for the journalistic norms of 'factuality and fairness' (Comfort and Blankenship, 2018:14). To see if these texts constitute an example of 'alternative media', we must consider which criteria define 'alternative media' and which of these they satisfy.

Firstly, when trying to define *alternative* as compared to *mainstream* media, we must acknowledge that the attributes applied to each are fluid, changing according to each particular moment of culture and time (Downmunt and Coyer, 2007). Also, the attitudinal value of the term *alternative* varies depending on the individual. That is, it could denote those media as being of secondary importance and social status to the dominant one, or alternatively an individual may view this hierarchical approach of ordering medias as invalid. Some researchers have tried to avoid a definition of 'alternative media' based upon its being in opposition to the institutionally-powerful mainstream media by describing it in terms other than *alternative*: independent or radical media (Downing, 2001); activist media (Waltz, 2005); tactical media (Atkinson, 2004); autonomous or citizen's media (Rodriguez and El Gazi, 2007); participatory media (Pierce, 2002); community media (Couldry and Dreher, 2007). One characteristic which underlies this plethora of terminology is that they all describe media which are both opposed to submitting to corporate control and which also work against dominant societal power dynamics through engaging in social critique. As Atton (2002a) observes, most alternative media embody at least one of the following characteristics:

- a) the exploitation of modern technology
- b) horizontal hierarchies including overlapping and de-professionalised roles
- c) radical cultural or political content
- d) innovative distribution channels
- e) attention to aesthetic form

The texts under investigation in this thesis include all five aspects in both their textual characteristics and in the organisational structure of the four groups²⁴. However, Kenix (2011) notes that at least some of these characteristics can also be found in mainstream media, blurring the boundary²⁵ between the two: “The converging media spectrum is conflating what once was considered to be two separate media spheres.” (Kenix, 2011:19). However, even though the dichotomy between *mainstream* and *alternative* is more accurately portrayed as a spectrum, there remain some characteristics of *alternative media* as challenging societal power dynamics which differentiate the two.

Atkinson’s (2006) definition of alternative media as: “produced by non-commercial sources which attempt to transform existing social roles and routines by critiquing and challenging power structures” (Atkinson, 2006:252). This definition also describes the characteristics of the campaign e-mails studied here. Dowmunt and Coyer (2007) state that alternative media is “produced by the socially, culturally and politically excluded” (Dowmunt & Coyer, 2007:5), who are also free of commercial pressures (Albert, 2006) and which translates into content which is resistant to multinational corporations (Atkinson, 2003). The subversion of the norms of mainstream media extend to the space given to voices seldom heard in mainstream media, whether this refers to the journalist being given space to “become reporters of their own experiences, struggles and lives”, or news stories being reported “through the voices of the community itself” (Atton & Wickenden 2005:349). Thus, contrary to the norms of mainstream media, alternative media lessen the pertinence and visibility of ‘official voices’, and heightens that of the community (Harcup, 2003). As such, the

²⁴ See section ‘4.3.1. The history and key characteristics of the four organisations’ for more details.

²⁵ Another example of the blurring of boundaries between text types that were previously considered to be separate between academic and popularisation texts is that found in online scientific discourse (Carter-Thomas & Rowley Jolivet, 2020; Rowley Jolivet & Carter-Thomas, forthcoming).

reader is affiliated into an 'alternative community', which holds a worldview constituted of different norms (often moral in nature) on and by which individual issues are evaluated. Thus, the degree to which any audience member accepts the terms of affiliation realised in the construal of the imagined reader determines the possibility of them accepting and possibly even simply perceiving of the writer's arguments, and, in the case of environmental and social campaign e-mails, consequently also carrying out the 'call-to-action'.

In summary, we can say that a common characteristic of alternative media is that, unlike most mainstream media, it seeks to further societal transformation. Kenix (2011) states that:

"Most researchers agree that, at the most fundamental core, alternative media facilitate democratic participation and cultural disruption while the mainstream press avoids such social critique." (Kenix, 2011:23)

Thus, the foundation of alternative media is to challenge the underlying hegemonic qualities reflected in the text structures of mainstream media. It creates a counter-hegemonic stance through both questioning mainstream ideology as well as providing an alternative one (Downing, 1984). Regarding the possible reactions of the reader, in media studies, attention has been given to whether an audience member adopts a dominant or oppositional reading position to such radical texts. Kenix (2008a) gives an example where the polarity charge of protest movement reports depends on the reader, with university students seeing the frivolity of the images as positive, while for others it highlights 'immature' or 'carnival' characterisations of the subjects. However, even this issue is more complex than at first sight, given that the students' oppositional reading of negative frames could reflect:

"a sense of powerlessness on the part of the readers... The participants' sense of engagement with the frivolity of individual play, rather than the seriousness of mass protest, might actually be reflective of a more assimilative attitude within a mass-mediated culture." (Kenix, 2011a:65)

For the purposes of this thesis, we are not considering the potentially large array of different reading positions, but instead the construed degree of alignment and affiliation of the imagined reader, which is created by and in the text itself. Any suppositions regarding the acceptance of the characteristics of the imagined reader by the general audience would be purely speculative. Nevertheless, we can conclude that the texts in the corpus fulfil many of the characterisations of alternative media presented here, especially that of aiming for societal transformation.

We will now consider the attribution of *voice* in governmental documents which deal with environmental issues, before moving on to discuss the distinction between alternative media organisations whose purpose is purely informative, and the campaign communications of the activist groups studied here.

3.3.3. Voice in scientific and political policy environmental discourse

Fløttum (2013) shows, under the ScaPoLine theory (Nølke, Fløttum & Noréy 2004), how the application of narrative structure, focusing particularly on the ‘initial situation’ and ‘complication’ stages, together with the analysis of voices explicitly and implicitly present, can help reveal the voices behind knowledge claims. In particular, she demonstrates how the realisation of voice goes beyond ATTRIBUTE (and ENDORSE) to ‘refutative relation’ (i.e., DENY) and ‘concession’ (both ‘CONTRAST’ and ‘CONCESSION’ under Appraisal Theory). These structures include external voices in the text with the aim of dismissing them: denying their conclusions in the case of ‘refutative relation’ (a), highlighting the superiority of the authorial stance in the case of ‘concession’ (b).

- (a) “The long-time scales of thermal expansion and ice sheet response to warming imply that stabilisation of GHG concentrations at or above present levels would

not stabilise sea level for many centuries. (IPCC 2007:20) (*author emphasis*, Fløttum, 2013:9)

- (b) Such changes are projected to occur over millennial time scales, **but** more rapid sea level rise on century time scales cannot be excluded. (IPCC 2007:13) (*author emphasis*, Fløttum, 2013:10)

Although not recoverable from the co-text, Fløttum concludes that the refuted proposition in the subordinated *that*-clause in (a), '*stabilisation of GHG concentrations... will stabilise sea levels...*' can be attributed to climate sceptics. In example (b) the speaker concedes the proposition of the first clause '*such changes are projected to occur over millennial time scales*', but not its implication that there is '*no reason to worry now*'. Under the theoretical framework applied in this thesis, this would be considered to be a case of DENY ('unfulfilled expectations'), with the message '*do worry*' communicated in contrast to the presumed reader misapprehension based on the first clause. Examples (a) and (b) thus illustrate "an internal polyphonic exchange of points of view" (Fløttum, 2013:10). Regarding the two environmental discourse texts investigated by Fløttum (*ibid.*), the 'Position statement on climate change and related issues' produced by the 'South-African applied centre for climate and earth systems science' (ACCESS) employs more challenge of external voices than the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change' (IPCC) summary. In particular, Fløttum (*ibid.*) notes that ACCESS as a document more oriented towards coordinating a particular political response. This is achieved through the use of more explicitly marked voice (exclusive 'we'), 'personally coloured claims' (through adverbials, e.g., '*clearly*', Fløttum, 2013:12, equivalent to CONCUR), fewer scientifically-calibrated modifiers ('*likely, with high confidence*', equivalent to ENTERTAIN), and more concessive and refutative polyphony than the IPCC. The conclusion is that "ACCESS is more polemical and polyphonic than IPCC" (*ibid.*). From the perspective of Appraisal Theory, the characteristics of the ACCESS text is that it includes more contractive

ENGAGEMENT (CONCUR, DENY, CONTRAST) and, in the terms of the framework of this thesis, markers of low affiliation with the imagined reader (exclusive 'we'). Finally, related to narrative structure, the IPCC is 'complication phase' dominant, while ACCESS also includes action components (re-action, re-resolution or final situation). These differences reflect the different purposes of the documents, with the IPCC being non-prescriptive, while the ACCESS document is explicitly political in focus. Given that campaign e-mails analysed here have a social and political goal of being an advocator of societal change, similarly to the ACCESS document, they are expected to contain a higher degree of contractive as opposed to expansive ENGAGEMENT markers, employ a wide range of markers of imagined reader affiliation, as well as devoting a large proportion of their content to what has been termed here 'solution' and 'call-to-action' moves.

3.3.4. Activist communications as alternative media

Regarding the media presence of environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOS), such as Greenpeace and The Story of Stuff, there has been more investigation into how these groups influence mainstream media than has been conducted into their own in-house journalistic output (see Boykoff and Boykoff, 2007; Giannoulis et al., 2010; McCluskey and Kim, 2012; Tandoc and Takahashi, 2014). For example, Comfort and Blankenship (2018) surveyed 16 independent journalists who wrote for ENGO magazine publications in the USA. They use Bourdieu's field theory (Bourdieu, 1998, 1989), in particular the contrast between the characterisation of *incumbent* and *insurgent* members of a 'social field', as a basis for understanding the overlaps between the dichotomous 'mainstream' and 'alternative' media labels. Their study showed that:

“the professionalized nature of NGOs, and their increasingly professionalized relationships with journalists... is also reflected in their journalistic choices in ENGO publications: they generally follow standard precepts of commercial journalism.” (Comfort and Blankenship, 2018:14)

However, they did find two areas in which the journalistic ethos of ENGOs differed from that of the mainstream media, namely concerning the norms of balance and objectivity. Regarding balance, some journalists in their study said that they did not agree with the necessity of always presenting an alternative view, for example climate change denying scientists who form a very small minority. As regards objectivity, many journalists agreed with the view that this is an ideal which is unrealistic in all forms of journalism. Two opinions given in their study were:

“I think the debate over whether you can truly be objective is pretty much over. I don’t think that can ever happen. We all have our own worldview.”

“I think that there’s a different sense of objectivity when you are a newspaper reporter vs. when you are a magazine writer. As a magazine writer who’s also doing web stories now, magazine editors do not want pure objectivity. They want my perspective.” (ibid.:10)

Thus, the writers of these alternative media texts have adopted the approach of the mainstream media in distancing or ignoring certain voices, thus eschewing the principle of balance. An implicit worldview is necessarily encoded in the networks of affiliation present in the text, favouring some voices while distancing themselves from or ignoring others. This is evident through an analysis of which voices are included ‘neutrally’ through ACKNOWLEDGE, which are positively evaluated through ENDORSE, and which are rejected, through DISTANCE or omission. An example of DISTANCE from the corpus is given in (26) below for illustrative purposes:

(26) “We’ve been waiting over 3 years for a good strategy to be published, and now we’re being told that we’ll be choking on pollution for another 7 at least. And *the Government claims that’s ambitious.*” (GP06, The Green Party, 22/05/18)

The verbal process '*claim*' in the second sentence of extract (26) signals this as DISTANCE, with invoked negative JUDGEMENT:TENACITY for the UK Government as not being '*ambitious*'. While such markers of disaffiliation with the government might also be found in mainstream media, the use of a strong attitudinal lexis in the previous sentences in '*choking*' clearly indicates the degree of affiliation work being imposed on the imagined reader. That is, there is a mounting prosody of negative evaluation regarding the government, signalling the total rejection of their voice and casting them as an 'out-group', with the writer and imagined reader forming the 'in-group'. This example illustrates how writers of activist communications exclude and disparage institutionally-powerful voices, while they also often include and positively evaluate those with low institutional power²⁶. Thus, markers of alignment and affiliation of the imagined reader work together to position them as not only in agreement with, but also socially close to, the writer, while remaining distant from third parties.

Bell (1996:212) argues against the possibility of a neutral, objective media text, both in its production and in its rhetorical features. Referring again to Martin and White's (2005:161-209) concept of evaluative keys, as previously stated, it is hypothesized that writers of the activist campaign e-mails in the corpus of this thesis use the 'commentator voice' as opposed to the 'reporter voice' or 'correspondent voice'. Just as in mainstream magazines and newspaper editorials, the NGO journalism's use of the 'commentator voice' is validated through a "nuanced understanding of the impossibility of true impartiality in reporting while still stressing their adherence to factuality and fairness." (Comfort and Blakenship, 2018:14). So, just as in the mainstream media, the use of the 'commentator voice' in alternative media may preclude the full observation of the norms of balance and

²⁶ See example sentence (46) in section '5.3.2. Judgement'.

objectivity, but nonetheless maintain their authority as mediating a legitimate vision of the social world (Bourdieu, 2005) through the ideas of truthfulness and ethics. This differentiates both *alternative* and *mainstream* journalism from non-journalistic, vested-interest communications such as advertising (see Thompson and Thetela, 1995), corporate communications or political and diplomatic rhetoric (see Downing, 1984; Gunster, 2011, 2012; Stark, 2020).

We will now move on to the main focus of this thesis, the study of markers of imagined reader alignment and reader affiliation.

3.4. Imagined reader alignment and affiliation

3.4.1. A framework of reader alignment

While the contributions of recent research to the theoretical development of the concepts of reader alignment and affiliation will be considered below, it is first important to note the progressive change in focus of communication type and medium under investigation: ranging from offline conversation (Knight, 2010a), to online conversation with the possibility of short delay response (Don, 2017; Peter White, 2020a; Zappavigna & Martin, 2017), to online texts with little or no possibility of direct response (Peter White, 2020b). It is the last of these studies, Peter White (ibid.), which has employed a corpus of texts most comparable to those included here.

From a theoretical perspective of reader positioning, Peter White (ibid.) notes that:

“the construed addressee is more elusive from the analytical perspective, most often being imminent in the text rather than overtly articulated, invoked by implicit signals of authorial assumptions and anticipations.” (Peter White, 2020b:405)

The three proposed categories of reader positioning in Peter White (ibid.) are:

likeminded / persuadable / unlikeminded

In general, the lexicogrammatical markers of these reader positioning strategies include: epistemic modals and evidentials, hedges, adversatives and concessives, negation, presupposition and formulations of meta-discourse (Peter White, 2020b:406). Regarding

likemindedness, Peter White defines this as realised through:

“...formulations which signal anticipation on the author’s part that the addressee will share some knowledge, belief or attitude, or alternatively they will be subject to the same expectations as the author.” (Peter White, 2020b:408)

The principal realisations of this dialogic stance towards the reader are the use of bare assertion and presupposition. For example, in the following extract (quoted from Peter White, 2020b), the fact that Israel has ‘faults’, that there has been a ‘rightwards shift’ and a ‘collapse

of Labor Zionism' are all presupposed through their realisation as nominalised forms within a MONOGLOSSIC clause. This use of bare assertion and presupposition envisage no necessity to entertain the possibility of the imagined reader not occupying the same stance as the writer.

"I'm not blind to Israel's faults. I deplore the rightwards shift of the nation's political culture. I mourn the collapse of Labor Zionism." (Sydney Morning Herald, 28/07/2014, Peter White, 2020b.:409)

While this type of presupposition has been treated as 'normalizing' or 'naturalizing' value positions (Van Dijk, 2003, 2005), Peter White re-interprets its dialogic function as projecting "the particular value position onto the construed reader in that it is this construed reader who is 'taken for granted' in this way" (Peter White, 2020b:409). Other methods of displaying *likemindedness* are: CONCUR (*obviously, admittedly, of course*) which can also be realised in rhetorical questions to which the reader is assumed be of the same mind as the author and therefore able to provide the answer; and counter-expectedness, which is communicated through contrastive adverbials and expressions of disbelief and shock (*unbelievably, shockingly*). An example of CONCUR communicating 'likemindedness', taken from the corpus of this thesis, is given in (27) below:

(27) "Besides Brazil, sugarcane is produced using forced labor in Bolivia, Burma, Dominican Republic and Pakistan, and reports of debt bondage in India and human trafficking risks for sugar cane workers in Guatemala have also been documented. **Clearly**, slavery is still a big problem in the global sugar industry." (FR07, Freedom United, 17/05/2018)

Here, the sentence '*Clearly, slavery is still a big problem...*' in (27) portrays the imagined reader as having been persuaded by the evidence given for this statement in the previous sentence, and therefore as *likeminded*. Next, Peter White defines the *persuadable* strategy as:

"mechanisms by which the addressee can be construed as potentially not yet committed to, or convinced of, or aware of, the merits of the proposition currently

being advanced – as potentially questioning of, or resistant to, the proposition, but as nevertheless persuadable as to the proposition’s validity.” (Peter White, 2020b:414)

Adopting this strategy functions to “signal recognition by the speaker that the viewpoint they are advancing is but one of a range of alternative viewpoints in play in the current communicative context.” (Ibid.). The formulations through which this persuadability are realised are the categories of ENTERTAIN and JUSTIFY, which include markers of epistemic modality, evidentiality and hedges. The use of the persuadable approach may not however indicate a full openness of the writer to alternative views, but may instead simply be a strategy by which the writer avoids alienating the readership, usually related to a non-central point of their argument. The fact that some strategies may not be related only to convincing the reader to adopt the authorial stance, but also to a broader kind of signalling the author’s consideration of or respect of the reader relates to the concept of reader affiliation as developed in this thesis²⁷. An example of the use of ENTERTAIN used to avoid the alienation of the imagined reader on a non-central point from the corpus of this thesis is given in (28) below:

(28) “You *may* be surprised to know that Niger has the highest rate of child marriage in the world where 59.8% of girls are married as children, with devastating effects on their future.” (FU09, Freedom United, 16/06/2018)

Here, the potential discursual distance that could have been created by the difference in knowledge between writer and imagined reader is mitigated through the epistemic modal verb ‘*may*’, thus accommodating both the imagined reader who is already privy to the knowledge while not ostracizing those who are not.

Finally, when the author construes the imagined reader “completely at odds with the

²⁷ See section ‘2.3.4.2. Expand’ for a more detailed discussion on the impact of expansive ENGAGEMENT markers on the portrayed affiliation of the imagined reader.

author” (Peter White, 2020b:418), they are employing the *unlikemindedness* strategy. This is achieved through the use of negation (DENY), when the assumed contrary position is held by the putative reader as well as or as opposed to a third-party participant. This negation of the reader’s position functions as a “‘corrective’ to readers who may hold this [alternative] view.” (Peter White, 2020b.:419). As discussed in detail in section ‘2.3.4.1. Contract’, the use of DENY in the corpus of this thesis avoids the implication of a direct challenge to the supposed reader position (i.e., ‘mistaken idea’), but is used for the corrective functions of ‘disambiguation’ and ‘unfulfilled expectations’. However, the latter does not indicate *unlikemindedness* as its corrective function works to re-align a supposed reader misapprehension which is created from the preceding text and is thus a result of the writer’s own rhetorical choices. An example of ‘disambiguation’, which does indicate momentary *unlikemindedness* on the part of the imagined reader, from the corpus of this thesis is given in (29) below:

- (29) “Devastating fires are ripping through Indonesia’s ancient rainforests, putting thousands of people’s lives at risk.... *These fires are no accident*: many are man-made blazes started by reckless companies intent on clearing land to grow palm oil.” (GR22, Greenpeace, 04/12/2019)

The clause ‘*These fires are no accident*’ although related to the previous sentence is not ‘unfulfilled expectations’ as it does not contain a contrastive adverb (e.g., *but*). That is, the preceding discourse is not thought to provoke this misapprehension in the imagined reader, though it is still presumed to be the reader position. Thus, in order to progress the persuasive argumentation towards the ‘call-to-action’, the author finds it necessary to correct this misapprehension, and in fact provides justification for the correction immediately afterwards. Thus, the momentary dis-alignment (*unlikemindedness*) of the imagined reader is immediately defused.

Through the framework of the dialogic strategies of *likemindedness*, *persuadability* and *unlikemindedness*, Peter White (2020b) adapts the categories of the ENGAGEMENT system of Appraisal Theory to demonstrate how they can be used to map reader positioning strategies. These insights are of central importance to the analysis of the corpus of this thesis, as the main rhetorical objective of the campaign e-mails of the four groups is to align the reader to the author's value positions, and thereby encourage them to take action. However, we will also attempt to delineate the two categories of reader alignment and reader affiliation categorically through the inclusion of markers which have an impact primarily on imagined reader affiliation (interactant markers, commands and questions) as well as those which impact on both imagined reader alignment *and* affiliation (invoked ATTITUDE). Thus, while Peter White's categories of imagined reader alignment provide a useful and applicable framework, our intention is to increase the comprehensiveness of the analysis by also looking at their co-occurrence with markers of imagined reader affiliation.

3.4.2. Frameworks of reader affiliation

Zappavigna and Martin (2017) studied social media discourse regarding depression in which they make a distinction between face-to-face dialogic affiliation and 'ambient affiliation' (Zappavigna, 2011), which is related to the concept of 'context collapse' (Wesch, 2009; Carter-

Thomas & Rowley-Jolivet, 2020²⁸). Context collapse in online environments refers to the impossibility of knowing the audience, and so a collapse of the context in which the writer sends out their messages. Marwick and Boyd (2011) note that on social media the addressee of most messaging is invisible and untraceable:

“Given the various ways people can consume and spread tweets, it is virtually impossible for Twitter users to account for their potential audience, let alone actual readers... Without knowing the audience, participants imagine it.” (Marwick and Boyd, 2011:117)

Zappavigna and Martin (2017) investigate the way that writers of online texts can ‘commune affiliation’ through three different strategies: *convoking*, *finessing*, and *promoting*. These three categories reflect the three main systems of Appraisal Theory (Martin & White, 2005), with *convoking* related to creating attitudinal alignment, *finessing* distinguishing from other potential or real couplings through ENGAGEMENT resources (especially dialogically contractive ones) and *promoting* through upscaling in the GRADUATION system. Figure 8 below reproduces the system as displayed in their article.

²⁸ Although not related to online mediums, Carter-Thomas and Rowley-Jolivet (2020) considered the strategies that PhD students need to employ for the ‘re-contextualisation’ of their research findings when presenting them to a non-specialist audience during their ‘3-Minute Thesis’ (3MT) presentations. Among their findings, they demonstrate how presenters use verbal and non-verbal ‘personalisation strategies’ in order to “present themselves not only as budding academics but as real, approachable people with concerns that many in the audience will be able to identify with, exploiting their own personalities and backgrounds in order to create this relationship of proximity.” (Carter-Thomas & Rowley-Jolivet, 2020:9). In the terms of this thesis, we can say that the presenters sought to construe their audience as more highly affiliated through the sharing of experience, concerns, but also possibly highly aligned through the sharing of a common stance on the issue being discussed. However, this was achieved principally through the use of first person singular ‘I’ pronouns, which presume a lower level of reader/listener affiliation than do the inclusive-reference ‘we’ pronouns used in the campaign e-mails under investigation here. This difference can be accounted for in the difference of communicative contexts and especially communicative objectives, with the 3MTs aiming at divulging of scientific knowledge while the campaign e-mails are aimed at persuading the reader not only to agree with the authorial stance but also to take concrete action.

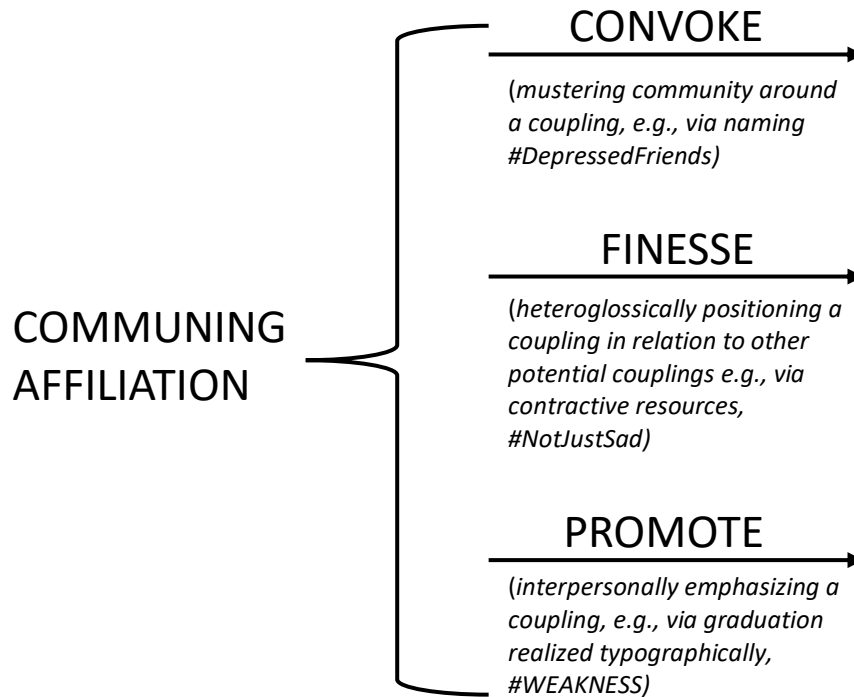


Figure 8: The system of communing affiliation (Zappavigna & Martin, 2017:5)

Their findings related to the use of hashtags on social media reveal that affiliation into a community can be *convoked* through systems of address which work much like vocatives to demarcate a community, that is through experience, i.e., #depression, or direct naming, i.e., #retired, #olderpeople. *Finessing* is often achieved through the negation of an alternative value position, for example that depression is the fault of the sufferer through the use of the contractive (DENY) ‘not’ in #SickNotWeak. Finally, *promoting* often follows finessing to reinforce the sense of the potential participants belonging to a specific community, through what Zappavigna and Martin (ibid.) refer to as ‘discharging’ and ‘recharging’.

#Depression is **not a sign of #weakness** [discharging/finessing], it just means you’ve had to **be #strong** [recharging/promoting] for far too long. (*my emphasis*, Zappavigna and Martin, 2017:8)

Here the *finessing* is accomplished through the ‘discharging’ of the negativity associated with the attitudinal marker ‘weakness’ through the use of the dialogically contractive ‘not’ as cancelling out the alternative implicit stance of ‘Depression is weakness’. This is followed by

a *promoting* affiliation through the use of the positive attitudinal marker ‘strong’, which has been upscaled through being realised as a searchable hashtag. The couplings are thus firstly ‘evaluation: not negative JUDGEMENT (CAPACITY) / ideation: depression’ in the discharging of the assumed negative stance coupling of an unspecified external voice, which is followed by the positive coupling ‘evaluation: positive JUDGEMENT (CAPACITY) / ideation: you). Of course, as Don (2019:87) notes, the attitudinal marker “is a semantic concept, it already entails a target”. While this is undeniable, the framework created by Zappavigna and Martin (2017) reflects not so much the instance where an attitudinal marker is present, but instead what Don (2017) terms ‘inter-textual reference’ through which an experiential token can take on attitudinal charge. Example (30) from the corpus of this thesis is an instance of the use of DENY with the inclusive ‘we’, performing the function of *finessing*:

(30) “And most of all, *we’re a movement that’s never giving up.*” (GR05, Greenpeace, 02/06/2017)

This *finesse* strategy positions the reader as affiliating with the writer (inclusive ‘we’) in opposing a third-party text participant who is the presumed source of the implied proposition ‘*Greenpeace (and their supporters) will one day give up*’.

Zappavigna (2019) looked into the production of tweets during the Brexit campaign of 2016, in particular those written in reaction to the British politician Michael Gove’s infamous statement during a TV interview that “I think the people of this country *have had enough of experts...*’ (*author emphasis*, Zappavigna, 2019:49). Although most tweets reacting to this quotation employed the strategies of *censure* or *ridicule* through the use of ironic or sarcastic statements, Zappavigna still provides a full system network for all possible affiliation strategies (see Fig. 9).

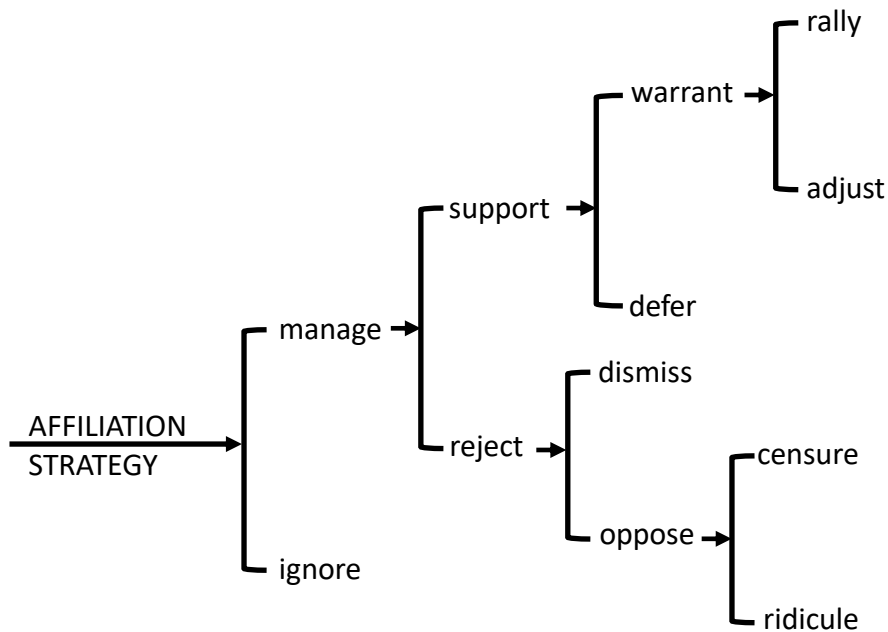


Figure 9: Affiliation strategies for negotiating couplings (Zappavigna, 2019:58)

Dealing with the finest levels of the network in Figure 9, *rally* and *adjust* both indicate support for a previous statement, with *adjust* adding justifications or widening the scope of an attitudinal position. *Defer* functions to support an unfamiliar coupling but was not found in Zappavigna’s (2019) study of political tweets. The example given for *dismiss* was an ‘eye-roll emoji’ signalling a negative attitudinal stance, but without any deeper engagement as regards the validity of the coupling. As already mentioned, *censure* and *ridicule* were the most used, with the former being realised through criticism of the original statement by Michael Gove, and the latter essentially realising the same function, but through the use of irony or sarcasm. While the corpus of this thesis differs from Zappavigna’s (ibid.) in that it consists of one-way communication²⁹, the categories of Zappavigna’s system network for affiliation strategies might be useful in analysing how the writers of campaign materials react to directly or

²⁹ For a more detailed discussion of the campaign e-mails investigated here, see section ‘4.3. Corpus’.

indirectly quoted material. Example (31) below shows such a kind of pseudo-conversation between the author and the campaign target, HSBC:

(31) “HSBC says on its website “Considering sustainability when we make decisions helps to protect our reputation... and manage the risk profile of the business.” Now we’ve caught a palm oil company who was lent millions of pounds by HSBC bulldozing rainforest in secretly filmed footage. ***Oops! We know just how to call them out.***” (GR02, Greenpeace, 25/01/2017)

In this extract, the quote from HSBC is followed by the *dismiss* (in Zappavigna’s terms) in ‘*Oops! We know...*’, which imitates a two-way conversation, placing the imagined reader on the side of the writer through the justification given in the previous sentence (‘*Now we’ve caught...*’).

Peter White (2020a) analysed the comments trail on newspaper articles regarding a raid by the Australian Federal Police at the house of a prominent political journalist, Annika Smethurst. Related to the concept of ‘ambient affiliation’, Peter White constructs a three-pronged framework, each with different enacting possibilities (see Figure 10 below).

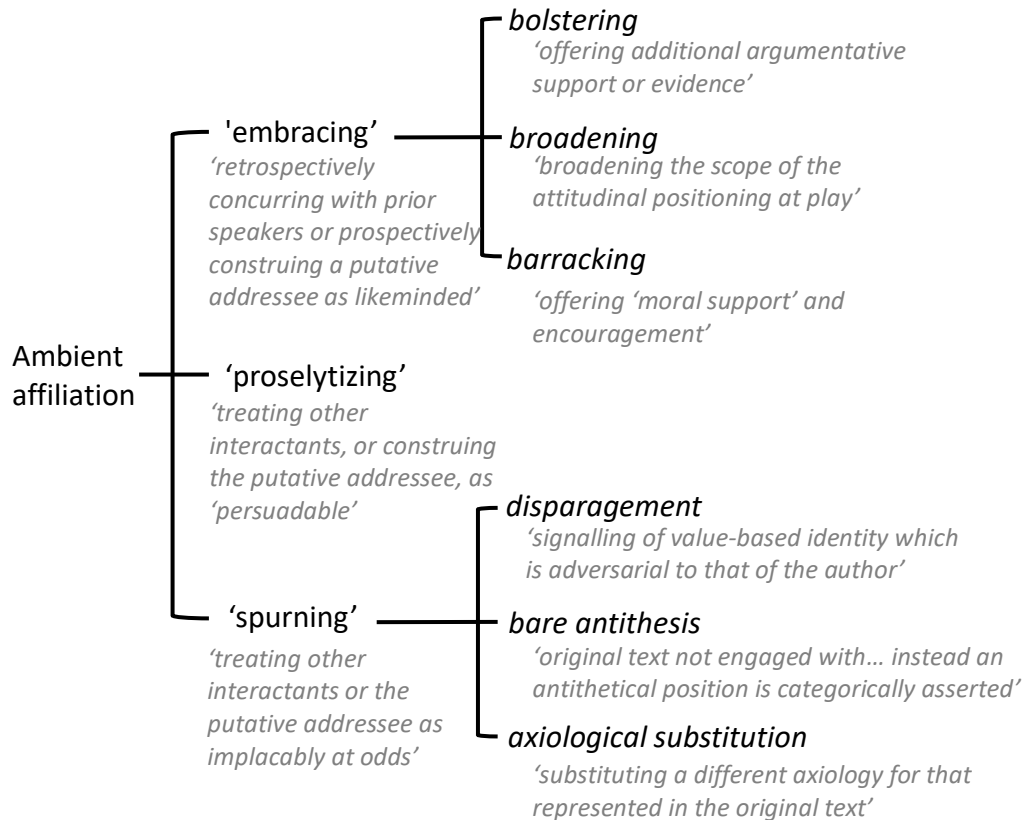


Figure 10: A framework for ambient affiliation strategies (formulated from argumentation in Peter White, 2020a:27-35)

As can be seen from Figure 10, the writer addresses their response or comments on the original article to the ambient audience of other previous and potential comment writers by choosing between three broad strategies: expressing approval for the original text (i.e., 'embracing'), attempting to persuade their audience of their own position (i.e., 'proselytizing'), or criticising the original text (i.e., 'spurning'). In terms of this thesis, the lack of mechanism for reader response in the corpus texts means that the categories of *embracing* and *spurning* are less relevant. Also, this thesis proposes to include measures of reader affiliation that include other markers than those only of reader alignment.

While most of these studies use corpora of two-way exchanges (i.e., different writers relating and reacting to each other's utterances), the focus on internet-mediated environments means that all the studies presented in this section had to deal with accounting

for affiliation strategies of writers to a theoretically limitless audience (i.e., context collapse). The resulting concept of ambient affiliation is extremely relevant and applicable to the annotation of the corpus of this thesis as the writers of the campaign materials are addressing a wide audience (often over 100,000 recipients), who although being assumed to be sympathetic to the groups' activities, still require moulding into a community. This is evidenced through some groups using third-party nominal groups to address their readership which explicitly contribute towards community creating, e.g., the 'Freedom United Community'.

We now move on to look at a framework which clearly separates the measures of reader alignment and reader affiliation, demonstrating how the two can interact in discourse.

3.4.3. A framework of reader alignment and affiliation

Don (2019) makes a clear distinction between reader alignment and affiliation, placing both under the category Social Contact (as defined by Poynton, 1985). While reader alignment refers to shared values without the interlocutors necessarily knowing one another, reader affiliation relates to shared experience, knowledge or cultural norms. This distinction helps us apply the concept of Contact to communicative situations such as those found in online environments where the participants in a discourse will probably never meet, for example the specialist medical forum used in Don's study and also the corpus of this thesis. Don (2019) elucidates on the distinction between these two terms:

"SFL studies appear to have used the terms **alignment** and **affiliation** somewhat interchangeably. In Knight's work (2010a, 2010b) although the notion of **affiliation** through bonding was theorized in detail... this covered senses of both 'contact' (what I term affiliation) and 'axiology' (what I term alignment) which I wish to distinguish here. 'Contact' in Poynton's (1985) sense refers to how close interactants are in terms of social experiences, while 'axiological alignments' as used in this paper, is concerned with value systems which may be totally independent of social contact..." (*author emphasis* Don, 2019:73)

Although Knight (2010a, 2010b) made an important contribution to the study of reader alignment and affiliation, her work has not been reviewed here as it dealt with the use of laughter in conversations to smooth out a 'wrinkle' generated by statements which include go against the accepted norms of affiliation between participants. It thus focuses on an everyday spoken environment in which a whole range of gestures, exclamatives etc. can be used to manage issues of affiliation, which cannot be present in the texts studied in this thesis. As Don (2019) states above, Knight's study is also not directly relevant to this thesis as she conflates the possibilities of 'wrinkles' in both alignment, and more generally in norms of affiliation. Instead, for Don, affiliation is evident through reference made to shared knowledge, experiences, culture norms or history. Thus, the analysis of affiliation could require the analyst to have lived experienced through engaging in:

"longer-term membership of social groupings or institutions in which specific or variable meanings are regularly activated as 'norms'" (Don, 2018:78).

Reader alignment, the sharing of values, works independently of reader affiliation, as social participants might be "highly affiliated or well-known to each and yet still remain dis-aligned in terms of values" (ibid.:79). However, as mentioned earlier, participants can be highly aligned in their values without ever entering into a relationship of common affiliation. Figure 11 below reproduces Don's matrix chart which illustrates how reader alignment and affiliation interact.

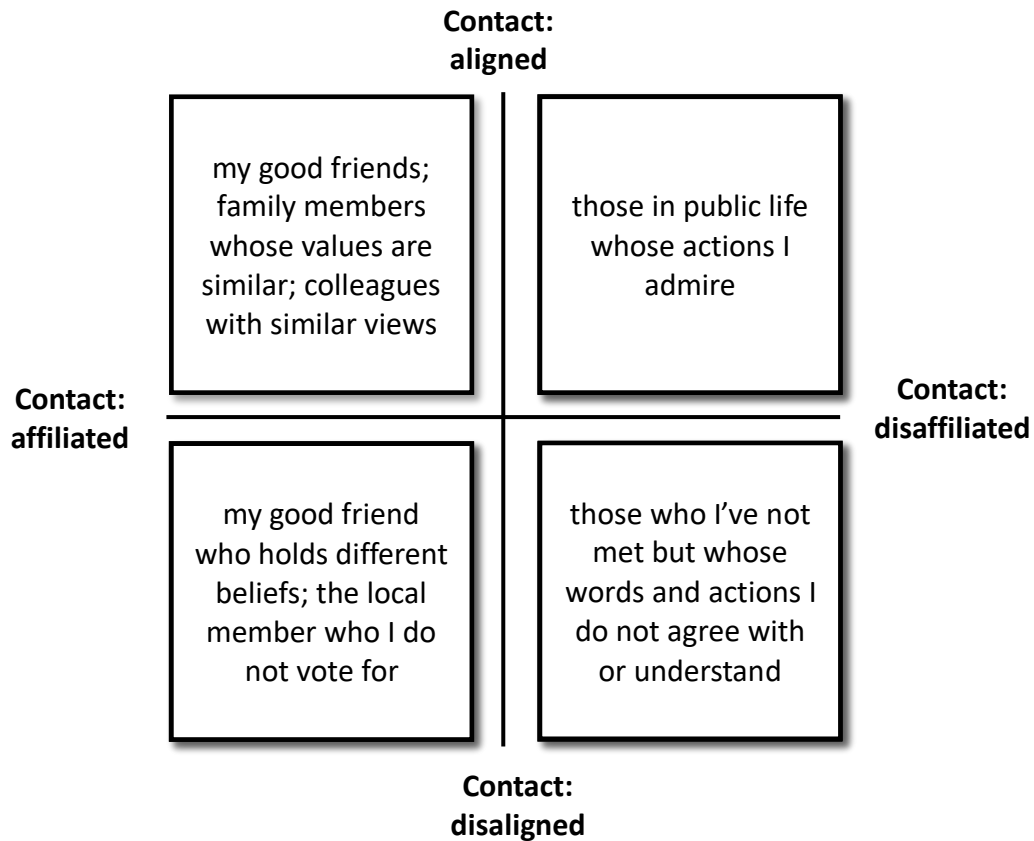


Figure 11 Contact: affiliating and aligning relationships (Don, 2019:82)

Given that Don's definition of reader affiliation is related to social contact, any analysis of particular examples is necessarily lengthy, as references to status, previous communications and accepted norms are indispensable. Nevertheless, here we present one of the shorter example texts from Don's study, taken from a specialised internet forum of Psychologists:

Sig files with degrees, official positions, etc. are the Net equivalent of **wearing a suit or lab jacket, tie (and/or pearls) and official nametag.** Appropriate in clinic, meeting or other professional work occasions. Not appropriate in less formal settings.

How about dropping **yours**, Ben? Or are **you** more comfortable around **us patients** with the lab coat and tie on?

:-)

(author emphasis, Don, 2018:84-85)

'Sig files' refers to signature file which can be automatically appended to each post of a participant giving their personal and professional details. Thus, the first paragraph of the post affiliates the writer with their audience through assumptions of shared experience and

knowledge of both offline professional as well as online forum settings. This is then used as a basis for the negative JUDGEMENT contained within the ‘appropriate’/‘not appropriate’ contrast in the following clauses. The invoked negative JUDGEMENT is then transferred to one particular forum member, ‘Ben’, through a direct question, again creating affiliation through assuming that the rest of the post’s potential audience are already aware of the situation.

Don concludes that Bill, the author of the post:

“... deftly **affiliates** his audience by positioning them as knowing Ben’s professional status, and as being aware of his use of sig files. In addition, Bill’s reference to the audience in the first-person plural, labelling them in a specific institutionalized role – *us patients* – positions addressee Ben as having a view of the audience as in an unequal **status**: authority relationship with him and the audience of onlookers.” (author emphasis, Don, 2019:85)

In short, reader alignment and affiliation work together in this post with the attitudinal stance being invoked through implicit reference to shared professional norms of appropriacy. Our activist campaign writers are expected to signal affiliation with the imagined reader through the invocation of attitudinal stances based on shared experience, knowledge or culture, which thus both aligns the imagined reader in terms of shared values but also reinforces reader affiliation through shared experience and/or worldview³⁰. In the case of inscribed attitudinal markers, while it is true that these may generate emergent affiliation, as Don (2019) argues, this is not necessarily the case. In the context of this thesis, it is expected that the reader may be portrayed as agreeing with the values of the writer while at the same time being assigned a separate and distant role from the writer in the resolution of the campaign issue. This distancing can be evidenced through the use of exclusive reference reader pronouns (e.g., *you, your*) and low-agentive transitivity participant roles (e.g., *Affected*). Therefore, the

³⁰ See section ‘2.3.3.2. Invoked attitude’ for a detailed discussion of how invoked attitudinal tokens can impact on imagined reader affiliation.

discoursal impact of inscribed attitudinal markers on reader affiliation depends on the presence of markers of (dis)affiliation in the co-text.

In conclusion to our discussion of frameworks of reader alignment and affiliation, it should be noted that we accept that the two concepts often overlap in persuasive texts. What we argue for in this thesis is that by measuring the impact of each separately, we can come to a clearer view of how that interaction actually happens, and how it contributes to the persuasive aims of the campaign e-mails analysed here.

3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have reviewed issues related to the relationship of language to ecology, detailed studies of various types of journalistic voice, and discussed various frameworks proposed by different researchers for the analysis of imagined reader alignment and affiliation. In particular, we have seen that the elements of the theoretical framework used in this study have already been applied to other studies of environmental discourse: Appraisal Theory (Alexander, 2018; Cook & Sealing, 2018; Döring, 2018; Kuha, 2018, Stibbe, 2018) and transitivity (Goatly, 2018). The combining of these elements with the study of interactant markers, commands and questions provides a broad scope of markers of reader alignment and affiliation. Also, the anthropocentric characteristics of the lexicogrammar of English seen in the 'cline of latency' (Goatly, 2018), the 'canonical event structure' (Langacker, 1991) and 'empathy hierarchy' (Goatly, 2018) will be useful especially when considering the transitivity participant roles assigned to the author, reader, perpetrator and natural element later on³¹.

We have also seen how the texts studied in this thesis can be considered as a type of alternative media. Both in the characteristics of the four organisations as well as various textual elements, the campaign e-mails under consideration here conform to Atton's (2002a) five characteristics of alternative media:

- 1) The exploitation of modern technology
- 2) Horizontal hierarchies including overlapping and de-professionalised roles
- 3) Radical cultural or political content
- 4) Innovative distribution networks
- 5) Attention to aesthetic form

³¹ See sections '6.2.2. Interactant transitivity participant roles' and '6.2.3. Natural element participants'.

A further two characteristics of subverting of media norms by giving voice to less powerful societal actors (Atton & Wickenden 2005:349) and of seeking societal transformation (Kenix, 2011:23) were also identified in the campaign e-mails.

The central objective of this thesis is to see how the interrelation of the concepts of reader alignment and reader affiliation help in the persuasive goal of the text type. Related to reader alignment, Peter White's (2021a) framework which includes the categories of reader as *likeminded*, *persuadable* or *unlikeminded* has been adopted for this thesis. Regarding frameworks of reader affiliation, the following frameworks were reviewed: Zappavigna and Martin's (2017) *convoking*, *finessing*, *promoting*; Zappavigna's (2019) *support* (*rally*, *adjust*, *defer*), *reject* (*dismiss*, *censure*, *ridicule*), *ignore*; and Peter White's (2020a) *embracing* (*bolstering*, *broadening*, *barracking*), *proselytizing*, *spurning* (*disparagement*, *bare antithesis*, *axiological substitution*). However, since these frameworks focused on the interaction of online posts, they were not adopted for this thesis. Instead, Don's (2019) framework which seeks to distinguish textual effects of reader alignment from reader affiliation, under Poynton's (1985) concept of Social Contact, was adopted. Don (2019) argues that reader alignment relates to the sharing of values and stances between writer and reader while reader affiliation relates to shared knowledge, experience or cultural norms. The result of making such a distinction is the possibility that two people might be aligned on an issue, but not affiliated or vice versa. Additionally, and more relevant to the present study, is that in distinguishing these two concepts of social contact, an analysis can be undertaken into how a writer relies more or one or the other at certain points in the progression of a text according to the text's (extra-linguistic) objectives. Thus, for this thesis, it is hypothesized that a writer may include more markers of reader alignment or affiliation at different points in the campaign e-mails in order to persuade the imagined reader to accept the 'call-to-action'.

Chapter 4. Methodology

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, we set out the methodology employed to test the research questions and hypotheses laid out in Chapter 1. Firstly, the justifications for taking a predominantly qualitative approach to annotating the texts are given. Then, the decision to create a new corpus is argued for, together with the history and characteristics of the four organisations which produced the campaign e-mails it consists of. Annotation schemes together with examples from the corpus of the present study are then provided. Following this, we describe the procedure followed for controlling the quality of the coding through two inter-rater reliability tests. The coding software program chosen, UAM CorpusTool (O'Donnell, 2011), is then presented, together with how its various features were used to address the issues in the hypotheses. Finally, the procedure followed in the interviews with representatives for the four advocacy groups is given.

4.2. Qualitative and quantitative approaches to the present study

The neat distinction between qualitative annotations, which McEnery and Wilson (1993) define as an approach with “no attempt to assign frequencies to the linguistic features which are identified in the data”, and quantitative ones which aim to “classify features, to count them, and to construct more complex statistical models in an attempt to explain what is observed” (McEnery and Wilson, 1993:62), is rarely observed in studies of evaluation. In fact, most studies of appraisal markers (including those not using Appraisal Theory terms, such as Fløttum, 2013) usually employ a qualitative approach to manually annotate a corpus, the results of which can then be analysed quantitatively. This approach will be used for the analysis of the corpus in this thesis as it has two principal advantages over a purely quantitative corpus analysis. Firstly, it allows for the correct assigning of many evaluative tokens which depend on the co-text and contextual indications for their attitudinal charge, especially in the case of invoked markers (Hunston, 2011:12-19). Secondly, the categories used in a coding scheme often overlap in ‘fuzzy sets’ (Schmid, 1993), such as the categorising of the verbal process ‘argue’ as either ACKNOWLEDGE OR DISTANCE. For this reason, the coding scheme is often revised from a ‘basic draft of categories’ (Hommerberg and Don, 2015) during the process of annotating the corpus. In short, the contextual dependency of assigning categories plus the fluidity of those categories and the possible need of adjusting them through the annotation process favour employing a qualitative, manual approach to studies of appraisal. Furthermore, the coder is only able to appreciate the prosodic nature of appraisal (including how the three sub-systems of Appraisal Theory work together to position the various text participants), through working carefully and attentively during the process of assigning appraisal categories. Finally, the assigning of which person or thing is in the role of ‘appraised’ is also something which can only be achieved through manual annotation. This is

particularly the case when the appraised element, often a person, is omitted from the sentence through the use of 'agent-masking' structures such as nominalisations and participles. The possible motivations behind this agent-masking are very important when considering the dialogical positioning employed by the author, as evidenced in previous studies of environmental discourse (Goatly, 1996, 2001; Mabey, 2008).

However, the most common criticism of qualitative studies relates to subjectivity. Consequently, possible limitations of transparency, reliability and replicability of the analysis must therefore be addressed (Fuoli and Hommerberg, 2015). The approach taken in the present study is that of conducting two 'inter-rater reliability' (IRR) tests. The second coder for the present study, Alexanne Don, is the author of many articles into evaluative language using the Appraisal Theory framework (such as those already cited: Don, 2009, 2016, 2017, 2019). In fact, her study on invoked appraisal, Don (2016), was used in the creation of the coding scheme for invoked ATTITUDE, and her study on social contact, Don (2019), forms the basis of the theoretical framework regarding the division of markers of reader alignment and reader affiliation used in this thesis. As Fuoli (2015) recommends, two rounds of IRR tests have been carried out, which allows the researcher to refine their coding according to the differences in annotations between the two coders. Therefore, although in the present thesis the approach applied is a qualitative one, the use of two IRRs guarantees the consistency of the application of the coding scheme categories, as well as providing us with the opportunity to revise our categories based on the feedback from an expert colleague.

4.3. Corpus

4.3.1. The history and key characteristics of the four organisations

Each of the four organisations studied in this thesis has its own particularities, meaning that the organisations can be grouped in different ways: for example, according to their age and financial resources, according to their campaign foci (environment and/or social), and according to their constitution (independent NGO/elected political party). While attention will be given to all these factors, the first is thought to be of primary importance, and so will be used to structure the following discussion. This will start by describing the more established and financially-secure groups (Greenpeace, the Green Party) followed by the two younger, 'internet-enabled' groups (the Story of Stuff, Freedom United). First, we will contrast the founding of Greenpeace and the Green Party, the ease of their early attempts to attract mainstream media attention and their subsequent organisational development.

Greenpeace developed from an organisation of American and Canadian activists in Vancouver called the 'Don't Make a Wave Committee' (DMWC), founded in 1971 in response to planned American atomic weapons testing on Amchitka Island in Alaska. Garnering the support of the Canadian Government (despite also suffering interference from the latter), their first campaign was ultimately successful, with the U.S. Government abandoning nuclear testing in the region as a consequence of the media attention that the activists brought to the issue. However, from 1975 they re-directed their campaign efforts towards explicitly environmental rather than only nuclear weapons issues, for example, in their disruption of a Russian whaling fleet in the North Pacific. This brought international attention to the group and helped their expansion across the USA, into Europe and Australasia. It was at this stage that a Vancouver member, David McTaggart saw the need for the consolidation of geographically dispersed groups in Europe and North America, creating Greenpeace

International, headquartered in Amsterdam. The need for a flexible organisation which was nevertheless controlled through a centralised hierarchy came from their multiple level approach to campaigning, in which they would adopt one rhetorical style for the mainstream media, and another when attempting to persuade the political elite to take action. As Zelko (2017) observes:

“On the one hand, they employed a rhetoric of righteous moral anger intended largely for the general public's consumption... they also put together a more "objective" report that took the form of a scientific review article.” (Zelko, 2017:322-323)

Today, Greenpeace operates with the same hybrid centralised/decentralised organisational structure, with “27 independent national/regional organisations in over 55 countries across Europe, the Americas, Africa, Asia and the Pacific, as well as a co-ordinating body, Greenpeace International.” (Our Network, 2022). According to their 2020 Annual Financial Report (the most recent available), Greenpeace International brought in a combined income of €90,729,000 (Greenpeace, 2021b:21). In their 2020 Annual Report (Greenpeace 2021a:11-13), Greenpeace International detail major campaign actions in the Amazon, Australia, Cameroon, Canada, Denmark, the European Union Parliament, Indonesia, Israel, Russia, Senegal, South Korea, the UK and the USA.

The Green Party of England and Wales were not able to achieve such quick mainstream media recognition, fighting instead for their survival in their early years. Founded as the ‘People party’ in 1973 by two ex-Conservative Party supporters, Tony and Lesley Whittaker, having failed to attract a broad range of environmental organisations to a conference that they had organised in 1973, they also achieved extremely low returns in local and general elections in 1974 (Siloret, 2017:40). In fact, it was only after having barely passed the minimum of 50 candidates (they stood 53) for the 1979 general election that the party was afforded the opportunity to air a 5-minute party political broadcast on national television.

Known at the time as 'The Ecology Party', the 1979 elections represented their first steps into the national political consciousness, with their membership subsequently increasing ten-fold, from 500 to 5000 members (ibid.:41). The name was changed to the 'Green Party of England and Wales' in 1985 (the Scottish and Northern Irish branches becoming independent), and despite gaining 15% of the national vote in the 1989 European elections, they failed to gain a seat due to the then used 'first-past-the-post' electoral system. The Green Party underwent a centralising re-organisation in 1990, replacing the party council with a party executive and the establishment of delegate voting at party conferences (Burchell, 2000). With the introduction of proportional representation for European elections in 1999, the Green Party returned three Assembly members for its 11% share of the vote. In 2010, the party attained its first UK parliamentary seat for Caroline Lucas (the then party leader) for the constituency of Brighton Pavilion. In 2021, they secured their best ever local election return, raising the number of local Green Councillors from 344 to 445 (with representation on 141 local councils). The combined membership of the Green Party England and Wales, together with the Scottish and Northern Irish parties, totalled over 70,000 at the last general election in 2019 (Membership of UK political parties, 2022), making the UK the European country with the highest number of active Green Party supporters. As of 27 October 2020, the Green Party had an annual income of £3,454,562, compared to £57,295,000 for the Labour Party, and £67,995,000 for the Conservative and Unionist Party (Ibid.).

The Story of Stuff was founded by an ex-Greenpeace campaigner, Annie Leonard, in 2007 after the viral success of her video of the same title on www.youtube.com. Much of the following information about the founding and development of the group was acquired during an interview conducted for this thesis with their Director of Community Engagement, Brett Chamberlin, held on 06/05/2021. He explained that the intention behind their first viral

video³² was in fact to create a lecture, with other activist groups as the intended audience. However, through a collaboration with a multimedia studio, 'Free Range Studios', the project developed into a more accessible format that was aimed at the general public. The group, 'The Story of Stuff', was in fact founded as a result of the success of the video, with Annie Leonard receiving numerous messages regarding what action people could take in response to the environmental and social degradation reported in the video. Since then, the group have gone on to make a range of campaign videos, focusing on issues such as toxicity in the cosmetics industry, planned obsolescence in the electronics industry, and manufactured demand in the water extraction and bottling industry. In 2021, the group had 7 full-time staff members and an annual budget of \$1.7million, donated by institutional supporters and individual members.

Freedom United grew from an initiative started by Grace Forrest, the daughter of the Australian billionaire mining magnet Andrew Forrest. The family are prolific philanthropists, founding the Mindaroo Foundation³³, which has funded a myriad of environmental, social and arts and cultural initiatives. Grace founded Freedom United's first incarnation as the Walk Free Movement after having volunteered at an orphanage in Nepal at the age of 18, only to discover that the majority of the children had been trafficked there to attract 'orphanage tourism' (Refinery29, 2018). Much of the information which follows concerning the development of the Walk Free Movement into Freedom United comes from an interview I held with the Executive Director of Freedom United, Joanna Ewart-James, on 28/04/2021. She explained that as the Walk Free campaigns became ever more successful, the decision

³² The group's local newspaper reporting over 12 million views of the video by 2011, an extremely high number for such an activist initiative at the time (see <https://www.seattletimes.com/life/lifestyle/seattle-natives-story-of-stuff-videos-go-viral/> [Accessed 09/05/2021])

³³ <https://www.mindaroo.org/>

was taken to spin off the activity in order to separate it from the government lobbying objectives of other Mindaroo initiatives. In 2016, Walk Free merged with an American NGO called End Crowd, managed by a marketing expert, Joe Schmidt, and together they became Freedom United. Today, Freedom United's Facebook group page has 5.6 million subscribers, and their social media activity reaches half a million people every month. They are the most prominent global advocacy group for ending human trafficking and modern slavery and do this while employing a rhetoric which differentiates them from other social activist groups: "...we try and lift up survivor voices. Yes, it's still surprisingly a bit of a unique thing to do." (Ewart-James, 2021, Appendix A: lines 117-118)³⁴. Freedom United has a staff of 6 full-time positions, plus two part-time, and a budget of \$600,000-\$700,000 per annum, and one officially registered address in the USA. Other staff work around the world from their home addresses. Despite this, as mentioned above, they have managed to create the world's largest community of followers of any modern slavery activist organisation.

There are two clear contrasts between the more established groups (Greenpeace and the Green Party) and the two newer groups (Freedom United and The Story of Stuff). The first concerns their development, with the established groups struggling for media presence in their early years, particularly in the case of the Green Party, with both becoming well-known and pervasive producers of mainstream media content today. On the other hand, the newer groups were founded after and as a result of their previous incarnations' abilities to attract media attention through online platforms. The second difference concerns the groups human resources and financial resources. Greenpeace stands head and shoulders above the other three in terms of financial power and global campaign reach. The Green Party, although

³⁴ Attribution of propositions to less institutionally-powerful voices has already been identified as one of the characteristics of alternative media and NGO communications (see section '3.3.2.2. Alternative media' and section '3.3.4. Activist communications as alternative media').

having a budget closer to that of the newer groups, benefits from its status as a recognised and established political party, including free television airtime for party political broadcasts, and representation in televised political debates in recent years. On the other hand, the newer groups persist on a skeleton staff or just 6-7 full-time employees, who are dispersed around the whole world and have limited budgets.

4.3.2. Rationale for and description of the corpus

The corpus of the present thesis was constructed for the simple reasons that no comparable corpora were found to already exist. This thesis explores a corpus of an online text type which has received limited attention until now. Furthermore, the fact that interviews were conducted with representatives of the four organisations adds a richness in the investigation of the linguistic features that can be seen to correlate to, and possibly result from, the organisational characteristics of each group.

The corpus of this thesis consists of 25 campaign e-mails from each of the four groups concerned. However, the word count of each sub-corpus varies as some groups (the Green Party in particular) favour short e-mail texts, while the others send considerably longer texts (see Table 4 below).

Freedom United	Green Party	Greenpeace	The Story of Stuff
10,359	7,370	10,606	11,064

Table 4: Number of word-tokens per sub-corpus

All 100 e-mails were annotated qualitatively using UAM CorpusTool (O'Donnell, 2011). Subsequent to the first inter-rater reliability (IRR) test, which resulted in a change of approach to the annotation of the texts, 10 e-mails from each sub-corpus, 40 in total, were re-coded and subjected to a second IRR test. Following this, the remaining 60 e-mails were then coded. The total tokens for the whole corpus is 39,399, with a high density of appraisal markers

n=6,326 of varying length (ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION), resulting in 26,889 words annotated as containing some kind of attitudinal force (ATTITUDE), that is 68% of the total corpus. As McEnery and Wilson (2001:154) suggest, the higher the frequency of markers of interest, the smaller the corpus needs to be. In any case, the corpus of this thesis is of comparable size to other PhD projects taking a qualitative approach to data analysis³⁵.

4.3.3. The process of corpus creation

The texts themselves were collected from my personal e-mail inbox, as I had to sign up on the various websites to receive them. They were subsequently converted into simple text format and uploaded to UAM CorpusTool. The e-mails were sourced over a four-year period, from 2017 to 2020 (inclusive), with particular attention given to avoiding e-mails which repeated parts of previous-mails sent out. These repetitions occur as the groups all send out reminder e-mails (which are essentially the same as an initial one in a campaign) to those who have not yet taken action. The subject lines, dates of reception of each e-mail are given in Table 5 below.

No.	Freedom United	The Green Party	Greenpeace	The Story of Stuff
01	FU01 - 27/05/17 <i>Nevsun heard you!</i>	GP01 - 12/09/17 <i>They're going to drill our countryside. I need your help</i>	GR01 - 06/01/17 <i>Air pollution limit broken</i>	SoS01 - 28/07/16 <i>Help us make a film!</i>
02	FU02 - 06/08/17 <i>An end to 'marry your rapist' laws</i>	GP02 - 15/09/17 <i>Could you cope with being locked up with no release date?</i>	GR02 - 25/01/17 <i>HSBC: exposed</i>	SoS02 - 22/09/16 <i>An Outrageous Decision</i>
03	FU03 - 28/10/17	GP03 - 21/09/17 <i>The Only Future Is Green</i>	GR03 - 27/02/17 <i>Next week's Budget</i>	SoS03 - 14/02/17

³⁵ For example the analysis of Chinese and English native speaker authorial positioning in English academic writing in Xiaoyu (2017).

	<i>What happened to the Thai chicken workers?</i>			<i>Stop Shaw from Carpeting our World with Toxics!</i>
04	FU04 - 22/01/18 <i>Victims of slavery deserve support</i>	GP04 - 09/11/17 <i>Let's do dinner</i>	GR04 - 13/03/17 <i>Your Plastic Footprint</i>	SoS04 - 01/03/17 <i>Just released! The Story of Microfibers!</i>
05	FU05 - 31/03/18 <i>Congress listened – now we keep going</i>	GP05 - 10/03/18 <i>Could you live on five pounds a day?</i>	GR05 - 02/06/17 <i>Donald Trump</i>	SoS05 - 10/05/17 <i>Mattel is watching...</i>
06	FU06 - 12/05/18 <i>Searching for Transparency on World Fair Trade Day</i>	GP06 - 22/05/18 <i>New clean air strategy is a smokescreen</i>	GR06 - 01/09/17 <i>Dangerous, deadly and still legal...</i>	SoS06 - 03/07/17 <i>When water is for profit, not people</i>
07	FU07 - 17/05/18 <i>Energy Drinks Linked to Slavery?</i>	GP07 - 07/06/18 <i>Can you help diversify The Green Party?</i>	GR07 - 13/10/17 <i>Plastic pollution</i>	SoS07 - 04/11/17 <i>Oregon's big win against Nestlé!</i>
08	FU08 - 12/06/18 <i>#JusticeForKumari this World Day Against Child Labor</i>	GP08 - 20/06/18 <i>Heathrow</i>	GR08 - 15/11/17 <i>EDF's problem</i>	SoS08 - 13/11/17 <i>Next generation storytelling</i>
09	FU09 – 16/06/2018 <i>Pushing for change in Niger</i>	GP09 - 26/06/18 <i>Let's make every day a Clean Air Day</i>	GR09 - 10/12/17 <i>Our Blue Planet...</i>	SoS09 - 20/11/17 <i>Here's how we simplify the holidays</i>
10	FU10 - 20/06/18 <i>We want action on World Refugee Day</i>	GP10 - 11/07/18 <i>Refugees are welcome - Donald Trump is not</i>	GR10 - 21/03/18 <i>Holland & Barrett v the Antarctic</i>	SoS10 - 28/11/17 <i>Balancing opposition with optimism</i>
11	FU11 - 03/08/18 <i>Action needed for children in Kenya</i>	GP11 - 27/09/18 <i>Help Make Britain Greener with Ecotricity – and Help The Green Party Too</i>	GR11 - 18/05/18 <i>Nuclear power</i>	SoS11 - 14/12/17 <i>As California burns, Nestlé bottles</i>
12	FU12 - 16/08/18 <i>NEW: Speak up for children trafficked in orphanages</i>	GP12 - 09/10/18 <i>Shh. Don't mention climate change.</i>	GR12 - 23/05/18 <i>Break the law, receive a... letter?</i>	SoS12 - 10/02/18 <i>Let's turn off the spigot on Nestlé</i>
13	FU13 - 21/09/18 <i>What can be done for workers in homes?</i>	GP13 - 28/11/18 <i>What are they scared of?</i>	GR13 - 10/08/18 <i>Barclays are taking you for a ride</i>	SoS13 - 03/03/18 <i>Our next big plastics victory</i>
14	FU14 - 16/10/18	GP14 - 05/12/18	GR14 - 08/10/18	SoS14 - 25/08/18

	<i>URGENT: Last day to add your name!</i>	<i>Make Votes Matter</i>	<i>End coal now</i>	<i>Time to find out who the real litterbugs are</i>
15	FU15 - 06/12/18 <i>Think slavery in America ended? Think again</i>	GP15 - 13/12/18 <i>Watch me on BBC tonight</i>	GR15 - 07/02/19 <i>Commercial whaling must end</i>	SoS15 - 08/09/18 <i>Paul, you can help solve plastic pollution</i>
16	FU16 - 14/05/19 <i>Child Sex Trafficking Survivors Need Your Help</i>	GP16 - 24/12/18 <i>A Caution from St Nicholas</i>	GR16 - 13/02/19 <i>Fracking: Time to move on</i>	SoS16 - 20/09/18 <i>Tell Governor Brown: Shut Nestlé Down</i>
17	FU17 - 05/06/19 <i>Are your favourite brands complicit in forced labor at sea?</i>	GP17 - 05/12/19 <i>Stand with the Stansted 15</i>	GR17 - 01/03/19 <i>Climate emergency: new oil drilling</i>	SoS17 - 11/11/18 <i>It's time to take on the beverage industry</i>
18	FU18 - 01/08/19 <i>New. My name is Nancy and I urgently need your help.</i>	GP18 - 13/03/19 <i>March for a people's vote - join us</i>	GR18 - 02/05/19 <i>Climate Emergency: very big news</i>	SoS18 - 20/12/18 <i>30,000 ways to fight back against Coke, Pepsi & Nestlé</i>
19	FU19 - 15/08/19 <i>Expose the EU's Link to Slavery in Libya</i>	GP19 - 17/04/19 <i>I have a message from Caroline Lucas!</i>	GR19 - 26/06/19 <i>Voters are outside your MP's office</i>	SoS19 - 31/01/19 <i>There are many Flints</i>
20	FU20 - 03/09/19 <i>Get your voice to New York!</i>	GP20 - 05/09/19 <i>Let's make Boris Johnson's bad week even worse</i>	GR20 - 27/08/19 <i>Join me on the global climate strike</i>	SoS20 - 03/02/19 <i>Coca-Cola's CEO just admitted the problem</i>
21	FU21 - 23/09/19 <i>Exciting announcement: Forced Labour Protocol ratification updates!</i>	GP21 - 19/09/19 <i>Greens on Strike Tomorrow</i>	GR21 - 03/12/19 <i>Forests</i>	SoS21 - 22/03/19 <i>Celebrate World Water Day</i>
22	FU22 - 31/10/19 <i>Act now: Workers like Elvira at risk</i>	GP22 - 07/02/20 <i>Greens Unite for Climate Action</i>	GR22 - 04/12/19 <i>Help our firefighters save orangutans</i>	SoS22 - 25/05/19 <i>Stand with us in Coca-Cola's HQ</i>
23	FU23 - 10/12/19 <i>NEW: Demand hotels stand against slavery!</i>	GP23 - 23/02/20 <i>Are you one of the 2,500?</i>	GR23 - 18/12/19 <i>All I want for Christmas is an MP who cares about the climate emergency</i>	SoS23 - 14/09/19 <i>Story of Plastic heroes need wings</i>
24	FU24 - 07/02/20	GP24 - 24/03/20	GR24 - 31/01/20 <i>Oceans</i>	SoS24 - 09/10/19 <i>ALERT! Nestlé executive</i>

	<i>NEW: Help ensure your produce is slavery-free</i>	<i>Help protect our teachers from Covid-19</i>		<i>appointed to public agency</i>
25	<i>FU25 - 28/02/20 Forced labor victims like Juana need your help!</i>	<i>GP25 - 06/04/20 – GP49 Values you can believe in</i>	<i>GR25 - 05/03/20 Tell your MP to save British nature</i>	<i>SoS25 - 08/11/19 Updates from The Story of Plastic</i>

Table 5: E-mail Subject lines and dates

Certain elements, such as pictures and videos, which were sometimes embedded into the email body, were removed. Although combining the interpersonal textual analysis with a multimodal analysis of visual and audio content is a promising avenue for future research, it was considered beyond the scope and time restrictions of this thesis. The e-mail subject lines, which can be considered as the title of the body text, were analysed as a separate phase of the coding process³⁶.

³⁶ See section '4.4.5. Subject lines'.

4.4. Annotation schemes

To be able to measure the levels of imagined reader alignment and reader affiliation present in different moves through the campaign e-mails, various structural features and markers needed to be coded. Schemes were created for the following types of markers, the reference in brackets below indicating studies which provided the basis for the frameworks adopted here, but which do not constitute exhaustive lists of all previous research on these topics³⁷.

- Moves – macro-structuring extensions of text, containing ‘problem’ and ‘solution’ move, finishing with a ‘call-to-action’ for 96% of move-sets (Hoey, 1994).
- Appraisal markers – broadly based on Martin and White’s (2005), Don’s (2017) and White’s (2012) categorisations.
- Interactant markers – nominal and pronominal groups which reference the writer, reader and third-parties (G. Thompson, 2012).
- Commands and questions – as realised through imperatives, interrogatives, declaratives with deontic modality or reader-reference pronouns (*you, I*) (Kim and G. Thompson, 2010; G. Thompson, 2012).
- Subject line – a secondary analysis concerning how recipients are incentivised to open the e-mail (Mathur *et al.*, 2020)

UAM CorpusTool allows users to both set up their own annotation schemes as well as modify in-built ones. The schemes below were all used for the manual annotation of the corpus.

³⁷ See Chapters 2 and 3 for more detailed review of all the previous studies which helped in the development of the theoretical framework applied to the corpus.

4.4.1. Moves

On a macro-level, rhetorical moves³⁸ were coded for all the 100 e-mails included in the corpus. In our corpus, these moves can vary in length from one clause up to 10 sentences long and were determined by the main focus of the text segment. Thus, if the writer is informing the reader about the campaign issue it is coded as 'Problem'. If the writer is taking about the restitutive actions of themselves or others in reaction to the problem, it is coded as 'Solution'. Finally, if the writer makes a command for action to the reader, it is coded as 'Call-to-action' (see Fig.12 below). This is an adaptation of Hoey's (1994) Situation-Problem-Solution structure in academic and scientific popularisation discourse. He stated that the structure can be adapted by offering an evaluation and then justifying it, or presenting the situation first, which is then evaluated. In the case of this thesis, the first 'Situation' move was not used, as the writers jump straight into the 'Problem' or 'Solution' move.

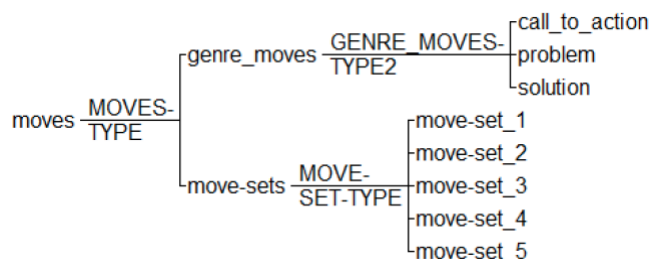


Figure 12: Moves annotation scheme

Although the three 'genre moves' presented in Fig.12 are the only ones present in these campaign e-mails, there is an additional level of text structuring which we call a 'move-set'. Each e-mail in the corpus consists of two to five move-sets which almost exclusively end in a 'call-to-action' move (96%). The configuration and the number of the moves which can precede this 'call-to-action' are detailed below:

³⁸ Swales (2004:228-9) defines a rhetorical move as a "discoursal or rhetorical unit that performs a coherent communicative function in a written or spoken discourse".

- I. Problem – Solution – Call-to-action
- II. Solution – Problem – Call-to-action
- III. Problem – Call-to-action
- IV. Solution – Call-to-action
- V. Call-to-action

The ordering with the highest frequency is '*I. Problem – Solution – Call-to-action*'³⁹. While there were found to be a few isolated examples of other move structures, for example 'Solution-Problem-Solution-Call-to-action', the configurations above represent the options for the vast majority of move-sets. Additionally, the division of the e-mails into move-sets will aid the analysis of the prosody of markers of imagined reader alignment and imagined reader affiliation through the texts, with markers of affiliation expected to occur with higher frequency in the final move-set than the preceding ones⁴⁰.

³⁹ See also Fig. 42 in section '7.2. Move-structure, Engagement, invoked attitude and interactant markers' for examples of the move-sets used in the first five e-mails of each sub-corpus.

⁴⁰ The related hypothesis for the distribution of markers relative to the text structure was presented in '1.4. Hypotheses and objectives'.

4.4.2. Appraisal markers

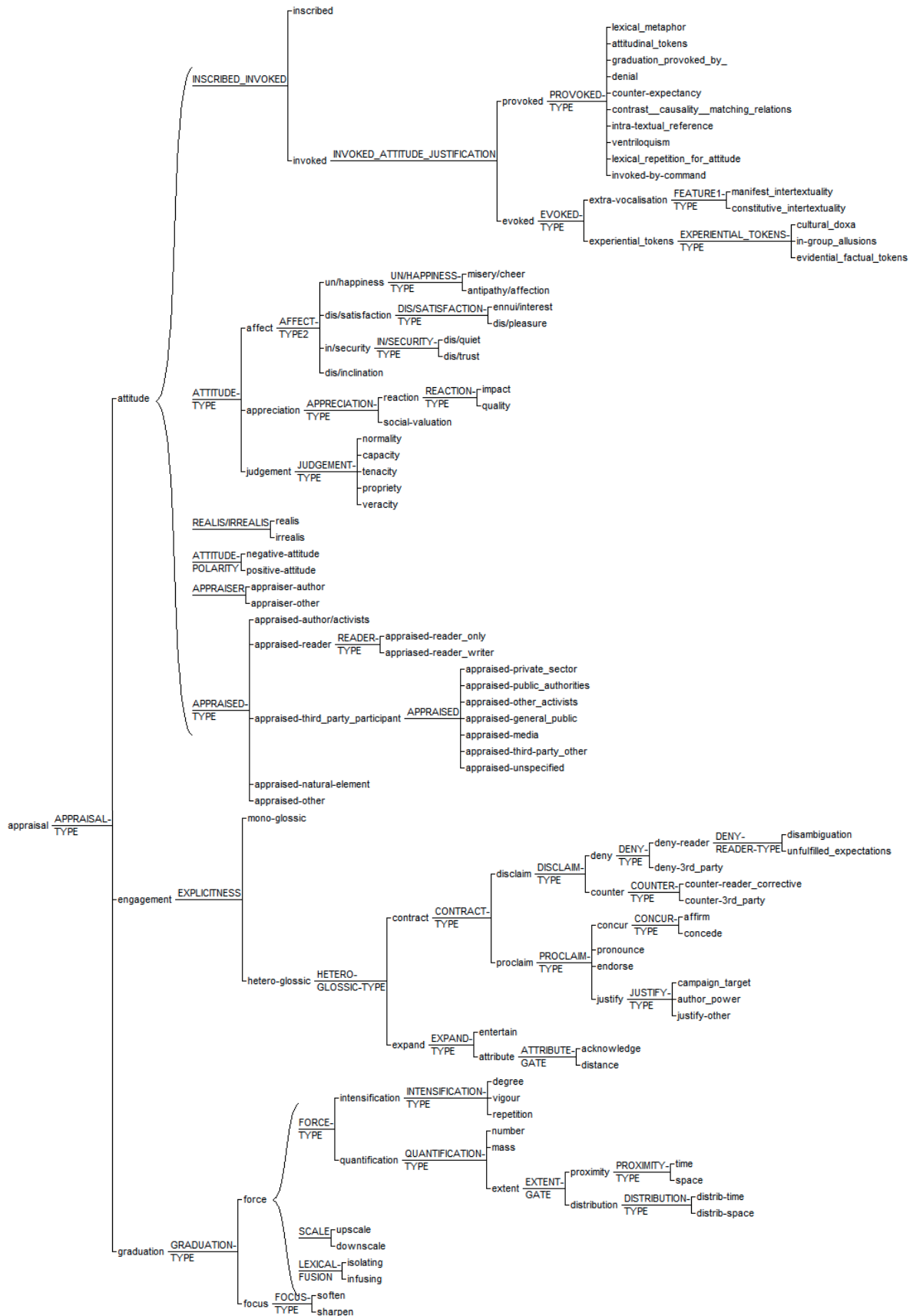


Figure 13: Appraisal marker annotation scheme

Regarding the delicacy of coding for appraisal markers, two main additions were made to the built-in scheme provided in UAM CorpusTool: i) the categorisation of invoked ATTITUDE was added based on Don's (2016) categories; ii) finer sub-categories were added to the ENGAGEMENT markers DENY (Don, 2017) CONTRAST and JUSTIFY, all related to distinguishing their different dialogic effects on the imagined reader, both related to alignment and affiliation. Finally, in the ATTITUDE system, the following categories were added to heighten the delicacy of the analysis: 'realis/irrealis', 'appraiser' and 'appraised type'. The motivation for the first relates to the expected correlation of irrealis with the 'Solution' move. Related to 'appraiser' and 'appraised type', as noted earlier⁴¹, the qualitative approach to the annotation of the corpus enabled the identification of both parties, even when attitudinal stance was communicated through agent-masking constructions.

4.4.3. Interactant markers

In line with the multiple studies (Fortanet, 2005; Fløttum 2010, 2013, Fløttum and Gjerstand, 2014; Hyland, 2001a, 2001b; G. Thompson, 2012), the distribution and reference of both pronominal and nominal interactant markers is seen as key to uncovering writer-reader rapport and is thus considered as one of the principal markers of reader affiliation.

⁴¹ In section '4.2. Qualitative and quantitative approaches to the present study'.

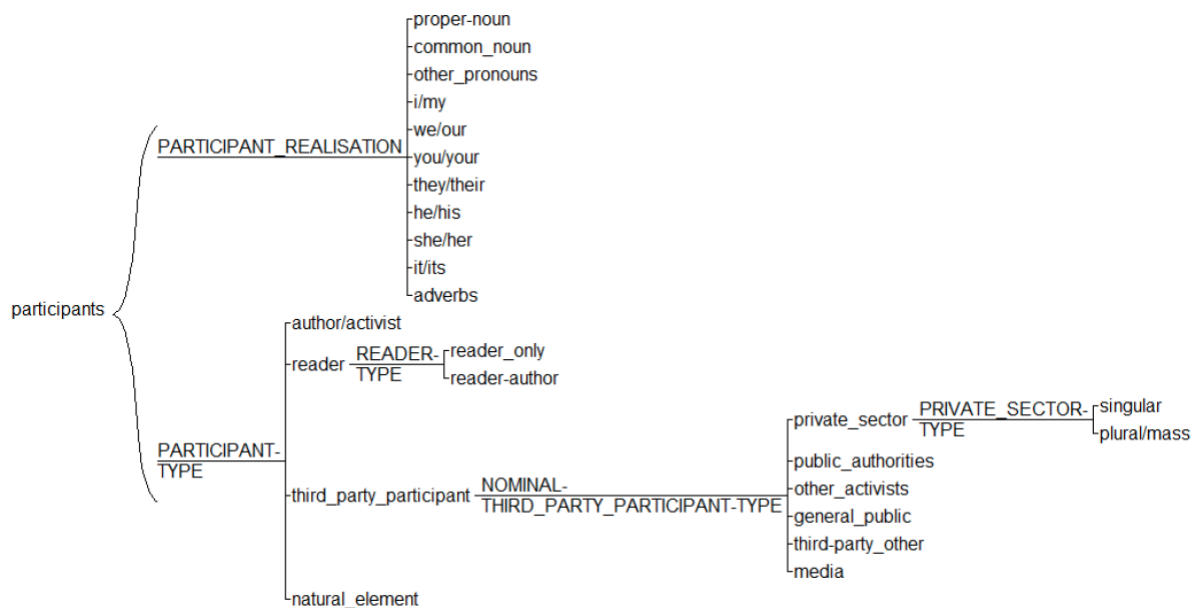


Figure 14: Interactant marker annotation scheme

In Fig 14, ‘participant realisation’ covers both the type of noun or pronoun group referencing a human or natural element participant. ‘Participant type’ differentiates between ‘author’, ‘reader’, ‘third-parties’ and ‘natural element’ references, with sub-categories listed for ‘reader’ and ‘third-parties’. In the case of ‘reader’, these sub-categories allow the distinction between exclusive reader reference (usually *you, your* etc.) and inclusive reference with the writer (*we, our* etc.). In the case of ‘third-parties’, the distinction between ‘private sector’, ‘public authorities’, ‘other activists’, ‘general public’, ‘third-party other’ and ‘media’ allows for a more delicate analysis of which other textual voices are brought into the text. Lastly, the distinction in ‘Private sector type’ between references to singular or plural/mass entities allowed for the analysis of the potential expanding scope of these markers through the e-mail texts.

4.4.4. Commands and questions

Similarly, to interactant markers, the use of commands and questions are the most overt signals to writer-reader interaction in texts (see Thompson and Thetela, 1995). On a finer

degree of analysis, it is their mode of realisation which relates to different construals of the imagined reader as more or less closely affiliated with the author.

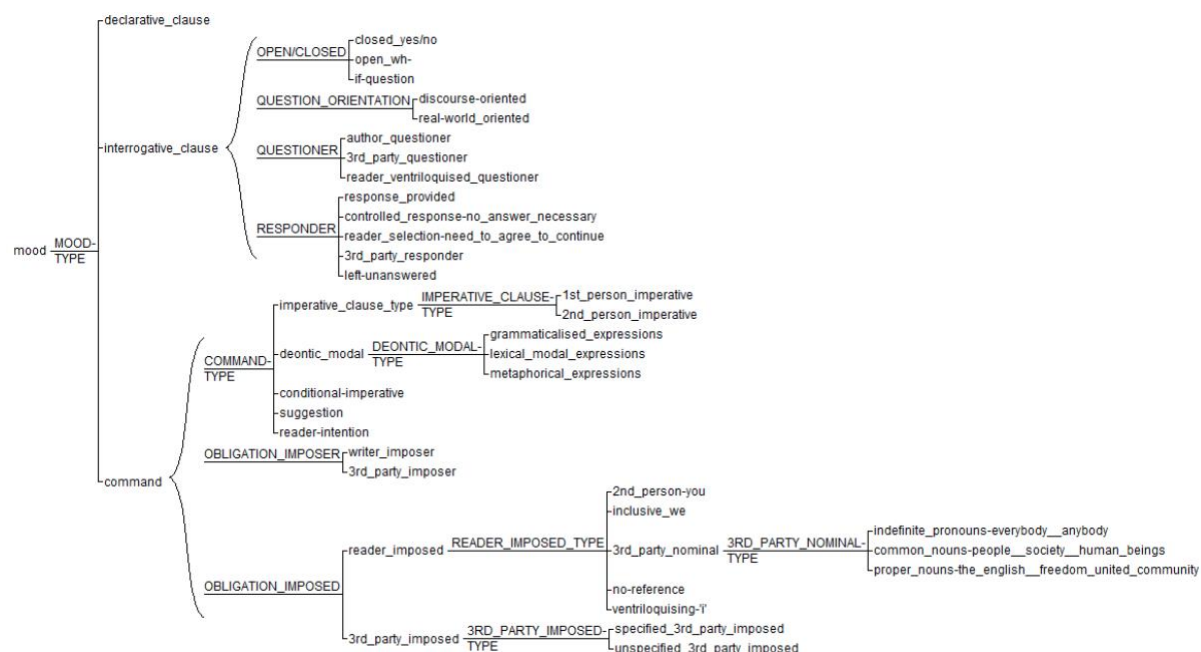


Figure 15: Mood annotation scheme

In Fig 15, 'Mood' allows for the coding of clauses as declarative, interrogatives or commands. The sub-categories of the latter two allow for the distinction of different realisations (i.e., 'open/closed' for interrogatives and 'command type' for commands'), their discourse function for questions (i.e., 'question orientation'), the identification of the source (i.e., 'questioner' and 'obligation-imposer') and their target (i.e., 'responder' and 'obligation-imposed'). Finally, the sub-categories of deontic modality have been adopted from Kim and G. Thompson (2010:53): grammatical expressions (e.g., *must*, *have to*, etc.); lexical modal expressions (e.g., *be necessary to/there is a need to*, etc.); and metaphorical expressions (Halliday, 1994). This scheme will allow for a detailed analysis of the role of interrogatives and commands as related to reader.

4.4.5. Subject line

Although not part of the main annotation of the corpus, the analysis of the ‘subject line’ of each e-mail will be compared to the analysis of their body-text to identify correlations.

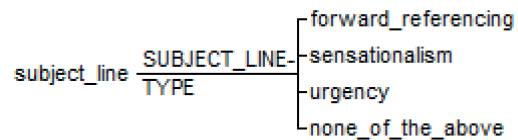


Figure 16: Subject line annotation scheme

Based on the categories developed by Mathur *et al.* (2020) in their analysis of political fundraising e-mails in the US 2020 election cycle, three main categories were adopted (see Fig 16) related to the use of various devices whose functionality is to entice the recipient to open the e-mail. ‘Forward referencing’ relates either to cataphoric reference or omission of various kinds, both of which can only be resolved by reading the body-text. ‘Sensationalism’ indicates the use of upscaling GRADUATION, either *isolating* or *infusing*. Finally, ‘Urgency’ emphasizes the urgency of the campaign issue either through the use of synonyms of *urgent* or time adverbs.

4.5. Inter-rater reliability

As mentioned in section '4.2. Qualitative and quantitative approaches to the present study', two inter-rater reliability (IRR) tests were included in this study as it was considered to improve the transparency, reliability and replicability of the qualitative analysis. In the first test, after reviewing the original annotations, Alexanne Don re-coded eight e-mails, two from each sub-corpus, using the comments field of UAM CorpusTool to explain any variations. This follows the approach of the 'partial overlap' (Spooren and Degand, 2010), where the double-coding of an extract of the corpus is used as a model for the re-coding of the rest of the corpus. As a result of Don's feedback, a change was made in our approach to coding the corpus from initially focusing on the polarity of individual words to instead considering the overall positioning of the reader from a global to a local level. This change allowed for the identification of a wider range of appraisal markers and helped in differentiating those experiential tokens which invoke ATTITUDE, from those which do not. We then coded 10 e-mails from each sub-corpus (40 in total), which were subjected to a second IRR test, thus increasing the reliability of the results of this study. The remaining 60 e-mails were then annotated after having received feedback from the second IRR test.

4.6. Methods of analysis

UAM CorpusTool, developed by Michael O'Donnell (2011) at the Universidad Autonoma de Madrid, has become a widely used text annotation software program, particularly among SFL researchers more broadly as well as those using Appraisal Theory. Among its many functionalities, the program includes ready-made appraisal schemes, which were adapted for the annotation of the corpus in this thesis. Additionally, the t-test (Paquot and Bestgen, 2009) which is incorporated into the functionality of UAM CorpusTool will be used to see whether statistically significant differences exist between the use of the various markers of reader alignment and reader affiliation by the four groups in this study. The objective of the data analysis in this thesis is to detect differences between the use of the different markers by the four groups, thus the t-test was deemed the most appropriate statistical test because it indicates differences in the distribution of data two samples. The data from each group were compared to all the other groups, resulting in six pairings on which the t-tests were performed⁴².

The process of coding texts with UAM CorpusTool starts with the uploading of .txt files, which are then parsed using the Stanford Parser. The texts are then annotated manually by highlighting relevant words or multi-word groupings and then working through the various menus to assigning the appropriate categories. This is a labour-intensive project; the whole corpus was annotated over a period of six months of full-time coding. Figure 17 below

⁴² The six pairings are:

- 1) Freedom United-The Green Party
- 2) Freedom United-Greenpeace
- 3) Freedom United-The Story of Stuff
- 4) The Green Party-Greenpeace
- 5) The Green Party-The Story of Stuff
- 6) Greenpeace-The Story of Stuff.

provides a screenshot of the annotations for e-mail GP23 from The Green Party for the 'Appraisal Markers' annotation scheme⁴³.

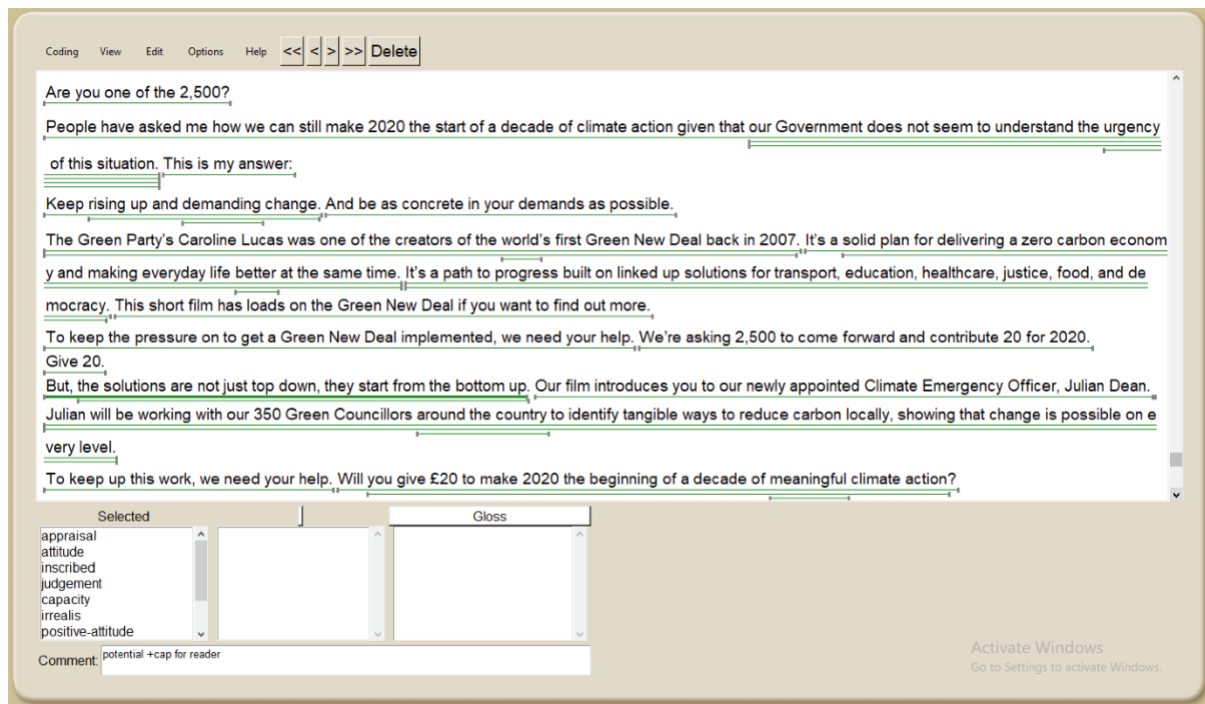


Figure 17: Screenshot of UAM CorpusTool (O'Donnell, 2011)

⁴³ See section '4.4.2. Appraisal Markers' to see the related annotation scheme.

4.7. Interview procedure

Given that the theoretical framework applied in this thesis seeks to isolate the imagined reader as textual effect, without making any related claims about the psychological intent of the author, the use of interviews was not of immediate importance to the analysis. However, they provided valuable data for the comparison of the linguistic analyses with aspects of organisational culture of the four groups concerned. The interviews made it possible to acquire insider knowledge about the organisation, and in the case of the 'internet-enabled' groups (Freedom United and The Story of Stuff) also information concerning their histories which have not yet been documented by any other research. Interviews were carried out with the following representatives:

- Joanna Ewart-James, the Head of Freedom United
- Brett Chamberlain, the Director of Community Engagement at The Story of Stuff
- Azzees Minott, the Chair of Greens of Colour for The Green Party of England Wales
- Ali Walker Davies, Partnerships Director, Forward Action UK

While the first three interview participants held important roles in their organisations, it was harder to set up an interview with anyone working inside Greenpeace UK. I thus interviewed Ali Walker Davies, from the communication consultants Forward Action, who have written campaign e-mail for Greenpeace UK as well as other activist groups. The transcripts of the four unstructured interviews are provided in Appendix A-D. Table 6 below summaries both the lengths of the interviews, which were all carried out on internet-based communication platforms such as Skype, and the topics raised.

	Freedom United	The Green Party	Forward Action UK (Greenpeace)	The Story of Stuff
Length (minutes)	40	33	22	24
History and/or characteristics of the organisation	✓	✓	✓	✓
Resources and personnel	✓	-	-	✓
Communications strategies / policies	✓	✓	✓	✓
Specific characteristics of their campaign e-mails	✓	✓	✓	✓
Measuring success	✓	-	✓	-

Table 6: Interview length and topics raised

The main focus of all the interviews was to uncover links between the characteristics which had already been observed in their campaign e-mails with organisational characteristics and communication policies. Seven quotations have been used from the four interviews in Chapters 5 and 6 to illustrate parallels between observations made of the linguistic characteristics of the e-mails and discussions of campaign strategies and group culture with the representatives of each group.

4.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, we argued firstly that the qualitative annotation of the corpus using UAM CorpusTool (O'Donnell, 2011) means that the data can then be analysed quantitatively. The preliminary qualitative approach allows for the correct analysis of invoked attitude (Hunston, 2011:12-19) as well as the recognition of overlaps between 'fuzzy sets' (Schmid, 1993). Also, in the case of attitudinal stances realised through 'agent-masking' constructions, such a qualitative approach is the only which would allow for the identification of the 'appraised entity'.

Subsequently, the history and present situation of the four groups, the size and creation of the corpus have been described in detail. Regarding the differences in historical development, it was seen how Greenpeace and the Green Party were established in the early 1970s and struggled to different degrees to attract mainstream media interest in their earlier years. On the other hand, the creation of both Freedom United and The Story of Stuff as independent organisations came as a result of having already generated widespread visibility through online media. In terms of resources, Greenpeace is a far bigger organisation in terms of funding, staff numbers and global presence than all the other groups. However, The Green Party also has a larger budget than the two newer groups, plus the free communication conduits that come with being a registered political party, such as free televised party-political broadcasts at election times. Freedom United and The Story of Stuff have comparably modest budgets of less than one million dollars per annum, and very low staff numbers of 6-7 full-time staff. However, both have been successful in creating online supporter communities, particularly Freedom United, demonstrating their competence and agility in online campaigning.

Following this, the characteristics of the corpus, the annotation schemes and the procedure for the IRR tests were laid out. The corpus consists of 100 e-mails, received between 2017-2020 (inclusive) from the four organisations and totals 39,399 tokens. The annotation schemes were developed on the basis of the following previous research:

- Moves: 'Problem', 'Solution', 'Call-to-action', inspired by Hoey (1994).
- Appraisal markers: broadly based on Martin and White's (2005) and Peter White's (2012) categorisation, with the inclusion of Don's (2016) spectrum of invoked attitude, plus sub-categories of DENY and COUNTER (Don, 2017).
- Interactant markers: nominal and pronominal groups which reference the writer, reader and third-parties (Fortanet, 2005; Fløttum 2010, 2013, Fløttum and Gjerstand, 2014; Hyland, 2001a, 2001b; G. Thompson, 2012)
- Commands and questions: as realised through imperatives, interrogatives, declaratives with deontic modality or reader-reference pronouns (*you, I*) (Kim and G. Thompson, 2010; G. Thompson, 2012). Also, sub-categories of deontic modality commands have been adopted from Kim and G. Thompson (2010:53).
- Subject line - based on Mathur *et al.*'s (2020) analysis of political fundraising e-mails in the US 2020 election cycle including the categories: 'Forward-referencing', 'Sensationalism', 'Urgency'.

Inter-rater reliability tests were carried out with Alexanne Don following Fuoli and Hommerberg's (2015) recommendations, as well as Spooren and Degand's (2010) 'partial overlap' technique. Finally, the procedure for the coding of the corpus consisted of upload .txt files to UAM CorpusTool, manually annotating single and multi-word groups, and profiting from the inbuilt t-test (Paquot & Bestgen, 2009) analysis to compare six pairings of the four groups included in this thesis. Informal, unstructured interviews were also carried out with

representatives of the four groups⁴⁴ to gain insider knowledge about the writing procedure, policies and background historical information, which has not been officially documented elsewhere in the case of Freedom United and The Story of Stuff.

We now move onto consider the results of the study, starting with the distribution of appraisal markers in the four sub-corpora.

⁴⁴ Or in the case of Greenpeace, with a representative of 'Forward Action UK' who have written campaign e-mails for Greenpeace UK.

Chapter 5. Appraisal markers, reader alignment and affiliation

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, we will see how the distribution of tokens of ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION markers differ between the four groups under investigation. Additionally, the frequencies of positive and negative polarity of all attitudinal markers and the use of inscribed and invoked ATTITUDE will be presented. For some data, t-tests have been carried out on the six possible comparison pairings of the four groups. The results are then analysed in relation to the institutional characteristics of the four groups, including campaign issues (social vs. environmental), funding and staff levels, as well as aspects of their communication policies which were discussed during interviews held with representatives of each group.

5.2. All appraisal markers

Although the principal differences in rhetorical strategy between the four groups will be seen more clearly at a more delicate level of analysis, the frequencies of the use of appraisal markers provide an indication of where the more revealing differences will later be situated. Regarding the graphs in Chapters 5 and 6, these will mostly be accompanied by tables showing the results of t-tests between the six possible pairings of the four groups in the study:

- Freedom United vs. The Green Party
- Freedom United vs. Greenpeace
- Freedom United vs. The Story of Stuff
- The Green Party vs. Greenpeace
- The Green Party vs. The Story of Stuff
- Greenpeace vs. The Story of Stuff

Only differences which are statistically significant to 98% will be considered as indicating a true difference in frequencies of markers due to relatively small sample sizes⁴⁵. The reason for including these statistical analysis is related to the unequal sample sizes (as indicated by the n-value in the legend of each chart), meaning that apparent different frequencies of markers per 1000 tokens in the graphs are not necessarily statistically significant. Each group is assigned a colour, as shown below and in the legend of each graph.



These colours are used both for the bars in the graphs as well as in the tables of the results of the relevant t-tests. The colours given to the t-test result relates to which of the two in the comparison uses more of a particular marker. So, regarding markers of ATTITUDE in Table 7 below, we see that Freedom United (line 1, column 2, in green), The Green Party (line 1,

⁴⁵ In the tables, a high probability of statistical significance of 98% is indicated by three plus signs ('+++'), while lower levels of statistical significance, 95% ('++') and 90% ('+') . However, as mentioned above, only those results of high significance (98%) will form the basis for the discussion. Also, only 98% significance-level results will be coloured according to which of the two groups in the comparison uses more of that particular marker. All other lower levels of significance (95% and 90%), as well as non-significant results (indicated by '-') will be presented in a light grey colour, as they are not of immediate interest for the analysis of the results.

column 4, in blue) and The Story of Stuff (line 1, column 6, in red) all used more of these than Greenpeace to a highly statistically significant level.

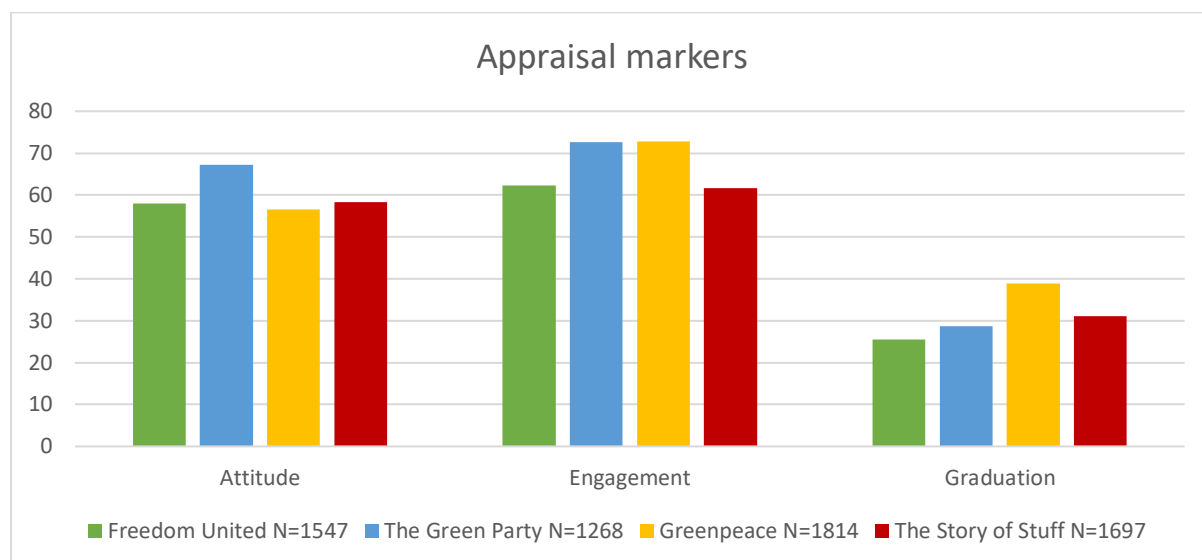


Figure 18: Appraisal markers (per 1000 tokens)

	Freedom Un. - Green Party		Freedom Un. - Greenpeace		Freedom Un. - Story of Stuff		Green Party - Greenpeace		Green Party - Story of Stuff		Greenpeace - Story of Stuff	
Attitude	0.18	-	3.48	+++	0.45	-	3.49	+++	0.61	-	3.09	+++
Engagement	0.23	-	0.47	-	0.91	-	0.20	-	1.10	-	1.42	-
Graduation	0.34	-	4.03	+++	2.29	++	4.14	+++	2.51	+++	1.76	+
	■ Freedom United ■ The Green Party ■ Greenpeace ■ The Story of Stuff											
	- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%)											

Table 7: Appraisal markers t-test results

As previously stated, Table 7 above shows that Freedom United, The Green Party and The Story of Stuff all use more of ATTITUDE markers than do Greenpeace. However, Greenpeace use more markers of GRADUATION than both Freedom United and The Green Party. One possible explanation for this is that Greenpeace use ATTITUDE more sparingly than the other groups but when they do, they employ more force through the use of upscaling GRADUATION markers. This will be explored in more detail in section ‘5.5. Graduation’. For now, an example of an attitudinal token (negative APPRECIATION) from Greenpeace with upscaling graduation (‘most’, ‘climate-wrecking’, ‘out there’) is provided below for illustrative purposes (32).

(32) “Coal is **the most polluting, climate-wrecking fossil fuel out there.**” (GR14, Greenpeace, 08/10/2018)

5.3. Attitude

5.3.1. Overall distribution of attitudinal markers

Regarding markers of ATTITUDE, a clear preference for JUDGEMENT, and to a lesser degree APPRECIATION, over AFFECT is evident as a possible distinguishing characteristic of activist discourse (see Fig.19).

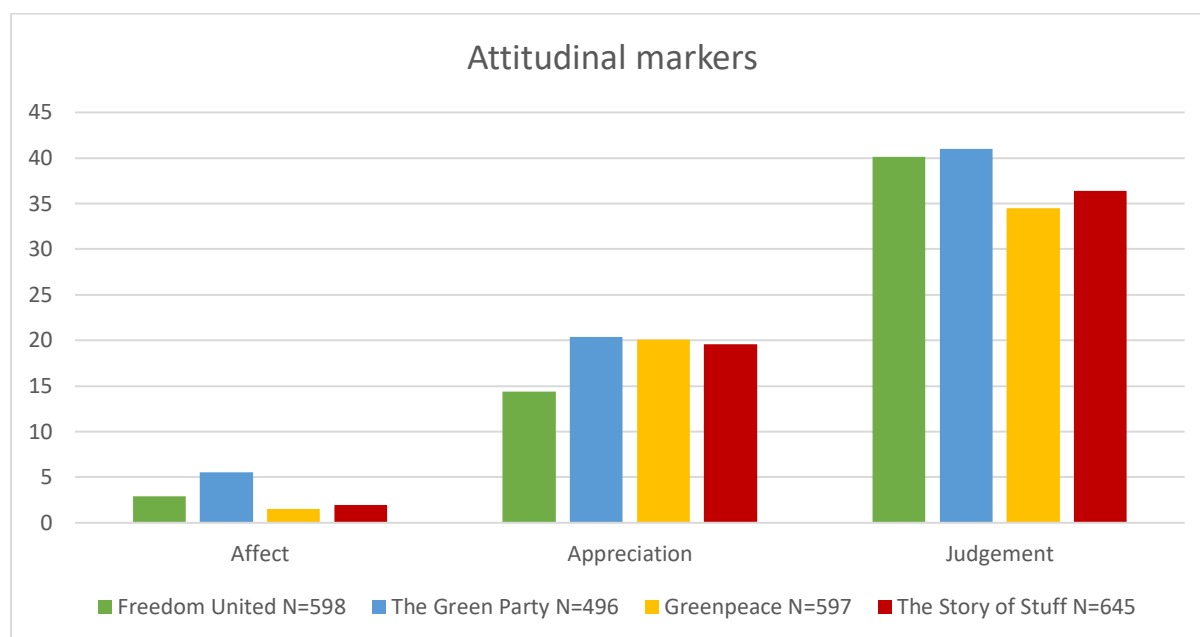


Figure 19: Attitudinal markers (per 1000 tokens)

	Freedom Un. - Green Party		Freedom Un. - Greenpeace		Freedom Un. - Story of Stuff		Green Party - Greenpeace		Green Party - Story of Stuff		Greenpeace - Story of Stuff	
Affect	2.17	++	2.10	++	1.41	-	4.16	+++	3.57	+++	0.74	-
Appreciation	2.09	++	4.08	+++	3.52	+++	1.78	+	1.21	-	0.00	-
Judgement	3.01	+++	3.01	+++	2.63	+++	0.14	-	0.54	-	1.43	-
	■ Freedom United ■ The Green Party ■ Greenpeace ■ The Story of Stuff											
	- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%)											

Table 8: Attitudinal markers t-test results

Regarding the distinctions between the four groups, Table 8 shows that The Green Party used AFFECT more than Greenpeace and The Story of Stuff to a statistically significant level. An example of AFFECT appraising the reader from The Green Party sub-corpus is given in example (33) below:

- (33) “It’s easy to *feel angry*. It’s easy to *feel scared*. But what we need is the courage to take action. I hope you find that courage with us in the Green Party.” (GP12, The Green Party, 09/10/2018)

Here, the tokens *'angry'* (-PLEASURE) and *'scared'* (-SECURITY) both demonstrate an attempt by the author to show empathy towards the imagined reader regarding their supposed negative emotional reaction to climate change. This also invokes a sense of affiliation through the implication that both writer and imagined reader have similar emotional reactions to the situation (i.e., shared experience). This is evident as both expressions of AFFECT are embedded in CONCUR: CONCEDE structures *'It's easy to...'*, which has the dialogic function of reassuring the imagined reader as to the comprehensibility/normality of their experience of those feelings.

Regarding APPRECIATION, this was used sparingly by the social-issue activist group, Freedom United, with both Greenpeace and The Story of Stuff using significantly more. However, the relatively high use of APPRECIATION by the three environmental-focus groups (i.e. The Green Party, Greenpeace and The Story of Stuff) might simply reflect a greater tendency to describe negatively evaluated situations as a justification for the selection of a campaign target.

- (34) “We’ve just revealed that HSBC, the biggest bank in the UK, is funding palm oil companies destroying the rainforest in Indonesia. We’ve even caught the catastrophic damage on camera. ***Forest destruction is helping to push orangutans to the brink of extinction. It’s causing forest fires which are linked to deaths of thousands of people every year.*** Yet HSBC is pumping piles of cash into this crisis.” (GR02, Greenpeace, 15/07/2017)

In (34) we find a negative JUDGEMENT-APPRECIATION-JUDGEMENT structure by which the negative evaluation of HSBC in the first and last sentence is justified through the use of two negative APPRECIATION: SOCIAL-VALUATION sentences in the middle of the paragraph. This excerpt was taken from the start of this particular campaign e-mail (i.e. Move-set 1), and so contains a high density of attitudinal markers⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ The relationship of the distribution of attitudinal markers to move-structure will be fully discussed in sections ‘7.2. Move-structure, Engagement, invoked Attitude and interactant markers’ and ‘7.3. Move-structure, reader alignment and affiliation’.

Regarding markers of JUDGEMENT, both Freedom United and The Green Party use more of these than the other groups. In the case of Freedom United, this indicates a tendency to identify and criticise the perpetrators of modern slavery in a direct manner (35).

- (35) “*Monster* scored **a disappointing zero out of 100** in a report on how the largest food and beverage companies are addressing forced labor. *The company’s subsequent conclusion of “minimal risk” and reliance on supplier’s compliance with anti-trafficking laws, does little to challenge this poor rating on transparency and action to address modern slavery risk in their supply chain.* We want them to do better.” (FU07, Freedom United, 17/05/2018)

The first sentence negatively evaluates *Monster* beverage in ‘*scored a disappointing zero out of 100*’ (-NORMALITY) and through invoked through ventriloquism in “*minimal risk*” (-VERACITY) in the second sentence. For The Green Party, the difference in frequency of JUDGEMENT markers with Greenpeace and The Story of Stuff is not statistically significant due to the limited size of The Green Party sub-corpus.

As Martin and White (2005) note, all attitudinal positions taken up by the writer are “directed towards aligning the addressee into a community of shared value and belief.” (Martin & White, 2005:95). We will now move on to a closer investigation of the effect that the distribution and targets of JUDGEMENT, APPRECIATION and AFFECT have on imagined reader alignment and affiliation.

5.3.2. Judgement

Regarding the sub-categories of JUDGEMENT, with a focus on the use of markers of ‘social esteem’ and ‘social sanction’, Figure 20 shows a wide degree of variation, particularly in the use of ‘social sanction’ between Freedom United and the three environmental-focus groups. According to Martin and White’s (2005:167-184) categories of evaluative keys, it is clear that, due to use of ‘social sanction’ markers in addition to those of ‘social esteem’, all groups use

the ‘commentator voice’, confirming our expectations⁴⁷. This shows that these NGO/political party communications can be considered as a form of alternative media, in which the journalistic voice adopts subjective stances but still bases argumentation on statistics and referenced sources⁴⁸ (36).

(36) “36% of all labor trafficking and 49% of all sex trafficking cases reported in the United States in 2016 involved *victims whose exploitation began when they were only children, between the ages of 12 and 17.*” (FU05, Freedom United, 31/03/2018)

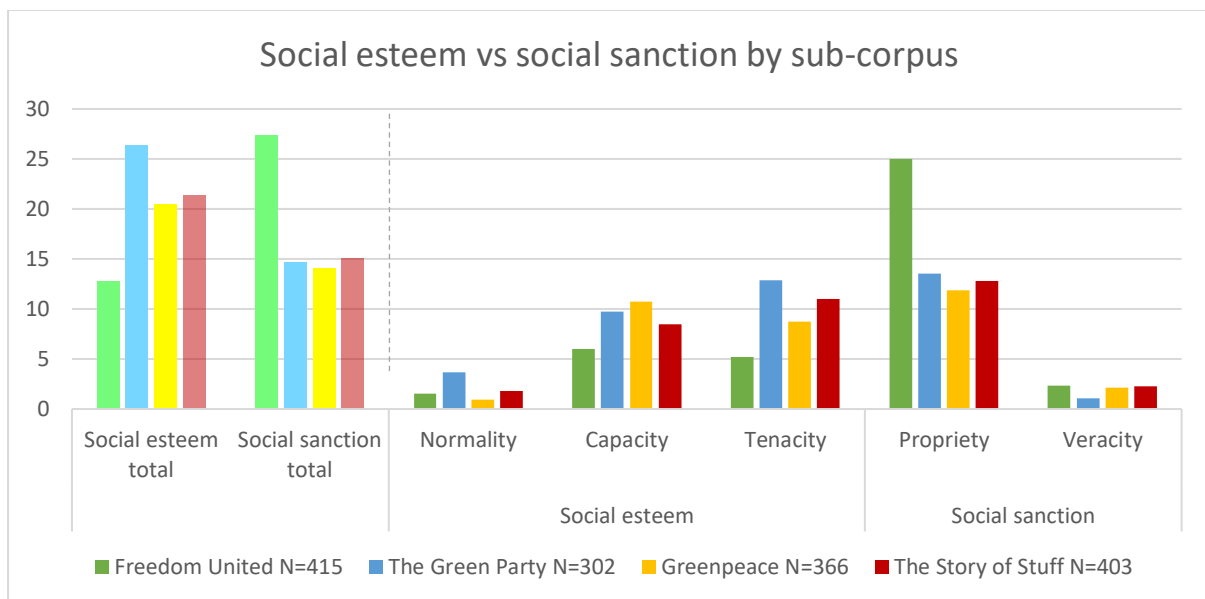


Figure 20: Social esteem vs. social sanction (per 1000 tokens)

	Freedom Un. - Green Party		Freedom Un. - Greenpeace		Freedom Un. - Story of Stuff		Green Party - Greenpeace		Green Party - Story of Stuff		Greenpeace - Story of Stuff	
Social esteem	6.23	+++	5.49	+++	5.66	+++	0.93	-	0.87	-	0.08	-
Social sanction	9.09	+++	8.26	+++	8.05	+++	1.23	-	1.61	-	0.37	-
	■ Freedom United ■ The Green Party ■ Greenpeace ■ The Story of Stuff											
	- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%)											

Table 9: Social esteem / Social sanction t-test results

⁴⁷ See section ‘3.3.4. Activist communications as alternative media’ for a discussion of evaluative keys and the prediction that the groups would employ the ‘commentator voice’. This observation not only relates to the use of JUDGEMENT, but also unmediated assessments of obligation (Martin & White, 2005:166), see section ‘6.3. Commands’.

⁴⁸ See alternative media journalist quotes from Comfort and Blankenship (2018:10) in section ‘3.3.4. Activist communications as alternative media’.

While all the groups adopt the ‘commentator voice’, Table 9 shows that Freedom United used ‘social sanction’ much more than the three environmental groups to a statistically significant level (98%), with high t-values (The Green Party 9.09, Greenpeace 8.26, The Story of Stuff 8.05). Conversely, they also used less ‘social esteem’ than all three environmental-focus groups, with slightly lower but still high t-values (The Green Party 6.23, Greenpeace 5.49, The Story of Stuff 5.66).

	Freedom Un. - Green Party		Freedom Un. - Greenpeace		Freedom Un. - Story of Stuff		Green Party - Greenpeace		Green Party - Story of Stuff		Greenpeace - Story of Stuff	
Normality	2.34	++	1.18	-	0.44	-	3.44	+++	1.97	++	1.63	-
Capacity	2.08	++	4.28	+++	2.23	++	2.00	++	0.02	-	2.13	++
Tenacity	4.90	+++	3.46	+++	5.04	+++	1.56	-	0.10	-	1.55	-
Propriety	8.36	+++	8.44	+++	8.23	+++	0.38	-	0.75	-	0.38	-
Veracity	2.34	++	0.14	-	0.12	-	2.22	++	2.26	++	0.02	-
	■ Freedom United ■ The Green Party ■ Greenpeace ■ The Story of Stuff											
	- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%)											

Table 10: Judgement sub-types t-test results

Regarding the sub-categories, related to ‘social sanction’, which reference “secular or religious codes of ethics and legalities” (Peter White, 2021b:258), Table 10 shows that Freedom United used a far greater frequency of PROPRIETY markers than the other three groups. Regarding ‘social esteem’, Freedom United use fewer markers of CAPACITY than Greenpeace and fewer markers of TENACITY than all three environmental-focus groups. This illustrates that the social-issue activist group concentrates much more on providing strong criticism of the perceived perpetrators of the social injustice (37), than do the environmental-focus groups.

(37) *“Traffickers and dishonest children’s homes are capitalizing on the trend of combining voluntary work with traveling. They encourage families living in poverty to give up or sell their children to orphanages. There, these vulnerable children may be exploited, even abused, malnourished and forced to work.”* (FU12, Freedom United, 16/08/2018)⁴⁹

⁴⁹ The reason for the highlighting of almost the whole extract is that the attitudinal markers cover the entire clauses, as recommended by Don (personal communication).

In (37), the two categories of ‘social sanction’ are used extensively: -VERACITY in ‘dishonest’ in the first sentence, -PROPRIETY in ‘They encourage...’ in the second sentence and again -PROPRIETY in ‘may be exploited....’ in the third sentence. In relation to hypothesis 3, we can answer in the negative:

H3: Freedom United use less negative JUDGEMENT (‘social sanction’) of the campaign targets (‘perpetrators’) than the other three groups (The Green Party, Greenpeace, The Story of Stuff).

The intuition which led to the formulation of the hypothesis was likely reflective of the fact that the private sector targets of the environmental-focus groups were high profile in the UK and abroad, while those targeted by Freedom United were lesser known and more diversified.

Table 11 gives examples of the most commonly private companies targeted with negative JUDGEMENT by the four groups.

	Freedom United	The Green Party	Greenpeace	The Story of Stuff
Private sector	Nevsun Resources	Caudrilla	Barclays	Nestlé
	Monster Beverages		HSBC	Shaw carpets
	CoreCivic		Coca-Cola	Mattel
	Volunteer tour operators		EDF	Coca-Cola
	Temporary work agencies		Holland & Barrett	PepsiCo
	Foreign labor contractors		Hitachi	
	Farming industries		Santander	
	Mining companies		Unilever	

Table 11: Most common negative judged private companies and public authorities

As can be observed from Table 11, the majority of the private sector entities targeted with negative JUDGEMENT by the three environmental-focus groups are probably familiar to most readers, while those targeted by Freedom United are either less well-known or identified through common noun labels. This reflects the objective of Freedom United to argue for societal change that might occur throughout an entire industry, rather than trying to

apportion blame to a limited range of very institutionally-powerful societal actors. As the Head of Freedom United, Joanna Ewart-James, said: "...you could, you know, hate on the individual perpetrators. But it probably won't have as much impact as getting a broader framework that makes it hard for a perpetrator to act." (see Appendix A: lines 154-163). So, while hypothesis 3 has been proven wrong, there does seem to be a way to distinguish Freedom United from the three environmental-focus groups regarding the explicitness with which their perpetrator targets are referenced.

Although the environmental-focus groups also make wide use of 'social sanction', they also use more negative 'social esteem' as well to evaluate their campaign target, as in (38) and (39) below:

(38) "People have asked me how we can still make 2020 the start of a decade of climate action given that *our Government **does not seem to understand the urgency of the situation.***" (GP23, The Green Party, 23/02/2020)

(39) "There's still time to avoid irreversible, catastrophic climate change, but not much. We need to see ***bold and serious climate action from our government now.***" (GR17, Greenpeace, 01/03/2019)

Example (38) includes an evaluation of -CAPACITY of the UK government, as invoked through the DENY '*does not..*'. Interestingly, the use of the ENTERTAIN token '*seem*' does not work to expand the dialogic space to other voices, instead reinforcing the negative JUDGEMENT through an invocation of disbelief. That is, it emphasizes surprise that the government is incapable of understanding the urgency of climate change, thus heightening the negative charge of the evaluation. In example (39), it is the lack of TENACITY of the government that is evaluated through the use of the tokens '*bold and serious*' within a deontic modal-verb command, '*We need to see*', which thus indicates that the government is not currently displaying these qualities. Regarding this text type, we contend that judgements of 'social esteem' are just as

'strong' an evaluation of those of 'social sanction'. This is contrary to Peter White's (2021b) position that:

“'social sanction' are... rather more charged interpersonally than 'social esteem', since, unlike assessments of social esteem, they involve behaviour in accordance with, or in breach of, norms of behaviour which are institutionally codified.” (Peter White, 2021b:259)

The reason for challenging this position, related to the campaign e-mails studied here, is that while 'social sanction' indicates the breach of moral and ethical codes, the target is at least seen to have volition in their negatively-evaluated behaviour. Instead, in negative 'social esteem' evaluations, the target is portrayed as not even possessing the expected mental capacities ('*understand*' in (38)) or courage ('*bold*' in (39)) to be able to do what the writer is asking of them. Thus, they are criticised as having fundamental character faults, rather than a lack of ethics. Particularly when the negative evaluation is aimed at people who would be expected to have mental abilities which is denied in the negative evaluation, such as politicians, negative 'social esteem' (particularly CAPACITY and TENACITY) could be seen as just as 'cutting' than negative 'social sanction'.

Negative JUDGEMENT is one of the primary tools that the four activists groups employ to align the imagined reader to the authorial stance on a campaign issue. As can be seen from Figure 21 below, the main targets of negative appraisal are, as expected, private companies and public authorities⁵⁰. There is almost no negative evaluation of the author or reader, but these categories have been included for means of comparison to the high degree of positive evaluation they receive (see Fig.22). Finally, the category 'Unspecified' has been included, as this is significant, particularly in the case of Freedom United, as will be discussed below.

⁵⁰ These mostly refer to politicians, but, in the case of The Story of Stuff, also public institutions such as the 'California State Water Board'.

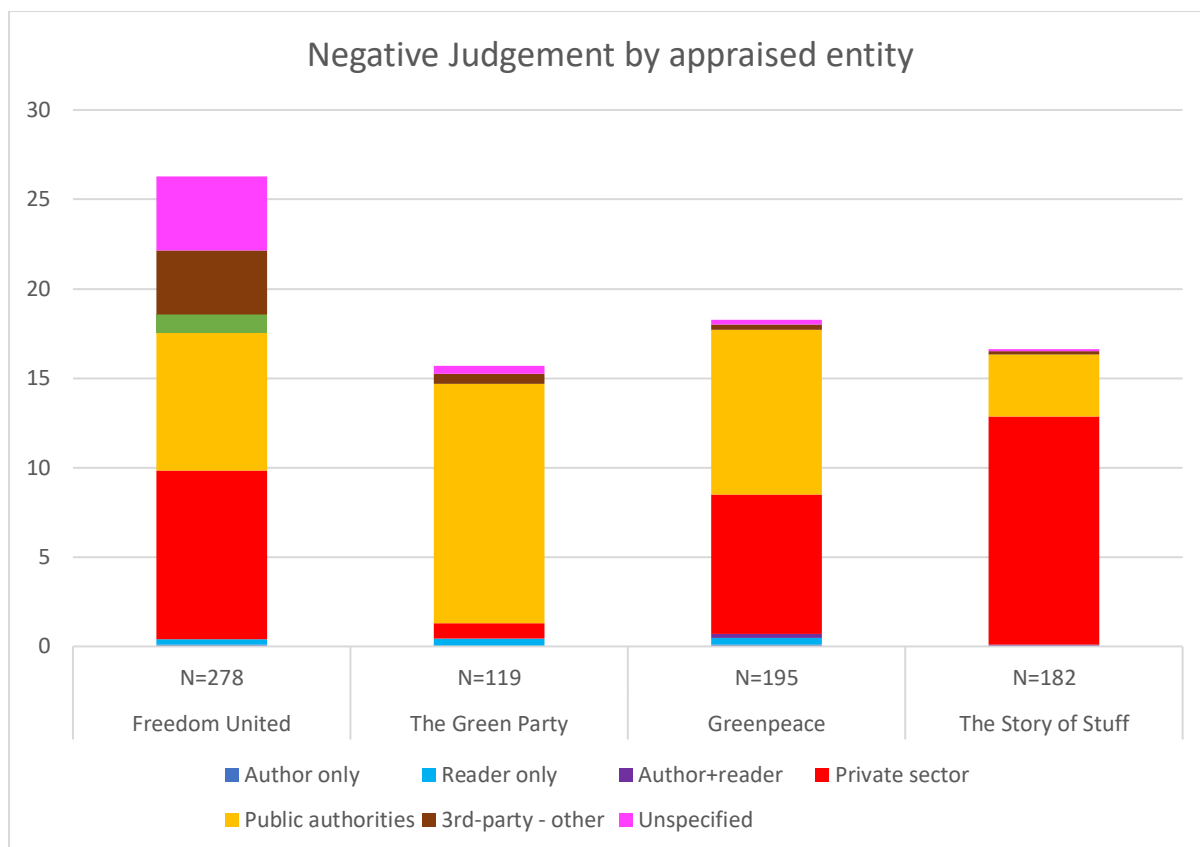


Figure 21: Negative JUDGEMENT by appraised entity (per 1000 tokens)

	Freedom Un. - Green Party		Freedom Un. - Greenpeace		Freedom Un. - Story of Stuff		Green Party - Greenpeace		Green Party - Story of Stuff		Greenpeace - Story of Stuff	
Private sector	6.59	+++	1.27	-	8.09	+++	7.51	+++	14.87	+++	6.22	+++
Public authorities	9.98	+++	4.39	+++	2.32	++	5.29	+++	12.15	+++	6.20	+++
	- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%)											
	■ Freedom United N=138			■ The Green Party N=181			■ Greenpeace N=171			■ The Story of Stuff N=221		

Table 12: Negative judgement t-test results (Private sector / Public authorities)

Regarding the two most negatively evaluated entities in Figure 21, the 'Private Sector' is a common target of negative evaluation for all groups, with the exception of The Green Party. Table 12 shows that The Story of Stuff target this group with negative evaluation more than any other, but so do Freedom United and Greenpeace to a statistically significant degree more than The Green Party. Conversely, The Green Party employ negative JUDGEMENT when referring to public authorities more than any other group, with Greenpeace also employing more of these than Freedom United and The Story of Stuff. These observations allow us to answer hypothesis 4 in the affirmative:

H4: The Green Party will target politicians more frequently than the other three groups (Freedom United, The Green Party, Greenpeace).

As predicted, The Green Party do indeed focus most of their criticisms on their fellow politicians, in particular on their lack of (satisfactory) action related to their campaign issues.

(40) “It has been a dramatic couple of days in British politics, and this political pantomime proves more than ever that a People’s Vote is the only way out of this chaos. And while *the Conservatives collapse under their own arrogance and incompetence*, it’s up to *Greens to speak up about the real issues in Britain today*.” (GP15, The Green Party, 13/12/2018)

Example (40) shows particular strong criticism of the UK Conservative Party (negative JUDGEMENT:CAPACITY in ‘*arrogance... incompetence*’), to which The Green Party is compared in a very favourable light (positive JUDGEMENT:TENACITY in ‘*speak up...*’). Again, this is another example of the use of negative ‘social esteem’ (‘*arrogance... incompetence*’), which we argue can signal just as strong a condemnation as negative ‘social sanction’.

3rd-party other	3.01	+++	4.62	+++	4.69	+++	1.06	-	1.37	.-	0.37	-
Unspecified	3.74	+++	5.16	+++	5.47	+++	0.61	-	1.46	-	0.93	-
- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%) ■ Freedom United N=138 ■ The Green Party N=181 ■ Greenpeace N=171 ■ The Story of Stuff N=221												

Table 13: Negative Judgement t-test results (3rd-party other / Unspecified)

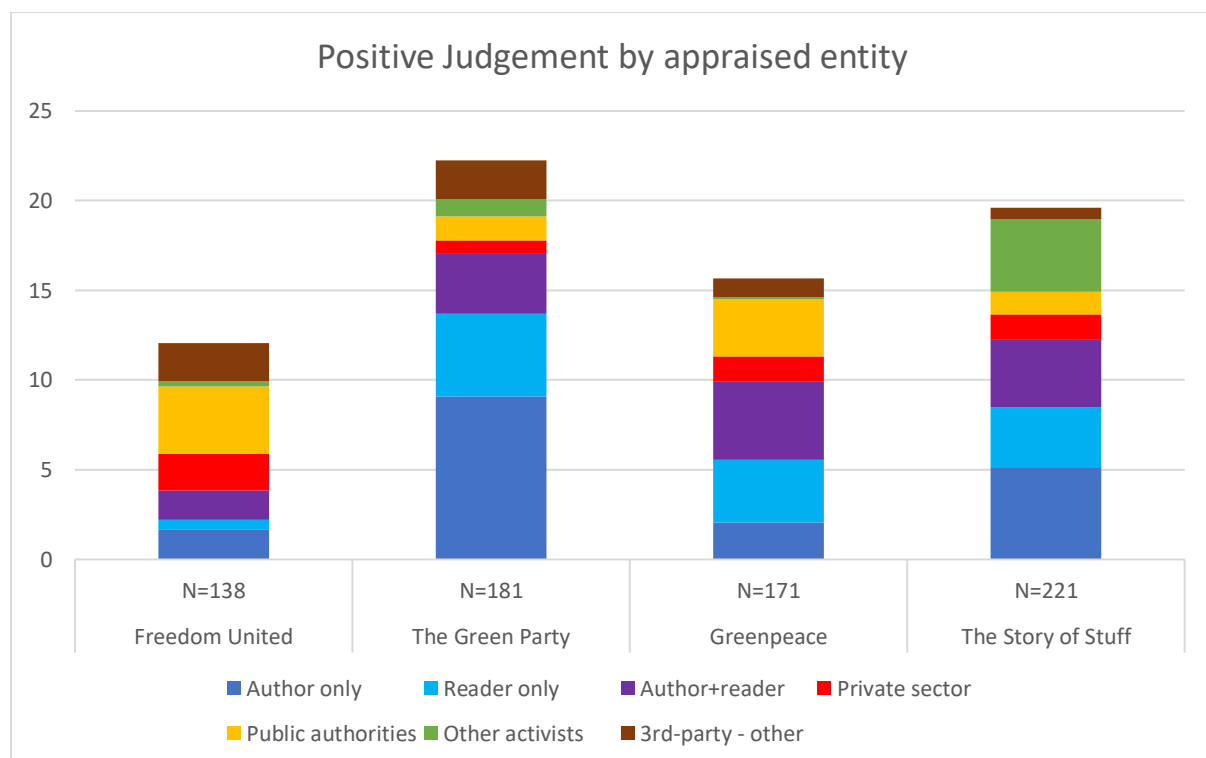
Finally, as argued above, the targets of negative JUDGEMENT in the Freedom United corpus are less visible than those who are negatively appraised by the three environmental-focus groups (see Table 13). This reflects the fact that Freedom United deal with widespread societal issues like domestic violence, instead of issues where one institutionally-powerful entity is construed as being more singly responsible for the negatively evaluated situation, as in the case of the environmental campaigns. For this reason, Freedom United use attitudinal tokens in participle constructions and nominalisations (grammatical metaphor in SFL terms), as the precise identification of the perpetrator is not always possible, as in (41) below.

(41) “Girls *forced into marriage* are at risk of *abuse, exploitation and control*, conditions that amount to slavery.” (FU20, Freedom United, 03/09/2019)

In (41) above, the identity of the Actor (Agent) who ‘forces’, ‘abuses’ and ‘exploits’ is unretrievable from the co-text. The realisation of the appraisal in the nouns or past participles means that the evaluation is presented as presupposition, that is, in the form of bare assertion. This acts to close down the discursual space, indicating the construal of a highly aligned imagined reader⁵¹. In another example (42), the generic ‘people’ is used as the Subject of a question, highlighting the fact that these perpetrators are a dispersed group who are difficult to identify.

(42) “Did you know *people are profiting from the trafficking and abuse of children in orphanages across the world?*” (FU12, Freedom United,

Regarding positive JUDGEMENT, there seems to be a greater concern for building imagined reader affiliation in the campaign e-mails of the three environmental-focus groups than Freedom United, as a higher percentage of markers of positive JUDGEMENT are used to appraise the imagined reader by these groups (see Fig.22 below).



⁵¹ See also ‘2.3.3.3. Bare assertion and presupposition’.

Figure 22: Social esteem appraised entity (per 1000 tokens)

Related to the use of the ‘social esteem’ functions of NORMALITY, CAPACITY and TENACITY, Figure 22 presents quite a complex picture, which will now be analysed according to the three groupings of appraised entities: Author and reader (Table 14); companies and politicians (Table 15); other third-parties (Table 16).

	Freedom Un. - Green Party		Freedom Un. - Greenpeace		Freedom Un. - Story of Stuff		Green Party - Greenpeace		Green Party - Story of Stuff		Greenpeace - Story of Stuff	
Author only	5.14	+++	0.14	-	3.10	+++	5.40	+++	2.43	+++	3.19	+++
Reader only	3.93	+++	4.49	+++	3.57	+++	0.66	-	0.53	-	1.22	-
Author+reader	0.39	-	3.20	+++	1.66	-	3.09	+++	1.39	-	1.86	+
- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%)												
■ Freedom United N=138 ■ The Green Party N=181 ■ Greenpeace N=171 ■ The Story of Stuff N=221												

Table 14: Positive Judgement t-test results (Author only / Reader only / Author+Reader)

Related to the application of positive JUDGEMENT to the author, reader or both, all three environmental-focus groups use these statistically more frequently than Freedom United. This reflects a greater concern among the environmental-focus groups on reinforcing the affiliation of the imagined reader (see (43)) than is present in the Freedom United corpus.

(43) “We’re **a movement of people whose resolve only becomes stronger when faced with huge challenges**. And most of all, we’re **a movement that’s never giving up**.” (GR05, Greenpeace, 02/06/2017)

In (43), the author and reader jointly receive positive JUDGEMENT:TENACITY in both sentences, the first inscribed (*‘whose resolve only becomes stronger...’*) and the second invoked through DENY (*‘that’s never giving up...’*). This use of positive JUDGEMENT in conjunction with inclusive ‘we’ interactant markers clearly contributes to the affiliation of the imagined reader as sharing positive identity characteristics with the writer. Also, as will be discussed in more detail in section ‘5.4.2. Contract markers’, the second sentence also contains a ‘DENY-3rd-party’ (*‘never giving up...’*) which construes the reader as accepting as conceivable that an unidentified third-party participant thinks that Greenpeace will (one day) ‘give up’. The existence of such a party in reality is irrelevant, as its dialogic function is to encourage

solidarity from the imagined reader against this external, threatening ‘out-group’. As will be discussed in more detail later⁵², the combination of a lack of positive JUDGEMENT of the reader, together with a lower frequency of interactant markers which are inclusive of the imagined reader and the transitivity roles given to the exclusive ‘you’ reader reference, all characterise Freedom United as encoding a more peripheral role for the imagined reader in their campaign e-mails.

	Freedom Un. - Green Party		Freedom Un. - Greenpeace		Freedom Un. - Story of Stuff		Green Party - Greenpeace		Green Party - Story of Stuff		Greenpeace - Story of Stuff	
Private sector	4.12	+++	1.75	+	2.60	+++	2.44	+++	1.85	+	0.73	-
Public authorities	5.85	+++	1.72	+	5.95	+++	4.15	+++	0.34	-	4.13	+++
- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%)												
■ Freedom United N=138 ■ The Green Party N=181 ■ Greenpeace N=171 ■ The Story of Stuff N=221												

Table 15: Positive Judgement t-test results (Private sector / Public authorities)

Related to positive JUDGEMENT applied to those third parties who are most frequently depicted as the perpetrators of environmental or social injustices (‘private sector’ and ‘public authorities’), it is Freedom United and Greenpeace who seem to be the most well-disposed to them (Table 15). This reflects perhaps a more pragmatic approach taken by these groups which includes avoiding creating a dichotomy between the author and the reader on one hand, and the perpetrator on the other.

(44) “This means *volunteer tour operators are in a powerful position to remove the financial incentives and make a strong statement against orphanage trafficking. We are not suggesting these organizations have placed, or promoted the placement of, volunteers in orphanages that exploit or traffic children. They have made valuable contributions to the communities they operate in. But now, their support is crucial in breaking the cycle of child trafficking and exploitation in orphanages.*” (FU12, Freedom United, 16/08/2018)

In example (44) above, volunteer tour operators (who have already been identified as at least unconsciously involved in the continuation of orphanage trafficking) are evaluated as:

⁵² See sections ‘6.2. Interactant markers’ and ‘6.2.3. Interactant transitivity participant roles’ for more details.

inscribed positive JUDGEMENT:CAPACITY in *'in a powerful position'*; positive JUDGEMENT:PROPRIETY invoked in the denial of wrongdoing on their part in *'not suggesting...'*; inscribed positive JUDGEMENT:TENACITY in *'They have made valuable contributions...'*; inscribed positive JUDGEMENT:NORMALITY in *'their support is crucial...'* (with infused UPSCALING:DEGREE in *'crucial'*). As stated by Joanna Ewart-Jones in an interview conducted for this thesis (Appendix A: lines 117-118), it is a conscious choice on the part of Freedom United to use such positive evaluation of actors who could otherwise simply be portrayed as synonymous with the problem itself.

	Freedom Un. - Green Party		Freedom Un. - Greenpeace		Freedom Un. - Story of Stuff		Green Party - Greenpeace		Green Party - Story of Stuff		Greenpeace - Story of Stuff	
Other activists	0.85	-	1.22	-	5.08	+++	2.07	++	5.04	+++	6.31	+++
3 rd -party other	1.94	+	2.71	+++	4.42	+++	0.84	-	2.44	+++	1.53	-
- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%)												
■ Freedom United N=138 ■ The Green Party N=181 ■ Greenpeace N=171 ■ The Story of Stuff N=221												

Table 16: Positive Judgement t-test results (Other activists / 3rd-party other)

Finally, The Story of Stuff uses the most positive JUDGEMENT to praise other activists, reflecting their mediatic role in spreading information about the campaigning of others rather than placing themselves as the principle and only actors (see 45 below).

(45) *"The people that I met and many more like them **are not sitting idle: they're joining together and fighting back.** And we're joining in with them."* (SoS06, The Story of Stuff, 03/07/2017)

Other activists are positively appraised with JUDGEMENT:TENACITY which is invoked through denial in the first sentence (*'not sitting idle'*) and inscribed in the second sentence (*'they're joining... fighting'*). The third sentence then makes the link of affiliation between the writer and this third-party clear, although in this excerpt the imagined reader is not included in this act of solidarity (affiliation). Regarding the positive evaluation of other third-parties, for Freedom United this often involves praising survivors of modern slavery (see positive

JUDGEMENT:NORMALITY in (46)), and for The Green Party is used to positively evaluate members of the party and the imagined reader (see invoked positive JUDGEMENT:CAPACITY in (47)).

(46) “Once in a private household, isolated from support networks, it’s easy for migrant domestic workers to become invisible with no voice to speak out about their exploitation and injustice. *These woman **deserve protection under the law and respect from societies so that their work is valued and not taken for granted.***” (FU13, Freedom United, 21/09/2018)

(47) “Our funding is entirely made up of the ***individual generous donations of our members and supporters.***” (GP12, The Green Party, 09/10/2018)

Freedom United use positive JUDGEMENT of survivors while also giving voice to the institutionally disempowered members of society (48), which Atton and Wickenden (2005:349) defined as one of the characteristics of alternative media.

(48) “*I came to the UK in 2008 when a relative promised me a good education and a better life. Instead, I was enslaved for four years in domestic servitude. Now, I am at risk of being sent back to my home country where my trafficker awaits despite having been formally recognized as a victim of trafficking by the Home Office. Can you urge the Home Office to let me rebuild **my** life? Sign to help Nancy.*” (FU18, Freedom United, 01/08/2019)⁵³

All the content in e-mail FU18 (from which (48) is an excerpt) is communicated in the voice of the victim, Nancy, apart from the imperative ‘call-to-action’, ‘*Sign to help Nancy*’. The choice to give such prominence to the voice of the victim/survivor is an official communication policy of Freedom United: “...we try and lift up survivor voices. Yes, it's still surprisingly a bit of a unique thing to do.” (see Appendix A: lines 117-118).

We will now move on to consider how the four groups use negative and positive APPRECIATION to position the imagined reader.

⁵³ In example (50) almost the entire abstract is placed in italics as it almost exclusively communicated in the voice of the ‘survivor of modern slavery’, Nancy, with only the final imperative in the institutional voice of the sender, as indicated through the reference to ‘Nancy’.

5.3.3. Appreciation

The second most used category of ATTITUDE used by all four groups is APPRECIATION (see Fig.19).

And of its sub-categories, by far the most commonly used is 'SOCIAL-VALUATION' (see Fig.23 below).

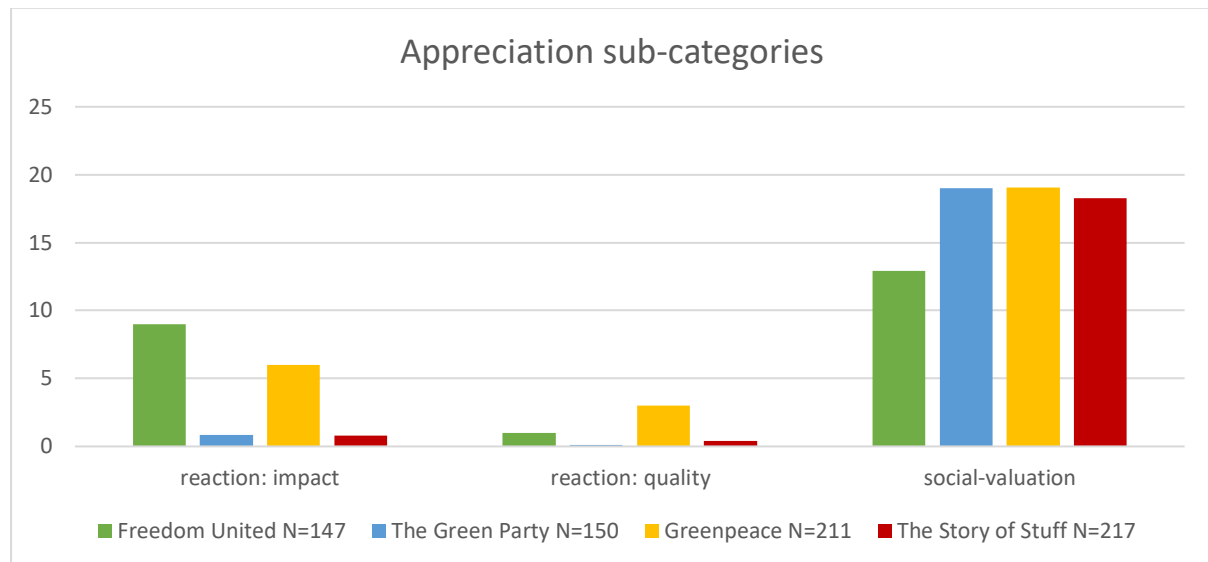


Figure 23: APPRECIATION sub-categories (per 1000 tokens)

	Freedom Un. - Green Party		Freedom Un. - Greenpeace		Freedom Un. - Story of Stuff		Green Party - Greenpeace		Green Party - Story of Stuff		Greenpeace - Story of Stuff	
Reaction: impact	0.41	-	0.50	-	0.06	-	0.05	-	0.48	-	0.57	-
Reaction: quality	1.19	-	0.00	-	1.26	-	1.19	-	0.03	-	1.25	-
Social valuation	2.08	+++	4.27	+++	3.39	+++	1.97	++	1.11	-	0.94	-
	■ Freedom United ■ The Green Party ■ Greenpeace ■ The Story of Stuff											
	- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%)											

Table 17: Appreciation sub-types t-test results

Regarding the differences in the use of APPRECIATION between the groups, Figure 23 shows that all three environmental-focus groups use this more than Freedom United. As noted earlier, in relation to example (34) from the Greenpeace sub-corpus, a possible explanation for this difference related to campaign focus is that the environmental-focus groups alternate between criticism of the perpetrator and description of the negatively-evaluated situation,

which functions as justification⁵⁴. However, an example of positive APPRECIATION which, however, may have the effect of portraying the imagined reader as being less highly aligned and affiliated is given below in (49).

- (49) “The Green Party’s Caroline Lucas was one of the creators of the world’s first Green New Deal back in 2007. *It’s a solid plan for delivering a zero carbon economy and making everyday lives better at the same time. It’s a path to progress built on linked up solutions for transport, education, healthcare, justice, food, and democracy.*” (GP23, The Green Party, 18/12/2019)

The first sentence in (49), taken independently of the rest of the paragraph, invokes positive JUDGEMENT:TENACITY ‘Caroline Lucas’ as being ‘*one of the creators... back in 2007*’ related to the invoked positive APPRECIATION:SOCIAL-VALUATION of ‘Green New Deal’ through cultural doxa. That is, the imagined reader is construed as positively evaluating the ‘Green New Deal’ as being in accordance with their worldview, thus also illustrating this as a marker of affiliation with the author. However, the positive APPRECIATION:SOCIAL-VALUATION for the Deal in the second and third sentences function to JUSTIFY its positive evaluation, hence the imagined reader is subsequently portrayed as potentially unaligned regarding its merits. This use of JUSTIFY also indicates a gap in knowledge between the writer and imagined reader. Hence, we see here how JUSTIFY and APPRECIATION can sometimes work at cross-purposes, with the first sentence in (49) potentially indicating a highly aligned and affiliated reader, but the subsequent ones working against that positioning to some degree.

5.3.4. Affect

Regarding the distribution of markers of AFFECT, although this category was used much more sparingly than JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION by all the groups, still The Green Party made more

⁵⁴ See example (36) in section ‘5.3.1. Overall distribution of appraisal markers’ which illustrates how Greenpeace use negative APPRECIATION before moving onto negative JUDGEMENT.

use of it than any of the other groups (see also Table 18).

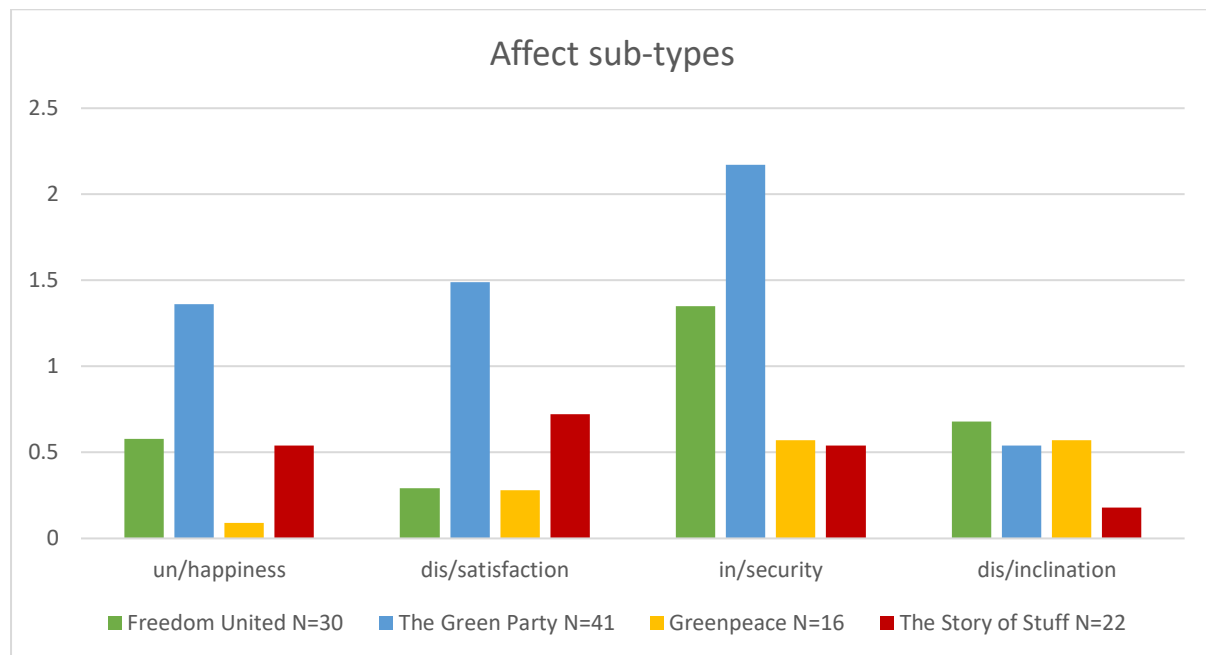


Figure 24: AFFECT sub-types (per 1000 tokens)

	Freedom Un. - Green Party		Freedom Un. - Greenpeace		Freedom Un. - Story of Stuff		Green Party - Greenpeace		Green Party - Story of Stuff		Greenpeace - Story of Stuff	
Un/happiness	1.38	-	1.89	+	0.13	-	3.05	+++	1.54	-	1.79	+
Dis/satisfaction	2.51	+++	0.00	-	1.38	-	2.51	+++	1.27	-	1.38	-
In/security	0.89	-	1.80	+	1.97	++	2.60	+++	2.80	+++	0.13	-
Dis/inclination	0.60	-	0.27	-	1.78	+	0.34	-	1.14	-	1.53	-
	■ Freedom United ■ The Green Party ■ Greenpeace ■ The Story of Stuff											
	- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%)											

Table 18: Affect sub-types t-test results

In fact, Table 18 reveals that The Green Party used more of the first three categories than either one or two of the other groups in each case to a statistically significant extent. To understand its function of reader alignment and affiliation, we will consider an example from each of these categories below: un/happiness (50); dis/satisfaction(51); in/security (52); and dis/inclination (53).

(50) “The feeling of safety and **happiness** was tangible as children raced along on their bikes and scooters, away from the danger, noise, and pollution of cars.”

(GP09, The Green Party, 10/12/2017)

(51) “If this is ‘better living’, as the industry saying goes, **we’ve had about as much as we can take.**” (SoS15, The Story of Stuff, 08/09/2018)

- (52) “And right now, *many of us will be feeling uncertain about the future of our planet.*” (GR05, Greenpeace, 10/03/2018)
- (53) “HSBC *don’t want their customers to see burning forests and choking orangutans when they look at their bank card or bank statement.*” (GR02, Greenpeace, 25/01/2017)

Examples (50) and (52) include AFFECT markers within MONOGLOSSIC sentences, indicating a high level of reader alignment. However, example (51) includes an element of ENTERTAIN in ‘*will be feeling*’ which is used in order to take a less assuming tone regarding its evaluation of negative reader AFFECT (‘*feeling uncertain*’). Regarding imagined reader affiliation, examples (51 and 52) portray the reader as more highly affiliated, through inclusive interactant references in (51, ‘*we*’) and (52, ‘*many of us*’), while the examples (50) and (53) only include an emergent sense of affiliation linked to the presumed alignment on the campaign issue. Given the low frequency of occurrence of markers of AFFECT throughout the corpus, the focus of the analysis here will be on JUDGEMENT markers as the favoured means of positioning the imagined reader.

Next, we move on to see how the four groups studied here vary in their use of positive and negative appraisal markers related to all sub-types reviewed so far.

5.3.5. The polarity of attitudinal markers

Regarding the polarity of all attitudinal markers, Figure 25 below immediately reveals a marked difference between Freedom United and the three environmental-focus groups, both in Freedom United’s using significantly more negative markers as well as markedly fewer positive ones.

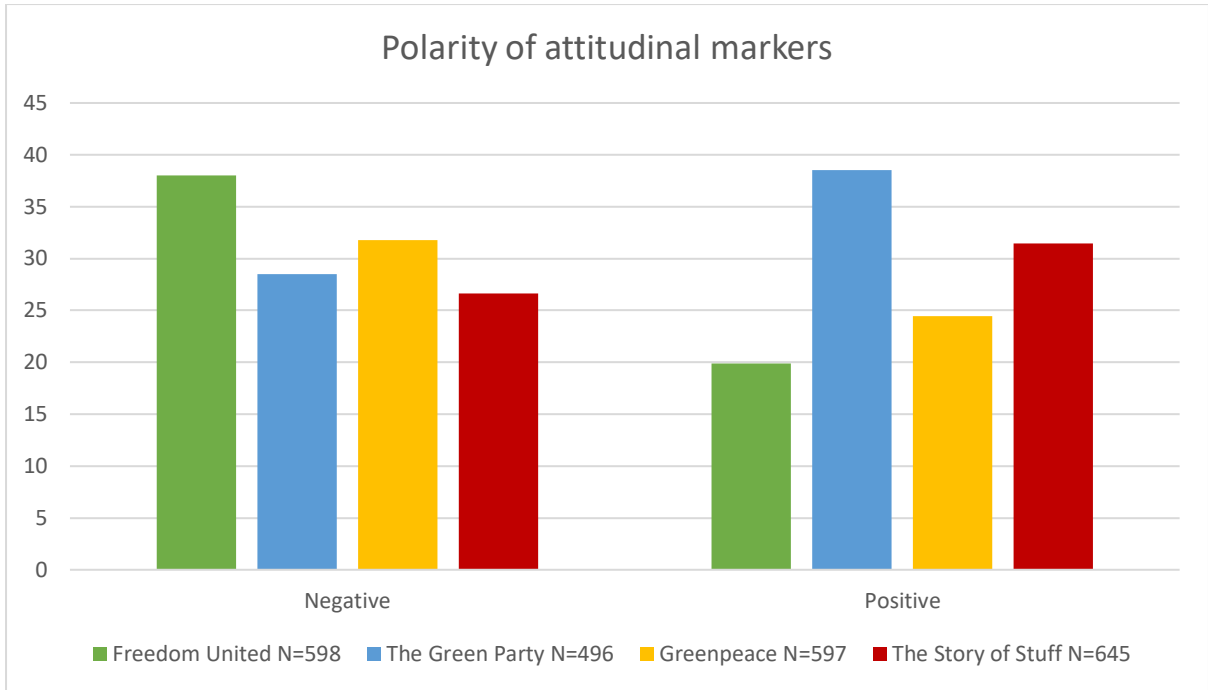


Figure 25: Polarity of attitudinal markers (per 1000 tokens)

	Freedom Un. - Green Party		Freedom Un. - Greenpeace		Freedom Un. - Story of Stuff		Green Party - Greenpeace		Green Party - Story of Stuff		Greenpeace - Story of Stuff	
Negative	8.01	+++	3.36	+++	7.28	+++	4.68	+++	1.14	-	3.79	+++
Positive	7.87	+++	3.24	+++	7.17	+++	4.66	+++	1.13	-	3.80	+++
	■ Freedom United ■ The Green Party ■ Greenpeace ■ The Story of Stuff											
	- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%)											

Table 19: Polarity of attitudinal markers t-test results

More precisely, Table 19 show that Freedom United used significantly more negative appraisal markers and fewer positive ones than the other three groups, with particularly high t-values compared to The Green Party (8.01, 7.87) and The Story of Stuff (7.28, 7.17). So, why should it be that the social activists allow themselves to express more negative evaluation and less positive evaluation than the environmental-focus groups? As already noted in section '5.3.2. Judgement', Freedom United use similar proportions of negative JUDGEMENT of the private sector and public authorities as Greenpeace do. However, they also include a lot of negative JUDGEMENT of unspecified or unidentifiable third-parties, those responsible for endemic societal problems, such as child trafficking and forced marriage.

In addition to these observations of the differences between Freedom United and the three other groups, we also contend that, given the repetition of certain structures, there is a general blurring of the division between positive and negative evaluation across the whole corpus. For the affiliated reader who has become familiar with the repeated use of certain rhetorical structures, positive evaluation can invoke the expectation of negative evaluation. This relates to the use of DENY⁵⁵, in particular in its ‘unfulfilled expectations’ function, by which the preceding text is construed as encouraging the imagined reader to adopt a certain stance, which is then corrected by the author. An example from each sub-corpus is provided below (54-57).

(54) “Last year, the President of Niger committed to enacting a law that would raise the minimum age of marriage for girls to 18, **but we have yet to see the new law adopted.**” (FU09, Freedom United, 16/06/2018)

(55) “Things aren’t going Johnson’s way, **but we can not** [sic.] *relax our guard or stop getting out and defending democracy on the streets.*” (GP20, The Green Party, 05/09/2019)

(56) “The government admits that air pollution is a problem, **but they won’t deal with it properly unless they feel some pressure.**” (GR01, Greenpeace, 06/01/2017)

(57) “Last December, the California Water Board directed Nestlé to stop taking more than what it is legally allowed to draw: 8.5 million gallons a year. **But Nestlé hasn’t complied.**” (SoS16, The Story of Stuff, 20/09/2018)

In each of the example sentences above (54-57), the initial clause presents ‘good news’ according to the stance already taken on the campaign issue, presented through inscribed or invoked positive attitudinal markers. This is then followed by a COUNTER + DENY (‘unfulfilled expectations’, highlighted in bold and italics in 54-57) which constitutes a negation, or mitigation, of the positivity of the previous clause. By using such a rhetorical strategy, the risk

⁵⁵ For a longer discussion of the distribution of the sub-categories of deny, see section ‘5.4.2. Contract markers’.

is that a negative attitudinal colouring starts to spread across all the attitudinal positions, positive or negative, in the campaign e-mails for the affiliated reader who regularly receives and reads such campaign e-mails. Of course, there would no reason for the organisations to write to ask for the audience’s help if there were not a problem to resolve. Nevertheless, this type of retrospective diffusing of positive attitudinal prosody risks creating an image of the writer as being unrelentingly negative and pessimistic.

5.3.6. Inscribed and invoked attitude

An interesting result of the comparison of the use of different realisations of attitudinal markers is that The Green Party use more evoked and more inscribed attitudinal markers than the other groups, but less provoked ATTITUDE (see Fig.26).

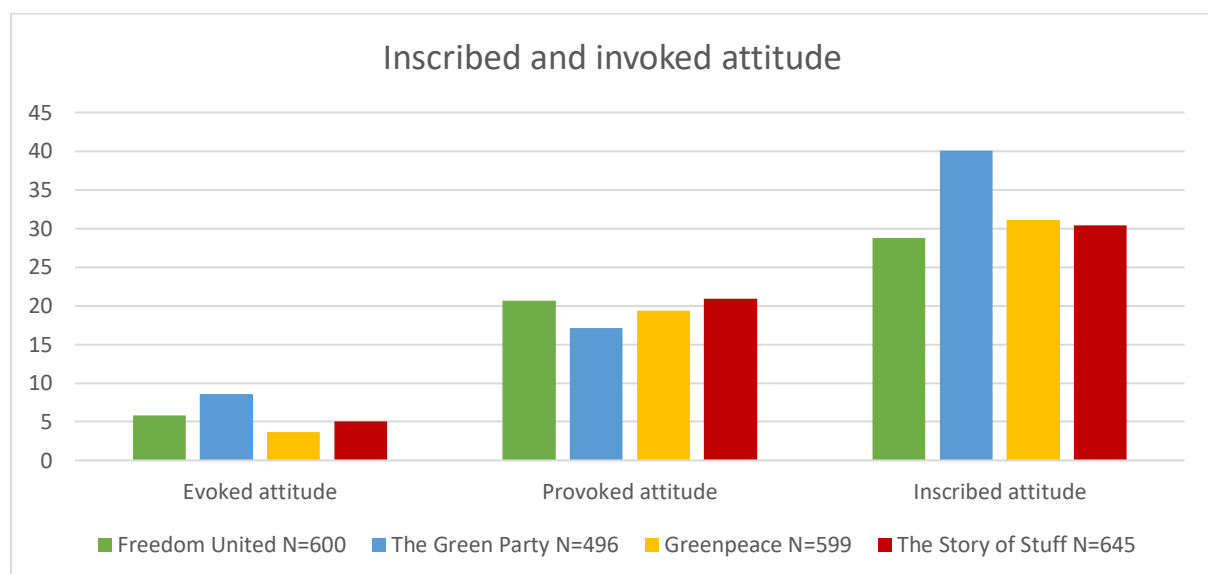


Figure 26: Inscribed and invoked Attitude (per 1000 tokens)

	Freedom Un. - Green Party		Freedom Un. - Greenpeace		Freedom Un. - Story of Stuff		Green Party - Greenpeace		Green Party - Story of Stuff		Greenpeace - Story of Stuff	
Evoked attitude	1.31	-	2.19	++	0.81	-	3.50	+++	2.20	++	1.42	-
Provoked attitude	3.60	+++	0.46	-	0.05	-	3.16	+++	3.71	+++	0.52	-
Inscribed attitude	3.19	+++	1.88	+	0.79	-	1.39	-	2.49	+++	1.12	-
	■ Freedom United ■ The Green Party ■ Greenpeace ■ The Story of Stuff											
	- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%)											

Table 20: Inscribed and invoked Attitude t-test results

As argued for above, the t-test results in Table 20 show that The Green Party use evoked ATTITUDE more than Greenpeace and inscribed attitude more that Freedom United and The Story of Stuff, but used less provoked ATTITUDE than all the other three groups. To consider the reason for this, we will move on directly to consider how the different groups use the sub-categories of provoked and evoked ATTITUDE to convey authorial stance.

Related to invoked ATTITUDE, Figure 27 shows that The Green Party signal an attitudinal position through the use of GRADUATION less often than the other groups, but instead do this more often than the others through the use of cultural doxa.

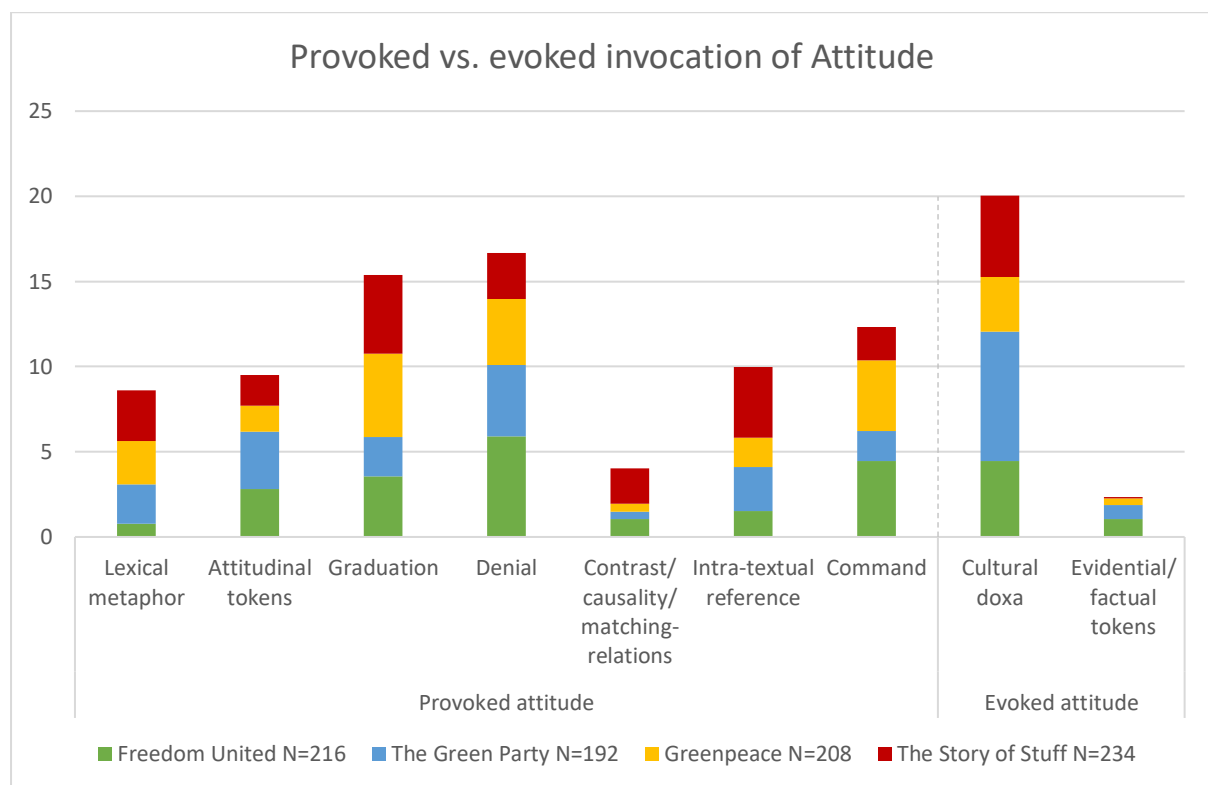


Figure 27: Provoked vs. evoked invocation of Attitude (per 1000 tokens)

	Freedom Un. - Green Party		Freedom Un. - Greenpeace		Freedom Un. - Story of Stuff		Green Party - Greenpeace		Green Party - Story of Stuff		Greenpeace - Story of Stuff	
Graduation	2.10	+++	1.66	+	1.18	-	3.59	+++	3.18	+++	0.51	-
Intra-textual reference	1.08	-	0.35	-	3.62	+++	0.74	-	2.38	+++	3.29	+++
Cultural doxa	2.04	+++	1.38	-	0.34	-	3.36	+++	1.75	+	1.74	+
	■ Freedom United ■ The Green Party ■ Greenpeace ■ The Story of Stuff											
	- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%)											

Table 21: Provoked vs. evoked invocation of Attitude t-test results

Table 21 does not present all the types of invoked ATTITUDE included in Fig.27, rather only those which help to differentiate the four groups under investigation: GRADUATION, intra-textual reference and cultural doxa. Related to the invocation of ATTITUDE through GRADUATION, the three environmental-focus groups all employed this more than The Green Party.

(58) “The Modern Slavery Registry’s analysis of company reports shows that **only 19% meet all the minimum requirements of the UK Modern Slavery Act.**” (FU06, Freedom United, 12/05/2018)

(59) “**Day after day, thousands upon thousands** of people are taking to the streets to resist.” (GP20, The Green Party)

(60) “Our office in the US has launched a **huge** response, urgently calling for members of Congress to oppose the president.” (GR05, Greenpeace, 02/06/2017)

(61) “Plastic pollution is turning up **everywhere, from the deepest ocean trenches to the arctic ice sheets.**” (SoS14, The Story of Stuff, 25/08/2018)

Different types of GRADUATION are used in examples (58-61) to invoke ATTITUDE: downscaling mass in ‘only 19%’ in (58); upscaling distribution time ‘day after day’ and number ‘thousands upon thousands’ in (59); degree in ‘huge’ in (60); and distribution space ‘everywhere, from the deepest ocean trenches to the arctic ice sheets’ in (61). GRADUATION is both one of the main means of invoking ATTITUDE in the corpus, as well as an important tool in reinforcing the imagined reader alignment in inscribed ATTITUDE⁵⁶.

Regarding intra-textual reference, The Story of Stuff used this method of invoking attitude more than any other group.

(62) “First, let’s *celebrate* what we’ve achieved so far. We **had two sold-out screenings at MVFF, plus an educational screening for over a hundred young people. We also hosted a Plastic Solutions Panel featuring heroes from the film and moderated by Annie Leonard**, you can watch the full panel here.” (SoS25, The Story of Stuff, 08/02/2020)

⁵⁶ See section ‘5.5. Graduation’ for further discussion of this.

In example (62), the inscribed positive APPRECIATION:IMPACT in the term ‘celebrate’ and the positive JUDGEMENT:CAPACITY in ‘achieved’ determines the positive attitudinal colouring of the following sentences. However, as noted by Don, different types to invocation and inscription of ATTITUDE “combine in many cases to invoke an attitude for the reader” (Don, 2016:8). For example, there is the use of graduation in ‘over a hundred’ in the second sentence above, which also invokes positive APPRECIATION:SOCIAL-VALUATION, and the inscribed marker of positive JUDGEMENT:TENACITY in ‘heroes’ in the following sentence.

Regarding cultural doxa, The Green Party (63) used more of this type of evoked ATTITUDE than Freedom United and Greenpeace.

(63) “The UK is the **only** country in Europe which **still** locks people up with no time limit. People seeking a better life. People fleeing war and persecution. People coming to Britain to find refuge. We **throw** them into detention centres, and we keep them there **indefinitely**.” (GP02, The Green Party, 25/01/2017)

Again, it is not only cultural doxa which invokes negative ATTITUDE here, in the first sentence there are two upscaling GRADUATION markers in ‘only’ and ‘still’. However, given the political nature of the extract, it is clear that the negative invoked JUDGEMENT:PROPRIETY of the government, particularly in the three sentences starting with ‘People...’ relies on the imagined reader’s acknowledgement of the impropriety in the treatment of these people. Also, of interest is the use of the inclusive ‘we’ twice in the final sentence. Although both writer and imagined reader cannot conceivably be thought to be directly responsible for the government’s actions (they most probably did not vote for the government), the fact of taking personal responsibility for the problem here again indicates that the attitudinal colouring of the text depends on cultural doxa. The writer and imagined reader feel this responsibility because of a shared sense of affiliation to a general value that one should always take action against such kinds of injustice.

In general, instances of invoked ATTITUDE serve to construe the imagined reader as affiliated to the writer as they all depend on co-textual and inter-textual reference in order to be perceived. However, it is evoked ATTITUDE which most relies on the portrayed sense of shared knowledge, experience or culture between writer and imagined reader. While The Green Party used more attitudinal markers realised through cultural doxa than the other groups, the frequencies of its use were high for all groups.

5.4. Engagement

5.4.1. All Engagement markers

The use of different categories of ENGAGEMENT relates directly to the positioning of the imagined reader as aligned, uncommitted or dis-aligned to the authorial stance (mirroring Peter White's (2021b) *likeminded*, *persuadable* and *unlikeminded*). However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the overall objective that the writer has in using different ENGAGEMENT resources is to encourage the reader to adopt the authorial stance (Martin & White, 2005:118). Just as for the markers of JUDGEMENT, APPRECIATION and the polarity of attitudinal markers, the overall distribution of markers of ENGAGEMENT indicates a clear distinction between their use by Freedom United as compared to the other three groups (see Fig.28 below).

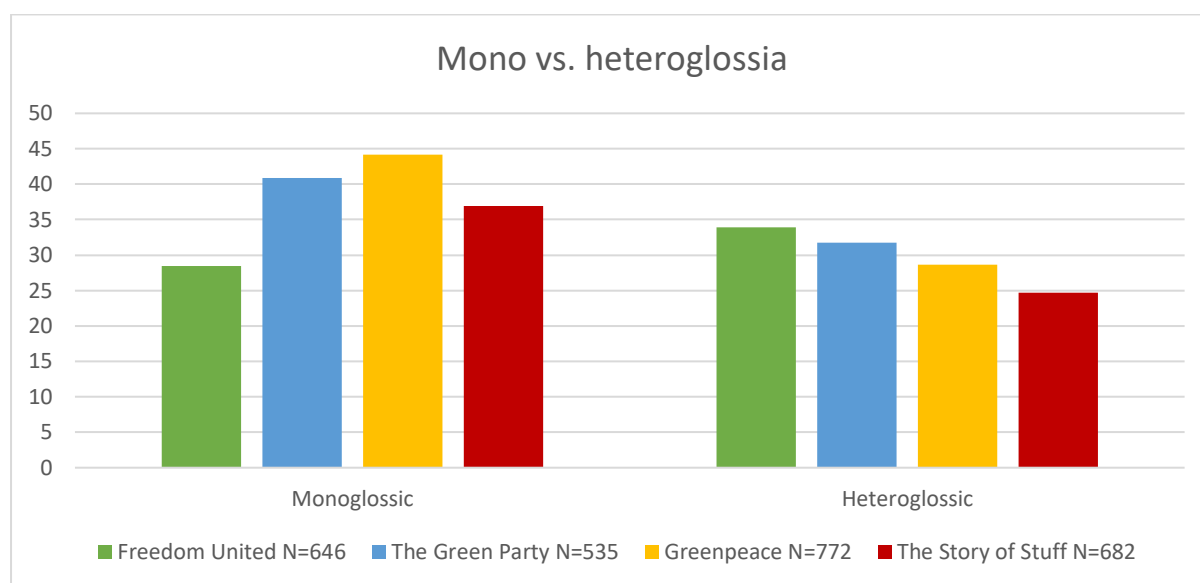


Figure 28: Mono vs. HETEROGLOSSIA (per 1000 tokens)

	Freedom Un. - Green Party		Freedom Un. - Greenpeace		Freedom Un. - Story of Stuff		Green Party - Greenpeace		Green Party - Story of Stuff		Greenpeace - Story of Stuff	
Monoglossic vs. Heteroglossic	3.64	+++	5.68	+++	5.27	+++	1.57	-	1.30	-	0.25	-
	■ Freedom United ■ The Green Party ■ Greenpeace ■ The Story of Stuff											
	- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%)											

Table 22: Mono vs. HETEROGLOSSIA t-test results

As can be observed from Fig.28 and Table 22, all three environmental-focus groups make greater use of MONOGLOSSIC constructions than Freedom United. Since there are only two

categories at this level of the system, this necessarily entails that Freedom United uses more HETEROGLOSSIC sentences than the other three groups to the same degree of statistically-significant difference⁵⁷. This initial observation seems to indicate a construal of the reader as more highly aligned in the environmental campaigns rather than in the social ones of Freedom United. To understand why this should be the case, we need to consider which sub-categories of HETEROGLOSSIC ENGAGEMENT were used by Freedom United instead of the bare assertion of MONOGLOSSIC structures.

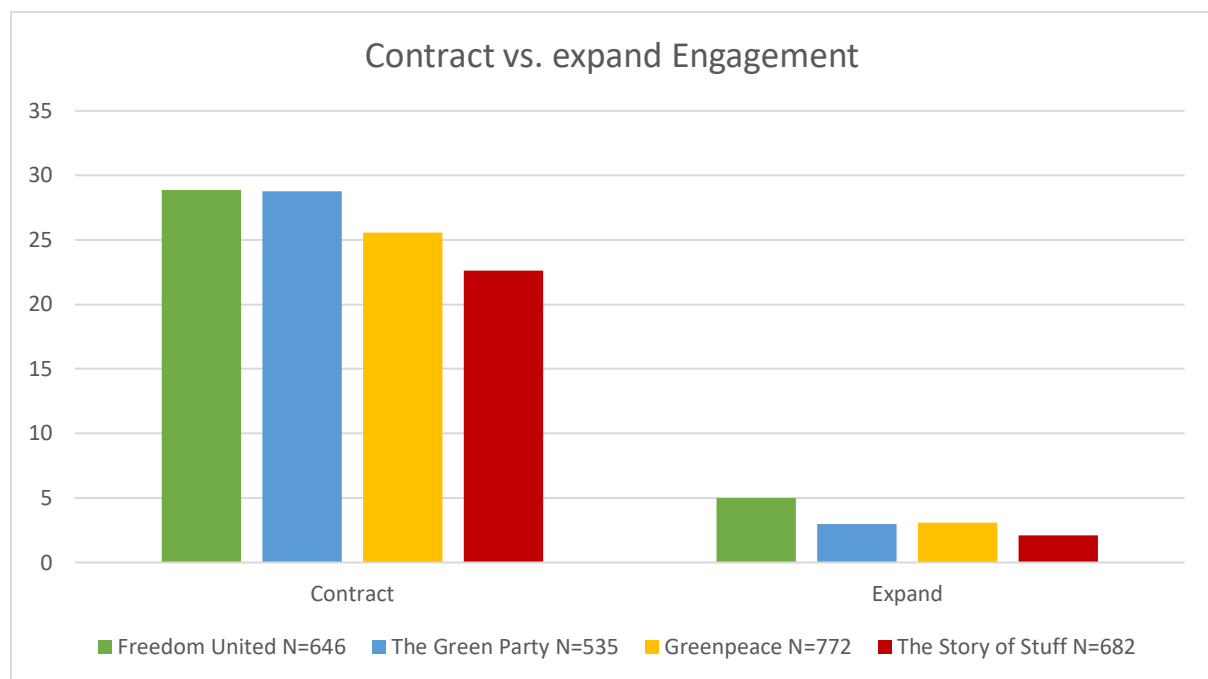


Figure 29: Contract vs. expand Engagement (per 1000 tokens)

	Freedom Un. - Green Party		Freedom Un. - Greenpeace		Freedom Un. - Story of Stuff		Green Party - Greenpeace		Green Party - Story of Stuff		Greenpeace - Story of Stuff	
Contract	2.30	++	4.30	+++	3.57	+++	1.66	+	1.05	-	0.61	-
Expand	2.78	+++	2.99	+++	3.70	+++	0.14	-	0.67	-	0.89	-
	■ Freedom United ■ The Green Party ■ Greenpeace ■ The Story of Stuff											
	- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%)											

Table 23: Contract vs expand Engagement t-test results

In Table 23, we see that Freedom United use more contractive structures than Greenpeace and The Story of Stuff and also more expansive HETEROGLOSSIC structures than all the other

⁵⁷ The use of HETEROGLOSSIC constructions is necessarily the mirror opposite of the use of MONOGLOSSIC structures as each sentence was coded as either one or the other at this level of the ENGAGEMENT system.

three groups. Despite this statistically significant difference in both main sub-categories of HETEROGLOSSIC ENGAGEMENT, it must be noted that all groups used many more contractive markers than expansive ones. This concentration on contractive ENGAGEMENT reflects what Fløttum (2013) identifies as one of the characteristics of a highly assertive authorial voice, which, together with the high frequency of JUDGEMENT, we believe characterises activist communication rhetoric.

Figure 30 below displays the frequencies of the markers of contractive and expansive ENGAGEMENT by the four organisations.

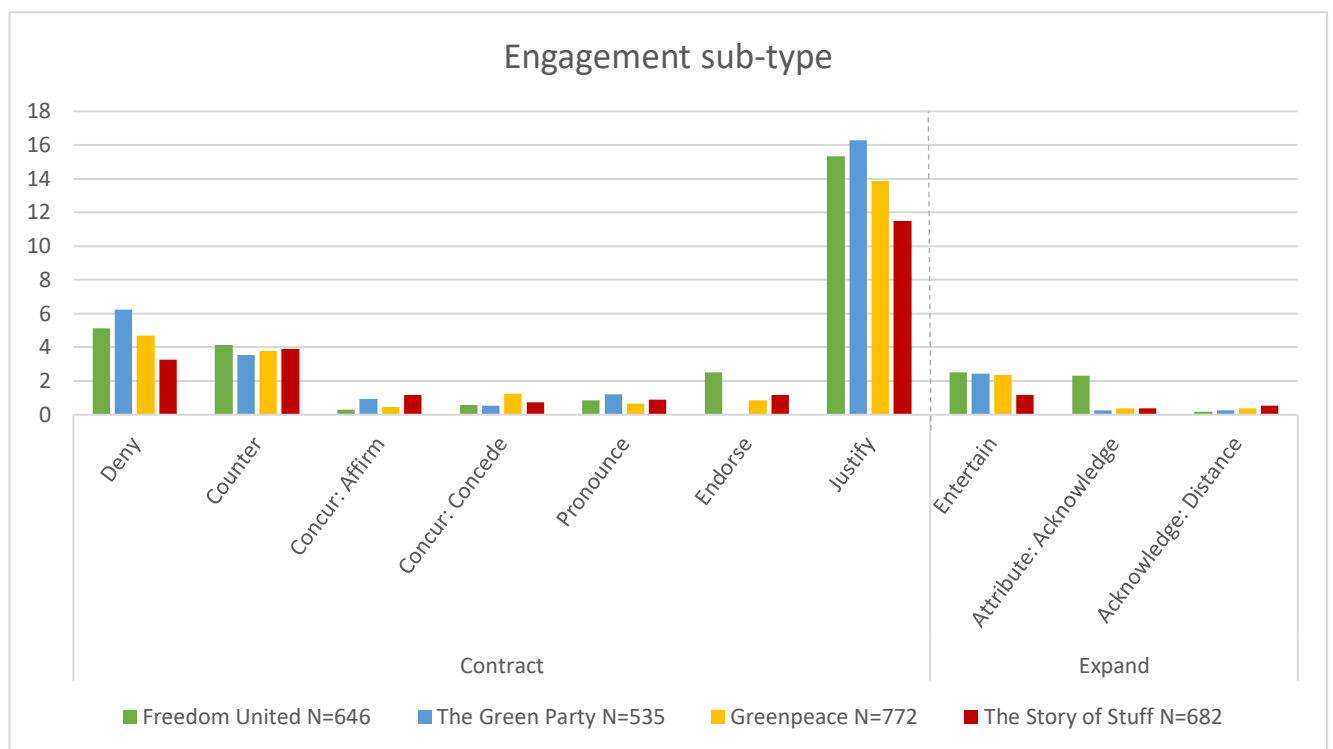


Figure 30: Engagement sub-types (per 1000 tokens)

Given the small numbers of markers in the majority of sub-categories in Figure 30, calculations of statistical significance were deemed inappropriate⁵⁸. Instead, the relative use of the different markers by all four groups will be discussed; with DENY, COUNTER and JUSTIFY the

⁵⁸ Statistical test results will also not be given for Fig.31-33 detailing the sub-categories of DENY, COUNTER and JUSTIFY for the same reason of small sample sizes.

principal contractive markers and ENTERTAIN and (in the case of Freedom United only) ATTRIBUTE:ACKNOWLEDGE the principal expansive markers.

5.4.2. Contract markers

DENY and COUNTER were both additionally coded at a higher degree of delicacy⁵⁹, the distributions of which are shown in Figure 31 and Figure 32 below.

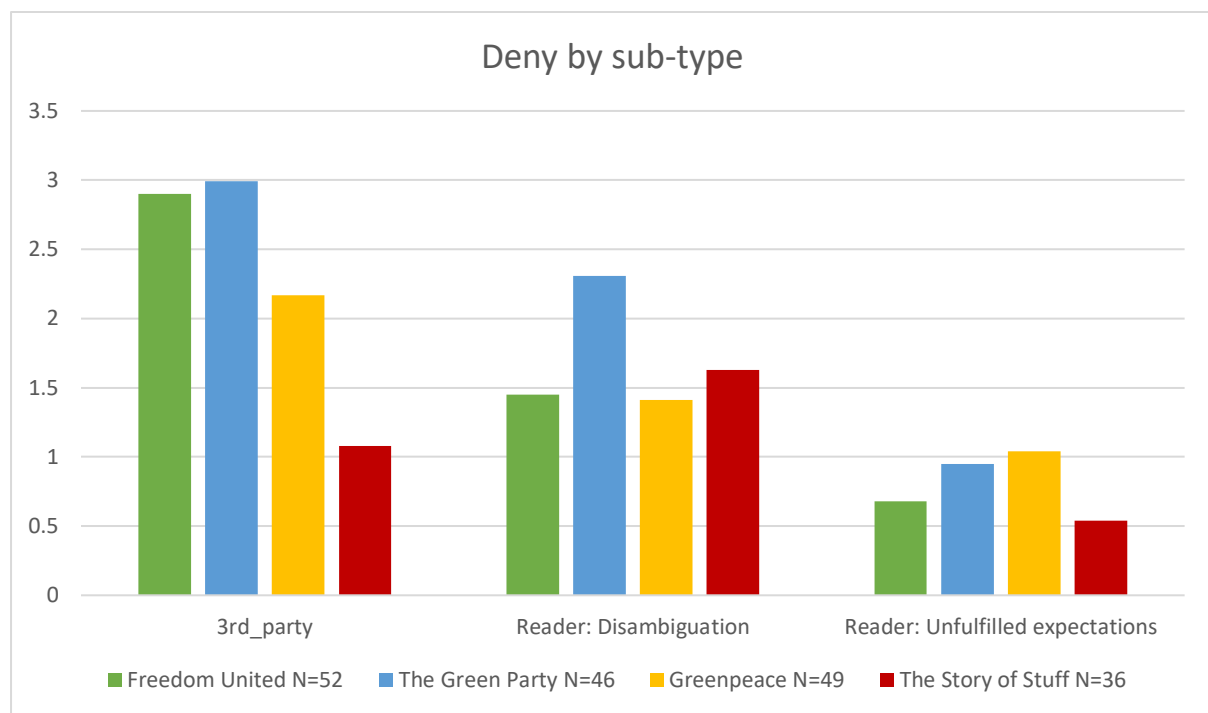


Figure 31: Deny by sub-type (per 1000 tokens)

Regarding the distribution of the sub-types of DENY in Fig.31, all groups except The Story of Stuff devote the most resources to denying a proposition which can be implied to be held by a third-party. An example of DENY-3rd party is given in (64) below:

(64) “Right now, only 1% of our global oceans are protected. And sea creatures that live there are at risk. Studies have shown that marine life is disappearing at twice the speed of life on land. *That’s just **not** something we’re willing to accept.*” (GR24, Greenpeace, 31/01/2020)

⁵⁹ See section ‘2.3.4.1. Contract’ for the explanation of these categories.

Here the denied proposition, ‘*that Greenpeace is willing to accept the loss of marine life*’, is not attributable to a particular third-party. Instead, as discussed in Peter White (2021a:17), the imagined reader is presupposed to believe that such a demand could conceivably be made of Greenpeace from a hostile third-party. This denying of a third-party often has the effect of strengthening both alignment and affiliation between writer and reader as belonging to the same group (in opposition to the shunned out-group) and also holding the same values⁶⁰. Constituting the most frequently used sub-type of DENY signals that this ENGAGEMENT resource is used most often to affiliate the imagined reader in this sense, rather than as a corrective of the reader’s misapprehensions, which we will move on to look at now.

The two forms of DENY which are aimed at correcting a supposed misinterpretation or misapprehension on the part of the imagined reader (see Don, 2017:9), ‘disambiguation’ (65) is more used than ‘unfulfilled expectations’ (66).

(65) “Help us produce Big Plastic vs The People by donating today. *The heroes of these stories would **never** describe themselves as such*; they’re regular people like you and me who saw something wrong and spoke up for what’s right.” (SoS08, The Story of Stuff, 13/11/2017)

(66) “An astonishing proportion of up to 30% of all 12 to 18-year-old girls in the area are sexually exploited, **but it’s not just girls at risk.**” (FU11, Freedom United, 03/08/2018)

The difference between these two examples is that the DENY in (65) is not related to the previous dialogue, while in (66) it is. Essentially, both function as a corrective to a presupposed imagined reader misapprehension, with the distinction that in ‘unfulfilled expectations’ (66) the source is attributable directly to the author themselves, thus affiliating writer and reader as simultaneously perceiving the counter-expectation between two clauses of opposite polarities (see Don, 2017:21). In the case of (66), while the first clause does not

⁶⁰ See also example (45) taken from the Freedom United sub-corpus.

present positive news, thus the 'unfulfilled expectations' relates to the scope of the negatively evaluated situation, in this case about sexual trafficking relating not only to girls, but also boys. Although this differs from the negative colouring of positive prosody for the affiliated reader noted earlier⁶¹, this use of 'unfulfilled expectations' still has an impact on the overall negative attitudinal colouring of the texts as in expanding the scope of the negatively evaluated situation, heightens the overall negativity of the whole text. Thus, the affiliated reader, who has experience of reading many of these messages, comes to learn that few positive attitudes are left uncorrected, while negative ones can be qualified as being even more negative than first thought. Thus, here we find a connection between the level of affiliation of the reader and the perception of attitudinal positions taken by the author. As the reader's experience this text type grows, so too does the sense of an overwhelming negativity colouring the entire texts for the affiliated reader.

Moving on the sub-categories of COUNTER, while all the groups use this structure to correct the reader more often than third-parties, it is The Green Party whose use shows the greatest deal of disparity between the '3rd-party' and 'reader corrective' sub-categories of DENY (see Fig.32).

⁶¹ In section '5.3.5. The polarity of ATTITUDE markers'.

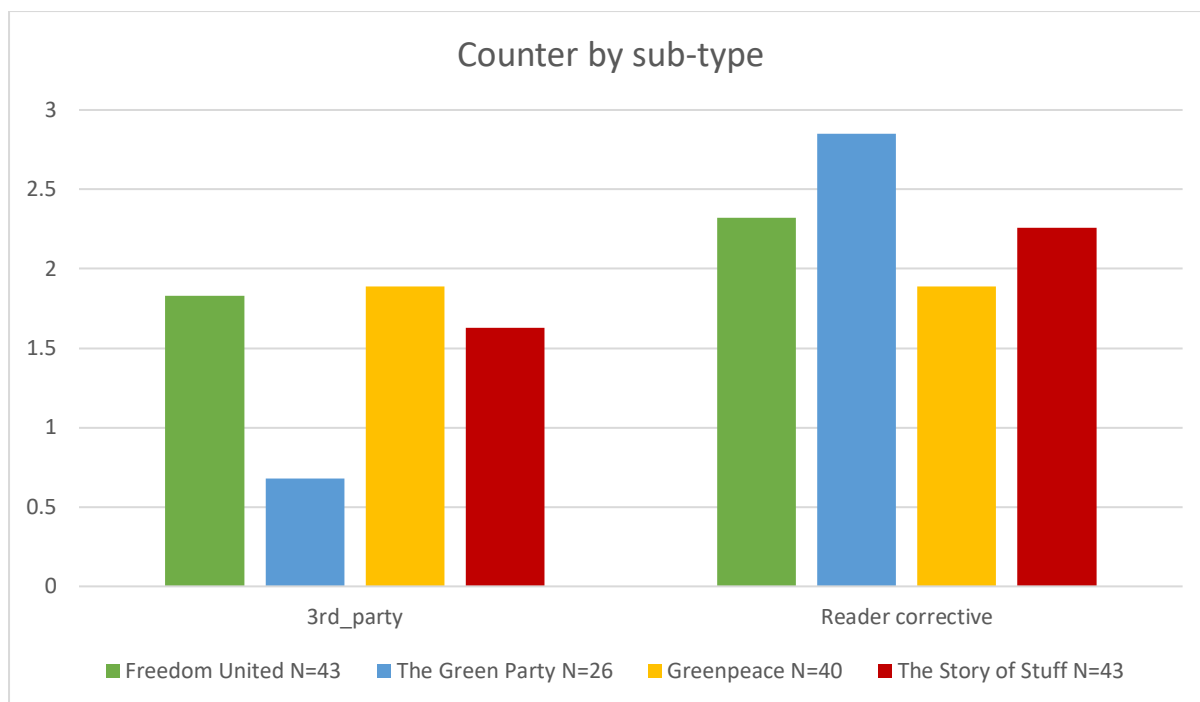


Figure 32: Counter by sub-type (per 1000 tokens)

Like third-party DENY, the use of third-party COUNTER functions to simultaneously strengthen imagined reader alignment and affiliation. An example of DENY-3rd party is provided from the Greenpeace sub-corpus below (67):

(67) "Trump is trying to take a sledgehammer to plans to tackle the global climate crisis. **But if Trump thinks we're going to stand by while he puts our planet on course to catastrophe**, then now is the moment we'll prove him wrong." (GR16, Greenpeace, 13/02/2019)

In (67) above, the proposition denied by the COUNTER, which is attributable to the third-party Donald Trump, is that '*Greenpeace are going to stand by while I put our planet on course to catastrophe*'⁶². Thus, the dialogic function of COUNTER-3rd party is very similar to DENY-3rd party, in that it functions to strengthen the affiliation of the imagined reader with the writer as jointly being in opposition to the third-party. An additional observation is that some of the propositions denied through the use of COUNTER such as that related to (67) above might seem

⁶² See Martin and White (2005:120) for a discussion of how counter invokes a replaced, or supplanted proposition as described here.

absurd when stated explicitly as sourced from the third-party (as stated in italics above), but nonetheless might still function as a 'us vs. them' dichotomy which strengthens reader affiliation.

The corrective effective of COUNTER directed towards the reader is less-face threatening than a DENY playing the same role as it functions exclusively on reinforcing imagined reader alignment. That is, the 'reader corrective' of COUNTER functions as a nudge to the imagined reader to keep following the argumentative path that leads to the adoption of the authorial stance, rather than as a direct challenge to a pre-supposed reader position. For this reason, its function seems to be centred on reader alignment, and shouldn't impact the sense of affiliation. An example is given in (68) below.

- (68) "Plastic is everywhere in our daily lives. I'm writing this email on a computer with plastic parts, using a plastic keyboard powered through a plastic plug. You'll be reading this on something similar, or maybe on a plastic mobile phone. Suggesting that people stop using plastic bank cards, plugs, contact lenses, medicine casings, biro, asthma inhalers, £5 notes or plaster (to name a few items!) is unrealistic. ***But a huge amount of plastic packaging is designed to be used once then thrown away.***" (GR04, Greenpeace, 13/03/2017)

As is often the case with DENY-reader corrective, the COUNTER clause here is preceded by a CONCUR: CONCEDE sentence in '*Suggesting that people...*'. Although this clause does not contain a marker of CONCUR (such as 'obviously' or 'of course'), it immediately follows two sentences in which first the writer, and then the reader, are construed as not acting in accordance with the proposition of stopping using '*bank cards, plugs, contact lenses... etc.*'. Thus, the decision to code this sentence as CONCUR depends on co-textual clues, which have already worked to construe writer and reader as aligned on the necessity to use some plastics in everyday life. Dialogically, this initial concession helps to diffuse the potential dis-alignment and dis-affiliation resulting from the COUNTER clause, thus explaining how its dialogic function is only

as a gentle re-directing of the imagined reader to follow the course of the authorial stance, rather than as any kind of rebuke⁶³.

Related to reader alignment, more specifically on the presupposed uncommittedness of the reader, Figure 30 shows a huge amount of JUSTIFY used by all the four groups studied in this thesis. As Peter White argues (2021b:263), the use of JUSTIFY indicates both that the imagined reader requires persuasion to adopt the authorial stance, but also that they are ‘persuadable’. It also allows us to classify this text type as one of ‘advocacy’ as opposed to ‘flag-waving (G. Thompson, 2012:96), as the writer is making a genuine effort to align an imagined reader construed as uncommitted through supplying real argumentation rather than simply “to rehearse and reinforce the beliefs and values which are presumed to be shared by the piece’s readership.” (Peter White, 2021b:256).

Most of the instances of JUSTIFY in the corpus were not explicitly signalled through the use of reason or purpose adverbs. Instead, their identification was based more on their position within the text structure (see (69) below).

(69) “But right now, Antarctic krill is being sucked out of the Antarctic Ocean, pulped into oil, and sold as a health supplement on UK shelves. ***This rapidly growing, multi-million dollar industry is threatening to upset the delicate balance of the Antarctic ecosystem. The UK is the fourth largest krill oil market globally. Holland & Barrett are one of the biggest sellers of krill oil products, even stocking their own krill brand. Holland & Barrett has the power to influence the krill industry to stop fishing in areas that need to be protected.***” (GR10, Greenpeace, 21/03/2018)

The highlighted sentences in (69) above provide a progressive justification as to why the author has selected Holland & Barrett as the target of this particular campaign. Although none of the sentences is fronted by an adverb of reason or purpose, these need to be presupposed

⁶³ Similarly to the example of the newspaper Editor Dyrenfurth in White (2021a:17).

by the reader for the text to be coherent and logical. To make this clear, the text is reproduced below with the omitted adverbs added in square brackets (69a).

(69a) “But right now, Antarctic krill is being sucked out of the Antarctic Ocean, pulped into oil, and sold as a health supplement on UK shelves. [**This is a problem because**] This rapidly growing, multi-million dollar industry is threatening to upset the delicate balance of the Antarctic ecosystem. [**This is relevant to us because**] The UK is the fourth largest krill oil market globally. [**We have selected Holland & Barrett as campaign target because**] Holland & Barrett are one of the biggest sellers of krill oil products, even stocking their own krill brand. [**Also, we have selected Holland & Barrett as campaign target because**] Holland & Barrett has the power to influence the krill industry to stop fishing in areas that need to be protected.

The justification provided regarding the selection of the campaign target thus construes the imagined reader as needing to be won over to the merits of targeting this particular group, connected to the otherwise positively-evaluated actions of Holland & Barrett’s as being the first UK supermarket to stop using disposable carrier bags in the same campaign e-mail. At the same time, as Peter White (2021a:15) argues, it also encourages the reader to accept the authorial stance as well-founded. The types of reasons generally given consist of evidence of wrongdoing by the target, based on digression from moral standards, but also, crucially, the potential for wider change to come about as a result of targeting this particular group (as is illustrated by the last sentence of (69)). Thus, the imagined reader is construed not as being dis-aligned, but simply uncommitted, and therefore as being susceptible to persuasive arguments. Additional sub-types of JUSTIFY that were coded for are ‘author power’ and ‘JUSTIFY – other’⁶⁴, see Figure 33 below.

⁶⁴ These sub-categories were formulated during the annotation process as a result of observations relating to the dialogic role of JUSTIFY related to associated topics rather than the main campaign issue.

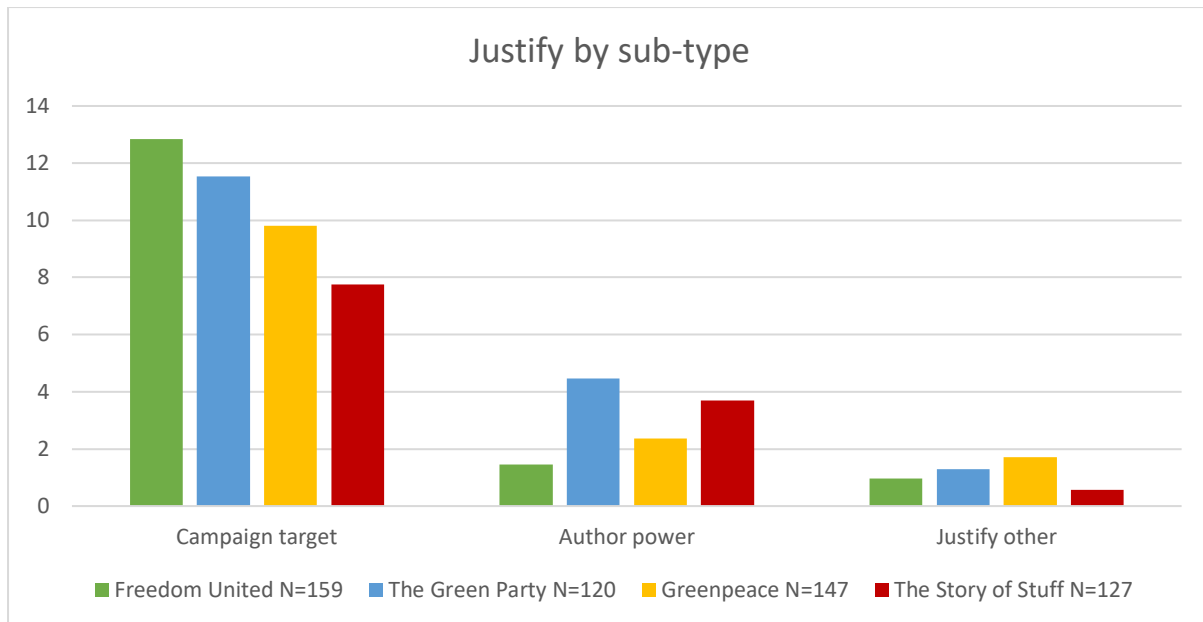


Figure 33: Justify sub-types (per 1000 tokens)

Regarding the ‘author power’ sub-category, an example is given in (70) below.

(70) “We’re also **investigating other avenues for challenging Nestlé’s claim to the water. And finally, we’ll be ramping up efforts in the court of public opinion to push Nestlé and its Arrowhead brand to do the right thing.** Nestlé is a £88 billion company, and the largest water bottler in the world. **But creative manoeuvring by the Story of Stuff Project and our Community has shown that even Nestlé is susceptible to influence when people flex their citizen muscles.**”
(SoS02, The Story of Stuff, 22/09/2016)

Each highlighted sentence in (70) above could be fronted by ‘You should support our campaign because...’ (substituting the contrastive adverb ‘But’ in the final sentence). The sub-category ‘author power’ construes an imagined reader who is perhaps aligned regarding the selection of the campaign issue and target, but still not convinced of the group’s potential to effectuate real change. In example (70), the reader is still portrayed as persuadable (Peter White, 2021a:408), and thus reasons for supporting the group are provided with the intention of convincing the imagined reader to affiliate with the author. However, as is evident from Figure 33, this sub-category was much less used than ‘JUSTIFY campaign target’ (71), indicating a general tendency that the imagined reader is portrayed as more likely to be uncommitted regarding the choice campaign target rather than the group’s ability to act.

(71) “Hitachi has **a sketchy record with nuclear projects [6]**, and **the technology they’re using is pretty unreliable.[7]** **There’s a reason investors are backing away!**” (GR11, Greenpeace, 18/05/2018)

The three justify sentences in (71) construe the imagined reader as potentially uncommitted regarding the selection of Hitachi as campaign target. The writer thus attempts to win them over by providing some reasons why Hitachi should not be trusted, with external sources referenced. Finally, an example of ‘JUSTIFY other’ is given in (72) below.

(72) “Though the Paris agreement is by no means perfect, **it’s still a monumental achievement, a deal that hundreds of thousands of us across the globe tirelessly campaigned for.** **When it was agreed in 2015, it was the first time in history the world’s governments came together to set out comprehensive plans to tackle the climate crisis.**” (GR05, Greenpeace, 02/06/2017)

In (72) above, the sentences justify the author’s support for the Paris Climate Accords of 2015 and could be fronted by ‘*We support the Paris agreement because...*’. Interestingly, the justifications are fronted by a CONCUR: CONCEDE clause in ‘*Though the Paris agreement is by no means perfect...*’, which additionally indicates that the imagined reader is portrayed as being uncommitted or disaligned regarding the merits of the *Accords*. However, while this is a related topic, the campaign target is actually to encourage the reader to protest against Donald Trump’s decision to exit from the accord.

5.4.3. Expand markers

Moving onto the relation of expansive ENGAGEMENT markers and imagined reader affiliation, Figure 30 shows that all groups used a degree of ENTERTAIN markers, with Freedom United also employing a similar number of ATTRIBUTE:ACKNOWLEDGE markers. The contention in this thesis is that these markers impact more on the supposed level of imagined reader affiliation than

they do on reader alignment⁶⁵. The principal functions of ENTERTAIN in the activist campaign e-mails relates to the justification of their proposed solution to the campaign issue (73).

(73) *“Your generous donations **could** help pay for a: Public Election Broadcast reaching millions of potential new Greens, with filming and editing (£10,000). Campaign coordinator to give advice and support to a local candidate to reach as many potential votes in their community as possible (£105 per day), European elections launch covered in the press (£1,000).”* (GP19, The Green Party, 17/04/2019)

In example (73) above, the functionality of the probability modal verb ‘*could*’ is not much on entertaining alternative positions, it does not “indicate[s] that its position is but one of a number of possible positions...” (Martin & White, 2005:104). Rather, as falling under the category of subjective/implicit modality according to Halliday and Matthiessen’s (2004:150) categorisation, it functions to underline authorial assessment of the risk of failure of the proposed solution. Relatedly, under Pic and Furmaniak’s (2012) semantic typology of the dialogic function of epistemic modal verbs, ‘*could*’ in (73) is classified under ‘conjectural use’, which “is motivated by the speaker’s genuine uncertainty” (Pic & Furmaniak, 2012:26). Crucially here though is the fact that the writer’s uncertainty is related to whether or not the reader will take action. So, in line with the sense of authorial assertiveness, communicated through the use of MONOGLOSSIC and contractive ENGAGEMENT markers in the rest of the campaign messages, ENTERTAIN does not communicate deference to (potential) alternative positions, but is used instead to apply pressure on the reader to act. This is also the case when the ENTERTAIN token is not related to the solution but to criticising the campaign target, as in example (74) containing negative JUDGEMENT:VERACITY evaluations of Monster Beverage below.

(74) *“Monster Beverage’s leadership **says** “we do not conduct independent, unannounced compliance audits because of the minimal risk of slavery and human trafficking in our supply chain.”. This assessment of “minimal risk” is*

⁶⁵ See section ‘2.3.4.2. Expand’ for further argumentation regarding the impact of expansive ENGAGEMENT markers on imagined reader affiliation.

seemingly incompatible with *verified research findings* on the sugar industry, and we want Monster Beverage to step up, investigate and report on its sugar supply chain.” (FU07, Freedom United, 17/05/2018)

In example (74), Freedom United use two examples of expansive ENGAGEMENT:ENTERTAIN in ‘*seemingly...*’ and ATTRIBUTE:ACKNOWLEDGE in ‘*Monster Beverage’s leadership says*’, one example of CONTRACT:ENDORSE in ‘*verified research findings...*’. While the first ACKNOWLEDGE can be retrospectively be read as DISTANCE, the precise status of ENTERTAIN value ‘*seemingly*’ is unclear. Given the general attitudinal prosody, it would appear unlikely that the author is entertaining the possibility that the quoted proposition is not at odds with the ‘*verified research findings*’. Thus, we have another example where ENTERTAIN used in this text type might not genuinely indicate a position of openness to other voices by the author. Instead, we propose such a use of ‘*seemingly*’, normally a marker of ENTERTAIN, is intended to be sardonic, thus acting to invoke negative JUDGEMENT:VERACITY of the target (Monster Beverage) in the sense that the discord between the two positions is evident. So, although Freedom United do use slightly more expansive ENGAGEMENT than the other groups, this may not indicate a true opening up of the discursual space to potentially contrary voices. ENTERTAIN, as used in these campaign e-mails, functions to call on a sense of solidarity, that is affiliation, between writer and the audience, either through focusing on the reader’s contribution (73) or by invoking negative JUDGEMENT of the campaign target (74).

Related to the use of ATTRIBUTE:ACKNOWLEDGE by Freedom United, this often occurred in the same stretches of text which signal JUSTIFY. The appeal to a third party (usually an expert) illustrates an attempt to persuade the imagined reader to adopt the authorial stance on the campaign issue. While playing this role in aligning the reader, they have an additional function of attempting to increase the trust and confidence that the imagined reader has in the writer’s ability to take impactful action on an issue, as in (75).

(75) *“According to a new report by the Business and Human Rights Resource Centre, the majority of canned tuna brands are failing to address modern slavery in their supply chains. The report ‘Out of Sight, Modern Slavery in Pacific Supply Chains of Canned Tuna’ surveyed 35 canned tuna companies and supermarkets representing 80 of the world’s largest retail canned tuna brands. Fifteen of these companies failed to respond, including Tesco, Walmart and Costco. Incredibly, only three companies, Thai Union, Simplot, and Tri Marine, said that they require all subcontractors to enforce anti-slavery policies in their supply chains.”* (FU17, Freedom United, 05/06/2019)

Not only does the author quote the full title of the acknowledged external report in (75), but in the last two sentences they omit any indication that they are using the ATTRIBUTE system at all. In this sense, the distinction between the authorial and third-party voices becomes more difficult to discern, depending as it does on an implicit kind of intra-textual reference. Thus, the division between markers of ATTRIBUTE:ACKNOWLEDGE and ENDORSE becomes blurred.

The reason why ATTRIBUTE:ACKNOWLEDGE occurs with a higher frequency in the Freedom United sub-corpus than the others is undoubtedly related to the other differences between the groups. Such differences include the statistically significant higher frequency of JUDGEMENT, APPRECIATION, and in general markers of negative ATTITUDE by Freedom United, as well as a higher frequency of contractive ENGAGEMENT markers and lower frequency of inclusive interactant markers⁶⁶. That is, the e-mails of Freedom United construe a greater distance between writer and reader, hence a lower level of reader affiliation, with the imagined reader occupying a limited support role to that of the writer⁶⁷. Freedom United demonstrate their competence through reference to expert voices through ATTRIBUTE:ACKNOWLEDGE (or ENDORSE) as an indication of the overall construal of low reader affiliation. That is, the imagined reader’s faith in authorial expertise and standing is thus

⁶⁶ As will be seen in ‘6.2. Interactant markers’

⁶⁷ See also section ‘6.2.3. Interactant transitivity participant roles’ for more details on the division between writer and imagined reader in the Freedom United sub-corpus.

portrayed as being in doubt, so Freedom United mitigate this by demonstrating their affiliation to external expert voices that the imagined reader is construed as viewing as credible.

5.5. Graduation

In the frequencies of GRADUATION markers, there is a clear difference for all four groups in their use of upscaling over downscaling markers. These upscaling GRADUATION markers can be the lexical element which ‘provokes’ the perception of attitudinal stance⁶⁸. Given that very few statistically significant differences were found between the four groups in their use of GRADUATION, this section will again focus on the tendencies of all the groups together.

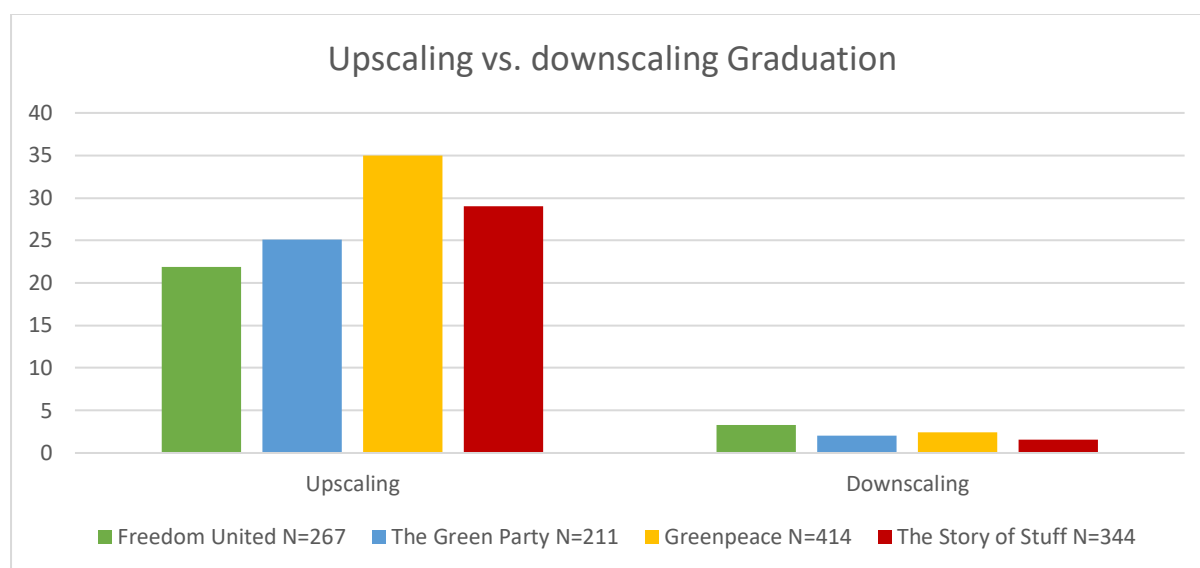


Figure 34: Upscaling vs. downscaling Graduation (per 1000 tokens)

Even when the upscaling GRADUATION is not responsible for invoking ATTITUDE, but instead increases the strength of an attitudinal or dialogic position, the use of almost exclusively upscaling markers in the corpus corresponds to the high degree of contractive as compared to expansive markers of ENGAGEMENT. The use of JUDGEMENT, contractive ENGAGEMENT markers, and upscaling GRADUATION together indicate a highly assertive authorial voice which does not leave much dialogic space to dissenting or alternative voices.

(76) “There’s still one country in the world that hasn’t banned or planned to phase out this dirty and dangerous fuel, Algeria. **But worse, there’s only one company morally repugnant enough to sell the stuff, Innospec, and they’re based in Cheshire, UK.**” (GR06, Greenpeace, 01/09/2017)

⁶⁸ See section ‘5.3.6. Inscribed and invoked attitude and reader affiliation’.

In example (76), the CONTRAST ('reader corrective') signalled by 'But..' contains the inscribed negative JUDGEMENT:PROPRIETY of '*morally repugnant*' which is upscaled through the use of '*repugnant*' (DEGREE, INFUSING) and by 'enough' (DEGREE, ISOLATING). This finding is not very surprising as the objective of all four groups is to fight against perceived injustice, which is seen as being promoted and maintained by corrupted, vested-interest groups in society who hold high levels of institutional-power. The rhetoric used by such groups has historically been combative, as it is that type of language which has drawn the most mainstream media attention to their campaigns. It also fits their created identities as basing their credibility on a construed moral superiority over those they criticise. As was noted when reviewing the history of Greenpeace (Zelko, 2017:322-323), the group employed different rhetorical styles when trying to drum up media interest, than in their direct communications with the politicians and companies they criticised. However, Ali Walker Davies described in our interview that groups such as Greenpeace do sometimes hold back on strong criticism of their campaign targets:

"The tension within organizations comes when there's a policy team, who are like, well, we're having a conversation behind the scenes with this organization. So it's really not helpful if we're criticizing them to an email list of like, 500,000 people." (Appendix C: lines 99-102).

Therefore, we can conclude that such upscaling graduation of negative authorial stances towards campaign targets is probably confined to the cases in which such dual lines of communication, to the public and directly with the target, is not present or seen as possible.

To see more clearly how GRADUATION works with the other systems of Appraisal Theory, we will consider the sub-categories used in upscaling markers (Fig.35 below).

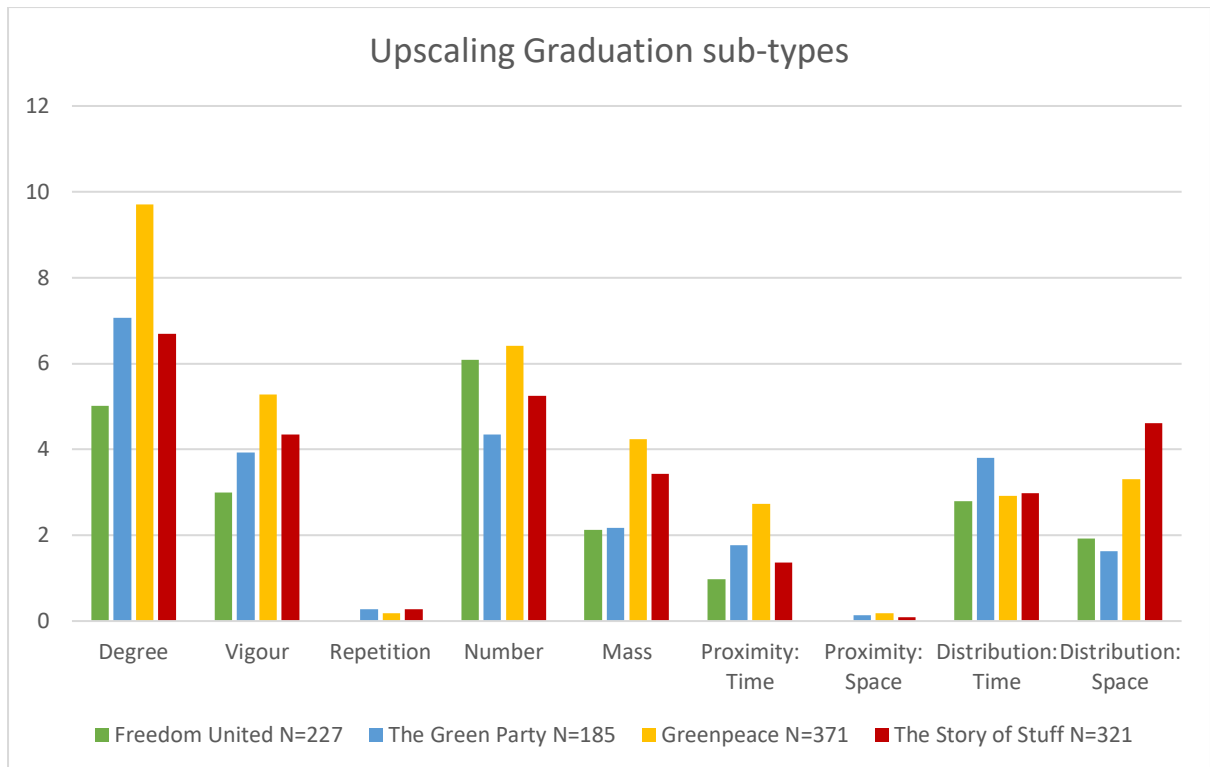


Figure 35: Upscaling Graduation sub-types (per 1000 tokens)

As can be observed from Figure 35, the most common upscaling graduation markers used by all four groups are: DEGREE, VIGOUR, NUMBER and MASS. Also, reference to TIME and SPACE play an important role in emphasizing the scope, and therefore potential, of either a problem (i.e., upscaling negative evaluation), or a proposed solution (i.e., upscaling positive evaluation). Here are some example sentences containing multiple types of upscaling GRADUATION (77-79).

(77) DEGREE: “Forced child labor is **completely unacceptable**.” (FU08, Freedom United, 12/06/2018)

(78) MASS / VIGOUR: “There’s no doubt a yes vote would fuel more climate change, **creating 55% more flights** at what is already Europe’s largest airport, and **drastically reducing** our ability to meet emissions targets.” (GR08, Greenpeace, 15/11/2017)

(79) NUMBER / DISTRIBUTION:SPACE: “**Hundreds of people from across the country** will be coming to London to tell their MP that they want fair votes now.” (GP14, The Green Party, 05/12/2018)

While examples (77) and (78) fall in the 'Problem' move of their respective e-mails, example (79) is in the 'Solution' move. In the first cases, (77) and (78), upscaling GRADUATION is used to emphasize the close alignment of the imagined reader to the authorial stance. In the second, (79), upscaling GRADUATION is used to reassure the reader of the potential efficacy of the proposed solution, and indicates a potentially unaffiliated imagined reader who doubts the efficacy of the group's response to the campaign issue. More attention will be given to the dialogic impacts of upscaling GRADUATION with the analysis of two entire e-mails in section '7.3. Move-structure, reader alignment and affiliation'.

5.6. Conclusion

To attempt to simplify the summary of the many findings contained in this chapter, we will first consider the campaign e-mails as a text type before turning to focus on each activist group in turn. In general, we have seen that the defining characteristic of the texts of all four groups is that they include a highly assertive authorial voice. This was seen as a result of their common use of negative JUDGEMENT markers, the high frequency of MONOGLOSSIA and contractive ENGAGEMENT markers, and the use of upscaling GRADUATION markers. However, the groups also construe an imagined reader who is uncommitted regarding the selection of the campaign target, but quite highly affiliated as seen through the relative lack of reassurance given concerning the groups' proposed solutions. Additionally, ENTERTAIN was seen to be used to heighten reader affiliation through applying pressure on the reader to act.

Regarding the use of these markers by each group, Freedom United use more 'social sanction' and less 'social esteem' markers than the other three groups. In addition to this, Freedom United also use more negative polarity attitudinal markers and fewer positive ones than the other three groups, contradicting hypothesis 3. As was noted however, the targets of Freedom United's negative evaluation were generally less well-known groups than those of the environmental-focus groups, who often criticised 'household name' companies and politicians. The targets of the negative evaluations of Freedom United were often seen to be opaque, through their omission in nominalisation or past particle structures. This is due to the fact that many of the perpetrators in their campaign e-mails are dispersed throughout society. Having said this, together with Greenpeace, Freedom United use the most positive evaluation for those who are usually cast as perpetrators (private companies and politicians), indicating an openness to work with these participants in resolving an issue. While Freedom

United use less positive evaluation of the imagined reader, they do use ample positive JUDGEMENT when talking about the victims of the social injustice (see also Appendix A: lines 117-118). Finally, Freedom United also use more contractive ENGAGEMENT, in particular JUSTIFY, and more ATTRIBUTE (expansive ENGAGEMENT) than all the other groups. Thus, Freedom United construe the imagined reader as more potentially dis-aligned regarding the campaign issue and less affiliated to the author, assigning them a less central role in the resolution of the campaign issue than the three environmental-focus groups.

Regarding The Green Party, we confirmed hypothesis 4, namely that they target their fellow politicians more than private companies in their campaign e-mails. The Green Party also uses more AFFECT than all the other groups, indicating a personalised style of communications. However, they also use the highest frequency of DENY structures aimed at correcting the reader.

For Greenpeace, in addition to the above-mentioned use of positive evaluation of private companies and politicians, they also are more positive towards the imagined reader, indicating a desire to construe him/her as both highly aligned and affiliated.

Finally, The Story of Stuff uses more positive evaluation towards other activists than any other group, indicating that their role is often that of diffusing news about the work of others working on the same campaign issues.

In addition to the differences noted between the groups above, it was also hypothesised that the use of a particular type of DENY, 'unfulfilled expectations', after a positive evaluation could lead to an overwhelming negative prosody spreading over the whole text for the affiliated reader (who regularly reads e-mails from these groups). Also, the distinction between 'social esteem' and 'social sanction', with the latter seen as more damning (Peter White, 2021), was challenged in the case of this text type. Some excerpts

containing negative 'social esteem' (CAPACITY or TENACITY), particularly from The Green Party, were seen to criticise the character rather than the actions of the target, and thus be perhaps even more critical of them.

We will now continue to Chapter 6 in which we will study the distribution of other markers of imagined reader alignment and affiliation, in particular interactant markers, commands, questions. We also propose a reflection on the affiliating impact of the realisation of different text participants in different transitivity roles.

Chapter 6. Other markers of reader alignment and affiliation

6.1. Introduction

In Chapter 6, we will review how the four groups differ in their use of two markers for reader affiliation (interactant markers and commands), and one marker of reader alignment and affiliation (questions). We will also consider how the affiliatory impact of interactant markers are also communicated through the experiential metafunction related to the assigning of different transitivity participant roles to different text participants. More precisely, space will be given to a reflection on how issues of agentivity relates to the concept of reader affiliation as developed in this thesis. The data and observations made in both this chapter as well as in the preceding Chapter 5 lay the basis for a consideration of the overall use of markers of imagined reader alignment and affiliation related to the move-structure of the campaign e-mails which will follow in Chapter 7.

6.2. Interactant markers

6.2.1. Interactant nominal markers

There is a wide degree of variation in the use of inclusive and exclusive first-person plural pronoun markers between the four groups. As argued in many previous studies (Carter-Thomas & Rowley-Jolivet, 2017; Fortanet, 2005; Fløttum and Gjerstand, 2014; Hyland, 2001a, 2001b, 2010; G. Thompson, 2012), interactant markers such as these are one of the primary means of signalling the level of affiliation of the imagined reader⁶⁹. The differences in the degree of inclusivity of the imagined reader tells us something about the role assigned to the imagined reader in the resolution of the campaign issue.

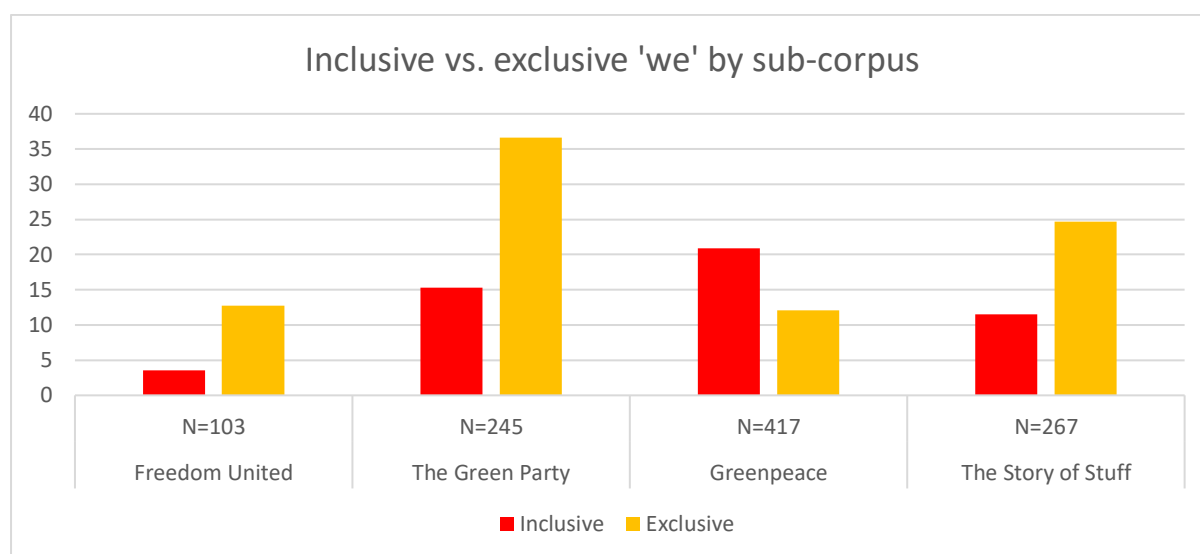


Figure 36: Inclusive vs. exclusive 'we' (per 1000 tokens)

	Freedom Un. - Green Party		Freedom Un. - Greenpeace		Freedom Un. - Story of Stuff		Green Party - Greenpeace		Green Party - Story of Stuff		Greenpeace - Story of Stuff	
Inclusive	8.73	+++	11.27	+++	6.59	+++	2.05	++	5.61	+++	5.14	+++
Exclusive	11.74	+++	1.40	-	6.66	+++	13.64	+++	2.52	+++	8.30	+++
	■ Freedom United ■ The Green Party ■ Greenpeace ■ The Story of Stuff											
	- No significance + Weak significance (90%) ++ Medium significance (95%) +++ High significance (98%)											

Table 24: Inclusive vs. exclusive 'we' t-test results

Related to Figure 36 and Table 24, we can first observe that Freedom United use a lower frequency of inclusive 'we' markers than all the other three groups (with high t-values).

⁶⁹ Not all these studies used the term 'reader affiliation', but all looked at the dialogic impacts on some aspect of stance and solidarity related to different references of (pro)nominal groups.

Additionally, both The Green Party and Greenpeace also use more of these markers than The Story of Stuff. So, overall, it is the more-established groups (The Green Party, Greenpeace) who use significantly more of these inclusive markers than the newer, internet-mediated ones (Freedom United, The Story of Stuff). Regarding hypothesis 1, this data appears to show that we can partially answer in the affirmative as regarding interactant markers⁷⁰:

H1: The more well-established groups (The Green Party, Greenpeace) will have a more developed, professionalised campaign writing approach. This means that they will use more lexicogrammatical resources to the construal of a highly-affiliated imagined reader, in addition to those focused on reader alignment, than the newer groups (Freedom United, The Story of Stuff).

To be sure of the differences in the use of markers of reader affiliation, we will first need to consider the impact of the different realisations of commands, questions used by the four groups. However, given the high t-values presented in Table 24, it would seem as if a real difference in the construal of reader affiliation related to the use of interactant markers by the four groups has been identified. Two extracts, the first containing a high density of inclusive interactant markers from Greenpeace (80) and the second a high density of exclusive markers from Freedom United (81) are provided below.

Inclusive reference marker

Exclusive reference marker

(80) “Over the coming weeks, the government will be hearing from corporations and even cabinet members, who want **us** to weaken **our** environmental standards. But the government wants to know what the public thinks about this too, so **we** need to respond in great numbers. If **thousands of you** sign this petition, **we** can change the course of history, and continue to protect **our** environment for decades to come. The environmental protections **we**’ve been fighting to uphold are under threat. Now is the time to act! Sign the petition.” (GR12, Greenpeace, 23/05/2018)

(81) “With **your** help **we** can shine a light on governments to demand workers are protected. Existing laws are not enough to stop millions from being trafficked into slavery. **We** need better measures to regulate the recruitment and

⁷⁰ Before answering H1 definitively, the distribution of all markers of reader alignment and affiliation according to move-structure will be considered in section ‘7.2. Move-structure, reader alignment and affiliation’.

placement of workers! Join **us** by signing **our** petition and calling on governments to meet international standards to protect workers from forced labor. ADD **YOUR NAME.**" (FU22, Freedom United, 31/10/2019)

Example (80) presents several ways in which the interactant reference is inclusive of the imagined reader: 'us to weaken *our* environmental standards' in the first sentence refers to all UK citizens; 'we need to respond' relates to Greenpeace and their supporters, as does 'we can change'; '*our* environment' is slightly ambiguous, but probably again all UK citizens; 'we've been fighting for' again to Greenpeace and its supporters. The use of multiple inclusive interactant markers in a short stretch of text means that the boundaries of reference start to blur, and even the inclusive references to something beyond writer and reader can take on a divisive, dichotomous character, i.e. '*it's OUR (writer and imagined reader) environment, it belongs to us and not to politicians/business people etc.*'. As Ali Walker Davies said of the messaging of environmental groups like Greenpeace in our interview:

"...the thing that we always want to do is to create what we call a movement story, which is making sure that the user feels like they are able to have an active role in in creating change. Yeah. And so that's where the language around kind of people all around the world, millions of us that inclusive language is really important." (see Appendix C: lines 57-59)

As G. Thompson (2012) notes, referring to the high frequency of inclusive interactant markers in *The Sun* newspaper, the pervasiveness of inclusive reference in the text indicates that the writer "appears much more concerned [than the Guardian writers] to project explicitly the reader's participation in a community with the writer." (G. Thompson, 2012:84). On the other hand, in (81), taken from Freedom United, there is no blurring of reference, with pairs of exclusive reader only ('*your*') and author only ('*us/our*') references indicating a clear distinction of roles for writer and imagined reader. Although we will cover transitivity

participant roles assigned to writer and reader in the next section⁷¹, we can note here that while the imagined reader is construed as fulfilling a highly agentic Actor (Agent) role in unison with the writer in (80), i.e., ‘*we need to respond in great numbers.../we can change the course of history.../we’ve been fighting...*’, the role given to the imagined reader in (83) is much more peripheral, i.e., ‘*your help.../join us.../add your name*’. As G. Thompson (ibid.) observes regarding *The Guardian* writers, Freedom United’s use of exclusive interactant references can be characterised as a ‘distancing stance’ which portrays the imagined as more of an equal in the discourse⁷². Greenpeace, on the other hand, take a domineering position over the imagined reader by taking on the role of their spokesperson concerning the reader’s values, concerns and evaluations.

Regarding the use of exclusive reference ‘we’ pronouns, The Green Party uses these more frequently than any of the other three groups. Also, The Story of Stuff uses them more than Freedom United and Greenpeace, who both exclude the imagined reader in this way less frequently (see Table 24).

Inclusive reference marker

Exclusive reference marker

(82) “We reject this failed system. We have a vision for radical political, economic and social change which delivers prosperity within planetary limits. And we have something just as important as a vision. We have commitment and we have hope. We find hope in communities standing up for climate justice. We find hope in each and every person putting their body in the way of environmental destruction. We even find hope in today’s report, which tells us we can still limit the worst effects of climate change, if we act fast. In the Tories and Labour, we are up against two massively funded parties and we need to be able to compete. Our funding is almost entirely made up of the individual generous donations of our members and supporters.” (GP12, The Green Party, 09/10/2018)

⁷¹ See ‘6.2.3. Interactant transitivity participant roles’.

⁷² In the terms used in this thesis, this indicates ‘low reader affiliation’. It is important to note that the graduations from high to low used here have no value connotations, referring instead to the degree to which the characteristics of the imagined reader are construed by textual elements.

There are no explicit indications that the inclusivity of 'we' interactant references contained in (82) include reference to the imagined reader, for example in the transitivity participant roles or reference to shared knowledge or experience, hence the majority have been labelled as excluding the reader. However, it is imaginable that the very highly affiliated reader could feel aligned with the content and so include themselves in the reference of 'we'. This reader however is not the imagined reader, which is entirely created in the text itself (Hasan, 1999:238). The excerpt gives no explicit indications, even in the co-text before this excerpt, of the inclusion of the imagined reader. Even in the instances which have been coded as inclusive of the reader, '*tells us we can still limit...*' and '*if we act fast*', these are not particular to writer and reader but is inclusive of the whole of society. In fact, the only point in which the imagined reader is referred to indirectly is in '*our members and supporters*', which even then is qualified by an author exclusive-reference possessive adjective '*our*'. Related to Fløttum and Gjerstad's (2017) observations, the use of a high degree of exclusive-reference interactant markers by The Green Party and The Story of Stuff, together with the already observed high frequency of 'refutation' (i.e., DENY⁷³) and 'personally coloured claims' (i.e., PRONOUNCE/CONCUR⁷⁴) foregrounds the author's voice in their e-mails, as in example (82).

Finally, Freedom United devote limited resources to both inclusive and exclusive interactant markers. This shows that both writer and reader are less visible in their texts, and as such both often take on the position of 'outside observer'. As indicated through the high frequencies of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION markers, Freedom United spend the most time of all the groups on outlining the campaign issue, thus making more references to third-party participants than the other groups do (see Fig.36 below).

⁷³ See Fig.32 in '5.4.2. Contract'.

⁷⁴ See Fig.31 in '5.4.2. Contract'.

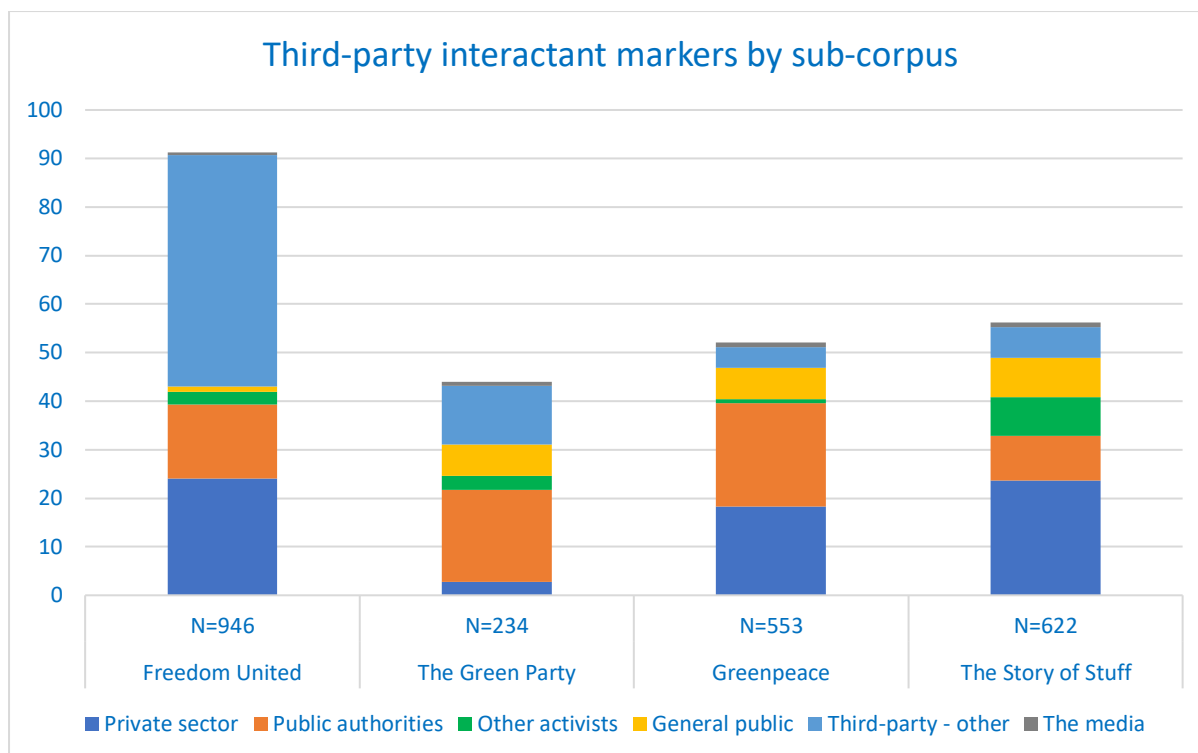


Figure 37: Third-party interactant markers by sub-corpus (per 1000 tokens)

As can be seen in Figure 37, Freedom United use almost or more than double the total number of third-party interactant markers than the other three groups. The third-party markers they use most often use fall under the category ‘Third-party – other’ due to the fact that the ‘perpetrator’ in their campaigns is often a less well-defined target than those of the environmental-focus groups, and above all that their focus is often on the victim of the injustice (see (83)).

Third-party other reference

(83) “Child marriage become forced marriage if the child has not given their full consent to marry, if they are controlled through abuse and threats, and if they are unable to leave the marriage safely. Girls like Hamsatou are often forced into marriage by their parents or relatives who see it as a practical option to guarantee the girls’ future without recognizing the terrible consequences and impact on their potential. Girls become less likely to escape poverty and are faced with serious health problems caused by pregnancies that they are not emotionally or physically ready for.” (FU09, Freedom United, 16/06/2018)

In (83), most ‘Third-party other’ interactant markers reference the victim, ‘*child*’, ‘*they*’, ‘*girls*’, with the perpetrator explicitly referred to just once in ‘*their parents or relatives who...*’, and

as the omitted Agent of ‘controlled’, ‘forced into’. The reason for the use of this category by Freedom United is clearly related to the different kind of campaign they run to the other groups, in which, as previously noted, there is seldom one powerful societal actor who can be held responsible for a social or problem. Excerpt (85) above fulfils the ENGAGEMENT function of JUSTIFY:CAMPAIGN-TARGET, in which the writer is trying to persuade the imagined reader to accept that forced child marriage is a valid campaign issue. As Joanna Ewart-Jones said in our interview (see Appendix A: lines 154-163), it is also an explicit policy of Freedom United to focus on the victim of the injustice rather the perpetrators.

Although our main analysis of markers of reader alignment and affiliation according to the move-structure of the e-mails will be carried out in Chapter 7, we will briefly analyse the distribution of ‘private sector’ and reader interactant markers below (Fig.38).

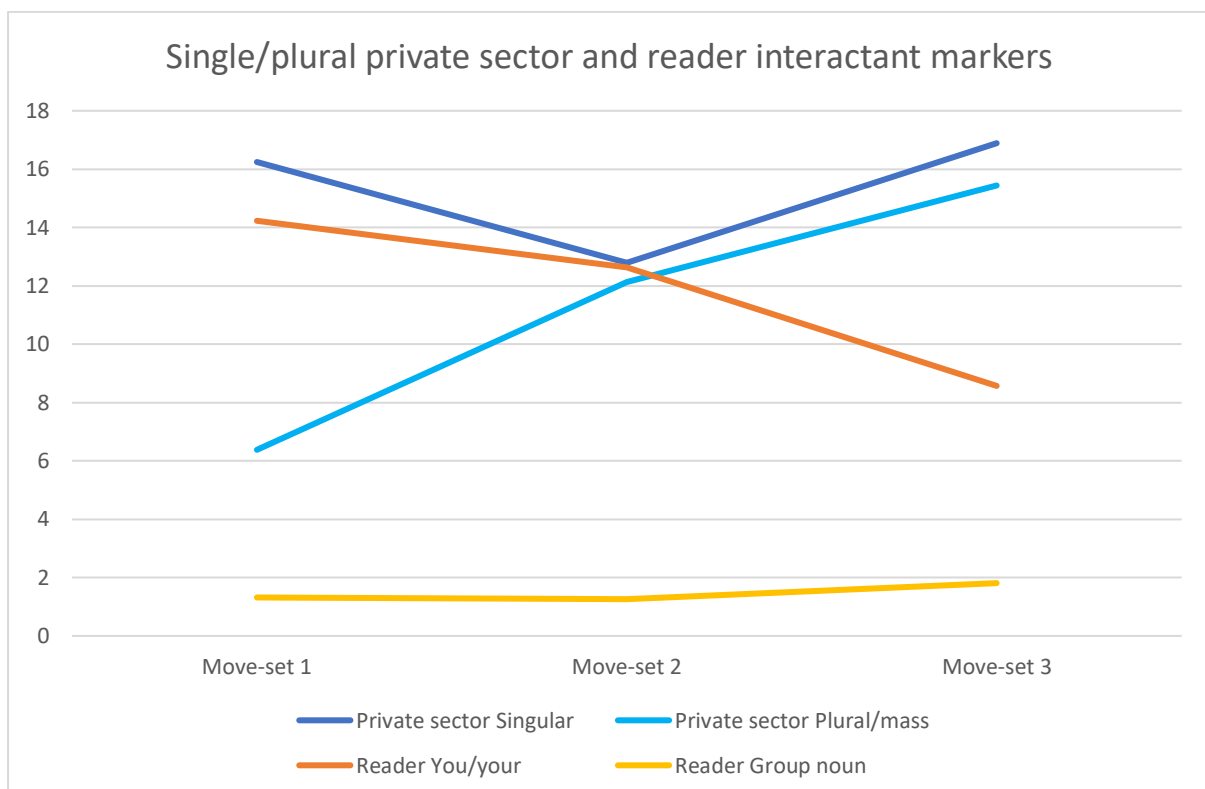


Figure 38: Single/plural private sector and reader interactant markers

As hypothesised in section ‘2.4.1. Interactant nominal groups’, the scope of the reference to private sector participants becomes wider from the beginning towards the end of the e-mails,

evidenced by the steady increase in 'Private sector plural/mass' markers from move-set 1 to move-set 3. This illustrates a technique used to expand the scope of the campaign through the course of the e-mails (e.g., starting from 'BP' and transitioning to 'The oil industry'). However, although there is a very slight increase in group reader references (e.g., 'The Freedom United Community'), their low frequency throughout (despite the reduction in singular 'you/your' references) indicates that the use of these collective terms does not constitute a strategy of progressive widening the scope of reader reference. Thus, we can say that the groups concentrate on increasing the scope of 'perpetrator' reference through their e-mails, thus emphasizing the potential impact of a successful campaign.

6.2.2. Interactant transitivity participant roles

This section will present a general reflection on the potential impact that the assigning of transitivity participant roles may have on the levels of affiliation construed of the imagined reader. Given that a full transitivity analysis of the whole corpus was not carried out, these reflections remain tentative and are provided solely to further illustrate the impact that interactant markers can have on the portrayed level of reader affiliation⁷⁵. Related to the discussion below, the labels used for the different participant roles have been given according to the frameworks proposed by the Sydney School (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, 2014) and also the Cardiff Grammar (Fawcett, 1980; Neale, 2002), as the latter are seen as better reflecting the relative levels of agency with which different roles are typically imbued.

⁷⁵ Consequently, the possible distribution of transitivity participant roles will not be taken into consideration when the overall reader positioning strategies of the four groups is considered in Chapter 7.

Related to the transitivity role played by the exclusive 'we' referenced to the author, the following excerpt (84) includes author as Senser ('*we continue to believe...*') and as Actor (Agent) ('*we will do everything...*')

(84) "While **we** continue to believe Nestlé's removal of water should stop, in the meantime **we** will do everything in our power to deny Nestlé the new permit they seek." (SoS02, The Story of Stuff, 22/09/2016)

Also, the inclusive 'we' is used to cast the author and imagined reader in the role of Actor (Agent) in the following excerpt (85):

(85) "Together, **let's** keep fighting for a future free from water privatization, for healthy public lands for new generations, and for government agencies free of corporate control." (SoS11, The Story of Stuff, 14/12/2017)

Finally, it is the reader alone in (86) or author and imagined reader together in (87) who are cast in the role of Actor (Agent) in the final sentences of the excerpts:

(86) "Instead of being treated as victims, children across the US are being arrested for crimes they were forced to commit as a result of being trafficked. **You can help put an end to this.**" (FU16, Freedom United, 14/05/2019)

(87) "You know why we are doing this. He trashes climate change. He normalises sexual assault. He commits the most unspeakable acts of brutality at this borders. He is a dangerous man. And **we have to resist him.**" (GP10, The Green Party, 11/07/2018)

Related to excerpts (86) and (87), we consider the Actor (Agent) role to be one which is often assigned to the author and imagined reader in these campaign e-mails. This contrasts with Thompson and Thetela's (1995:120-22) study of advertising discourse, in which the imagined reader was more often assigned the role of Carrier or Senser. However, in the campaign e-mails here, the objective is not to try to re-create the sensory experience of purchasing a product, but instead the experience of taking action on a social or environmental issues, as in (86) and (87). However, example (87) also demonstrates that it is not only the author and reader who can occupy the Actor role, with this role being assigned four times to 'he' (i.e.,

Donald Trump) in the immediately preceding sentences. Although these sentences contain strong negative JUDGEMENT of the appraised entity, the question could be asked as to whether such a constant building up of the level of agentivity through the repeated attribution of Actor (Agent) roles to this participant may diminish the agentivity of the author and imagined reader which follows it. That is, the reader could either feel rage or despondency regarding all the negatively evaluated, highly-agentive actions of Donald Trump, which could negatively impact on the level of power encoded in their Actor (Agent) role here as being able to ‘resist’ Trump’s actions⁷⁶.

An example of where the author is Actor (Agent), and the reader Initiator is given in (88) below:

(88) “Will **you** help **us** stop Mattel from using this device to trade children’s privacy for profit?” (SoS05, The Story of Stuff, 10/05(2017))

Here although both participants have highly-agentive roles, the division between that of the author as Actor (Agent) (i.e., who ‘stop[s] Mattel...’) and the imagined reader as Initiator (i.e., ‘you help...’) gives an example of the clear division of roles assigned through exclusive-reference interactant markers (*you, us*). Table 25 below shows how many sentences contained both exclusive author-reference pronouns and reader-only reference pronouns, indicating a division in roles between the two.

Freedom United	The Green Party	Greenpeace	The Story of Stuff
15	50	26	52

Table 25: Number of sentences with exclusive author/reader references

From Table 25, it seems that The Green Party and The Story of Stuff more often separate the roles played by author and reader in the resolution of a campaign issue than the other groups.

⁷⁶ This relates to Langacker’s (1991) observations of the peripheral observer role of the reader of a conjugated material clause in which a third-party is the Subject. As argued above, such a succession of clauses could lead the reader to feel excluded and powerless, thus negating the intended motivating impact of the final clause.

In fact, Azzees Minott attested to this separation and the peripheral role of the reader in our interview:

“Yeah, our emails are like newsletters. So we are giving them the position and role or just to be informed just to read and find out. And we're hoping that with a range of different things that they can read, and find out about and different communities that we highlight and spotlight, then it will enable them to see themselves in this movement.” (Appendix B: lines 162-166).

Also, Brett Chamberlin from The Story of Stuff states regarding the role of the reader that:

“...a role for the reader is obviously, generally, but there's a particular action we're inviting people to take. So you know, often we're quite focused on what is it that we're asking folks to do, and ensuring that that is the clear thrust of the message. So if we're doing a fundraiser, and we're asking for financial support, indicating very clearly, you know, why their support is necessary, what their support will empower us to do.” (Appendix D: lines 68-72)

While the quote from The Green Party representative, Azzees Minott, emphasizes the imagined reader's 'observer' role, the second from Brett Chamberlin foregrounds their peripheral 'helping' (Initiator) role. This division between writer and imagined reader is also reflected in the fact that both groups use more author exclusive-reference interactant markers than Freedom United or Greenpeace (see Fig.36).

Moving onto the roles attributed to more well-defined third-party text participants, examples (89-91) show that private companies and public officials are often placed in an Actor (Agent) role, but within a sentence in which that same action is evaluated negatively.

(89) “**Coca-cola** have been making a lot of noise about sustainability recently, but their PR spin isn't fooling anyone.” (GR07, Greenpeace, 13/10/2017)

(90) “**Our Government** has created a “hostile environment” for asylum seekers, intentionally making their life unbearable, to try and drive them from the UK.” (GP05, The Green Party, 10/03/2018)

(91) “**Barclays** are taking **us all** for a ride, they're the only UK bank still choosing to fund tar sands pipelines.” (GR13, Greenpeace, 10/08/2018)

In sentence (89), the phrases *'making a lot of noise'* and *'their PR spin isn't fooling anyone'* both invoke negative JUDGEMENT:VERACITY onto the Actor (Agent), Coca-Cola. In sentence (90), the speech marks around *'hostile environment'* invokes negative JUDGEMENT:PROPRIETY through ventriloquism (i.e., the use of quotation marks), which is then reinforced through the inscribed negative JUDGEMENT:PROPRIETY in *'intentionally making their life unbearable, to try and drive them from the UK'*. Finally, in (91) negative JUDGEMENT:VERACITY is invoked through the lexical metaphor of *'taking us all for a ride'*, this time with the inclusive 'author + reader' as Goal (Affected) participant (*'us all'*), presumably to heighten the imagined reader affiliation as including them as victims of Barclay's duplicity. So, while the perpetrators of the social or environmental injustices, which are adopted as the campaign issues, are often assigned Actor (Agent) role, and so a high level of agency, their actions are rarely left unevaluated by the author.

6.2.3. Natural element participants

Finally, we come to consider the participant roles assigned to natural elements, such as plants, animals, landscapes or ecosystems. The vast majority of the references to these natural elements came in the Greenpeace and The Story of Stuff sub-corpora. As the two groups who campaign on almost exclusively environmental issues, this is not surprising. However, examples (92-94) show an interesting feature about how these participants were included in the texts, as Affected (Goal) participants and also often qualified through the use of the inclusive-reference 'our' determiner (92) and (94).

(92) "From Africa to the USA to the Netherlands, Greenpeace supporters are adding their voices to the growing call for *Coke to stop choking our oceans* with their plastic pollution." (GR07, Greenpeace, 13/10/2017)

(93) "The challenges may be huge, but together I know *we can protect these precious ecosystems* for generations to come." (GR09, Greenpeace, 10/12/2017)

(94) “When carpet reaches the end of its useful life, it’s either landfilled, where *it can leach pollutants into **our aquifers***, or is diverted for incineration, *which pumps toxic chemicals into **our air, soil, and waters***.” (SoS03, The Story of Stuff, 14/02/2017)

The placing of these natural element participants in the Goal (Affected) role is easily explained by the fact that all the of campaign issues from all three environmental-focus groups revolved around bringing the issue to the public’s attention and then resolving a man-made problem. That is, even when dealing with natural emergencies such as hurricanes, the authors always made a very clear link back to human activity as the cause, for example related to the release of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. The reasoning instead behind the use of ‘our’ is that the context of these campaign messages is one of social conflict, between those deemed to be wilfully destroying the natural world and those who want to protect it. As such, the reference of ‘our’ could be thought to include the reader and exclude a third-party, the perpetrator. Such an explanation would thus make clear the impact that these inclusive-reference determiners have on heightening the construed affiliation of the imagined reader. Also, the use of this marker of affiliation might signal a construal of the imagined reader as potentially uncommitted regarding the necessity to protect these natural elements. Again, the affiliation heightening effect of the determiner could help mitigate this potential dis-alignment on the issue. However, it is with the writer and the natural element itself that the reader is portrayed as affiliating with.

6.3. Commands

As well as constituting the most overt signals of writer-reader interaction in texts (Thompson and Thetela, 1995), commands are the key move of these campaign e-mails, here labelled the ‘call-to-action’. The very reason for writing these campaign e-mails at all is to encourage the readership to sign online petitions, make donations or participate in protests or strikes. However, while the issuing of a command to the reader is unavoidable, its realisation should indicate something about the level of construed reader affiliation by each group⁷⁷.

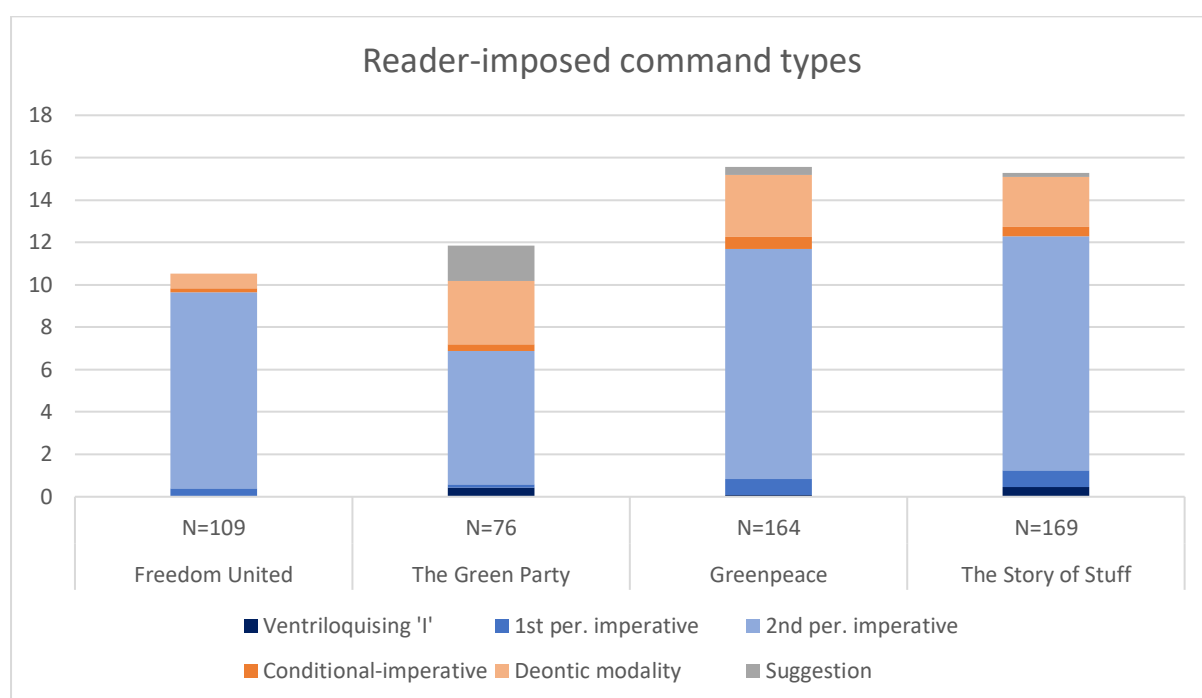


Figure 39: Reader affiliation in reader-imposed command types (per 1000 tokens)

The colour-coding of the different command realisation types in Fig.39 reflect the proposed indication of imagined reader affiliation:

⁷⁷ Note that for this section and the subsequent ‘6.4. Questions’, no t-tests have been carried out on the data due to the small sample sizes.

- **Dark blue** for ventriloquising 'I'⁷⁸, **medium blue** for first-person imperatives, and **light blue** for second-person imperatives, all indicating high reader affiliation.
- **Dark orange** for 'conditional-imperatives', and **light orange** for the use of deontic modality in declaratives, both indicating medium reader affiliation.
- **Grey** for suggestions, indicating low reader affiliation⁷⁹.

This organisation of the different realisations might at first sight seem strange due to the fact that second-person imperatives are generally seen as the most 'face-threatening' while suggestions are 'face-saving' (see Brown and Levinson, 1987, Hyland, 2002a). However, the concept of reader affiliation used in this thesis does not equate to the idea of face-work, as developed by Hyland's (2001a, 2001b, 2010), related to observations in academic discourse. Instead, although the use of second-person imperatives, and commands in general, signals a power imbalance between interactants⁸⁰, it also only occurs in situations of high social closeness. It is not the fact of issuing the command, which as noted above is inevitable in this text type, but the fact that the writer feels that such a direct command, realised as an imperative, would not endanger affiliation of the imagined reader that lies behind its assignment as a marker of high reader affiliation. This is similar to G. Thompson's (2012:92) observations that *The Sun* newspaper employed many second-person imperatives as well as inclusive interactant markers, both of which, we argue, indicate a high level of construed reader affiliation. Related to medium level of reader affiliation, deontic modality in

⁷⁸ This has a similar function to Don's (2016) invoked ATTITUDE category of 'Ventriloquy' which "involves the writer purporting to quote or cite an external source but doing so in such a way that suggests he/she is 'putting words in the source's mouth'" (Don, 2016:18). However, in this case, the voice which is ventriloquised by the author is that of the imagined reader, through the use of the first person singular 'I'. Also, the purpose here is not one of invoking an authorial attitudinal position, which would relate to reader alignment, but instead is a demonstration of the social 'closeness' of author and imagined reader, and thus relates to reader affiliation.

⁷⁹ The definition of 'suggestion' here is a command realised as a declarative sentence often with the modal verb 'can', which performs the function of a 'call-to-action' by being realised as a hyperlink. An example taken from the corpus is: "You can find your nearest strike and show your solidarity here." (GP21, The Green Party, 19/09/2019).

⁸⁰ For example in the editorials of medical journals in Carter-Thomas and Rowley-Jolivet (2017:78).

declarative clauses is one of the more indirect, face-saving realisations of commands, especially when fronted by an inclusive 'we'. Finally, suggestions indicate a construal of an imagined reader whose face needs to be considered, thus illustrating a construal of greater social distance between writer and imagined reader. An example of each type of command is provided below (95-100)

(95) "While the other parties are caught up in the Brexit mess, we've been busy trying to do what's best for Britain, to make sure we're represented in Europe. But we cannot do it without you. **I'LL HELP TODAY!**" (GP19, The Green Party, 17/04/2019)

(96) "**Let's** keep the pressure on to end the abuse of tens of thousands of workers." (FU21, Freedom United, 23/09/2019)

(97) "**Find out** what you can do to take action today." (GR04, Greenpeace, 13/03/2017)

(98) "**If you can, find** your local protest, and **take** action." (GP20, The Green Party, 05/09/2019)

(99) "But we need your financial support to do it. Attention alone won't cut it. **We need to act.**" (SoS15, The Story of Stuff, 08/09/2018)

(100) "**You can read** about it for yourself." (GP02, The Green Party, 15/09/2017)

While (95) indicates the highest level of reader affiliation as the writer ventriloquises the reader's voice, that is speaks for them⁸¹, both (96) and (97) indicate social closeness, as argued for above, with (96) encoding a higher level of imagined reader affiliation as it includes inclusive interactant reference. The next two categories (98) and (99) include greater attention to social deference, with the imperative in (98) being qualified by an 'if-clause', and the Subject of the deontic modal in (99) also being inclusive of both writer and reader. This

⁸¹ This finding is similar to Don's (2019:89) observation related to a forum contribution in which one member ventriloquises the voice of another in order to defend them against criticism from a third-party. It is unlike the example in Don (2017:17) where ventriloquism of a third-party voice is used for the purposes of criticism or parody. In the case above, the only potential judgement being made of the reader is one of positive (irrealis) JUDGEMENT:TENACITY as being ready and willing to take action.

use of the inclusive interactant marker and deontic modality is evidence of what Hyland (2002a) and Swales (1998) refer to as 'reader engagement', but here is seen as a marker of medium reader affiliation. The use of the inclusive interactant markers allows for the spreading of responsibility between writer and reader, an indication of deference (see Carter-Thomas & Rowley-Jolivet, 2017). Finally, (100) seems hardly to be a command at all, more just a possibility, and is only considered a 'call-to-action' due to its function as a hyperlink in the campaign e-mails.

Related to Figure 39, it is evident that all four groups favour second-person imperative commands, with the three environmental-focus groups sometimes using deontic modality as well. The conclusion we can come to is that while all the groups construe the reader as highly affiliated through their choice of command types, sometimes, related to more 'difficult' campaign topics⁸², the environmental-focus groups construe the imagined reader as potentially less affiliated through the use of deontic modal and suggestion command types.

It is not only the form of commands which are directed towards the reader which can have an impact on the level of construed affiliation of the imagined reader, but also those directed towards third-parties. Here the possibilities are reduced to realisation in a second-person imperative or through the use of deontic modality in declarative clauses. The use of the imperative towards a third-party causes the construed level of affiliation with the reader to increase, as both writer and reader are implied as belonging to an 'in-group' making a very direct, face-threatening demand to the 'out-group'. When instead deontic modality is used as a device to 'save face' towards the third-party, the impact on writer-imagined reader affiliation is less marked.

⁸² Topics which might also require more work on reader alignment than in others, see section '7.4. Variation of reader positioning according to campaign issue'.

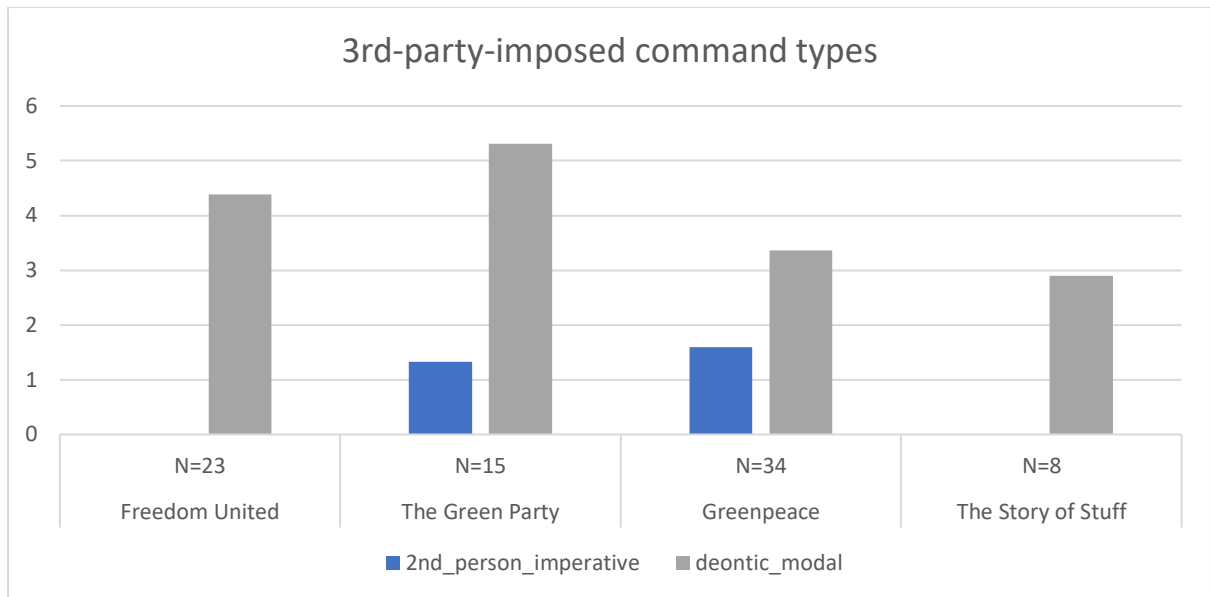


Figure 40: Reader affiliation in 3rd-party-imposed command types (per 1000 tokens)

Related to Figure 40, we can see that while all four groups use deontic modal forms to issue commands to third-party text participants, only The Green Party and Greenpeace also do so through the use of imperatives. This complements the greater use of inclusive interactant references by these two more well-established groups (see Fig.36) and reflects a tendency by both to try to enhance the level of affiliation of the imagined reader through the creation of an ‘us vs. them’ dichotomy. Examples (101-103) below show three different possible formulations of commands addressed to third-parties.

(101) “This new evidence shows the *Kenyan government needs to act.*” (FU11, Freedom United, 03/08/2018)

(102) “*It’s about time* that vulnerable children are guaranteed to receive the protection and support they need wherever they are in the UK.” (FU14, Freedom United, 16/10/2018)

(103) “*Ban* all new oil and gas production in the UK, including fracking. *Triple* renewable energy by 2030. *Plant* 700 million trees. *Introduce* a Frequent Flyer Tax. *End* the sale of all new petrol and diesel cars by 2030. *Roll out* free bus travel for young people and those on lower incomes. *End* carbon emissions from heavy industry like steel and cement. *Create* millions of jobs in a new green economy. *Retrofit* our homes to go zero carbon. *Radically change* the farming and food system to encourage a less meat-based diet.” (GR18, Greenpeace, 13/03/2019)

The use of the semi-modal '*need to*' in (101) and the metaphorical modal expression '*It's about time...*' in (102) indicate a less combative ATTITUDE towards the third-party and thus is less effective in boosting the affiliation of the imagined reader. As G. Thompson (2012) notes, third-party commands realised through deontic modality "allow more shades of negotiation over the imposition" (G. Thompson, 2012:92). However, it also confirms this text type as an example of 'commentator voice' in which "unmediated (authorially-sourced) assessments of obligation" occur (Martin & White, 2005:166). In fact, in (103), not only are the commands 'authorially-sourced', but Greenpeace also uses the most face-threatening form of commands in ten second-person imperatives addressed to the UK Government. The social status needed to use this form of command against such a powerful societal institution reflects the social confidence of the author and in this way encourages the imagined reader to affiliate with them against the third-party.

The fact that the newer groups (Freedom United, The Story of Stuff) avoid using imperatives when directing commands to third-parties can be explained in two ways. The first is that it reflects a conscious choice by these groups to avoid a conflictual type of activist discourse. Secondly, it might reflect a lesser degree of security regarding their institutional-power status in society. The Green Party and Greenpeace, as household names, might use inclusive interactant markers and second-person imperatives directed at third-parties as they feel they have the moral and societal standing to do so. This is the same explanation as for the use of these structures by Editors in the mainstream newspapers (Peter White, 2021a, 2021b). Whatever the reason, we can conclude that regarding the two markers of reader affiliation thus far considered, that the older groups construe the imagined reader as being more highly affiliated than do the newer groups.

6.4. Questions

Similarly, to Figure 39 and Figure 40, the different realisations of question forms in Figure 41 below have been colour-coded, this time according to the degree of impact that their use has on imagined reader alignment and affiliation:

- **Dark blue** for rhetorical questions to which the imagined reader is assumed to be able to provide the answer, indicating high reader alignment *and* affiliation.
- **Dark orange** for a 'real-world' question, and **light orange** for a question which is left unanswered by both writer and imagined reader, both indicating medium reader affiliation.
- **Grey** for questions to which the answer is provided by the writer, indicating low reader affiliation.

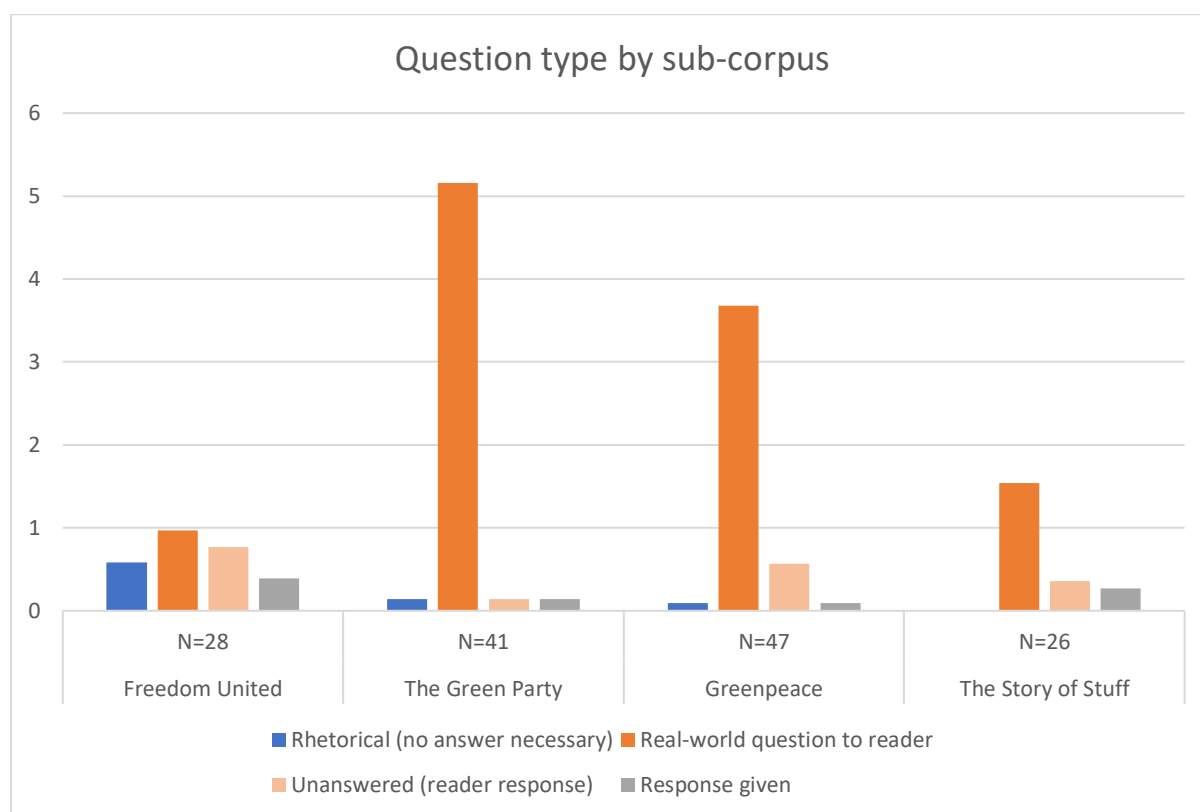


Figure 41: Question type by sub-corpus (per 1000 tokens)

As can be observed from Figure 41, The Green Party and Greenpeace use almost exclusively real-world questions to the reader. In line with G. Thompson's (2012) findings related to questions used in *The Sun* newspaper, this use of direct questioning

of the imagined reader correlates to the greater use of inclusive interactant reference by these two groups. In the case of campaign e-mails, these types of questions most often immediately precede an imperative command. An example of such a 'real-world' question from The Green Party is given in (104) and from Greenpeace in (105).

(104) "Election campaigns are expensive, and we don't have a lot of time. **Will you help us today? I'LL DONATE!**" (GP19, The Green Party, 17/04/2019)

(105) "We want everyone to know just how dirty Barclays are. **Can you watch the video and share it on social media?** Watch and share the video." (GR13, Greenpeace, 28/11/2018)

The above questions (104) and (105) seek to encourage the reader into replying 'yes', as would be polite to do in conversation, and thus coerces them into taking action (see Steensig & Drew, 2008). Thus, they illustrate the point in the text at which the affiliation of the reader is most put at risk. As previously stated, the command is the nub of this text type, and, as such, its use is unavoidable. The function of these lead-in questions is thus to prepare the readership for the reader-oriented command which follows it. It thus forms a transition phase between the preceding 'problem' and/or 'solution' moves, in which the writer concerns themselves with boosting the levels of alignment and affiliation of the imagined reader, to giving the command for concrete action. If the construed levels of alignment and affiliation of the imagined reader in the preceding moves have been fully accepted and adopted, then the imagined reader would be expected to accept the 'call-to-action'. If the individual reader is still experiencing resistance to adopting the construed identity of the imagined reader, then they either choose to close the e-mail or to continue on to any subsequent move-

sets to see if the writer convinces them through further argumentation (related to alignment) and/or solidarity work (related to affiliation).

Regarding the newer groups, Figure 41 shows that they use fewer of these ‘real-world’ questions, but, in the case of Freedom United, a few more of the other types of questions. This signals that Freedom United occasionally try to use questions to boost construed levels of reader alignment at other points in the text, and not exclusively as a transition to a call-to-action.

(106) “***Why is a company worth \$1.7 billion paying these detainees as little as a dollar a day?*** To minimize costs and boost profits.” (FU15, Freedom United, 06/12/2018)

(107) “This month we will be asking hard questions about forced labor in detention. ***Who stands to gain from this system of forced labor? How does exploitation undercut local jobs? Is this truly intended as rehabilitation, or merely exploitation?***” (FU15, Freedom United, 06/12/2018)

Example (106) above is an example of a ‘Response given’ question, which as such impacts little on the projected sense of affiliation of the imagined reader. Example (107) instead contains three questions which are not answered at all in the e-mail, and in which the response is not so obvious that the imagined reader is presupposed as being able to provide it. These ‘unanswered’ questions are asked at the end of the e-mail and indicate a genuine request for the reader to reflect on them before they are addressed in subsequent communications. Therefore, although not indicating imagined reader affiliation through the assumption of a particular response (as ‘real-world’ questions do), they are used to attempt to entice the reader to continue reading the group’s e-mails and are thus aimed at establishing a longer-term affiliation between writer and imagined reader.

6.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have reviewed the impact that interactant markers (and transitivity participant roles), commands and questions have on the construed level of reader alignment and affiliation. In particular, we have seen that Freedom United use fewer inclusive interactant markers than all the other three groups, with The Story of Stuff also using fewer of these than The Green Party and Greenpeace (partially confirming hypothesis 1). Freedom United's limited use of inclusive interactant markers resulted in the construal of the imagined reader as an external observer. In addition to this, we have shown how Greenpeace blurs the reference of typically inclusive pronoun markers as a tool to portray a fusing of the identities of the writer and the reader. Also, the frequent use of exclusive author-only interactant markers by The Story of Stuff, and sometimes also the Green Party worked to foreground the author's voice. Regarding the use of commands, all groups demonstrated a preference for second-person imperatives when addressing the reader. The use of such a 'face-threatening' form was argued to illustrate a construal of the imagined reader as being highly affiliated, i.e., socially close, which allows for the use of such forms. Regarding commands directed towards third-parties (in particular 'private sector' or 'public authorities' participants), The Green Party and Greenpeace were seen as being more forthright in their use of imperatives in addition to deontic modality in declarative clauses. The Green Party and Greenpeace also used a greater frequency of 'real-world' questions in addressing the imagined reader, again indicating a higher degree of security in their social status.

Finally, we have also seen how the attribution of different transitivity participant roles to different interactant markers can have an impact on imagined reader affiliation. In particular, the imagined reader was often assigned an Actor (Agent) or Initiator role, while

the perpetrator (mostly 'private sector' or 'public authorities') was also given an Actor (Agent) role. However, while their transitivity roles communicate a high level of agentivity, their actions were also evaluated negatively. Occasionally, the author and reader were placed in a Goal (Affected) role of a material process, construing them as the victim of the negatively assessed actions of the perpetrator. Natural element participants were also predominantly placed in the Goal (Affected) role, often qualified by the inclusive-reference 'our' possessive adjective, revealing the main focus of the campaign e-mails as being on conflicts between societal groups with conflicting interests and objectives.

We now move on to look at how markers of reader alignment and affiliation discussed through Chapters 5 and 6 relate to the identified move-structure of the campaign e-mails. The objective is to illustrate how the four groups differ not only in the quantity of the different markers employed in their messaging, but also in how they use them differently through the macro-structure of the e-mails to achieve their objective motivating their readership to take action.

Chapter 7. Move-structure, reader alignment and affiliation

7.1. Introduction

In this final chapter, we will seek to address the three research questions which were presented in sections 1.1-1.3 in Chapter 1. It is in this chapter that we will respond fully to hypotheses 1 and 2⁸³ by identifying different strategies regarding the use of the markers of reader alignment and reader affiliation. The chapter will begin with a review of the distribution of markers of reader alignment and affiliation over the move-structure in each of the four sub-corpora. To respond to hypothesis 5, an analysis will be undertaken into a possible correlation between frequency of reader alignment markers and the potential difficulty or novelty of some individual campaign issues. Finally, a review of the strategies used in the e-mail subject lines, the first moment of dialogic contact between writer and reader, will be reviewed.

⁸³ Hypotheses 3 and 4 were answered in section '5.3.2. Judgement', see also '5.7. Conclusion'.

7.2. Move-structure, Engagement, invoked Attitude and interactant markers

The objective of this section is to apply some of the key findings of Chapters 5 and 6 to an analysis of the distribution of ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and interactant markers as related to the move-structure of the campaign e-mails⁸⁴. The two concepts which will be developed further in this section are imagined reader alignment (measured using elements of the ENGAGEMENT system) and imagined reader affiliation (measured using elements of the ATTITUDE system and interactant markers). These two measures are divided into three categories each: High, Medium and Low. As regards reader alignment, these three divisions reflect Peter White's (2020b) labels of 'likeminded' (here 'high alignment'), 'persuadable' (here 'medium alignment') and 'un-likeminded' (here 'low alignment'). Related to reader affiliation, no similar systems have been identified in the literature⁸⁵. It should be noted that these measures relate only to the 'imagined reader', that is, to the characteristics of the reader which is constructed entirely in and by the text itself, having no absolute relation to the possible real-world audience. Thus, it may seem paradoxical, but the construal of a very highly aligned and affiliated imagined reader may be the combination which alienates the greatest number of actual recipients of the campaign e-mails. That is, if the imagined reader is both highly aligned and affiliated to the author, then as a result their identity characteristics are well-defined by textual markers, usually being very similar to the author's. Instead, when the imagined reader is portrayed as being of medium or low alignment and affiliation, their identity is not so well defined in the text, and as such the characterisation of the imagined reader is less restrictive for the general audience to adopt. So, when we speak about the

⁸⁴ See section '4.4.1. Moves' for a more detailed discussion about how the e-mails were divided into moves.

⁸⁵ As will become evident later in this chapter, the systems proposed in White (2020a), Zappavigna and Martin (2019) and Zappavigna (2017) do not correspond to the system used here, despite the fact that the first two studies also used a 3-part model.

highly aligned or affiliated imagined reader, there is no relation between this and the possible successful reception (in this case measured by how many people accept the ‘call-to-action’) of a text by its actual recipients. The motivation then for attempting to measure reader alignment and affiliation is simply to show how the imagined reader is constructed differently at different points in the text by the four groups under investigation.

As explained in section ‘4.4.1. Moves’, three individual moves were identified: ‘Problem’, ‘Solution’ and ‘Call-to-action’. These were identified as occurring in groups, each ending with a ‘Call-to-action’ (in 96% of the cases), which we have called a ‘move-set’. Since the campaign e-mails which make up the corpus of this thesis were of a variety of lengths, they also contained a variety of number of move-sets. Figure 42 provides an overview of the move-structure of the first five e-mails from each sub-corpus, with the number of move-sets in each indicated in the second column. As can be seen, almost all of the e-mails contain three move-sets, with the exceptions of GP01, which contains only two, SoS02, which contains four, and SoS04, which contains five move-sets.

E-mail	Number of Move-sets	Moves in Move-sets
FU01	3	problem solution call-to-action solution call-to-action problem solution call-to-action
FU02	3	problem call-to-action problem solution call-to-action solution call-to-action solution
FU03	3	problem call-to-action problem call-to-action solution call-to-action solution
FU04	3	solution call-to-action solution call-to-action problem solution call-to-action
FU05	3	problem solution call-to-action problem call-to-action solution call-to-action
GP01	2	solution call-to-action solution problem solution call-to-action
GP02	3	problem solution call-to-action problem solution call-to-action problem call-to-action
GP03	3	problem solution call-to-action solution call-to-action solution call-to-action
GP04	3	problem solution call-to-action problem solution call-to-action call-to-action
GP05	3	problem call-to-action problem solution call-to-action solution call-to-action
GR01	3	problem solution call-to-action problem solution call-to-action solution call-to-action
GR02	3	problem call-to-action solution call-to-action problem solution call-to-action
GR03	3	solution call-to-action solution call-to-action problem solution call-to-action
GR04	3	problem solution call-to-action problem solution call-to-action problem solution call-to-action
GR05	3	problem solution call-to-action solution problem solution call-to-action solution solution call-to-action
SOS01	3	problem solution call-to-action problem solution problem solution call-to-action problem solution call-to-action
SOS02	4	problem solution call-to-action problem call-to-action solution call-to-action solution call-to-action
SOS03	3	problem call-to-action problem call-to-action problem solution call-to-action
SOS04	5	solution call-to-action problem solution call-to-action problem solution call-to-action solution call-to-action solution call-to-action
SOS05	3	problem solution call-to-action problem call-to-action problem call-to-action

Figure 42: Number of move-sets in 20 e-mails

In Table 26, the data for the whole corpus has been summarised by labelling each move-set with numbers from 1 to 5, 1 being the first move-set in each e-mail.

	Move-set 1	Move-set 2	Move-set 3	Move-set 4	Move-set 5
Freedom United	25	25	25	10	3
The Green Party	25	25	18	4	1
Greenpeace	25	25	23	2	0
The Story of Stuff	25	25	21	7	1
Total	100	100	87	23	5

Table 26: Number of move-sets used by sub-corpus

As can be observed in Table 26, all the e-mails in the corpus (n=100) contained a move-set 1 and 2, indicating that the shortest e-mails still contained two move-sets. 87 out of the 100 analysed also contained a move-set 3, with 23 also including a move-set 4, and only 5 e-mails continuing on to move-set 5. Given this distribution, in the interests of making valid comparisons between the four sub-corpora, we will focus on just move-sets 1-3, which 87 out of the 100 e-mails contained.

Regarding the measuring of imagined reader alignment, the following categorisation of appraisal markers has been devised:

- High reader alignment – MONOGLOSSIA and CONCUR
- Medium reader alignment – DENY-reader, CONTRAST-reader, JUSTIFY
- Low reader alignment – expansive ENGAGEMENT (ENTERTAIN, ATTRIBUTE)

MONOGLOSSIC statements have been taken as a signal of high reader alignment as the author does not feel any need to acknowledge in any way alternative voices, potentially belonging to the reader or other third-parties (Peter White, 2021a:10). Also, one element of contractive ENGAGEMENT has been included as signalling high alignment: CONCUR. Through its sub-categories of AFFIRM and CONCEDE, this system is used to signal the agreement between author and imagined reader, and thus portrays the reader as being highly aligned. Regarding Medium reader alignment, some contractive ENGAGEMENT systems have been assigned: DENY-reader

(‘disambiguation’, ‘unfulfilled expectations’); CONTRAST-reader corrective; and JUSTIFY. Although other contractive ENGAGEMENT categories, such as PRONOUNCE and ENDORSE, certainly contribute to the positioning (alignment) of the imagined reader, the alternative proposition which is ignored in PRONOUNCE or approved of in ENDORSE may belong to a third-party, not to the imagined reader. Also, as was shown in Figure 30 in section ‘5.4.1. All Engagement markers’, the frequencies for PRONOUNCE and ENDORSE were much lower than those of DENY, COUNTER and JUSTIFY, indicating a greater reliance on the latter in the positioning of the imagined reader. The sub-categories of DENY (reader), CONTRAST (reader) and JUSTIFY selected for inclusion in the data are those which are always used to correct and guide the reader to adopt the authorial stance. The potentially un-affiliated reader is indicated by ENTERTAIN as, in this text type, it most often functions to apply pressure on the reader to act, construing the imagined reader as not yet convinced by the solution proposed to the campaign issue (i.e. low reader alignment). Also, while ATTRIBUTE functions to align the reader to the authorial stance, it also works to establish networks of affiliation with third-parties. Thus, unlike the medium and high alignment categories above, which systematically impact on the alignment of the reader⁸⁶, its dual function encodes a variety of alignment levels. Since we are looking at overall patterns of markers of reader alignment and affiliation through the entire corpus, we have preferred to consider ENTERTAIN and ATTRIBUTE as having a less consistent or direct impact on alignment, thus as ‘low reader alignment’. Figure 43 below shows the frequency of these three levels of reader alignment over move-sets 1-3 for each group.

⁸⁶ That is, as already aligned to the authorial stance (high reader alignment) or, alternatively, as construing a reader who needs to be ‘corrected’ in their stance, but who is nonetheless persuadable (medium reader alignment).

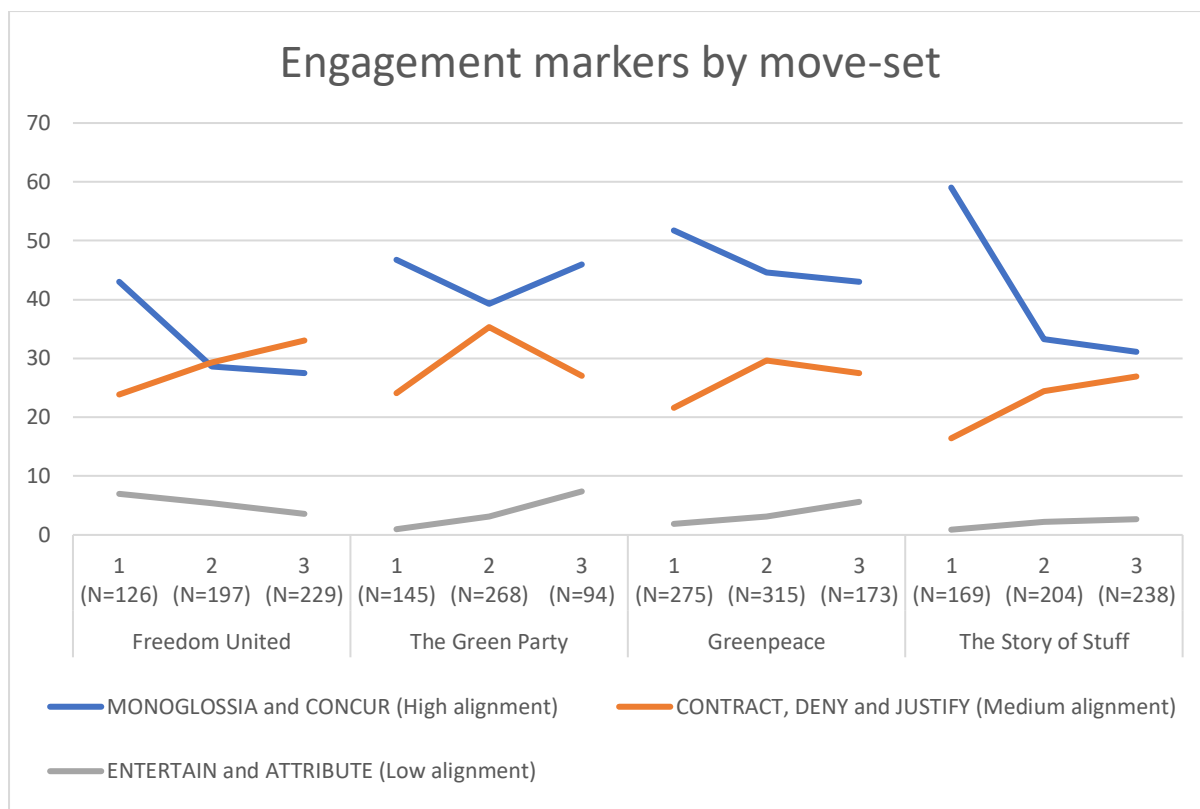


Figure 43: Reader alignment by move-set and sub-corpus (per 1000 tokens)

As can be observed, for all four groups the markers of high alignment (the blue lines) decline through the e-mails from their initial peak in move-set 1, with the exception of The Green Party which increases again in move-set 3. Regarding the distribution of medium alignment markers (the orange lines), for all groups these take the mirror opposite direction to the high alignment markers, mostly rising while the latter falls, again with the marked exception of The Green Party in move-set 3. As for low reader alignment markers, these remain sparingly used by all groups, rising only slightly for the three environmental-focus groups towards the end of the e-mail text and instead falling for Freedom United.

A possible explanation for the general trend of reduction of markers of high alignment and the increase in medium alignment markers is the existence of multiple imagined readers, related to the move-structure of the texts. So, 'Reader A' arrives at the end of move-set 1 and then either takes action or closes the e-mail; 'Reader B' continues onto the end of move-set 2 and then does the same; and 'Reader C' continues on reading through move-set 3, and any

subsequent move-sets where present. Related to the use of reader alignment markers, the idea is that the author employs the highest density of persuasive resources in the first move-set, as the 'Reader A' profile probably makes up the biggest proportion of the campaign e-mails recipients. Whether 'Reader A' immediately takes action or loses interest and closes the e-mail, they will not read beyond this first move-set. The 'Reader A' who takes action at the first opportunity to do so in the e-mail displays the maximum level of alignment with the author: that is, they are the most easily persuaded to accept the 'call-to-action' related to the perceived importance of the campaign issue and/or the merits of the solution proposed by the author.

On the other hand, 'Reader B' is not so quickly persuaded, but still feels invested enough in the topic to continue reading onto move-set 2. The reduced gap in frequency between markers of high alignment with medium and low ones in move-set 2 demonstrates the author acknowledging Reader B as potentially uncommitted or dis-aligned. Again, 'Reader B' either accepts the 'call-to-action' at the end of move-set 2 or closes the e-mail. 'Reader C', who still continues to read after the second 'call-to-action', signals that they might not have been won over by the arguments thus far presented, thus the slight increase in the use of low alignment markers for the environmental-focus groups in move-set 3. So, in general, the 'Reader A' is portrayed as highly aligned, while 'Reader B' and 'Reader C' still need to be persuaded, guided to adopt the authorial stance through the use of medium alignment markers (DENY, COUNTER and JUSTIFY). Freedom United's steady decrease in the use of low alignment markers does not conform to this analysis, but since all groups use very low frequencies of these markers, it is not considered as having a substantial impact on reader alignment.

For our measure of imagined reader affiliation, we will look at the realisation of attitudinal tokens (inscribed, provoked or evoked⁸⁷) and the distribution of author and reader interactant markers. Although the form of commands and questions were shown in Chapter 6 to contribute to the construal of reader alignment and affiliation, these were not included for the reason that there were fewer in the corpus compared to the above markers: questions (N=142); commands (N=518); ATTITUDE (N=2,336); interactant markers (N=4813). Additionally, 73% of questions were of the type ‘Real-world question to reader’, while 79% of commands were ‘2nd person imperatives’, signalling a lack of variation between the groups in the use of these markers of affiliation. Instead, interactant markers have been used due to both their frequency and, as previously noted, Hyland (2001a, 2001b, 2010) and G. Thompson (2001) observations that their use is one of the clearest ways in which a writer can construe the imagined reader as being affiliated.

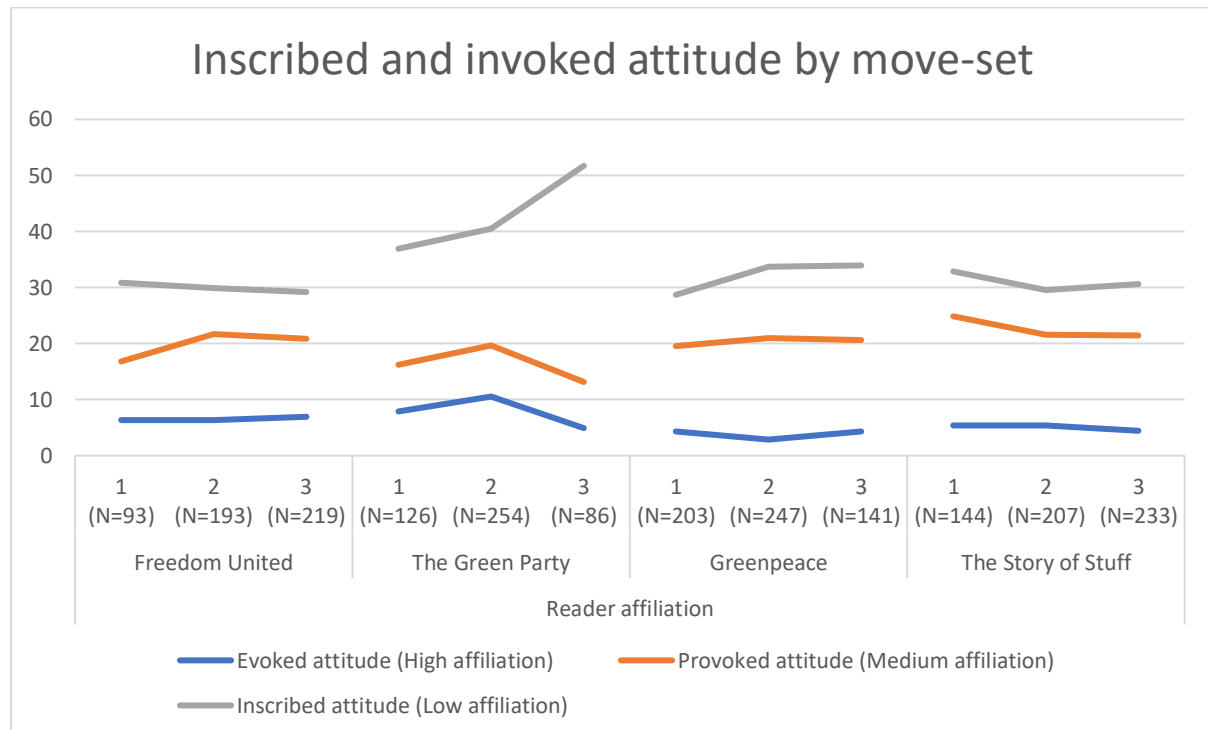


Figure 44: Reader affiliation in inscribed, invoked ATTITUDE and interactant markers by move-set (per 1000 tokens)

⁸⁷ See section ‘2.3.3.2. Invoked attitude’ for an explanation of how the different realisations of ATTITUDE relate to the concept of imagined reader affiliation.

Figure 44 shows that the use of high, medium and low alignment is broadly similar across all the groups with the exception of The Green Party whose e-mails seem to indicate a lower level of reader affiliation, particularly in move-set 3. Also, related to the use of interactant markers (see Fig.45 below), The Green Party use a markedly higher frequency of low affiliation (exclusive 'we') markers than the other three groups. So, there seems to be a correlation in the use of high alignment markers and low affiliation markers in the case of The Green Party, which could indicate a maximal distance in levels of authority between writer and reader. An example from move-set 3 of The Green Party is provided in (108).

(108) *"**The Green Party** is an insurgent force for good, speaking truth to power and consistently asking the big questions that matter. **Greens** are pioneers or we are nothing, and in the coming months **we** will be bolder and braver than ever before. Please don't forget to share **our** Guardian article and help build support for a Green future."* (GP03, The Green Party, 15/09/2017)

We can see that example (108) consists of four MONOGLOSSIC sentences⁸⁸. All the instances of positive JUDGEMENT:TENACITY, with the author as the appraised entity, are realised through inscribed attitudinal markers (in italics in 108). It also contains four exclusive-author only interactant references ('*The Green Party*', '*Greens*', '*we*', '*our*'), with the reader being positioned in a peripheral 'helping' role of increasing the visibility of the author's Guardian article through social media. Thus, the imagined reader is neither seen as belonging to the same identity group as the author (i.e., low affiliation), while also requiring a little persuasive argumentation, seen through the use of inscribed ATTITUDE in MONOGLOSSIC statements, to be convinced of the group's TENACITY. As can be seen from Figure 45 below, The Green Party uses a far higher frequency of exclusive author-only interactant references throughout their e-mails when compared to the other three groups.

⁸⁸ The 'don't' negation in the last sentence is not DENY, but an command to the reader to remember to carry out the 'call-to-action'

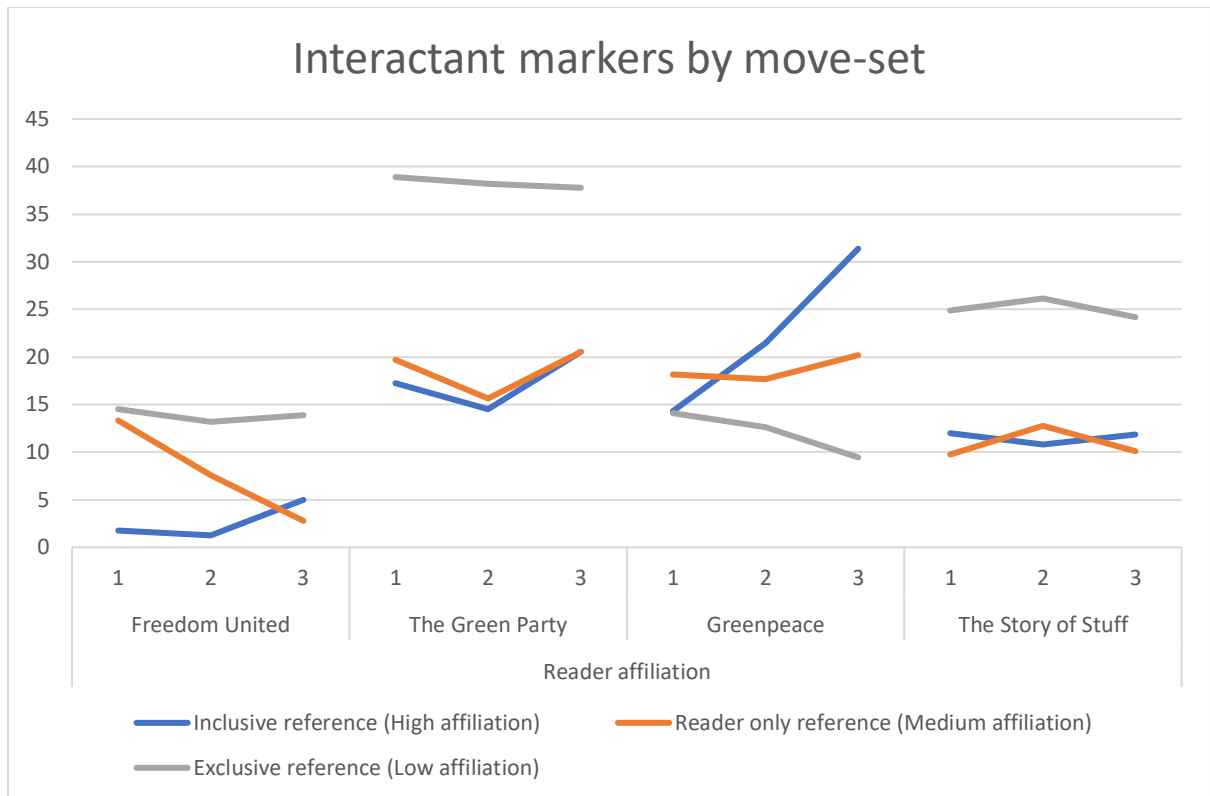


Figure 45: Reader affiliation through interactant markers by move-set and sub-corpus (per 1000 tokens)

Similarly to The Green Party, we can see from Figure 45 that the Story of Stuff use a high number of low affiliation markers compared to medium or high ones. However, regarding the change of frequency over the three move-sets, the steady decrease of medium affiliation markers for Freedom United, and the notable rise of high affiliation markers for Greenpeace merit further investigation.

To do this, in the next section we will analyse two complete e-mails, one from Freedom United and the other by Greenpeace. Firstly though, we will consider the distribution of the combined values of all markers of reader alignment and affiliation to see how the two categories interact over the move-structure of the e-mails at the most general level.

7.3. Move-structure, reader alignment and affiliation

Having analysed the distribution of ENGAGEMENT, ATTITUDE and interactant markers by move-set, in this section we will amalgamate the data to allow for an overall impression of how each group aligns and affiliates the imagined reader to different degrees through their campaign e-mails.

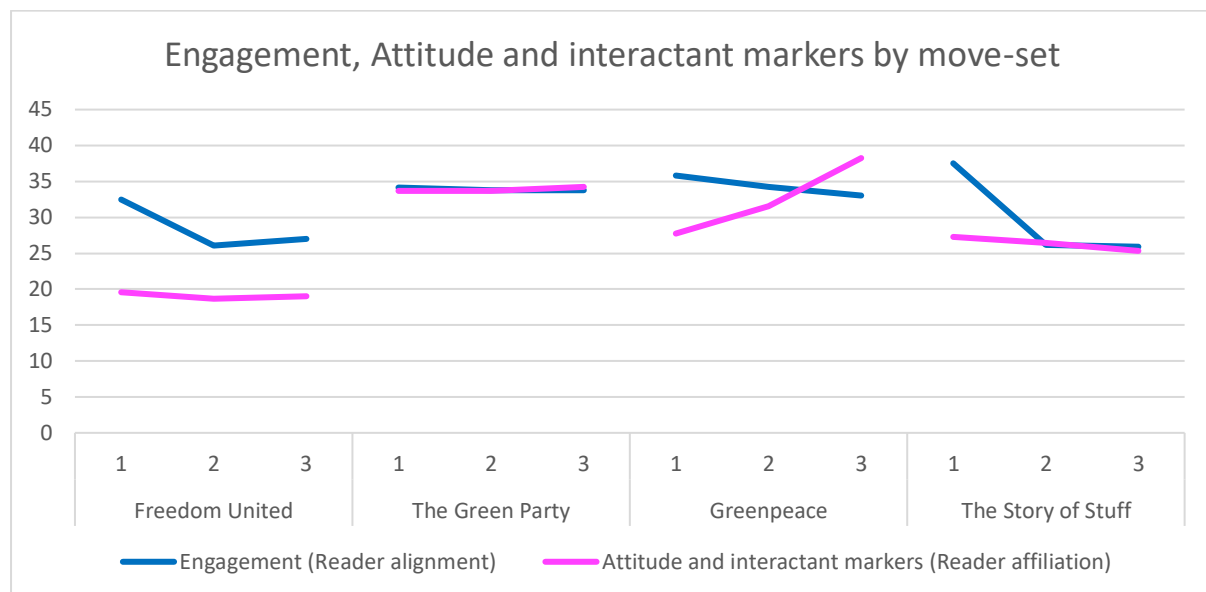


Figure 46: Reader alignment vs. affiliation by move-structure and sub-corpus (per 1000 tokens)

The data reported in Figure 46 above summarises the overall strategy used by the four groups regarding the alignment and affiliation of the imagined reader over move-sets 1-3. The plot points were calculated as weighed averages of the data used in the last three graphs (Fig.43-45). That is, in order to see which groups employ the most markers of alignment and affiliation to construe a particular identity of the imagined reader in their e-mails, the high values were given a weighting of 30, the medium values 20, and the low values 5. This helps to differentiate the use of low values such as expansive ENGAGEMENT, inscribed ATTITUDE and exclusive authorial reference, from high ones such as the use of MONOGLOSSIC statements and CONCUR, of evoked ATTITUDE and inclusive author-reader interactant markers. The idea is that the groups using the higher markers do so with a clear (possible unconscious) rhetorical

intention to create a well-defined imagined reader in the discourse through using markers to delimit 'its' identity characteristics as much as possible. In contrast, the groups who choose the lower alignment and affiliation markers do not have a well-developed idea of the imagined reader as they write, assigning the reader the position of external 'observer'. Since the objective here is to see how the groups use these markers to create an imagined reader, we have privileged those markers which better allow for a clearer outlining of the characteristics of this text-based creation.

Regarding the results in Figure 46, Freedom United use more markers of reader alignment than reader affiliation through their e-mails, with both declining slightly towards the move-set 3. The Green Party use a very constant, and elevated, frequency of both markers from move-set 1 to 3. On the other hand, Greenpeace's use of the two measures seem to complement each other, with reader affiliation rising sharply towards the move-set 3 while the reader alignment decreases. Thus, it seems that Greenpeace use markers of reader affiliation strategically in that they increase in frequency at the same time as the portrayed alignment of the imagined reader to the campaign issue is most at risk (in move-set 3). The Story of Stuff use of both markers reduce towards move-set 3, with this change being more striking for markers of reader alignment. Thus, we can respond to hypotheses 1 and 2, which are reproduced below for ease of reference:

H1: The more well-established groups (The Green Party, Greenpeace) will have a more developed, professionalised campaign writing approach. This means that they will use more lexicogrammatical resources to the construal of a highly-affiliated imagined reader, in addition to those focused on reader alignment, than the newer groups (Freedom United, The Story of Stuff).

H2: As a result of their lesser-developed communication strategies, the newer groups (Freedom United, The Story of Stuff) will construe the reader as performing only a limited role of assisting the groups' work. Thus, the imagined reader is portrayed as being less closely affiliated to the groups.

In response to hypothesis 1, although it does seem that The Green Party and Greenpeace use more markers of reader affiliation than Freedom United, but so too do The Story of Stuff. Therefore, the division between the four groups on this issue does not seem to be their longevity or financial positions, but instead whether the campaign issues deal predominantly with environmental or social problems. Again, related to hypothesis 2, while the distancing of the imagined reader in Freedom United seems clear from Figure 46, as well as previous analyses in Chapters 5 and 6, this is not the case for The Story of Stuff. The question thus becomes whether these differences relate to other aspects of organisational culture, as developed in communication policies, or whether they relate only to campaign focus. Is the affiliating of an imagined reader less effective or necessary as a strategy to encourage the general audience to take action in social issue campaigns than in environmental ones? Although this borders on the socio-psychological fields of study, perhaps human beings simply empathise more with the suffering of their fellow human beings than they do with all other living beings (as reflected in the empathy hierarchy, see Goatly, 2018).

We can also now respond to the three research questions of this thesis, which are reproduced here for ease of reference:

R1) How do activist organisations attempt to inspire their sympathetic readership to take concrete action on ecological/social issues?

R2) How do four activist groups employ a range of lexicogrammatical features to encourage the reader to take concrete action?

R3) How does the use of markers of alignment and affiliation of the imagined reader relate to the move-structure of the campaign e-mails?

Although presented as three separate questions, they are all directed towards the same enquiry, that is, the possible links between the distribution of lexicogrammatical elements in the move-structure of the texts related to their extra-linguistic objective of encouraging the

reader to take action. Related to the distribution of reader alignment markers in Figure 46, it seems that all the groups construe the imagined reader as highly aligned in move-set 1, a frequency which then reduces as the e-mails progress. Regarding markers of reader affiliation, it seems that The Green Party construes the highest overall level of imagined reader affiliation, although this is most achieved through the use of evoked ATTITUDE rather than the more explicit inclusion of the imagined reader in inclusive interactant markers (see Fig. 45). Greenpeace meanwhile seem to use high affiliation markers strategically, to compensate for the portrayed reduction in reader alignment towards as their e-mails progress. Thus, in answering R1-3 we can say that each activist groups concentrates their reader alignment markers at the start of their e-mails but use different strategies regarding the distribution of markers of reader affiliation.

To illustrate two of the opposing strategies taken by Freedom United and Greenpeace, we will analyse the entirety of two of their e-mails selected for the typicality of the distribution of markers of reader alignment and reader affiliation. The commentary on the e-mails will not cover every coding decision made or explain what typed of provoked or evoked ATTITUDE is at play. Instead, regarding ATTITUDE, the choice between the main systems of AFFECT, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT will be displayed together with the positive or negative polarity charge of the markers. The reason for this low level of delicacy is that the objective here is to provide an overview into how ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and interactant markers combine to determine the construal of the imagined reader at different points in the campaign e-mails. Thus, our focus here is to try to combine the macro-level structure (in move-sets), with the micro-level lexicogrammatical choices, which precludes analysis of individual marker choice.

		ATTITUDE	ENGAGEMENT	Interactant markers
		Judgement Appreciation Affect (polarity +/-)	Deny Counter Pronounce Justify Endorse Entertain	Inclusive Exclusive-author Exclusive-reader Private company Public authorities General public The media Third-party other
1	-	You've seen the news in Libya.	You've seen the news in Libya.	You've seen the news in Libya.
2	-	Enough is enough.	Enough is enough.	Enough is enough.
3	+	We've got to act now.	We've got to act now.	We've got to act now.
4	-	53 migrants and refugees dead in an airstrike.	53 migrants and refugees dead in an airstrike.	53 migrants and refugees dead in an airstrike.
5	-	Black Africans being sold off for forced labor.	Black Africans being sold off for forced labor.	Black Africans being sold off for forced labor.
6	-	Detainees being forced to take up arms in the Libyan civil war.	Detainees being forced to take up arms in the Libyan civil war.	Detainees being forced to take up arms in the Libyan civil war.
7	-	The world was shocked when news of slave markets in Libya broke two years ago, but since then cases of modern slavery in Libya have evolved considerably.	The world was shocked when news of slave markets in Libya broke two years ago, but since then cases of modern slavery in Libya have evolved considerably.	The world was shocked when news of slave markets in Libya broke two years ago, but since then cases of modern slavery in Libya have evolved considerably.
8	-	And they are all linked back to migrant detention centers and the money and power fueling their existence.	And they are all linked back to migrant detention centers and the money and power fueling their existence.	And they are all linked back to migrant detention centers and the money and power fueling their existence.
9	-	Now is the time to expose the EU's complicity in abuses and put pressure on EU member states to act!	Now is the time to expose the EU's complicity in abuses and put pressure on EU member states to act!	Now is the time to expose the EU's complicity in abuses and put pressure on EU member states to act!

Table 27: FU19 Move-set 1

Regarding e-mail FU19, in Move-set 1, we see a lot of negative JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION, three sentence of JUSTIFY (4-6)⁸⁹, plus one of PRONOUNCE⁹⁰ (2) and one CONTRAST (7), and mostly

⁸⁹ The numbers in brackets in this section refer to the line numbers in Tables 27-32, and not to example sentences as in the rest of the thesis until this point.

⁹⁰ Although the sentence in question 'Enough is enough' does not contain a marker of PRONOUNCE, its dialogic function is the expression of the authorial stance while implicitly negating any alternative stances.

‘third-party other’ interactant references (4, 5, 6 and 8), two public authorities references (8), one exclusive reader reference (1) and one inclusive reference (3). Thus, the general approach is of a writer who evaluates the situation negatively, portrays the imagined reader as potentially dis-aligned, but at the same time positions the reader mostly as an outside observer by not referencing them very much in the text.

FU19, Freedom United, 15/08/2019

Move-set 2

	ATTITUDE	ENGAGEMENT	Interactant markers
	Judgement Appreciation Affect (polarity +/-)	Deny Counter Pronounce Justify Endorse Entertain	Inclusive Exclusive-author Exclusive-reader Private company Public authorities General public The media Third-party other
10	- With generous funding from the European Union, the Libyan Coastguard has been intercepting boats in the Mediterranean Sea, taking them back to Libya and locking up innocent refugees and migrants in detention centers.	With generous funding from the European Union, the Libyan Coastguard has been intercepting boats in the Mediterranean Sea, taking them back to Libya and locking up innocent refugees and migrants in detention centers.	With generous funding from the European Union, the Libyan Coastguard has been intercepting boats in the Mediterranean Sea, taking them back to Libya and locking up innocent refugees and migrants in detention centers.
11	. And last month, the deadly airstrike on the Tajoura detention center in Tripoli revealed that these facilities are now targets in Libya's ongoing conflict and no place for refugees to stay.	And last month, the deadly airstrike on the Tajoura detention center in Tripoli revealed that these facilities are now targets in Libya's ongoing conflict and no place for refugees to stay.	And last month, the deadly airstrike on the Tajoura detention center in Tripoli revealed that these facilities are now targets in Libya's ongoing conflict and no place for refugees to stay.
12	- With conditions deteriorating, it is urgent that EU member states step up and put humanity first.	With conditions deteriorating, it is urgent that EU member states step up and put humanity first.	With conditions deteriorating, it is urgent that EU member states step up and put humanity first.
13	- Racist, xenophobic immigration policies coupled with funding for the Libyan Coastguard are fueling modern slavery in Libya.	Racist, xenophobic immigration policies coupled with funding for the Libyan Coastguard are fueling modern slavery in Libya.	Racist, xenophobic immigration policies coupled with funding for the Libyan Coastguard are fueling modern slavery in Libya.
14	- Tell the EU it can no longer be complicit in such grave human rights violations.	Tell the EU it can no longer be complicit in such grave human rights violations.	Tell the EU it can no longer be complicit in such grave human rights violations.

Table 28: FU19 Move-set 2

In move-set 2, a mixture of negative JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION continues the negative evaluation of the situation and appraised entities, the Libyan Coastguard and the European

Union. There is again some JUSTIFY (10) and some DENY:reader (11), indicating that the imagined reader is still potentially uncommitted regarding the adoption of the authorial stance. Almost all of the interactant references are of public authorities (The European Union and Libyan Coastguard in 10, 12, 13 and 14⁹¹), with two for the victims (10 and 11). So, once more the imagined reader is given the role of outside observer.

FU19, Freedom United, 15/08/2019

Move-set 3

		ATTITUDE	ENGAGEMENT	Interactant markers
		Judgement Appreciation Affect (polarity +/-)	Deny Counter Pronounce Justify Endorse Entertain	Inclusive Exclusive-author Exclusive-reader Private company Public authorities General public The media Third-party other
15	/	Take it from Leyla, one Somali refugee locked up in Libya after being captured by the Coastguard.	Take it from Leyla, one Somali refugee locked up in Libya after being captured by the Coastguard.	Take it from Leyla, one Somali refugee locked up in Libya after being captured by the Coastguard.
16	-	"We barely ate and there wasn't enough water.	"We barely ate and there wasn't enough water.	"We barely ate and there wasn't enough water.
17	-	So many people were sick with TB, some died in my arms.	So many people were sick with TB, some died in my arms.	So many people were sick with TIB, some died in my arms.
18	-	I was beaten up and we were tortured, with electricity."	I was beaten up and we were tortured, with electricity."	I was beaten up and we were tortured, with electricity."
19	+	The EU has the power to help Leyla, take action now.	The EU has the power to help Leyla, take action now.	The EU has the power to help Leyla, take action now.

Table 29: FU19 Move-set 3

In move-set 3, the negative APPRECIATION of the situation (16 and 17) and negative JUDGEMENT of those held responsible, unidentified aggressors and the EU (18 and 19) continues. Here the writer displays their solidarity to the victims by employing ENDORSE ('Take it from Leyla..') and devoting almost the entire move-set to presenting her recount. Again, for the use of interactant markers, these are assigned to the victim (15-19) and public authorities (15 and

⁹¹ The attitudinal position in (14) is 'irrealis', that is, it is a threat of negative JUDGEMENT:PROPRIETY of the appraised entity, the EU, if they do not respect the command, see Don (2016:14).

19). In all, we can say that while the writer construes the imagined reader as being persuadable through the use of extensive negative attitudinal markers and contractive ENGAGEMENT, there is very little inclusion of the reader in the text itself. Thus, the imagined reader is given the position of outside observer who is construed as being involved in the topic through a sense of moral outrage related to the negative evaluations and the justifications provided.

GR06, Greenpeace, 01/09/2017

Move-set 1

Subject line: 'Dangerous, deadly and still legal...'

	ATTITUDE	ENGAGEMENT	Interactant markers
	Judgement Appreciation Affect (polarity +/-)	Deny Counter Pronounce Justify Endorse Entertain	Inclusive Exclusive-author Exclusive-reader Private company Public authorities General public The media Third-party other
1	- It can have deadly effects on people's health and is especially harmful to children.	It can have deadly effects on people's health and is especially harmful to children.	It can have deadly effects on people's health and is especially harmful to children.
2	- It can contaminate our air, soil, food and even our food crops and drinking water.	It can contaminate our air, soil, food and even our food crops and drinking water.	It can contaminate our air, soil, food and even our food crops and drinking water.
3	- Leaded petrol has been banned in the UK and across the world precisely for these reasons.	Leaded petrol has been banned in the UK and across the world precisely for these reasons.	Leaded petrol has been banned in the UK and across the world precisely for these reasons.
4	- There's still one country in the world that hasn't banned or planned to phase out this dirty and dangerous fuel, Algeria.	There's still one country in the world that hasn't banned or planned to phase out this dirty and dangerous fuel, Algeria.	There's still one country in the world that hasn't banned or planned to phase out this dirty and dangerous fuel, Algeria.
5	- But worse there's only one company morally repugnant enough to sell the stuff, Innospec, and they're based in Cheshire, UK.	But worse there's only one company morally repugnant enough to sell the stuff, Innospec, and they're based in Cheshire, UK.	But worse there's only one company morally repugnant enough to sell the stuff, Innospec, and they're based in Cheshire, UK.
6	- Innospec isn't ignorant, and although they're morally bankrupt, they're not breaking the law.	Innospec isn't ignorant, and although they're morally bankrupt, they're not breaking the law.	Innospec isn't ignorant, and although they're morally bankrupt, they're not breaking the law.
7	- Even though leaded petrol was banned in the UK for obvious health and environmental	Even though leaded petrol was banned in the UK for obvious health and environmental	Even though leaded petrol was banned in the UK for obvious health and environmental

		reasons, it's still perfectly legal for UK companies to make and export leaded petrol.	reasons, it's still perfectly legal for UK companies to make and export leaded petrol.	reasons, it's still perfectly legal for UK companies to make and export leaded petrol.
8	/	Liam Fox is our representative for trade around the world.	Liam Fox is our representative for trade around the world.	Liam Fox is our representative for trade around the world.
9	+	He has the power to stop the sale of this dirty and dangerous fuel once and for all.	He has the power to stop the sale of this dirty and dangerous fuel once and for all.	He has the power to stop the sale of this dirty and dangerous fuel once and for all.
10	/	Urge Liam Fox to ban all leaded petrol exports immediately and set high standards for UK trade.	Urge Liam Fox to ban all leaded petrol exports immediately and set high standards for UK trade.	Urge Liam Fox to ban all leaded petrol exports immediately and set high standards for UK trade.
11	/	Sign the Petition.	Sign the Petition.	Sign the Petition.

Table 30: GR06 Move-set 1

Broadly speaking, this Greenpeace e-mail (GR06) starts with negative APPRECIATION (1-3) which includes an element of suspense regarding the identity of the 'it' Subject pronoun. It then transitions into negative JUDGEMENT:PROPRIETY for the appraised entity, Innospec (5 and 6). Then, there is some positive JUDGEMENT:CAPACITY for Liam Fox as having the power to transform the situation (9). Regarding reader positioning, coinciding with the negative APPRECIATION, the first three sentences perform the role of JUSTIFY before the argument has been identified. This is both a technique to entice the reader to continue reading, but also signals that the imagined reader is construed as needing to be convinced as to the importance of the campaign issue. Contractive ENGAGEMENT is then used (5-7) to correct any possible sympathies that the imagined reader could possibly have for Innospec, thus aligning the reader ever closer to the authorial stance. As for the interactant markers, there are two mentions of the general public in (1), seven references to private companies in (5-7), and five references to public authorities in (4, 8, 9 and 10). So, except for the one positive JUDGEMENT marker in (9), this Greenpeace e-mail starts in much the same vein as the Freedom United one, with a lot of negative evaluation, the construal of an imagined reader who needs to be won over, and most references to third-party text participants.

		ATTITUDE	ENGAGEMENT	Interactant markers
		Judgement Appreciation Affect (polarity +/-)	Deny Counter Pronounce Justify Endorse Entertain	Inclusive Exclusive-author Exclusive-reader Private company Public authorities General public The media Third-party other
12	-	We should never be forced to accept or impose dodgy deals that put anyone's health or the natural world in danger.	We should never be forced to accept or impose dodgy deals that put anyone's health or the natural world in danger.	We should never be forced to accept or impose dodgy deals that put anyone's health or the natural world in danger.
13	-	The recent news story regarding the introduction of chlorinated chicken for consumption in the UK if there is to be a trade deal with the US is the latest frightening reminder that we have lots of work to do in order to keep our environmental standards.	The recent news story regarding the introduction of chlorinated chicken for consumption in the UK if there is to be a trade deal with the US is the latest frightening reminder that we have lots of work to do in order to keep our environmental standards.	The recent news story regarding the introduction of chlorinated chicken for consumption in the UK if there is to be a trade deal with the US is the latest frightening reminder that we have lots of work to do in order to keep our environmental standards.
14	+	Once Britain leaves the EU it can be a champion for environmental and health standards at home and abroad.	Once Britain leaves the EU it can be a champion for environmental and health standards at home and abroad.	Once Britain leaves the EU it can be a champion for environmental and health standards at home and abroad.
15	+	We can't allow ourselves to sell our standards down the river to the highest bidder.	We can't allow ourselves to sell our standards down the river to the highest bidder.	We can't allow ourselves to sell our standards down the river to the highest bidder.
16	/	Urge Liam Fox to ensure that Brexit works for the environment and common sense too.	Urge Liam Fox to ensure that Brexit works for the environment and common sense too.	Urge Liam Fox to ensure that Brexit works for the environment and common sense too.
17	/	Sign the Petition.	Sign the Petition.	Sign the Petition.

Table 31: GR06 Move-set 2

It is in the second move-set of the Greenpeace mail that we start to see differences to the approach taken by Freedom United, especially concerning the use of positive evaluation and the function of ENGAGEMENT and interactant markers. Regarding ATTITUDE, it begins by depicting the writer and reader as the victims of deception (12), thus invoking negative JUDGEMENT:PROPRIETY on the government. This is followed by negative APPRECIATION related to a news story provided as evidence to justify the possibility of such a deception happening again

(13). However, after this, the evaluative polarity changes to positive, in setting out the 'irrealis' desires of the author in (14), and invoking the author and reader's positive PROPRIETY in (15) through the use of DENY. Regarding reader positioning, the two examples of DENY (12 and 15) perform the function of deontic modality commands to both writer and reader, thus emphasizing a shared sense of determination. Although not explicitly signaled, sentence (13) functions as JUSTIFY for the proposition in (12), that is the propensity of the government to act against the interests of its citizens, particular the writer and reader. For the interactant markers, we see a much greater explicit involvement of the imagined reader, with four inclusive references (12, 13 and 15). There is also one reference to the public (12) and six references to public authorities (13-16). In general, we can say that compared to Move-set 1, there is less JUSTIFY used here, indicating that the imagined reader is construed as being more aligned, but a lot more instances of markers of the high affiliation of the imagined reader. These come in the form of both being the subject of two writer imposed commands, and once as the Actor (Agent) of a process of 'doing' (13). In all cases, the use of the inclusive interactant reference allows for the portrayal of solidarity between writer and reader, that is, a higher level of imagined reader affiliation.

		ATTITUDE	ENGAGEMENT	Interactant markers
		Judgement Appreciation Affect (polarity +/-)	Deny Counter Pronounce Concur Justify Endorse Entertain	Inclusive Exclusive-author Exclusive-reader Private company Public authorities General public The media Third-party other
18	-	Leaded petrol has no place in the modern world.	Leaded petrol has no place in the modern world.	Leaded petrol has no place in the modern world.
19	+	That's why it's been banned across the planet.	That's why it's been banned across the planet.	That's why it's been banned across the planet.
20	-	We know it causes harm to children and adults , the damaging health and environmental effects don't stop at our borders, we can't allow this fuel to be sold anywhere on earth.	We know it causes harm to children and adults, the damaging health and environmental effects don't stop at our borders, we can't allow this fuel to be sold anywhere on earth.	We know it causes harm to children and adults , the damaging health and environmental effects don't stop at our borders, we can't allow this fuel to be sold anywhere on earth.
21	/	If enough of us sign this petition, we could get the attention of journalists and politicians.	If enough of us sign this petition, we could get the attention of journalists and politicians.	If enough of us sign this petition, we could get the attention of journalists and politicians.
22	+	More signatures means more public pressure, which could mean, more reasons for our International Trade Minister to decide leaded petrol exports will be banned for good.	More signatures means more public pressure, which could mean, more reasons for our International Trade Minister to decide leaded petrol exports will be banned for good.	More signatures means more public pressure, which could mean, more reasons for our International Trade Minister to decide leaded petrol exports will be banned for good.
23	/	Sign the Petition.	Sign the Petition.	Sign the Petition.

Table 32: GR06 Move-set 3

In the third and final Move-set of the Greenpeace e-mail above, the author returns to the kind of argumentation seen in Move-set 1, with an emphasis on mostly negative evaluation at the start, changing to positive towards the end. The negative ATTITUDE co-occurs with examples of DENY and JUSTIFY, which altogether indicate again that the imagined reader could still be uncommitted, but also CONCUR, which signals imagined reader alignment and affiliation. Regarding the distribution of interactant markers, there is a very interesting mix of reference of 'we/us' in sentences (20 and 21). While (20) contains two inclusive reference

'we' pronouns, and one for the general public, (21) includes one 'us' pronoun which actually refers metonymically to the reader (*'If enough of us sign this petition...'*), as seen through the role it plays in the process it is embedded in. As Fløttum *et al.* (2006) explain:

“the pronoun must have a double reference when used in such a way: a metonymic “real” one... and one suggested by the literal meaning of the pronoun” (Fløttum *et al.*, 2006:98)

That is, the process, *'sign this petition'*, is the 'call-to-action' in this e-mail, meaning that it is the reader who is asked to perform this action. So, while there is a build-up of solidarity (i.e., reader affiliation) in the use of inclusive reference in Move-set 2 (four examples) and the two in sentence (20) here, the writer subtly transitions the responsibility onto the reader through using the same pronoun form, but with a different reference which is exclusively to the reader. Thus, the writer of this Greenpeace e-mail takes advantage of what Harwood (2005) refers to as the fuzzy limits of inclusive and exclusive reference of plural interactant markers (see also Carter-Thomas & Rowley-Jolivet, 2017). The effect is as if the writer is signing together with the imagined reader, although it is of course the action of the latter which counts in order to reach the desired number of petition signatures. This could be considered as an example of what Thompson and Thetela (1995:111) define as the more subtly manipulative aspects of text genres other than that which they studied, that is, advertising. Finally, in sentence (22) an ENTERTAIN marker *'could'* is used together with positive ATTITUDE (irrealis) and a reference to public authorities. As previously argued, the use of ENTERTAIN here together with irrealis ATTITUDE is designed to place the emphasis on the reader as being the deciding factor regarding the potential success of the campaign. Thus, in the first half of this final move-set (18-20), there is a construal of the reader as still being potentially uncommitted, as in Move-set 1, which is softened by the use of inclusive interactant references and the use of CONCUR as signalling alignment and affiliation. The second half (21-

23) then turns up the pressure on the imagined reader to act, through a combination of an exclusive interactant marker which has the appearance of being inclusive ('us' in 21), and the use of ENTERTAIN to foreground the potential decisive impact of the reader's action.

In comparing the two e-mails, we can see that while Freedom United focus almost exclusively on third-party participants, both the victim of the injustice and the perpetrator, Greenpeace explicitly involves the imagined reader in the text, particularly in Move-sets 2 and 3. In addition to the increased sense of imagined reader affiliation in the Greenpeace e-mail, they also seem to use some strategies involving the blurring of interactant reference and the use of ENTERTAIN to place the outcome of the campaign in doubt, i.e., dependent on the reaction of the reader. However, both mails, as it is claimed for the whole corpus, can be commonly classified as of the 'exposition' type (Martin & Rose, 2008). As opposed to 'challenge' genre, in 'exposition' texts a central proposition is provided early on in the text, which is then argued for via justifications in the rest of the text. This classification of the texts complements their earlier definition as 'advocacy', as both envisage an imagined reader who is not necessarily aligned to the authorial stance at the outset, but who is 'persuadable' through argumentation. In the two texts analysed here, FU19 provides the central proposition in lines (1-3): *'You've seen the News in Libya. Enough is enough. We've got to act now.'* In GR06 the proposition is also outlined in lines (1-3) and in line (10): (1-3) *'It can have deadly effects on people's health and is especially harmful to children. It can contaminate our air, soil, food and even our food crops and drinking water. Leaded petrol has been banned in the UK and across the world precisely for these reasons.'* and (10) *'Urge Liam Fox to ban all leaded petrol exports immediately and set high standards for UK trade.'* So, both groups present the central proposition of their e-mails early on, although Greenpeace uses more initial JUSTIFY indicating that the reader is potentially more uncommitted.

While these two e-mails were selected for analysis based on their representativeness of the different rhetorical strategies employed by Freedom United and Greenpeace, it must be acknowledge that there was a degree of variety among the 100 e-mails that make up the corpus. This variation in the frequency of markers of reader alignment and affiliation by individual e-mail will now be investigated in detail.

7.4. Variation of reader positioning according to campaign issue

So far in Chapter 7, the general tendencies of each group in the distribution of different markers have been studied through the combining of the data from the 25 annotated e-mails for each group. In this section instead, we will see how there exists variation in the frequency of different markers of reader alignment (Fig. 47) and reader affiliation (Fig. 48) in each individual e-mail. Related to the data in these graphs, we can answer the final hypothesis in the affirmative:

H5: Some e-mail messages of all four groups will include a greater emphasis on imagined reader alignment and/or affiliation due to the low social acceptability or obscurity of the campaign issue.

Related to reader alignment, Figure 47 shows variation across all 100 e-mails regarding the frequencies of markers of DENY:reader, COUNTER:reader, JUSTIFY and EXPAND. As outlined in Chapters 5 and 6, a high frequency of these particular markers is seen as a key indicator that the imagined reader is portrayed as uncommitted or dis-aligned. As can be seen in Figure 47, the e-mail with the highest frequency of these markers is FU24 from Freedom United, which has been displayed with colour-coded text immediately after Figure 47.

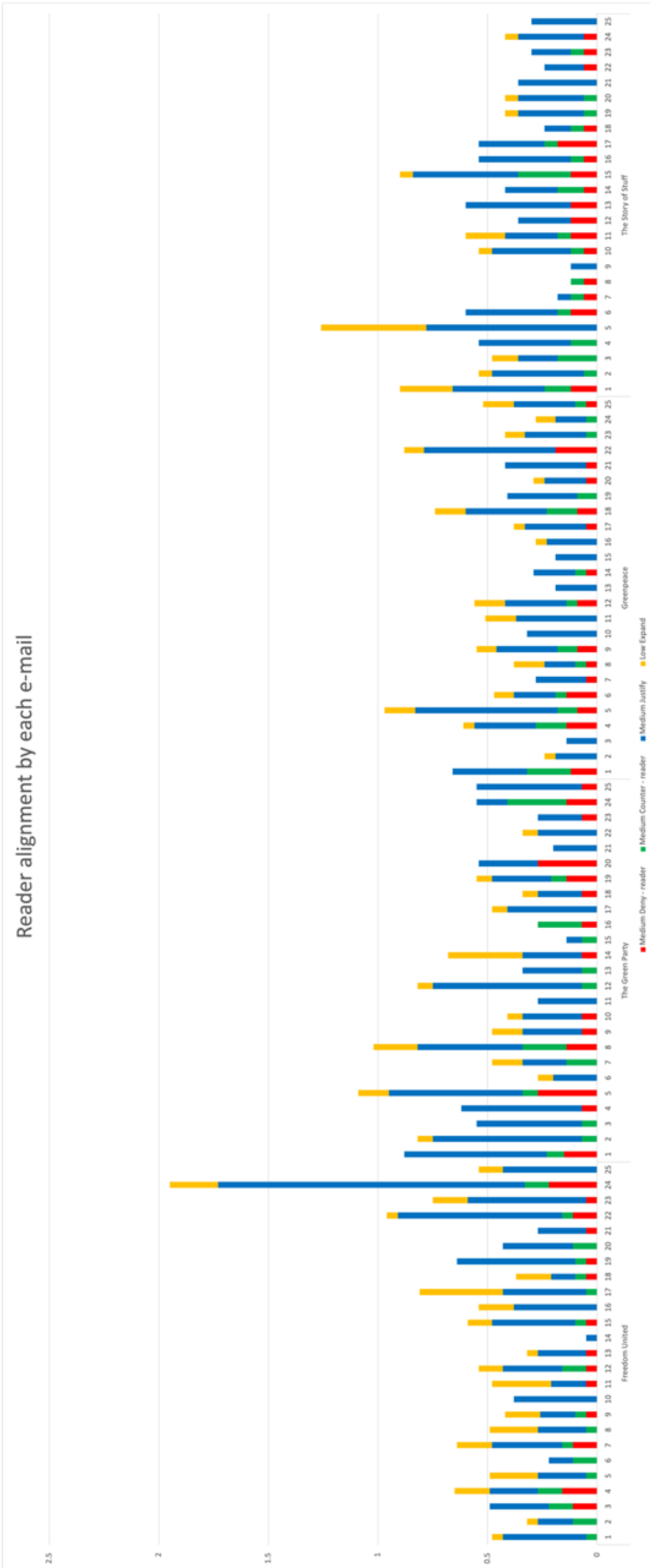


Figure 47: Reader alignment by each e-mail (per 1000 tokens)

FU24, Freedom United, 07/02/2020

Subject line: NEW. Help ensure your produce is slavery-free.

Move-set 1:

When was the last time you ate an avocado?

How about olives? Peaches? Almond products?

Did you know that **you might be consuming produce that was grown using forced labor?**

If you are in the US, it's almost certain these products were grown in California which provides over 99% of a variety of crops including peaches, raisins, olives, and avocados.

And this is reflected internationally , over a quarter of California's produce is exported , and it grows over 80% of the world's almonds . Chances are you have consumed produce from California at some point.

People growing your food may be trafficked and forced to work under the threat of deportation or violence inflicted on themselves or their families.

SIGN.

Move-set 2:

But human trafficking for labor exploitation is not only a risk for migrant workers in the farming sector.

Migrant workers in other sectors in California, including factories, fairgrounds, and restaurants are also at risk.

The current law in California only protects workers from trafficking on a limited visa type. **This error has created a loophole that allows for thousands of workers to be exploited and tricked into slavery.**

This goes deeper than the produce we consume, it is an error that is causing many to live in fear with no escape.

California attracts more temporary foreign workers than anywhere else in the US. **As the fifth largest global economy, workers on lawful visas from all over the world seek opportunities in California. The large economy attracts a high demand for cheap labor creating the conditions that leave some migrant workers at risk of being trafficked into forced labor.**

The full scope of the problem is unknown as workers rarely report labor abuses for fear of losing their jobs and immigration status.

ACT NOW TO PROTECT ALL WORKERS.

Move-set 3:

Most temporary workers are recruited via **third-party foreign labor contractors (FLCs), some of whom act neither lawfully nor ethically** . These FLCs take advantage of the desperation of low-income workers to increase their profits by charging high fees and deceiving them into exploitative work conditions.

Once in the US, workers are bound to a single employer and are dependent on them for housing, food, and

Entertain Justify Deny/Contrast

visas. Employers can take advantage of this power imbalance to abuse their workers, and because FLCs act as brokers between employer and worker, employers bear little responsibility for any wrongdoing.

Felipe is just one worker who was exploited by an FLC and became trapped in forced labor.

Felipe was promised \$10,000 by an FLC to work for a season on a farm near Bakersfield, California. He paid over \$2500 in fees for visa and transportation that was to be reimbursed. But when he got there, his visa was confiscated and he was not reimbursed, in fact, he was not paid at all for three months. After enduring months of forced labor and beating, Felipe overstayed his visa to earn more money at the FLC's request, but is now being kept under fear of deportation. He has been in the US four years and fears he will die there.

California state legislators tried to protect people like Felipe in .2014 by passing Senate Bill 477 (SIB477).

The bill requires that all IFLCs register and that California employers only use registered FLCs to recruit temporary workers. Under the bill, IFLCs must give full and honest disclosure of terms and conditions in the recruiting process, including charging no fees . Both employers and FLCs face penalties for failure to comply.

But when the bill became law, an error in the way it was incorporated into existing legal provisions for farm worker meant it failed in its goals. The new law allows for an interpretation that would limit the law to protect only around 3% of migrant workers.

SB477 leaves thousands of workers in California, especially agricultural workers, at high risk of exploitation.

We cannot stand by while the workers growing our produce are exploited.

Our partners at the Coalition Against Slavery and Trafficking (CAST) have been lobbying for the small legislative change that would be needed to fix the bill and ensure it applies to ALL temporary workers. While simple, the amendment has faced opposition from industry lobbyists who stand to gain from the loophole.

Join us in calling on the California State Legislature to amend Senate Bill 477 to protect all migrant workers, regardless of visa or industry, from forced labor and human trafficking.

Sign the petition and urge California to ensure its produce is slavery-free.

As can be seen from the amount of text coloured in blue, there is a lot of JUSTIFY in FU24. The first indication of why this is can be deduced from the subject line '*NEW. Help ensure your produce is slavery-free*', indicating that this is a completely new campaign topic for Freedom United. In addition to this, the e-mail begins with five questions directed towards the reader to which no particular answer is presupposed at this point. However, the answer to the final question, '*Did you know that you might be consuming produce that was grown using forced labor?*', is projected to be 'no' for the imagined reader. Given that the answer is subsequently

provided to this question, the imagined reader is portrayed as not knowing it. Move-set 2 continues with yet more justification for the choice of campaign topic, this time related to a deficiency in the Californian legal system regarding the protection of migrant workers. Move-set 3, by far the longest of all, is where the imagined reader is portrayed as being most potentially uncommitted or dis-aligned. It contains justification regarding malpractice in FLCs (Foreign Labor Contractors), a personal recount of 'Felipe's' experience of labour exploitation on farm in California (the dotted-line box is copied from the original e-mail), followed by a longer explanation of the deficiencies contained in Californian law. As such, this e-mail again reflects the idea that the writer portrays three different types of reader (A, B and C) depending on the point of the text they read until, with the level of potential dis-alignment of the imagined reader growing as the text continues. However, due to this being a completely new topic, the frequency of markers of reader alignment increases as the e-mail continues, going against the general trend for a reduction of markers of reader alignment from the beginning to the end of the e-mails (see Fig. 46).

Now we move on to consider differences in reader affiliation by individual mail, measured by frequencies of evoked and provoked ATTITUDE, and inclusive or reader-exclusive interactant reference (see Fig. 48). There are three e-mails (GP08, SoS01, SoS05) which used the highest frequency of markers of reader affiliation. SoS01 from The Story of Stuff has been presented for illustrative purposes after the graph⁹².

⁹² An additional category of medium affiliation, reader-only exclusive interactant markers, has been added to the data here for the reason that while they do not encode the social closeness of writer and imagined reader, they do at least signal that the writer is explicitly involving the reader in the text. As such, they are seen to impact more on the construed reader affiliation than author-only exclusive interactant markers, but not as much as inclusive author + reader markers.

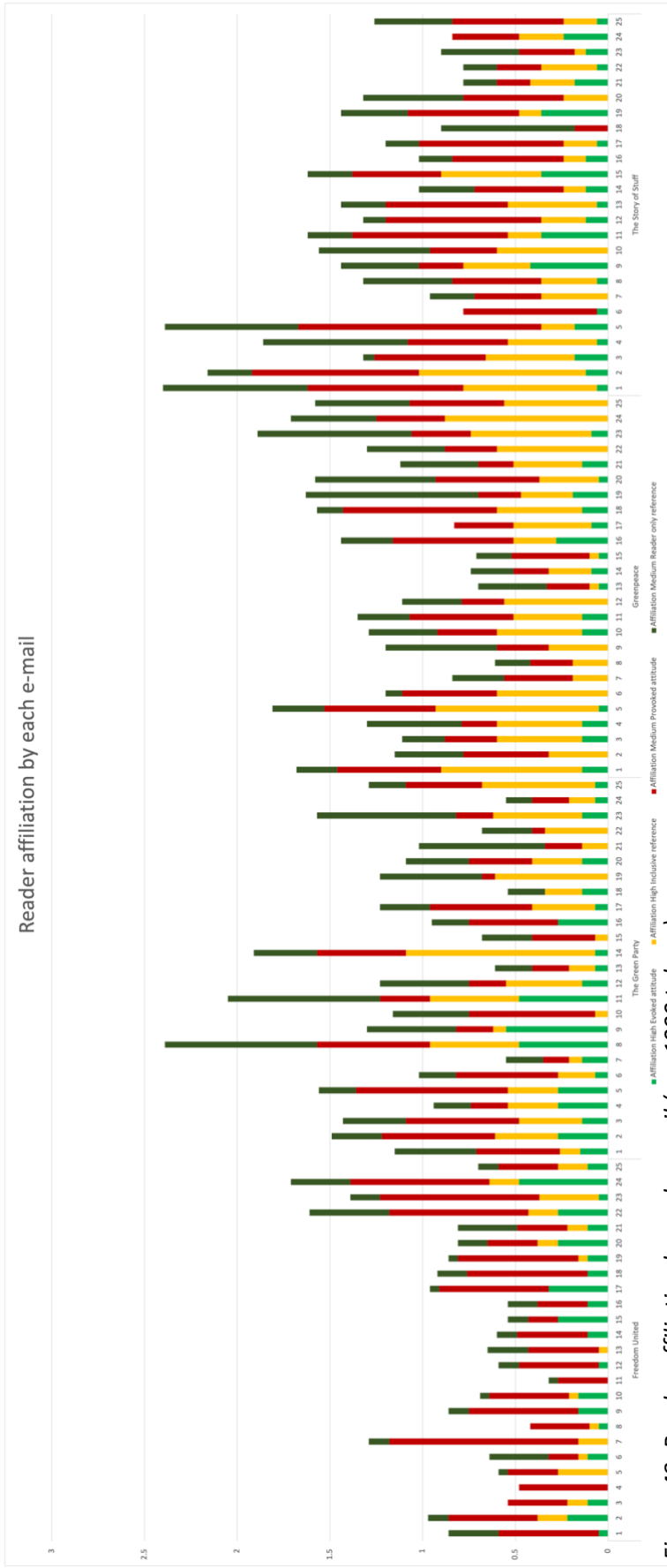


Figure 48: Reader affiliation by each e-mail (per 1000 tokens)

SoS01, The Story of Stuff, 28/07/2016

Subject line: Help us make a film !

Move-set 1:

Plastic pollution has become one of the biggest and most well-known threats to aquatic ecosystems, with media stories trumpeting the 'Texas-sized garbage patch' in the middle of the Pacific Ocean.

Plastic fibers from synthetic clothing are flooding our oceans and waterways by the millions.

By creating a new film, The Story of Stuff Project can bring citizens, scientists, manufacturers and policymakers together to address this important problem.

Let's Make a Movie!

Move-set 2:

I've sailed thousands of miles tracing plastic pollution around the world and not a single day went by that I didn't see plastics floating in the water around my boat.

But while we tend to think of plastic bags, bottles, packaging and other large Stuff as the source of the problem, scientists are increasingly concerned with the tiny plastics that enter our waters every day, which have a much higher likelihood of being eaten by animals at the bottom of the food chain and working their way up to us.

Last year, our million person-strong global Community played a major role in helping to solve the problem of microbeads, the tiny bits of plastic in personal care products, by **passing legislation outlawing them in the largest market in the world, the United States.**

Today, I need your help to get another mission off the ground, solving a pollution problem you've probably never even heard of plastic microfibers .

With your support, we'll make a two-minute animated 'explainer' video that will blow the lid off the growing problem of plastic microfiber pollution, reaching hundreds of thousands of viewers **like we did with our microbeads video last year** and moving them to action.

Then together we'll work with clothing and washing machine manufacturers to ensure they take responsibility for the problem by funding research into solutions and committing to improvements that make this pollution a thing of the past.

Move-set 3:

As with microbeads, it was **scientists who first sounded the alarm about microfiber pollution.**

Five years ago, European researcher Mark Browne released a groundbreaking study that found widespread microplastic pollution on shorelines and coastal waters around the world, particularly near densely populated areas. **The source of the pollution was synthetic clothing fibers, less than millimeter in size, that are discharged from clothes washers, through water treatment and into the environment.**

Then in 2015, our friends at the San Francisco Estuary Institute released a study on microplastic pollution in San Francisco Bay, finding that on average, **water treatment facilities released an estimated 7 million particles of microplastic per day into the Bay-the largest Pacific estuary in the Americas.** The biggest sources were found to be plastic microbeads and, you guessed it, **synthetic clothing fibers.**

Inclusive

Reader only

Provoked attitude

Evoked attitude

And just last month, outdoor clothing company Patagonia released a study it commissioned that found that **a single fleece jacket could release as many as 250,000 plastic fibers per wash load!**

Patagonia deserves a lot of credit for commissioning and releasing this study, **they've stepped up to be a leader.** But **most garment makers are just now starting to wrap their heads around the problem.**

Together **we** can keep them focused on solutions.

Move-set 4:

Given the scale of the plastic pollution problem, it would be easy to dismiss microfiber pollution as a small, unintended consequence. Surely there are more important sources of plastic pollution, right?

But the threat from synthetic fibers is greatly amplified by the fact that these small plastics attract the toxins in the water around them, accumulating harmful chemicals that are then passed into small organisms eaten by small fish. Bigger fish, of course, eat the smaller fish, and that's a big problem, not just for marine life, but for us; think sushi.

The great news is **scientists and others have already begun the work of figuring out how to solve this problem, with ideas ranging from reformulating the materials used to manufacture garments to using filters in washing machines to capture the fibers.** Surely if **we** can figure out a way to make a fleece out of recycled plastic bottles **we** can figure out a way to keep the plastic in those garments from reaching **our** waters.

That's where this Community comes in.

With **your** help, we'll bring global attention to the microfiber problem, **much like we did with microbeads. Our video and associated advocacy will spur innovation, bringing together scientists, citizens, manufacturers and policymakers to address the problem.**

Are **you** in?

Yes, I'll pledge \$10.

Yes, I'll pledge \$25.

Yes, I'll pledge \$50.

Yes, I'll pledge \$100.

Yes, I will pledge another amount.

Let's solve this problem-and the entire plastic pollution problem-once and for all.

As with the Freedom United e-mail analysed above, the Story of Stuff e-mail presented here (SoS01) is for illustrative purposes and will not be commented on line-by-line. Instead, we will consider why the author used a high frequency of inclusive and reader-only interactant markers as well as provoked and evoked ATTITUDE for this campaign issue. Similarly to FU24, this e-mail introduces the reader to a completely new campaign topic, that of micro-fibre pollution, but, unlike the Freedom United e-mail, it is also requesting monetary donations. As

can be observed, the greatest concentration of provoked ATTITUDE comes in Move-sets 3 and 4, in which the author is attempting to align and affiliate the imagined reader to the negative authorial evaluation of the problem. The most frequent markers of negative provoked ATTITUDE throughout the e-mail are upscaling GRADUATION:NUMBER such as *'by the millions'* (Move-set 1), *'250,000 plastic fibres per washload'* (Move-set 3), which is sometimes coupled with DISTRIBUTION:TIME, with examples such as *'7 million particles of microplastic per day'* (Move-set 3). In the positive evaluations, DISTRIBUTION:SPACE in *'thousands of miles'* and *'around the world'* (Move-set 2) are used. Also, the author twice uses inter-textual reference in *'like we did with our microbeads video last year'* (Move-set 2) and *'much like we did with microbeads'* (Move-set 4). This last type of provoked ATTITUDE seeks to convince the imagined reader as to the validity of the current campaign by linking it to a previous successful one, while at the same time emphasizing reader affiliation through a including a shared-knowledge reference. Regarding the use of inclusive and exclusive reader-only interactant markers, these seem to alternate throughout the e-mail.

Unlike the Greenpeace e-mail (GR06) analysed in the section '7.3. Move-structure, reader alignment and affiliation', the references of the inclusive and exclusive markers are kept separate, thus giving a clear role to the reader as enabler of the author's desired actions. In Move-set 2, there is a transition between an inclusive reference in *'our million-strong global community'* and *'your help', 'your support'* signalled by a change in time reference through the framing adverb *'Today'*. Thus, what was achieved in the past was done together, but what needs to be done now depends entirely on the reader's acceptance of the 'call-to-action', that is making a pledge. This pressure on the imagined reader comes to a head in the 'call-to-action' of Move-set 4 where the writer ventriloquises the imagined reader through the use of declarative sentences with a first-person singular pronoun Subject 'I', which refers to the

reader. Thus, this e-mail includes an element of very high reader affiliation at its conclusion, much like GR06, but by different means. Here, there is no doubt as to the reference of 'I', but by the very fact of the writer taking over the reader's voice illustrates the fusing of the two. Thus, the reader is foregrounded, but in a much more explicit fashion than in GR06. The explanation as to why the peak of the affiliation of the imagined reader comes at point is that it is here that 'Reader C' will give their donation or not. Thus, the writer uses these markers of imagined reader affiliation to attempt to pressure the reader to take action for the final time.

We have seen here that there exists a common reason behind the unusually high frequency of markers of reader alignment and reader affiliation in two e-mails; the introduction of a new campaign topic. Both e-mails construe the imagined reader as potentially uncommitted or dis-aligned, evident from the long stretches of persuasive dialogue (i.e., JUSTIFY) in both. Both e-mails also seek to push the imagined reader towards action through the reader affiliatory functions of interactant markers, Greenpeace by blurring the reference of 'we' pronouns, and The Story of Stuff by ventriloquising the reader's voice.

The final issue we will consider in this thesis is the different realisations of the e-mail subject lines, a vital consideration given that the first hurdle for the writers of these e-mails is persuading the recipient to open it.

7.5. E-mail subject lines

The analysis of the subject lines of the 100 e-mails was based on categories outlined in Mathur *et al.*'s (2020)⁹³ analysis of political fundraising e-mails sent out during the 2020 US federal elections. The categories in Figure 49 represent various strategies identified that political parties in the USA used to entice the recipients to open e-mails.

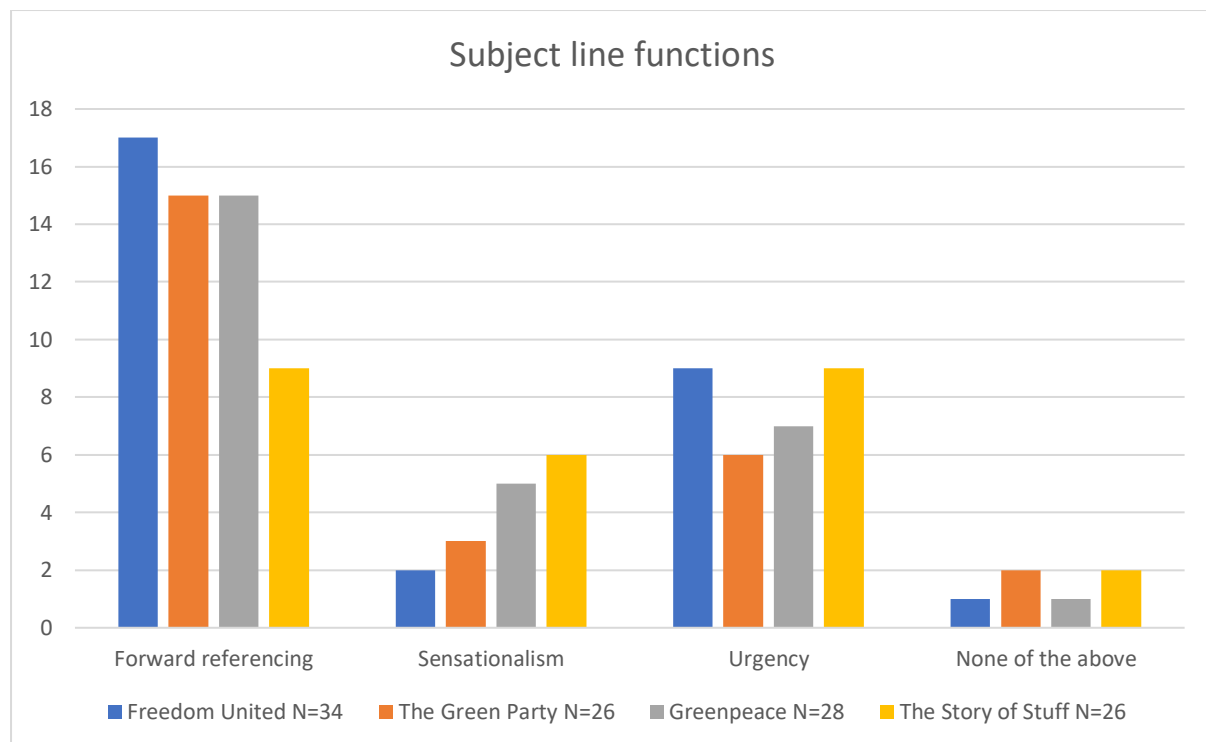


Figure 49: Subject line functions

As can be observed from Figure 49, all groups used 'forward referencing' (109-112) as their main strategy to encourage the recipient to open the e-mails.

- (109) "What can be done for workers in homes?" (FU13, Freedom United, 21/09/2018)
- (110) "Values you can believe in." (GP25, The Green Party, 06/04/2020)
- (111) "Dangerous, deadly and still legal...." (GR06, Greenpeace, 01/09/2017)
- (112) "Here's how we simplify the holidays." (SoS09, The Story of Stuff, 20/11/2017)

⁹³ For the description of each category, see '4.4.5. Subject line'.

Forward-referencing can be achieved through the lack of an answer to a question (109), a lack of detail in a common noun like *'values'* (110), an omission of the head of a noun group (111), or a cataphoric determiner like *'here'* (112). Also, in (111) *'still'* fulfils both the aspectual function of 'continues to be' and the concessive function of 'nonetheless' (Ranger, 2018:180). While the first of these functions communicates urgency, the second indicates the negative evaluation of the author on the contradiction implicit between the terms. The imagined reader presumes that all the information lacking in each instance is contained within the body of the e-mail, and so will open the e-mail if they are curious enough to want to fill in their knowledge gap.

Regarding subject lines including 'sensationalism', examples (113-116) have been taken from the corpus.

- (113) "Energy Drinks Linked to Slavery?" (FU07, Freedom United, 17/05/2018)
- (114) "New clean air strategy is a smokescreen." (GP06, The Green Party, 22/05/2018)
- (115) "HSBC: Exposed." (GR02, Greenpeace, 25/01/2017)
- (116) "An Outrageous Decision." (SoS02, The Story of Stuff, 22/09/2016)

The sensationalistic aspects of the examples above are: *'Slavery'* in (113), *'smokescreen'* in (114), *'Exposed'* in (115), *'Outrageous'* in (116). Given the topics of Freedom United's campaigns, it is debateable as to whether *'Slavery'* is sensationalistic or descriptive. However, what can be said is that each term here indicates a strong negative evaluation, either of PROPRIETY in (113), VERACITY in (114) and (115), or APPRECIATION:SOCIAL-VALUATION in (116).

Urgency can also be communicated in a variety of ways, as illustrated in examples (117-120).

- (117) “URGENT. Last day to add your name!” (FU14, Freedom United, 16/10/2018)
- (118) “Greens on Strike Tomorrow.” (GP21, The Green Party, 19/09/2019)
- (119) “End coal now.” (GR14, Greenpeace, 08/10/2018)
- (120) “ALERT! Nestlé executive appointed to public agency.” (SoS24, The Story of Stuff, 09/10/2019)

The two main ways in which urgency is communicated is either through the use of the term ‘URGENT’ (117) or of a synonym ‘ALERT’ (120) or through a near time reference in ‘Tomorrow’ (118) or ‘now’ (119). Normally, the use of the imperative in the subject line in (119) means that it “accrues maximum force” (Carter-Thomas & Rowley-Jolivet, 2017:80) as it makes explicit to the reader that the purpose of the text is to give a command. However, in this case, the affiliated reader should know that the target of this command is likely to be private companies or politicians, which thereby reduces its face-threatening potential.

Overall, the results, showing greater usage of ‘forward reference’ over ‘sensationalism’ and ‘urgency’, are in line with those of Mathur *et al.*’s (2020:9) study of political campaign mails. They define the most manipulative tactics are those subject lines which falsely indicate that the e-mail is part of an ongoing exchange through the use of ‘Re:’, ‘Fwd:’, or alternatively by obscuring the sender name. These were entirely absent from the corpus of social and environmental campaign e-mails in this thesis, demonstrating that while the writer wants to entice the readership to open the e-mails, they do not try to deceive them in this way. This finding is not surprising given the attention by all the groups, especially The Green Party and Greenpeace, to construing the imagined reader as highly affiliated to them. The only kind of manoeuvring that could be said to occur in these e-mails is found at their conclusions, when the writer is using all their resources of reader alignment and affiliation

markers to push the reader towards taking action⁹⁴. At this point, the reader has already opened and presumably read through almost the entire e-mail, thus already demonstrating a base level of affiliation to the writer. So, while the tactics used may be subtle, especially in the case of the blurring of interactant reference of Greenpeace (GR06), it would be harsh to define them as openly manipulation.

We will now review all the major findings of Chapter 7, before giving the overall Conclusion related to the observations contained in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

⁹⁴ Through the blurring of interactant marker reference, or the ventriloquising of the reader, see sections '7.3. Reader alignment and affiliation by move-set' and '7.4. Variation of reader positioning according to campaign issue'.

7.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have considered how each of the four activists groups use markers of imagined reader alignment and affiliation over the move-sets 1-3 of their e-mails. Overall, values of imagined reader alignment fell for all the groups, with the exception of The Green Party in move-set 3. Regarding the values of imagined reader affiliation, different strategies were adopted. The Green Party and The Story of Stuff use a higher frequency of exclusive author-only interactant markers than Freedom United and Greenpeace, indicating a distance between writer and reader. However, each group was seen to use markers of imagined reader affiliation in different ways: Freedom United use a low frequency throughout the three move-sets; The Green Party uses a high level throughout (but this is mostly due to a lot of evoked attitude instead of explicitly including the reader in interactant markers); Greenpeace increase the frequency of markers of affiliation in move-set 2 and 3 compensating for the decrease in markers of high imagined reader alignment; finally, The Story of Stuff, similarly to Freedom United, use a low frequency of reader affiliation markers throughout (see Fig.44). The two example e-mails from Freedom United and Greenpeace bear out these observations, with very little involvement of the imagined reader in the former (FU24) and a lot in move-sets 2 and 3 in the latter (GR06). In fact, it was observed that Greenpeace blur the distinction of plural reference of 'we/us' to bring the writer and reader to the highest possible level of affiliation through shared identity. The Story of Stuff used a different, less subtle, technique to reach the same goal, that of ventriloquising the voice of the imagined reader in e-mail SoS01⁹⁵.

⁹⁵ See section '7.3. Move-structure, reader alignment and affiliation' and '7.4. Variation of reader positioning according to campaign issue'.

Finally, regarding the subject lines of the e-mails, the most popular strategy used to entice the reader to open the e-mail was 'forward-referencing'. In relation to Mathur *et al.*'s (2020) definition, the activist groups were not actively manipulative in their formulations of subject lines. This is not surprising, given that one of their primary objectives is the affiliation of the imagined reader, something which such deceptive tactics would go directly against.

Chapter 8. General conclusions

In this chapter we will draw our final conclusions. Section 8.1. below will review the research aims of this thesis, including re-iterating the research questions and hypotheses which are then addressed. Section 8.2 describes the contributions of the findings and observations contained in chapters 5, 6 and 7 to the fields of Ecolinguistics, Appraisal Theory and the study of online discourse. Then, section 8.3 outlines the potential implications of the findings for the writing of social and environmental activist campaign e-mails. The limitations of the methodology and findings of this thesis will then be considered in section 8.4. Lastly, suggestions for further research, particularly in applying a multi-modal analysis approach as well as expanding the analysis of transitivity participant roles and of implicit warrants (Toulmin, 2003) structure are proposed.

8.1. Major findings

The aim of this thesis was to explore how different activist organisations make use of certain lexicogrammatical elements in differing frequencies with the same extra-linguistics objective: to convince the reader of campaign e-mails to take action. The theoretical approach adopted involved complementing the systems of appraisal markers contained within Appraisal Theory (Martin & White, 2005) with other markers of writer-reader interaction: interactant markers (G. Thompson, 2012), commands, questions (Thompson & Thetela, 1995) and transitivity participant roles (Fawcett, 1980; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, 2014; Neale, 2002). All these markers were seen to play a role in the construal of different levels of alignment and affiliation of the imagined reader. Thus, taking inspiration from Don (2019), who notes that “SFL studies appear to have used the terms alignment and affiliation somewhat interchangeably...” (Don, 2018:73), a new formulation of the concepts of alignment and affiliation was proposed. As distinct from previous research (Knight, 2010a; Peter White, 2021a, 2021b; Zappavigna and Martin, 2017), the two measures remained analytically separate. This is not to say that one marker, such as that of invoked ATTITUDE, could not contribute to both the construal of both reader alignment and affiliation, but that any marker’s potential impact on each measure of reader positioning was considered initially separately before subsequently being compared for co-occurrence.

The research questions which were investigated were:

- R1) How do activist organisations attempt to inspire their sympathetic readership to take concrete action on ecological/social issues?
- R2) How do four activist groups employ a range of lexicogrammatical features to encourage the reader to take concrete action?
- R3) How does the use of markers of alignment and affiliation of the imagined reader relate to the move-structure of the campaign e-mails?

In order to answer these questions, a corpus of 100 activist campaign e-mails was created, 25 from each of the four groups studied: Freedom United, The Green Party, Greenpeace, and The Story of Stuff. Some major differences in the organisational characteristics of the four groups, which would prove useful in explaining the different approaches taken to e-mail writing, include:

- Freedom United being the only social action group.
- Freedom United and The Story of Stuff being young, internet-mediated groups with small budgets and low staff numbers.
- The Green Party and Greenpeace being considerably older organisations, having been founded at the beginning of the 1970s, with more substantial funding, much bigger staff numbers and geographical presence.
- The Green Party being the only political organisation included in the study.

The adaptation of the Don's (2019) separation of the concepts of imagined reader alignment and reader affiliation was seen as potentially allowing for linking the lexicogrammar to the broader functionality of the text type. While differences were noted in the use of appraisal markers and interactant markers, the impact of the use of commands and questions on isolating group-specific strategies was seen to be of more limited use. This was because of the relatively low frequency of these markers⁹⁶ as well as the high level of conformity among the groups in their use, where 73% of questions were of the type 'Real-world question to reader', while 79% of commands were '2nd person imperatives'. Regarding the use of markers of reader alignment, measured by the frequency of MONOGLOSSIC and contractive ENGAGEMENT categories, this declined related to the move-structure of the e-mail for all groups except The Green Party. This general trend was hypothesized to reveal a multiplicity of imagined readers, depending on which point of the text (i.e., which 'move-set') the reader arrives at before either taking action or closing the e-mail. The move-structure of the e-mails includes multiple

⁹⁶ Questions (N=142); commands (N=518); ATTITUDE (N=2,336); interactant markers (N=4813)

opportunities for the reader to take action, one at the end of each move-set. In general, the further a reader continues into the text, the more potentially uncommitted or dis-aligned they are construed to be. This observation seems logical in the sense that if a reader passes over one, two or more opportunities to take action, then it should be because they have not yet been fully convinced. However, the peak density of markers of reader alignment occurred in move-set 1, which probably just reflects a pragmatic consideration that most readers will only read that first move-set, irrespective of whether they take action or not.

Reader alignment through the use of the ENGAGEMENT system has been studied related to mass media text types (Peter White, 2020a, 2020b, 2021a, 2021b). The question posed by this thesis is what other resources a writer might have at their disposal to encourage the reader to do something other than alignment to the authorial stance on an issue. The concept of imagined reader affiliation was thus elaborated on, particularly as being evidenced through the invocation of attitude⁹⁷ and the use of interactant markers encoding varying degrees of inclusivity or reference to the imagined reader. While Freedom United, The Green Party and The Story of Stuff use more exclusive author-only interactant markers, Greenpeace used markedly more inclusive markers than exclusive ones. Through the analysis of the whole Greenpeace sub-corpus, and then subsequently one representative e-mail, it was seen that they increase the use of imagined reader affiliation markers inversely to the decrease in markers of reader alignment. This observation seems to indicate that markers of reader affiliation compensate for the construed 'unpersuaded' status of the imagined reader at later points in the e-mail texts. In the one particular Greenpeace e-mail, which was analysed in detail⁹⁸, not only were markers of high imagined reader affiliation seen to increase in move-

⁹⁷ Particularly those relying on a shared cultural doxa between writer and imagined reader, see Don (2019)

⁹⁸ GR06 in section '7.3. Move-structure, reader alignment and affiliation'.

sets 2 and 3, but at the very end of the e-mail Greenpeace seem to blur the reference of a reference chain of the same plural 'we/us' pronouns. That is, while almost all instances of these plural pronouns were genuinely inclusive of both writer and reader through move-sets 2 and 3, the very last example instead referred metonymically only to the reader, evident from its role in the transitivity of the clause. In this way, at the very end of the e-mail Greenpeace seek to reduce the separation of identities between writer and reader to nothing, that is to blend them. Therefore, the reader's actions are in some way also the writer's. While The Story of Stuff also used a technique to close the identity gap, their ventriloquising of the imagined reader's voice, through the use of first-person singular pronoun 'I' referring to the reader, was much less subtle. In fact, ventriloquising does not indicate a merging of identities, but instead a presumptuousness of the writer in projecting themselves as knowing the reader so intimately that they can speak for them. As previously stated, Freedom United and The Green Party did not seem to use markers of reader affiliation in such a strategic way, preferring to maintain a distance between the two identities, with the reader often cast in a peripheral role of assisting the campaigning activities of the writer.

8.2. Research contributions

8.2.1. Contributions to Ecolinguistics

It is hoped that this thesis will contribute to the study of environmental and social activist discourse in general, and more specifically to the field of Ecolinguistics, by having demonstrated how the categories of Appraisal Theory and other discourse markers can be analysed to reveal the link between the lexicogrammatical choices of an author and a text's extralinguistic aims. More precisely, it is hoped that with the separation and fleshing out of the concept of reader affiliation, that this thesis can help highlight the different ways in which writers attempt to persuade their readership to take action on current issues. Also, given the differences identified between the approaches of Freedom United and the three environmental-focus groups, it is hoped that the findings presented here can provide impetus for a new area of study in directly comparing social and environmental activist discourse. That is, as will be explained in greater detail in section '8.5. Further research', the differences in approach for social compared to environmental activist communications might reveal something of human bias towards human-centred issues (see Goatly, 2018). Taking this bias into account could be important when considering how to structure future environmental discourses, as called for by Arran Stibbe (2020).

8.2.2. Theoretical contributions

Taking inspiration primarily from Don's (2019) suggested separation of the concepts of reader alignment and reader affiliation, this thesis sought to develop a systematic application of appraisal markers, interactant markers (G. Thompson, 2012), commands and questions (Kim and G. Thompson, 2010) to the campaign e-mails of four activist organisations. The frequencies of the use of various markers and the possible implications for imagined reader

alignment and affiliation were first studied individually and then in combination to reveal general trends for the four groups studied. The results revealed that the distribution of markers of reader alignment was common to all four, but that the use of markers of affiliation varied greatly. It is hoped that if the approach taken in this thesis is applied to future studies, it will better allow for comparison of persuasive strategies used in a range of text types written by different activist groups.

8.2.3. Contribution to studies of online alternative media

Through the construction of a corpus of campaign e-mails, the findings of this thesis may also contribute to the characterising of new online discourse types. However, as mentioned above, it is the novel approach to the analysis of persuasion within the texts which is thought to be this study's most prominent contribution. Although all of the markers included here have been studied in a range of text types before (Kim & G. Thompson, 2010; Martin & White, 2005; Tann, 2019, G. Thompson, 2012), it is the amalgamation of the effects of all of them which could be of interest to other researchers of online discourse. This is particularly related to the types of online discourse that could be considered to represent the 'alternative media' (Atton, 2002a), such as the social and environmental campaign e-mails studied here.

8.3. Research implications

In addition to the possible contributions to the development of theory and research techniques outlined in section '8.2. Research Contributions' above, the main implications of the findings presented here could be for the writing of activist campaign e-mails in the future. In fact, during the four interviews with e-mail writers from the four groups carried out as part of this study, all interviewees expressed an interest in the research carried out here and curiosity in being informed as to its findings. It is therefore our intention to produce a 'popular science' document which gives the main conclusions of the study in an accessible manner. It is hoped that activist e-mail writers might use the results to possibly make more conscious decision as to at which point and how they distribute markers of reader alignment and affiliation in their messaging. However, it must be stated that we would not wish to make any recommendations about which strategies could be more 'effective' in encouraging the readership to take action.

The implications of the findings here are primarily limited to awareness raising through explaining the differences and their possible impact on reader alignment and affiliation. As previously noted, there is no link between the construal of a highly aligned and affiliated reader and the positive reception of a message by a large part of its audience. In fact, the opposite might be true, with a less well-defined and imagined reader allowing a greater variety proportion of the audience adopting the role created for them by and in the text.

8.4. Research limitations

As with all qualitative research, and despite the carrying out of two IRR (inter-rater reliability) tests with an expert in the field, Alexanne Don, one unavoidable limitation of the study is the possible influence of the subjectivity of the analyst on the coding choices. However, the adoption of Don's (2016) spectrum of invoked ATTITUDE meant that at least when experiential tokens which were marked as evoking ATTITUDE, the category most dependent on co-text and interpretation, this was done so systematically. Finally, the choice of weighting the data in Chapter 7 to favour the markers of high or medium reader alignment and affiliation was related to the objectives of this study and not based on an approach taken in the literature. The reasoning given behind this choice was that we wanted to uncover the trends of use of those markers which most contributed to the construction of a well-defined imagined reader, thus the low-level categories were partially suppressed. We recognise that it is possible that some readers may disagree with the approach. However, it is important to say that the weightings were decided before being applied to the data, and not as a tool to manipulate the data⁹⁹. We believe that any other choice of specific weightings which had the same objective of favouring the high levels of reader alignment and affiliation would have produced very similar results.

⁹⁹ In fact, no other weightings were tested against the data, so, the intention was purely to further isolate the effect of those markers which we considered most relevant to the positioning of the imagined reader.

8.5. Further research

One suggestion for further study has already been made in section '8.2.1. Contributions to Ecolinguistics', that is for continued research into the different strategies used in social and environmental issue activist campaigns. This suggestion emerges as a result of the findings of this study, which highlight a different approach used by Freedom United, the social issue group, to the other three environmental-focus groups. This difference was clear in the use of almost all the categories investigated: JUDGEMENT, APPRECIATION, the polarity of attitudinal markers in general, contractive ENGAGEMENT, interactant markers, commands and questions. The most general conclusion was that Freedom United spend fewer textual resources on construing the imagined reader as being affiliated than as being aligned. This low affiliation was also evident in transitivity roles assigned to the imagined reader. The question that would be interesting to explore is if other social campaigns encode the imagined reader as less affiliated with the authors than environmental ones. If that is the case, does the insistence on affiliating the imagined reader in environmental campaigns (particularly in the case of Greenpeace) reflect a lack of concern for non-human life which the author attempts to mitigate through the construction of solidarity with the imagined reader? Is that solidarity building just compensating for the fact that the average reader does not care enough about the environmental issues in themselves? In our opinion, these are questions which would be worth exploring and which could be investigated by seeing if the communication strategies employed by Freedom United are representative of the wider social-issue activist movement.

Another interesting area of future study would be to combine the interpersonal analysis of text, such as that presented here, with a multimodal analysis of the photos and videos that are often embedded into activist campaign e-mails. The analysis of these audio-visual materials was felt to be beyond the remit of this thesis, but nonetheless remain as a

potentially fruitful area of study. Given the growth of social media use, an analysis of communication strategies which go beyond the textual would seem both appropriate and promising.

Although we have already examined the function of transitivity participant roles related to the reader affiliatory effects of interactant markers, particularly with regard to assigned levels of agentivity, a more complete analysis of transitivity could shed more light on its impact in terms of imagined reader affiliation.

Finally, as related to Peter White's (2021b) article, an analysis of the implicit warrants (see Toulmin, 2003) which underlie the logical coherence of the argumentation of a text would allow for even greater depth of analysis of the level of reader affiliation. That is, persuasive texts of this type often contain gaps in the progression of their argumentation which the reader must necessarily perceive the need for and usually unconsciously insert for the text to make sense. The example provided by Peter White (2021b) related to a Japanese editorial about the controversial visit by Japanese politicians to the Yasukuni Shrine:

“Japanese politicians should keep their distance from the Yasukuni Shrine [because] Japan's relationship with South Korea is said to be in the worst shape since the end of the war... Japan's relationship with China is already in a delicate and sensitive state.”
(Peter White 2021b:263)

For the second and third sentences to function as justification for the proposition contained in the first sentence, Peter White determines that the reader must implicitly accept an unwritten warrant such as *'politicians should avoid at all costs actions which might damage relationships with other countries.'* In our view, such a broad warrant does not indicate alignment over the specific issue discussed in a persuasive text, but more a worldview which is presumed to be shared between writer and imagined reader. Thus, it is our contention that an analysis of such unwritten warrants would help illuminate the nature of reader affiliation,

as based on the sharing of cultural norms. A reader who puts more value on patriotism in honouring the war-dead than on international relations would either perceive the unwritten warrant in their rejection of the authorial stance, or would simply not perceive the subsequent sentences as an example of logical argumentation. As Peter White (2021b) states, even if the imagined reader is construed as potentially uncommitted to the text's stance on a specific issue, the reader is still construed as:

“‘likeminded’ with respect to the underlying, typically unstated beliefs, attitudes or expectations which [sic] by which the propositions presented as justifying the thesis function to logically entail the thesis.” (Peter White, 2021b:264).

Again, in the context of activist campaign e-mails, we see these *‘beliefs, attitudes or expectations’* as signals of a broader kind of reader affiliation, rather than alignment on a specific issue. So, while the analysis of unwritten warrants was deemed to be beyond the scope of this thesis, its inclusion in future analyses seems to be very promising in further fleshing out of the concept of reader affiliation.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Interview with Joanna Ewart-James, the Head of Freedom United

Paul White 0:00

1 Okay, that seems to be going now. So yeah. As I said, the first thing if you could just tell me a bit about
2 how the group was founded basically.

Joanna Ewart-James 0:13

3 Did you get the backstory?

Paul White 0:16

4 Yeah. Yeah, I did. Yeah.

Joanna Ewart-James 0:17

5 Yeah. So, I mean, I don't know, obviously, there's a lot I could say. I don't want to like overdo it, you
6 know, the short version and just asked me to expand, I go to the short version and you can ask me to
7 expand.

Paul White

8 Okay.

Joanna Ewart-James

9 So, the short version is it started in 2012. Following a... what would you call it... like a kind of proposal
10 that was developed by a social oriented consultancy called Purpose. And they came up with this
11 concept to realize this idea of changing societal attitudes on this topic, and at the request of the
12 Forest Family in Australia, and who had set up a number of different initiatives to tackle modern
13 slavery. And this particular one was called the Walk Free Movement to end slavery, the idea of it
14 being the global... the world's conscience, that was the kind of language that we used at the time.
15 2012 was when it was first mooted, I actually joined in 2013, so I can give you the extra detailed
16 background if you needed it. And then in 2016, it was spun off and separated from the Australian
17 initiative. And there's a couple of reasons behind that. You know, mainly the fact that, you know, a lot
18 had been invested in it and there was a real value with it being independent of other initiatives, which
19 had, which were seeking to build close relationships with governments, and the sort of perception
20 that having a campaigning arm could impinge on the ability to build those government, National
21 Action Plans. And also just, you know, invested quite a lot and it was in a position to be able to be run
22 independently. And there was a whole call for proposals, which a number of organizations submitted
23 and different ideas and concepts of how to realize the separation. And following that assessment, an
24 organization in North Carolina could End Crowd run by a guy called Joe Schmidt, came out on top.
25 And so walk free merged with End Crowd, which is basically like a Kickstarter for anti-trafficking
26 organizations. And I was, at a time the executive director of the Walk Free Movement, and as part of
27 that agreement, I went over to the US organization, and we operated on the license for a year, and
28 then we rebrand... with the commitment to rebrand. In 12 months, that rebrand happened in 2017.

Paul White 3:40

29 Well, I think my first email is the first one sent under the Freedom United... Freedom, logo and
30 everything.

Joanna Ewart-James 3:49

31 Yeah, so the whole concept of freedom united, has very strong definitely has roots in Walk Free. But
32 there are things that we added on to it. So Joe and I are and we sort of worked out, okay, what we're
33 going to call it, how that's going to work, you know, what can we add to what's already there? So of
34 course, of Walk Free was the campaign, and that still remains the core. Joe has a marketing
35 background. So you know, and that was really a big thing for Walk Free... like how can we actually
36 leverage new talent and expertise in time [inaudible]... to build up innovation. So it went from being
37 fully funded by the Forest family through the foundation with having to fundraise? And since then, I
38 guess, just like any organization, I guess, is it's been developing. And Joe was very hands on at that
39 point of the transition and he stepped back onto a board position in 2019. And so I'm running it since.
40 And that's the kind of shorter version.

Paul White 5:14

41 But I have some specific questions also much about the history but about today. I read somewhere
42 that is the biggest advocacy group for against modern slavery today.

Joanna Ewart-James 5:26

43 Yeah. Yeah. I mean, obviously, we talk about it being the biggest community, because in terms of
44 reach and numbers were definitely the biggest. I doubt we're the biggest in terms of budget, but I
45 know we're not the biggest in terms of budget.

Paul White 5:39

46 Well, that's very interesting. That's very interesting for me, because apart from like the difference in
47 campaign focus, in my study of what's going on Greenpeace, which have a \$90 million budget per
48 year, and you've got the Green Party, which are on about three and a half, 4 million pounds budget.
49 I'm not saying is the only measure... it's not the only measure of how the organization is constructed.
50 But it's still something indicative. Not... it's not connected to... how successful the, the campaign
51 rhetoric is. But it's something which determines it like Greenpeace, you know, because there's such a
52 big organization, they follow a very rigid format in their mails, every mail is structured in exactly the
53 same way. There's this, you don't really see, you know, the sign by different people, but you don't
54 really see any kind of difference between one and the next, which is, I guess, pretty usual for such a
55 big organization. They have communications experts, or something, which kind of you know,

Joanna Ewart-James 6:50

56 Yeah, I mean, also, I guess they've got their formula right and it works. Say, so let's not break it. I think
57 we're quite experimental and Joe's an entrepreneur, Forest core enterprises are entrepreneurs. So
58 there's a very entrepreneurial spirit in the way that Freedom United has come about. And exist,
59 which, you know, despite me being the opposite, if you look at my background, I actually quite like so
60 I've kept that spirit. But I think there's also an element, you know, of me experimenting,
61 experimentation that comes with the nature of being sort of small and young and trying to work out
62 what works best.

Paul White 7:31

63 So, I mean, today, like, are you... You have your offices you have offices in, in America, in the UK, in
64 Australia, is that...?

Joanna Ewart-James 7:39

65 I'd say that's a bit over playing it. I mean, imagine that you have an idea of our budget. Yeah. And it's
66 pretty modest. Sorry. And we're about like, 6-700,000 US. So half a million or whatever. We don't
67 really have offices? Yeah, I mean, we have an address in North Carolina and money, and it's a real
68 address. There's someone there who's going to pick out the mail that's posted to us. But in this
69 pandemic world, this is not such a difficult to grasp concept. And so, you know, in as much as we have

70 people, we could say, offices, we have presence in different continents. But yeah, we don't. Our only
71 office is in US.

Paul White 8:38

72 Okay. And between the number of people who are employed, like in, you know, paid for this, and just
73 people who just give their time to it, what would you say? How many people...?

Joanna Ewart-James 8:51

74 They're tiny... so, I mean, the staff is very, very, very small. I mean, again, you can see on the on the
75 About Us page, we're about six people or so... We have...well, full time equivalent, we're probably
76 about six people. So we have a couple more, because we have some of them are part-time. And yet
77 we have like 5.6 million followers on Facebook. And...

Paul White 9:16

78 This is this is the...

Joanna Ewart-James 9:18

79 We reached about a quarter million people on social media a month at the moment. So, that's why
80 we feel very confident in saying that we're the largest community because, obviously, on this
81 particular topic, and obviously, if you talk about other topics I'm sure there's bigger... I mean,
82 obviously, environment... those guys would blow us out of the water. But on this topic, I'm very
83 confident of that claim. Definitely, I'm talking about people who are interested and support what we
84 do, who engaged with what we do. I'm not talking about staff.

Paul White 9:55

85 There are a couple of other groups maybe with less of a kind of global focus. You know, there are
86 groups in Australia, groups in America are kind of just campaigning within their countries.

Joanna Ewart-James

87 So, for example...? Is that a question or...?

Paul White

88 Yeah, national activist groups against modern slavery. I can't I can't bring to mind. I found a few
89 groups.

Joanna Ewart-James 10:17

90 Yeah. So there's like End It Movement. That sort of thing. And then there's IJM is a big one in terms of
91 staff. IJM,

Joanna Ewart-James 10:30

92 And any of the organizations that provide services tend to be a lot bigger in terms of staff just
93 inherent, in fact that they're the providing services. And, you know, all pragmatic work, services or
94 pragmatic work, you know, we don't do programmatic work or services...

Paul White 10:48

95 No, no, it's campaigning.

Joanna Ewart-James 10:49

96 Yeah, exactly. So, but in terms of sort of just campaigning, yeah, I mean, there are definitely anti-
97 trafficking organizations. But as you say that there aren't that many, and they tend to have a specific
98 national focus. And not a global global one. Yeah, and those that do... yeah, I mean, we don't, it's,

99 yeah, there's not really anyone else who's working in the way that we work. I'm aware of... but who
100 do the things that we do.

Paul White 11:19

101 Yeah, yeah. Okay. And this is a bit of a stupid, obvious one. But I mean, the internet is absolutely
102 fundamental to the success of a group... I guess it wouldn't be possible without... modern...

Joanna Ewart-James 11:34

103 Well, um, and that's another thing that I think is often forgotten. Actually, none of the things that we
104 do are that innovative. I mean, if you just go and look at the efforts to abolish the transatlantic slave
105 trade, you've got the techniques that we use... quite a petition gathering, a lot public meetings. So
106 okay, we do them online, but it's just a tool in the way. And they also even used merchandise. So, you
107 know, they had like crockery... stuff like that. So, in a way I think there is also the idea that, you know,
108 using sort of digital new things, really it's not actually that revolutionary, I guess it's more just the fact
109 that easier. So you could still do it. Don't get me wrong. I mean, obviously, they had to like ride
110 around on horses.

Paul White 12:32

111 It's the impact side of it, not the methods... it's the potential impact.

Joanna Ewart-James 12:35

112 Yeah, it was quite a lot of effort... it was a lot harder, but they produced pamphlets, they did a lot of
113 things that we do. And of course, with technology, it does become a lot easier. So you can still do it all
114 from our home and not have to like traipse around the world. And I think, you know, and that does
115 make a difference. And for sure there's even lots of African Americans who travelled to the to the UK,
116 you can imagine it's a big deal, we've got to come and ship them over, just to talk about, you know,
117 the experience which is... despite that, it's still you know, we try and lift up survivor voices. Yes, it's
118 still surprisingly a bit of a unique thing to do.

Paul White 13:21

119 In fact, that brings me on to the second thing I want to talk about, which is the actual content of the
120 mails. So there is I, I have my own kind of interpretation about why this is used. But I don't want to
121 say I want to just ask you the question got to open the and see what you're saying that? Well, I'll tell
122 you what I think about it. But compared to because I've got you, together with three kind of
123 environmental focus groups, you for me, you are the kind of social activists part of my study. And I
124 noticed that there's a big difference between the language that you produce and all the three
125 environmental groups in the use of passive forms, and, and nouns. So quite often, in in your
126 campaigns, you give the name of a survivor of modern slavery, and then there's quite often kind of a
127 list of has been abused, exploited, etc, etc. without mentioning necessarily the person who has done
128 this is... why do you think that is?

Joanna Ewart-James 14:30

129 I mean, the actual perpetrator? Yeah. Well, that's interesting.

Paul White 14:32

130 I'm not saying that you don't talk about the perpetrator, but quite often, especially at the start of the
131 male. There's, there's these forms where you're the subject, your grammatical subject is the is the
132 survivor or..

Joanna Ewart-James 14:48

133 Oh, that's interesting. Really, I've never thought about that before. So there's an honest answer. I'm
134 able to I guess it just sort of reflect on why that is. rather than give you an immediate answer...

Paul White 15:10

135 It's not only in the passive verbs, there's also things like the use of the words like exploitation, even
136 the use of the word modern slavery. You know, slavery is an action in the end is somebody enslaves
137 another person. But instead of kind of pulling it out and showing x enslaves y, you have the concept of
138 modern slavery or the concept of exploitation or the concept of some other ones.

Joanna Ewart-James 15:35

139 Yeah. I mean, I'm, I'm just thinking about it of my head. And I think that's a really interesting
140 observation that I hadn't really thought too. And I know we've talked about occasionally, they, for
141 example, when we talked about Angela who's now on our advisory board, who's from California from
142 San Diego... But it depends, I think, a story whether we have that information, we do come down to
143 talk about the recruitment process. And that's really interesting. Yeah.

Paul White 16:15

144 Okay. So I, as I say, I don't want to influence what you think. But my kind of reflections, which is not a
145 linguistic, it's just on the kind of observations behind that. I mean, there's two, there's two possible
146 things for me. One, is that the perpetrators are kind of such a dispersed group, which are difficult to
147 define. Because if you're talking about the kind of domestic slavery somewhere, that is, why in the
148 environmental groups, they do the target the perpetrator of the environmental damage, whatever, is
149 usually quite specific, you know, you have I don't know, an oil company like BP or you have a
150 government or a politician or something like that. Yeah, it's quite a well-defined. Visible perpetrator,
151 say, and or the other, the other side could be simply that you want to give more emphasis to the
152 experience of the victim, rather than talking about the actions of the perpetrator.

Joanna Ewart-James 17:17

153 Guess what I would, I guess, yeah, I'm sure I have more thoughts on it, when I get a chance to reflect.
154 But I guess one of the problems is that we are very mindful that this happens, because the whole
155 system allow it. And so the real question is, how do you how do you get accountability and getting
156 accountability by pursuing and hating I guess, yeah, simplistic individuals isn't really going to cut it.
157 You know, it's what our whole theory changed is based on the fact that we're trying to move from a
158 society which exonerates us from slavery to one which actually holds society to count. So that's where
159 the change doesn't necessarily. It needs to be broader, I guess. And the individual perpetrator. And,
160 and having, yeah, you could, you know, hate on the individual perpetrators. But it probably won't
161 have as much impact as getting a broader framework that makes it hard for a perpetrator to act. And,
162 and that fit. I mean, of course, that mean, I'm just really reflecting on our whole approach to how
163 change happens in this topic. What hasn't happened today, though? I think, really, we're not we're
164 thinking like, the solution with the responsibility of BP is quite significant. Whether BP changes the
165 way it does some business. massive impact on the environment. And then the perpetrator might say
166 we can't, it needs to be a I mean, of course, you get your cases where they, you know, got 400 people
167 in slavery, but for the most part, it tends to be little micro scale that are symptomatic of a border
168 systems problem. Obviously, society's not holding it to account. I mean, I guess it's after all, like
169 saying, you know, do you go after loads of individual murderers? Or do you actually just make sure
170 you've got as strong as you can legislation in place to make murder clearly something society doesn't
171 accept, and you're still going to get those murders going out there and murdering people. But at least,
172 you know, there's a consensus that that's not how, you know, you should do business, except for
173 the...[inaudible] you know, except of course, and they've been, you know, apparently genocide is fine.

Paul White 19:51

174 But I mean, even in the cases, where you have, like, somebody, you know, is not directly responsible,
175 but is definitely complicit. Like, I don't know, the authorities in Qatar or in Eritrea, where you have
176 this, especially as kind of governmental responsibility, do you...?

Joanna Ewart-James 20:15

177 We do that quite a bit because that'd be our targets.

Paul White 20:17

178 Yeah, that'd be your targets. But I've I have to look back at the individual mails to be honest. But I
179 think I remember that you still don't go in for a case of criticizing a lot the targets instead you talk
180 about the problem and the asker targets to implement change

Joanna Ewart-James 20:36

181 It's interesting. Yeah, I think it's interesting as well, because I think when people think about, again,
182 this is this is a, a function. But I think when people he look at what we do, who perhaps in in our
183 space, but work in a more on a different side things like maybe policy or what have you. They think,
184 you know, it's such a blunt instrument, you just go around bashing people, and that's not the way to
185 do things. I mentioned that because I think, you know, we were actually, we're actually quite
186 considered in how we work. And you know, of course sometimes we need to bash them. I'm not got
187 no qualms with that at all. But I also think, you know, ultimately, what we're trying to do turn
188 somebody who's effectively against us into someone who's an ally. And sometimes we need to do
189 that by being truly aggressive, for sure. But most of time, you don't, you actually need to persuade
190 someone to do something. And so I think that's reflected in the language of quite a few of our
191 campaigns.

Paul White 21:49

192 Absolutely, yeah. So how would I think this is the last question I have, basically, but how would you?
193 How would you measure the success of the group? Since it's founding?

Joanna Ewart-James 22:01

194 Yeah. I mean, we really focus on impact. So we always look at impact first. So where are we actually
195 helping make change happen? So our primary metric, if you like, is, you know, how many campaigns
196 are you seeing progress, but the problem is that relies on what we're asking for [inaudible]? And, you
197 know, a secondary metric would be our community's ability to mobilize community, because our
198 theory is that we need that community to be mobilized to make the change happen. So of course,
199 one for us to make sure we are mobilizing them, but it's definitely not ahead of having the impact.
200 And I think that's a really important distinction, because we use a lot of, basically, marketing
201 techniques [inaudible] of the organizations that you're looking at. I think that there's other
202 organizations out there who also use marketing techniques to highlight a number of different issues.
203 But they don't necessarily have a specific objective in mind. They don't, or at least not a clear set
204 objective. And certainly sometimes, you know, I think I would say there's like a bit of a kind of seesaw
205 between focusing on are you having an impact on a specific issue, or are you having effective
206 marketing strategy?

Paul White 23:41

207 Sorry, the marketing strategies is to build the community.

Joanna Ewart-James 23:43

208 No, I'm saying, like, are you getting, are you sending out and let me be really blunt about it. If we
209 were just interested in that we could just maybe, I mean, I don't I'm not saying that this is the thing,
210 but do provocative and blunt, but we could send out a load of messages about children being forced

211 to marry old men in Yemen. And everyone might be like, totally outraged by it. So it might get us
212 really high open rate on the email. I guess my click through rate might get really high petition
213 signatures. But is that actually going to change the experience of young girls in Yemen, to avoid being
214 forced into marrying older men? Probably not. So that's where I'm saying that I always have in mind,
215 can we have an impact on this over are we going to just get loads of people excited and clicking and,
216 you know, sharing and doing that, and it's, and it's, I mean, that's why I described the [inaudible]. You
217 can imagine, right? Yeah, that's trying to do something which people has not engaged with because
218 then a whole theory of changes falls apart, because any [inaudible] on it? If we're just doing it for the
219 sake of engaging people not having an impact, and there's also no point.

Paul White 25:09

220 Okay, so yeah. I understand, so there's a balance between those two, those two aspects of getting
221 people involved and actually possibilities of changing something on the ground.

Joanna Ewart-James 25:18

222 Yeah. Which is why then the metric at the top has to always be impact on the actual, actual team on
223 the issues.

Paul White 25:28

224 Yeah. Yeah. And this is, apart from the activities of freedom united, how do you see the situation in
225 the world changing in the last few years, irrespective of whether you campaigned on those...

Joanna Ewart-James 25:45

226 On modern slavery? Well, is it's definitely it's only been positive unusually, if you look at generally,
227 rights issues, this has been pretty dire. I think modern slavery really stands out as one where we've
228 actually been able to have some progress. And I've said before that I give credit to the Forrest family.
229 And they give some of that credit to the Forrest family for really going in strong and bringing a lot of
230 attention to the issue, especially the global slavery which is what that's best known for. gives people
231 [inaudible] I mean, however, the challenges, especially in the early days of producing something
232 accurate, it gives something for people to start to build our understanding on. [inaudible]... write
233 media articles about and etc. And I think the kind of investment that they've made has really had an
234 impact on positions and being British, I think that you can see that more than anywhere in the UK, of
235 course, it was then picked up by the former Prime Minister as a topic of interest. And then we had the
236 Modern Slavery Act. So, it really did go from something that you when I first started working on this,
237 people just thought was not relevant. This modern slavery thing we're talking about to one that a lot
238 of people have a general conscious [inaudible]. That's really significant. It's a long way to go.

Paul White 27:30

239 I think you could probably find some statistics about the increase of use of the of the term modern
240 slavery, because....

Joanna Ewart-James 27:41

241 We did some analysis on that, actually, because we were looking at whether the correlation between
242 the campaign's we're putting out and media coverage. I did it in part of a big review, I can dig it out. It
243 may not be useful enough. But ... the answer is yes. is much more talk about it in the media than
244 there was over the years. [inaudible] 2016...

Paul White 28:07

245 Yeah. Sorry, sorry to interrupt, but I... the final kind of in the biggest level impact is legislative change,
246 I guess, like for countries introduced laws, for the UN to talk about these things, or?

Joanna Ewart-James 28:23

247 Well, no. No, which is precisely why we don't just do ivory tower policy work. Please leave my
248 prejudices. Because it was my way calling it I [inaudible]? Because I think, you know, there's, obviously
249 there's organizations who do that very well, and have been doing that for years. So why do you still
250 have modern slavery? I think it's precisely because it has just been kept in those, those discussions
251 have been kept in those corridors of power. Society hasn't caught up with it, right? So it was illegal,
252 but well, funny enough, there's actually a lot of countries where it isn't. But society didn't think of it as
253 being illegal. Hence, why was still tolerated so I think it's part of the solution, but it doesn't work
254 unless people also change. And I always like to use the example of smoking. Now, there's a clear
255 connection between legislative change and social change. I don't think they're always linked, but they
256 are definitely, quite often. You know, there's a relationship between the two. Now, for example, what
257 you see with smoking that's so interesting is a massive social change shift. Where people are very
258 courteous of others when they want to smoke and they will like distance themselves from a group
259 they'd go outside of that enclosed space. They wouldn't light up in front of others for the most part,
260 there's a real change in what seen to be acceptable and what's not acceptable. And even legislation
261 that necessarily, of course there's a lot of very strong legislation, which help engender that. But
262 there's also a broader sort of shift in what's acceptable and what's not. I think the [inaudible] on
263 modern slavery, so that's why the legislative changes part of that process, but it's not going to get you
264 all the way to where, you know, you don't have to like say to someone, actually, you're not allowed to
265 do that. Yes. Apparently know that you don't want to do that, because it's not...

Paul White 30:40

266 Yeah. So I guess there's a kind of feedback between the two in some way, for change and legislative
267 change..

Joanna Ewart-James 30:48

268 Yeah, for sure! Not to underplay the importance of legislative change because, for example, I was
269 actually involved in getting the offense of forced labour onto the into the UK statute booklet, funnily
270 enough [inaudible], that's quite recent, that's in 2009. [inaudible]. So at that time, police if they came
271 across a situation of forced labour, unless there was trafficking involved, they could only really tie
272 someone with a GBH or kidnapping. So they could actually pursue they had no means to pursue a
273 case. So unsurprising then that, you know, people get away with it, because they have no real risk of
274 being accused of anything, they would have to be able to the police would have to prove that person
275 was kidnapped or that they had been violent towards them. They of course, they're definitely I agree
276 you, there's definitely a connection, but I just described it as being part of the solution, an important
277 part. That's why I, you know, of us that other metric of, you know, to be to be blunt marketing, but
278 about mobilizing supporters is important, because we don't think that just legislative change on its
279 own it's going to do it, what we need is that people to see a situation and recognize it for what it is
280 and then do something about it in a common, society accountability point of view. And also to be
281 concerned about, you know, situations that they might be linked to that currently, they don't really
282 see, they're not aware of.

Paul White 32:38

283 Okay, so just to like to link that back to what you said before, which is really important for me, for
284 people to care about an issue... a better approach is to is to focus on the issue rather than the
285 perpetrator of the issue like is because you know, you've got that if you focus on the perpetrator, you
286 can kind of create this us and them situation where people get ready, kind of morally indignant and
287 angry. And, yeah, that can that can also create a lot of energy. But I don't know if it's, subconsciously...

Joanna Ewart-James 33:10

288 That's really interesting, I guess what I'm hearing as you're speaking is, which would be a concern, is
289 the fact that it may give people the sense that they don't have a responsibility, because that's the
290 behaviour of some, you know, someone else who they want to look down on, when actually, the
291 reality is that even me and I'm involved in perpetrating modern slavery because I, you know, consume
292 goods that have a likelihood of being produced with modern slavery. And so if I can't, if I'm not
293 conscious of that, asking questions as to be clear what my expectations are, that I'm not saying I'm
294 responsible with direct involvement, no, but I'm hiring myself as an actor in changing the system.

Paul White 34:05

295 Yeah, yeah. No, it's really, really relevant to what I've gone through and I'm already kind of detailed
296 linguistic analysis. In the end, you have to link it back to, to the intentions and possible impacts and
297 stuff and yeah, it's really, really interesting for me. So I want to ask one more thing. In some of the
298 some of the environments or campaigns or even put the reader in the position of the villain related to
299 what you just said, like, you know, there's a Greenpeace campaign against Velvet, saying, maybe your
300 toilet paper is destroying the Great Northern forest. You know, it's a different approach. It's trying to
301 make people realize the impacts of their individual actions. But I wonder if you know, it's very hard to
302 avoid being involved in these things in modern society. You just got your house and you buy one
303 thing, and it's probably linked to some kind of environmental destruction or, or social repression of
304 one kind or another. It's I mean, of course, you can make choices to actively find those things, which
305 avoid, you know, fair trade...

Joanna Ewart-James 35:21

306 But I think, big whatever for that. But I think which is the same and shouldn't be like that. But I think
307 one of the things that I spent quite a lot of time thinking at times about periods I have, and I, which
308 was extremely interesting for you looking at these two sectors, is that how do you actually.. people
309 have values and they want to live by reflect their values? And so in a way, that's very exciting email to
310 get? Really, I should just stop buying Velvet toilet paper, and you know, I'll be the person I want to be.
311 Yeah, and the beef with labour exploitation is what do those things look like? It's so nice to be able to
312 say, Okay, I don't use plastic straws, I turn the lights off when I'm not there, I choose the walk or cycle
313 instead of taking a car. You know, I make sure I recycle. There's so many, you know, individual things
314 that can reflect my values as someone who cares about the environment. That I've really tried to
315 work out what can they be as somebody he cares about labour exploitation and wants to not be part
316 of that? I just haven't found the answer. And I would love it, because I think it's really great. And of
317 course, people often say to us, you know, which are the companies to avoid? Who should I buy from?
318 Who should I not buy from when it's so difficult? And you know, fair trade, is really, really, really,
319 really challenging one, because sadly, isn't, of course, the silver bullet that, you know, we hope it is.
320 And the certification schemes often really fall down when it comes to labour. And so, they [inaudible]
321 in being able to live the way that reflects the values that you hold. And I think that's really difficult for
322 us compared to saying it's, like, so easy for the environmentally [inaudible] still connected in so many
323 ways. But there's many things you can do to at least express what you value, that you can't on social
324 issues. If you have any ideas on that, I'd love to hear them!

Paul White 37:36

325 I understand the difficulty with it. But maybe a result is the way in which you the way in which you
326 can conceive of and construct your campaigns is, is not focusing on the individual responsibility, but
327 focusing on the problem itself. But yeah, okay.

Joanna Ewart-James 38:00

328 Yeah, yeah, no, it's true. And how do you? Yeah, it's Yeah, it's tricky.

Paul White 38:09

329 I mean, there is one website, and I don't know if you know, ethicalconsumer.org

Joanna Ewart-James 38:13

330 Yeah. Yeah. I mean, it's been around a long time.

Paul White 38:17

331 Yeah. Yeah. And they have some, you know, you can adjust the different things, but I don't know
332 exactly. I think a lot of their research is difficult to do, because our companies don't want to talk about
333 environmental and social responsibility in a realistic way. And so they give you metrics, you can
334 change and one of those is about exploitation of workers. But as I say, it's, even for them who the full
335 time they're investigating these issues is not easy for them to....

Joanna Ewart-James 38:49

336 Yeah, I mean, the legislation. I mean, so, you know, I said it already, and I kind of suggested to
337 underplay it. Of course, it's so important. Because, you know, right now we have the modern slavery
338 Act, which really doesn't require companies to do anything. But it doesn't say, you know, of course,
339 what have you got to really go by, you can look at how a company reports on the modern slavery act,
340 but only in the few cases where companies tick, you really go above and beyond what's required,
341 do you get a sense of what they're doing, but it doesn't give you any way to benchmark them against
342 the others who are just minimal because there's no requirement to actually do anything. But you're
343 hands are quite tied ironically, it's quite difficult to actually assess company to company and I think
344 that's why in a way, I've unless it's really clear cut, I stayed away from it, if it's clear cut them for sure.
345 Doesn't mean to say and again, and that's another point. And company, there are companies out
346 there that we do target and there's companies that, you know, who really could be doing something
347 that not doing and I think in those cases it's really straightforward now whether that you boycott or
348 not, it's not it's not it's not a what-do-you-call-it. I don't say that all because Zara it detects really need
349 to come out and make a clear commitment to withdraw all operations and supply chain from the
350 weak region that you should boycott them is, you know, you could also, like any of these things, you
351 can pick up something else that might be doing that's wonderful, in another scope of their supply
352 chain. I mean, I can't think of what the example is, but there's so many well-known brands that do
353 brilliantly on one thing, and then another, you know, they're a nightmare.

Appendix B: Interview with Azzees Minott, the Chair of Greens of Colour for The Green Party of England Wales

Paul White 0:00

1 Caught on this computer. Okay, that's it.

Azzees Minott 0:05

2 Okay, can you hear me clearly?

Paul White 0:07

3 Yeah.

Azzees Minott 0:10

4 Okay, cool. So yeah, so my name is Azzees Minott. And how I got into the Green Party. Yes, there is a
5 funny story about this. So, I currently am the Chair of the greens of colour group, which is a liberation
6 group within the Green Party of England and Wales, and our responsibilities nationwide, which is to
7 amplify the voices of people from communities from Africa, Caribbean, Asia, Latin America, Arab, also,
8 indigenous communities, and Gypsy and traveller groups as well. Gypsy, Roma, and traveller groups
9 as well. And all under the umbrella and recognition that there is social injustice and racial injustice.
10 And those two things as they relate to one another, also have a massive ecological injustice element
11 as well. So without addressing those points, yeah, we won't be able to achieve the sort of ecological
12 changes that we want to see in society. So, our job is to kind of kind pair it all together. How I got
13 involved in the Green Party is a weird one, because although I studied international relations and
14 politics at university, I had no clue what campaigning was, what politics on the ground was like and to
15 be honest, I found politics quite annoying, and really annoying is a hyperbole for sure. Like, I find it
16 frustrating, I hate it, because it's very adversarial. It doesn't seem progressive and for or in action,
17 because although you may disagree with someone, what we see on TV shows a constant fighting
18 against. But the reality is that when they're in meeting rooms together, they will be in committee or
19 sub-groups together, and they'll be negotiated and in discussing and deliberating and really having
20 some considered thoughts about different things that affect society. And we have to recognize that
21 obviously, in order for society to change, we have to work together. So, what is presented really
22 annoyed me to the point that it moved me to action. So, in my final year, I decided I wanted to try to
23 get involved in politics, mainly because the government were saying that graduate unemployment
24 was rising. So, I said, Well, I could, I couldn't hope [inaudible] had this social contract sold to me,
25 which is if you go to university, you're more likely to have a prosperous life, right. And to feel towards
26 the end of the day, that that wasn't going to be the case was a bit of a slap in the face. And so, to be
27 the fire in some ways. I took it upon myself to really try to get myself to get involved in politics and
28 know what that was about. So, I studied, I studied in commentary, and it was an opportunity to
29 volunteer for the Citizens Advice Bureau. At the time, that was the name of the tabernacle, Citizens
30 Advice. And I didn't really understand how providing advice for citizens on a whole range of matters
31 would actually affect politics. But what I found was, I used to have to support people into their new
32 homes. And oftentimes, these people would be from low socio-economic backgrounds. And
33 oftentimes, the Housing Association Actually, it's a policy that the Housing Association ships the
34 house, regardless of the furniture inside, whether the carpet that the previous tenants left was brand
35 new or not, they strip it completely, just so that they don't have a potential lawsuit. But the fallout of
36 that is, people from those backgrounds now have to pay for flooring, to keep themselves insulated,
37 away from sort of, you know, fuel poverty, and all of that stuff. And it just seemed to me quite stupid.
38 I realized quite quickly that social policy was something I cared about. And actually, in order to change
39 social injustices, you have to address social policy. And some of those directly relate. Sorry, and some
40 of those things directly relate to ecological imbalances that we have in our world. So then, I saw a job

41 for the Green Party. It was one day a week, I really wanted to do it. But they said no, sorry, don't get
42 the job because we wanted to have someone who's not just a student, but we'll stay long term. And I
43 was going to go back to London, so I said, Okay, fine. Anyway, they get in touch with me and let's go
44 volunteer with them for a day. I saw the counsellor knocking on doors, asking residents, there is a
45 development in your local area. I'm not sure if you know about it, but just let me know what you think
46 so it can inform my decision when I go to Council, and I've never seen a counsellor at my door. I've
47 never even been approached in such a way. So, I was really taken aback by his approach. Now, this is
48 in the context of an election being more than two years, but about two years from that time. So it
49 wasn't, it wasn't campaign based, it wasn't campaign driven, it genuinely was in trying to get insight.
50 And I've really, really loved that, because that clearly was different from what I was seeing how
51 politics was done. So, although I didn't get the job, they called me back a few months later and said,
52 Actually, we do want to offer you the job, because that person no longer can do it. So would you
53 come up to stay in Limington spa, one, our campaign for us one day a week, you can volunteer with
54 the counsellor to get to understand more about politics for one day a week. And then at the same
55 time, I also got offered a job at the Citizens Advice. So, it worked out perfectly. I genuinely thought
56 that I was never going to like to sign up for the Green Party. I was like, you know, I'm just here to learn
57 about it. And then a month later, I was calling my mom saying, well, Mum, standing for general
58 election. With me, this is why I hate politics. You know, and I think the main thing I guess I always like
59 to underscore is that the reason why I'm part of the Green Party is because I value any organization,
60 speaking up for what they think is right, even if tomorrow, it doesn't look likely. So, a lot of people
61 often say the Green Party is very, what do they say? No? What do they say? The very idea heads in
62 the clouds. To me, what, what do we want? Like, isn't that the best type of war to live in, like, working
63 towards our idea, even if we don't make it? Like, we know what our direction is. And so, I really
64 admired the truth and the honesty and the bravery to speak on certain things. And I think with other
65 political parties, although we may see now that they're stretching toward like this eco logical policy,
66 these policies, they're actually only piecemeal, they don't have a sense of direction. They don't have a
67 sense of long-term strategy in the same way. Yeah. So yeah, that's how I got involved.

Paul White 7:29

68 And if I can just ask you, so you're, you're the head of the greens have covered now. And you're
69 standing for election. You're the actual candidate in the meeting as far as at it. Not.

Azzees Minott 7:42

70 Not this year, but in 2015 hours, so I've stood in elections every year. Yeah.

Paul White 7:48

71 So, you're so you're, you're kind of your objectives in the Green Party now is, is focused on this kind of
72 expanding of the membership to different kinds of communities?

Azzees Minott 8:04

73 Yeah, exactly. Either. And I think it's kind of linked to your thesis in a way, because you're asking me
74 about the language that's used in order to convey the ecological crisis, right? Yep. Now, collectively,
75 the Green Party acknowledge and recognize that they attract white middle class people to the
76 movement that is directly because of the English that they use. The beautiful thing that I've been a big
77 is that let's take someone who is sick from India. Yeah, they often will have a vegetarian based diet.
78 Yeah, they often or some people from the community may have also been brought up in a farming
79 background. Yeah. Those cultural identity identities and realities for those people. To me, it's so
80 obvious that they should be green, because of their lifestyle, and the way in which they live and what
81 they care about. Yeah, and being a part of the earth. But I think what we haven't yet been able to do
82 is to communicate it in a way that they recognize, and they see themselves and they see their culture,
83 they see the identity in some of the things that we're trying to achieve. Yeah. So that's, yeah, that's

84 basically why it's so I guess, that's why my role trying to get more people to see green ideals are
85 something that they should relate they can relate to, is important, because actually, there's probably
86 so many more people that we can encourage to vote green, which is the by-product of us actually
87 genuinely trying to connect with them. So yeah, that's my that's the plan.

Paul White 9:48

88 Okay, so I have I have a question with two parts to it. So, I just asked the both parts and then you can
89 you can say, because they're related to two different things you said. So, at the start, you said you
90 know, you weren't you were annoyed by Because of the kind of adversarial rhetoric, and yeah, I
91 understand what you mean, like, quite often I thought like, Why don't they propose something rather
92 than just criticize the other side? You know, but then you said also that that's not the whole picture.
93 That's the kind of public picture. Some of the first, the first part of the question is, do you think,
94 related to the Green Party's emails? I'm not speaking really about the emails about conferences and,
95 and, and the ones like, strictly related to electoral candidates and stuff like that. But the emails which
96 are about I don't know, the government's policy on immigration centres, or, or fracking, for example.
97 So, the emails where you've, you've got like a clear kind of problem, you've got a perpetrator? And so
98 well, I kind of studies how the author how the reader and how the perpetrator kind of constructed in
99 the in the communications, right, so do you do you see them the Green Party as reflecting that
100 adverse adversarial kind of rhetoric in their public communications? And is there a difference in
101 publican? And something else? Like I don't know, like some kind of lobbying, direct lobbying of
102 politicians of the government? That's the first part, then I'll ask the second part.

Azzees Minott 11:29

103 That's a good observation. I think that in some ways they do. So, in some ways they do because they
104 identify a problem, and maybe the problem is that particular policy. Yeah. Or maybe the room is that
105 particular government? Yeah. But oftentimes, what I see the Green Party do is drill into where the
106 changing to happen. Yeah. So instead of just saying, which often we kind of see is labour is inadequate
107 to deal with finances and conservatism mean, that narrative? Yeah, it's not just about the
108 conservative view mean, it's about the home office having this policy that is really bad for this group
109 of people. Yeah. And I think that's slightly different. Although it does portray that adversarial nature is
110 different in the sense that it goes to explain Let me try to explain more, why it's bad, and who is
111 affected? And also in those emails, they'll be a call to action. Yeah, the calls to email isn't just always
112 bad, right? Because that's what we hear on TV. Oh, it's bad. So, the call to action on TV subliminally is
113 don't vote for them. Whereas the Green Party's emails more like, Oh, this is bad. sign this petition,
114 sign this petition so that we can kind of get rid of this particular policy rather than the long term.
115 Okay, don't vote for them. Right? Because it's a bit more pragmatic in its approach? Well, I think
116 anyway, yeah. I guess I would also add that like, questioning whether emails and different types of
117 emails are the best way to communicate those things. Also, because I get loads of different emails
118 from the green price. If you remember, you get the local Green Party, you'll get the national Green
119 Party, you'll get the regional Green Party, you'll also get the liberation groups they are part of so in
120 that way, I guess you're having a lot of different discussions about different things. Green Party might
121 say something to do with national policy and you know, take an action, whereas greens of colour
122 email, for example, we'll talk about how you can sign up to an event. And I don't know how that
123 relates to the question you're asking me, but it's just like to put as context that sometimes too many
124 emails from too many people within the same organization can keep seeming sometimes a little bit
125 messy, and it's sometimes things get overlooked, therefore, so?

Paul White 14:08

126 Yeah, absolutely. I mean, I have that experience myself. During my PhD. I've been so overwhelmed.
127 I've got lots of emails, which I've often been fortunate, because we've got all these not just the Green
128 Party, but lots of all these different groups. And yeah, sometimes it can get can feel a bit

129 overwhelming. I agree. But I'm so related to what you said before about, you know, kind of appealing
130 to different community groups. I mean, I've, I'll tell you, I've observed in the, in the emails of
131 Greenpeace, where not only the Green Party, also Greenpeace, and especially other environmental
132 groups, that there is quite a lot of kind of explicit criticism of the perpetrator or at least at the start,
133 you know, and then you have a kind of transition, then you have a call to action, etc, etc. But do you
134 think that that initial kind of, I mean, just to use the same word again, adversarial kind of rhetoric at
135 the very start. Do you think that could be off putting to people, for example of a Sikh community?
136 Who, you know, culturally may be a kind of adverse to, to, to open conflict as well. I mean, that's,
137 that's a big generalization.

Azzees Minott 15:17

138 That's a good question. I guess I can't speak for the Sikh community, but from, let's say, like a
139 Christian perspective. Yeah, maybe that is the best way to, to start, because in some ways, it's
140 perpetuating not hate but negativity, in a way, but it's funny that you say that you make the
141 observation, because what is also very apparent in our training, when we do campaigns, within the
142 Green Party, is that when you are campaigning, you shouldn't openly criticize another party. It's
143 something to do with my values. Yeah. So, for example, when I'm sitting on hustings, I shouldn't say
144 this was a hustings I was at so I can't say this person's name. But like, I can't say, oh, Chris. Chris is a
145 liar because in his voting record, he would he didn't do this. Like, that's, that's frowned upon in the
146 Green Party in terms of our style. So, because we don't want to perpetuate that adversarial. However,
147 I feel meant, you're saying that that's something that you've noticed, I'm trying to quickly look at
148 emails now. If you're saying that [inaudible]?

Paul White 16:36

149 Well, not in all, not in all of them, to be honest. I mean, there's somewhere especially where there's a
150 particular politician named like, Theresa May have got some someone's about her or Boris Johnson or
151 Trump, for example. You know, I mean, and it's, let's say, within the, for me, at least within the, this is
152 a bit of a negative term, but I can't think of another but within the ecological, ecological bubble. Like,
153 they'll seem completely justified. They don't seem to kind of they don't, they don't disturb me in any
154 ways. But when you're speaking about attracting people who not necessarily have already been
155 attracted, then maybe it's maybe it's an issue for other groups? I don't know.

Azzees Minott 17:24

156 That's a really good point. It's good observation To be fair, it's something worth reflecting on.

Paul White 17:30

157 Okay, and this is basically the final question I think I have, what do you think when you write an email,
158 what is the kind of objective of the place of the reader in the in the email?

Azzees Minott 17:45

159 Okay, is that two questions? What is the objective?

Paul White 17:50

160 Just a bit of a messy question, but what kind of space to give? What position? What role? Maybe role
161 is the best word? What role do you give to the reader do you think in in the communications?

Azzees Minott 18:02

162 Speak strictly speaking from Green's of colour perspective. Our emails are like newsletters. So, we are
163 giving them the position and role of just to be informed just to read and find out. And we're hoping
164 that with a range of different things that they can read and find out about and different communities
165 that we highlight and spotlight, then it will enable them to see themselves in this movement. From

166 the perspective of, because I am the reader from the Green Party's perspective, often times, and I
167 don't know if this is just from National Party, or if it's from regional party, often times I feel the
168 position I've been given or the role I've been given is a donor. So often times, it's like, oh, read this,
169 understand what we're doing. So, you can donate more. And I think that could equally like, I think,
170 that also has its own limitations, because these communities that I'm referring to that I want to try to
171 amplify, you know, not all of them should, should be positioned in that regard, because of their own
172 financial situation. So, seeing them as more and seeing them and encouraging them to be more I
173 think, would be more helpful in trying to kind of widen our reach. So maybe, like, I'm saying this to
174 you, but also thinking of a suggestion I can go tell them like, thinking that not everyone is a donor. Not
175 everyone is going to be an activist but some people like a campaign like on the door activist or
176 campaigner, but some people who might be able to spark conversation, and that conversation in itself
177 is a good one. And especially if you're having it amongst communities that ordinarily wouldn't have it,
178 I think that could be quite good.

Paul White 20:13

179 Because, um, I don't know, did you see my presentation at the Ecolinguistics conference? No, okay, it
180 doesn't matter. I just there was, I didn't use the Green Party message, I use a great Greenpeace
181 message compared to, you know, the US programme 'Last week tonight'? No. It's a, so it's like a kind
182 of political analysis programme hosted by this British guy called John Oliver based in the US, and, and
183 they did one on plastic pollution, right. And I took the text, which he wrote, I kind of altered it a bit
184 because it was a spoken text. So, I had to change around to make it more into written text and
185 compared it to Greenpeace's. And what I noticed is that in the Greenpeace campaign, the reader has
186 the role of the hero, whether that is through donating, or, or petition signing, or whatever, you
187 basically have a structure where you have a very powerful participant, like a company or government
188 who are doing something bad to us. So, like, I don't know, Trump is deceiving us, or, or Shell is
189 polluting our environment or something like that. So yeah, initially, you have this very powerful
190 participant and the reader as a, as a completely and un-powerful participant, because they're just
191 impacted by the actions of the powerful, and then a sudden jump into which, okay, now you can be
192 the hero because you can do this. Okay. That's what I observed on the side of Greenpeace, On the
193 side of Freedom United who are this social action campaign uh sorry. On the side of 'Last week
194 tonight', there was a lot more inclusion of the reader in the text before it got to the action part. So, he
195 says something like, you might go into a supermarket and buy something, and you might think it can
196 be recycled, because there's a little recycling symbol on it. However, this is not true. We have been
197 deceived, we have been conned or whatever. So, using these passive structures without even naming
198 the company, or the politician, or the whoever is responsible for it. Sounds, it seems a little bit
199 strange, because normally you think you have to say who's doing the action to act against them. But
200 on another on another level, it kind of keeps the focus on the reader and gives the reader a wider role
201 than just the person who comes in and gives a donation or assigns a petition or is a wider role in the
202 hero, it's actually given the role as the victim. Which sounds a little bit strange, but in some way, I
203 think, possibly, possibly, it's a way when you give the reader the role of the victim.

Azzees Minott 23:11

204 It makes them feel empowered. Like, once you can position them as a victim, you can feel
205 empowered to want to make change. Rather than putting them on a pedestal that's like, you can be
206 this person. It's like, I don't want to be the person.

Paul White 23:26

207 Exactly. I think the majority of the population are they studies about this through history now that the
208 real people are going to become, as you say, like knock on the door activists is like 9% of the
209 population or something throughout different historical periods, different cultures, etc. So, to kind of
210 address everybody as becoming this person might be counterproductive.

Azzees Minott 23:47

211 Yeah. Yes, I love it. Paul, I need to see your I need to see your presentation. That sounds so
212 interesting.

Paul White 23:55

213 Okay, I'll send I'll send it to you.

Azzees Minott 23:56

214 That sounds, you've literally, you've inspired me to want to change our newsletter, like, immediately
215 caught like, that's so good. Wow, actually, Paul, what are you going to finish off thesis?

Paul White 24:11

216 Fingers crossed, like this summer should be July, I was thinking of already because I was speaking to
217 somebody Freedom United. I'm speaking somebody in this other group today as well. I was thinking
218 of kind of writing up a not too academic kind of summary of it. You know, I don't go into all the theory
219 and stuff. But I just give like the observations and how I think they relate to real world kind of
220 campaigning. So, I was thinking of drawing up some of that because they already they already
221 interested in doing it.

Azzees Minott 24:39

222 That would be so cool. I would love to have you like, just share some of your thoughts on that
223 because you literally just got so many ideas in my mind. But I think it would be really cool to hear
224 about those other observations that you've had. And yeah, even if I could try and get that some of the
225 Comms officers involved within the greens of colour or even before to the Green Party, as well,
226 because I think it's true. Like, I don't want to be the hero. And I don't. And people don't also want to
227 be blamed. And they don't want to feel responsible.

Paul White 25:09

228 Yeah. That's the thing, because that's another thing that comes up sometimes as well, like you
229 destroying the Amazon rainforest by buying this thing at the supermarket. You know, there's no
230 intention to destroy the rainforest. You know it's...

Azzees Minott 25:25

231 Exactly. Yeah, no, this is good. This is, this is very interesting. That's why I've kind of found, like, was
232 really encouraging about that conference. Anyway, just the discussion that we will have in it really did
233 spark so many more thoughts. Because actually, if we do think about language in more of a powerful
234 way, then rather than just a tool of communication, like, Okay, I have to write in order to send an
235 email. But we actually say, Okay, what are we writing? Could be a particular message. Yeah, I think it
236 can have such a big impact.

Paul White 25:54

237 Yeah, cause in the end, you're constructing a reality more than just writing about the issue. You're
238 constructing the issue in some way. You know, yeah. You're creating it through language, because it's
239 always going to be your own, or the vision that you want to promote of the issue. So, yes, it's much
240 more than just the teller.

Azzees Minott 26:17

241 Yeah, yeah. That's cool. This is wicked, do you have any more questions. Okay.

Paul White 26:22

242 Well, actually, I just, I just wanted to say one last thing related to all that. So, what I've been saying
243 today is like, really related to the analysis of these emails, you know, I know. And, like, my biggest
244 conclusion is that basically, a lot of environmental activist communication gives a lot of space to the
245 person who's destroying the environment, like the politician, or the government or the company, and
246 puts them in a really powerful position within the rhetoric and doesn't give a lot of space to the
247 reader, like, you know, yeah, the reader is the hero. And I'm not saying the reader shouldn't be the
248 hero. But maybe you could also let the reader be the victim in some parts, that the, let the reader be
249 the observer in some parts: You know, you can, you can give a more kind of fleshed out role to the
250 reader rather than just this kind of one-dimensional kind of just the hero. And so, this is all the this is
251 all based in linguistics, however, it was the kind of thing that I thought before which, before I became
252 interested in ecological issues, I was an English teacher. I've been teaching in, in Germany, in Italy,
253 and now I'm in France. And for some years, I was also teaching companies, you know, and some of
254 these companies were polluting companies. There was one in Italy, it was making like massive engines
255 for, for cruise ships and tankers and all that kind of stuff. And at this, at the time, I didn't really think
256 too much about the ecological impact. But I saw that there's, there's, let me see, the people inside
257 the company, were a victim of the company culture, if you understand what I mean, the company,
258 the entity of the company had this, this this approach of not caring too much about the environment
259 of pushing us workers hard of engendering like competition between workers. But the individual
260 people were kind of normal people who were quite often pushed towards quite extreme life
261 situations of getting divorces or suffering because of not really related directly to their work
262 environment, you know. So, my kind of my kind of vision of all this is that in some way, we're all
263 victims of, of the system that has been historically created up to now. So, I, my kind of objective is to
264 try to write, you know, try to format how you write rhetoric, which is as inclusive as possible, even of
265 those people who are involved in creating the damage, you know?

Azzees Minott 29:02

266 I 100% Agree. 100% agree. I think even, to bring it back to like, the point I made right at the beginning
267 about how adversarial politics is but actually, they are all in a room talking. Because at the end of the
268 day, we're all human. And the more we try to relate to one another, the more we can convince as
269 well, or the more we can better understand. So why ostracizing or the cancelled culture? Or their
270 [inaudible]? Yeah. Oh, actually, Shell is bad. But Shell does have a stock group that care about the
271 environment. So, let's work closely with them to see if we can push their policies even further. Even
272 though we wouldn't want this company to exist. You know, the goal is there, but the way we get there
273 can be in different ways and being really proud. Yeah, I think it is a level of being pragmatic, but it's
274 more than that. It's like, be more empathetic. I think we're more empathetic to different people's
275 situations. And also aware that actually, they may not know, they may not know how bad this thing is
276 like, they maybe have not had that lightbulb moment if we can do, if we can speak to them in a more
277 respectable way, or try to listen to them or understand them more, I think we will do better than as
278 you say, like, because we're all victims if we create, if we all think that we're all victims, and even
279 though some people in a bad roll, whatever, whatever. We're all victims, and therefore we can kind of
280 come from a place of always it's a shared, it's a shared space, like I know better than you because of
281 my job is just gardening. And, you know, I mean, so yeah.

Paul White 30:52

282 Well, they just like one final comment. But in Ecolinguistics, they talk a lot about the interrelatedness
283 of us to nature, you know, like humans are not separated from the animal kingdom or, yeah, even
284 that word is kind of separating. But you know, they try to find linguistic ways to connect humans
285 nature. But there's not been a lot of attention on the interrelatedness of human society as well. No,
286 because we tend to think so much of in and out groups, or us and them that if we're the whole of
287 nature, the whole of reality is in interrelated, then also society must be interrelated. And in fact, I
288 hear a lot of people, when we talk about these things, like say, yeah, you know, a campaign is like

289 yourself, like, yeah, I care about green issues, but I'm also harming the planet in some way. Because it
290 is basically impossible. You can take as many kind of personal steps as possible, as you as you can, but
291 it's impossible to kind of just to get out of it completely. You know, most people usually, sometimes or
292 use some kind of polluting transport, most people have to buy some kind of things from big from big
293 companies is, you know, if we if we kind of try and isolate ourselves from the baddies, then it's
294 impossible.

Azzees Minott 32:13

295 Exactly. No, very true, very true. Well, Paul. If you need anything happy when I catch up again, feel
296 free to, you've got my email now. So just let me know.

Paul White 32:25

297 Yeah, thanks very much. I'm, I'm kind of writing up now. So, it's possible that I might have one or two
298 extra little questions to ask you, whilst I'm getting to the conclusions, you know, but I'll keep in touch
299 and hopefully, I can keep I can make a document soon. And maybe I can get some real kind of
300 practical ways in which it's possible to change something.

Azzees Minott 32:48

301 Wicked! Nice one! Thank you. Okay.

Paul White 32:50

302 Thanks a lot. Bye.

Azzees Minott 32:53

303 Look forward to speaking to you soon! Bye bye.

Appendix C: Interview with Ali Walker Davies, Partnerships Director, Forward Action UK

1 Paul White 0:00

2 Okay, great. Okay, okay, it's started. Okay, so we have 30 minutes. Is that right? Yeah. Okay, so I'll
3 explain a little bit about what I'm doing first, and then maybe I can just ask you a question about
4 your kind of approach, or maybe even policies about the emails you write for different groups. So I
5 got a corpus together of emails from Greenpeace, the Green Party, and two smaller kind of newer
6 groups called The Story of Stuff and freedom united, I don't know if you heard of them. No Story of
7 Stuff is basically an environmental activist group, pretty much like Greenpeace, but very, very small.
8 It's got about eight people around the world. But they made their famous because they made some
9 kind of explainer videos on YouTube, from about 12 years ago, explaining about the circular
10 economy and things like this. And freedom, united, on the other hand, are working against modern
11 slavery. So it's like kind of extreme exploitation. One of the most obvious examples is like South
12 Asian workers in Qatar, or Uighur population in China, but you also have things, they report things
13 happening in the UK, in Europe, in America, basically everywhere. And what I, what I'm looking to do
14 is to see how the different groups put a kind of attitude or attitude in opposition in their writing. So
15 of course, you know, that they're always kind of criticizing one group, but they're also encouraging
16 the reader to feel empowered, etcetera, etcetera. So I'm kind of looking at how they do that, and
17 the differences between the group groups, and, and I won't go into the details, but there's three
18 different areas I look at one is just like explicit attitudes, like basically just saying, This is good, this is
19 bad. Okay. But of course, there are many, many other ways to do that. But that's just the attitudes,
20 then there are ways which you can use kind of some, some softening or some hardening words like
21 something might be or seems to be or is definitely things like this, which also kind of communicator
22 attitude towards what you're talking about. And the third one is, is kind of like, what is called
23 graduation. So it's about exaggerating numbers, or either go up or down with numbers. So for
24 example, using expressions like all around people all around the world, or enormous, or even in
25 some adjectives, like devastating, for example, is there's a kind of an emphasis within the choice of,
26 of the words. So really briefly, what I found, because I know that you, I, you wrote some emails for
27 Greenpeace, is that correct? Yeah. Okay. So what I found is that, if I just compared the two groups,
28 freedom, United services, social action group, and Greenpeace, the Social Action Group use a lot
29 more of the kind of basic just adjectives and stuff to criticize one group and to encourage another
30 group. So they're very kind of explicit in in a position for the reader, whereas Greenpeace are the of
31 the emails that I've collected, at least they use that as well, but they use a lot of others graduation,
32 things like yeah, as already mentioned, people across the world or right now or billions of or millions
33 of so you have you have different numbers and stuff like that. And just the word like more, I think so
34 this, which on their own, like, if you look in a dictionary, they don't communicate necessarily good or
35 bad attitude, but within the context of the mails related to the topic of emails, they kind of have a
36 positive or negative charge, positive usually rhetoric regarding to the reader and negative regarding
37 whoever is kind of responsible for politics. So I was just, I mean, that's it's a very kind of general
38 introduction. And I'm going to produce a little text to kind of explain my research and hopefully a
39 clearer way, but I'm in the process of writing results now. So I'll be doing that after the summer. But
40 I was wondering if there is any, in your approach to writing a mayor for these groups. If there's any
41 policy to kind of, try to avoid too much criticism of the personal health of the company or
42 government or whatever it is held responsible for the situation Um, to remain more positive or not.

Ali Walker Davies 5:04

43 Um, so I think I need to caveat this by saying like, I don't think we can talk specifically about our
44 work of Greenpeace. Okay. So what I'll talk about is kind of how we approach email, because you do,
45 like we do communication strategies in email for a whole range of partners. And yeah, our approach

46 to that differs based on different brand guidelines, and what are the different positions of the
47 organizations are okay, but the expertise that we bring to it, and our copywriting is all about trying
48 to drive and inspire this supporter who's receiving that email to take action. Okay, yeah. And so our
49 starting point is what's going to inspire someone to take action? Yeah. And then kind of, and then
50 how do we do that within the remit that the brand is comfortable with? So with an organization like
51 Greenpeace for it, so some organizations are far more comfortable calling out Abadi calling out like
52 the company as doing something wrong. And other organizations want to kind of leave a pathway
53 for that. Companies change their mind, if you will say like, yeah, so for example, that if we were
54 writing an email on the same topic for Greenpeace, and imagine WWF, yes, they would have a very
55 different tone and the adjectives that we could use, and those would be different, depending on the
56 organization. Okay. But so that kind of, I think it's the voice of the organization that informs how,
57 how strident you can be on calling out the body. But the thing that we always want to do is to create
58 what we call a movement story, which is making sure that the user feels like they are able to have an
59 active role in in creating change. Yeah. And so that's where the language around kind of people all
60 around the world, millions of us that inclusive language is really important. Yeah. And we found that
61 that is a really vital way of connecting with people. And it's much less about what the organization is
62 doing. Yep. And more about what you as a supporter can do.

Paul White 7:15

63 So shifting the focus, yeah, remember, it's close speaking about theory of change, involving kind of
64 putting that very explicitly in the males? So if I can ask you another question, because you touched
65 on a point, which is, I'm looking on my linguistic data at the moment, I see differences in approaches
66 between the groups. And obviously, I think that's related, as you said, to kind of organizational
67 culture. So what's the question? I mean, there's, there's no good or bad approach that it just
68 depends on the audience that the group is writing to the size of the organization, things like that.

Ali Walker Davies 7:54

69 Yeah, I think it very much depends on kind of who and it's interesting, like looking at email, without
70 imagine you don't have the results to look at. So kind of these emails are being used as a
71 communication, for action and for change. So we measure the effectiveness of an email based on
72 how many people have taken that desired action. And so partly, it will be the decisions around the
73 kind of editorial tone will be coming from the organization. And like what they're comfortable
74 talking about, and partly from what they know is going to motivate their particular supporter base.
75 So if you have a kind of, I used to write for write emails for two different unions in the UK, talking
76 about NHS cuts that were happening. And one Union was a professional kind of it was one of the
77 world colleges. And so they had a very professional tone, and they couldn't push very far. And they
78 didn't want to kind of be sensationalist. And the other union was like one of the bigger unions and
79 they were very happy to kind of go out and it was more like writing for the mirror or something. So
80 you could really kind of assess things like whether you could talk call the conservatives,
81 conservatives or Tories. Yeah, so kind of understanding the relationship that supporter has with the
82 organization and what they expect of them. It also dictates how strident you can be in that language.

Paul White 9:15

83 So the interesting thing I've seen between these two groups, in particular, between Greenpeace and
84 freedom United was freedom united, again, are very, very small group founded about 15 years ago,
85 and really only exists thanks to the internet, thanks to the fact you know, they got eight people
86 around the world who are collaborating, mostly working at home etc. Whereas on the other hand,
87 you have Greenpeace who are an enormous organization. And you might, you might think that the
88 bigger the organization, the more kind of institutional power and visibility in society the organization
89 has, the more explicitly they can criticize. Example, somebody is causing eco ecological damage, but I
90 found the opposite and My, my, the question I have in my head is okay, I understand that

91 Greenpeace have, you know, they work together with people like you. And they have a very kind of
92 developed communication strategy and policies and everything. Whereas this group, it's the people
93 who proofread, but it's much more down to the individual who actually writes the mail. I don't
94 know, what do you think of it?

Ali Walker Davies 10:25

95 I would imagine so knowing what I know about how can Greenpeace operate and the size of the list?
96 They test a lot? Yes. And so I would imagine they have got a sense from their audience, that they
97 respond better to not being so overtly negative, but that is, that's unfounded. That's just an
98 assumption. Okay. But also, I think that kind of because it's difficult. The tension within organizations
99 comes when there's a policy team, who are like, well, we're having a conversation behind the scenes
100 with this organization. So it's really not helpful if we're criticizing them to an email list of like,
101 500,000 people. Yeah, yeah. And so there's that. So there's kind of the conversation, but I don't, I
102 couldn't say whether that happens at Greenpeace. I know that does happen at some organizations.
103 But I do think people respond to kind of a bit of the hope and change narrative as well. And kind of
104 without feeling to shame them to criticize themselves, because particularly when it's kind of major
105 names that you're talking about, if it's organizations, if it's companies that everyone is using. If you
106 call out that company, you're also then potentially criticizing your audience at the same time as well.
107 Yeah, yeah. So it's kind of it's finding the way to balance that I think Greenpeace probably, but it's
108 interesting. So in green, like, in the environmental movement, Greenpeace, used to be the
109 revolutionaries. Yeah. So now you have like extinction rebellion coming along? Who are more
110 strident, and by comparison, making Greenpeace seem a little bit kind of more.

Paul White 12:08

111 From what you get, again, to repeat the thing we said earlier, there's no correct or is there different
112 strategies? Right. And the aims again, probably a different audiences.

Ali Walker Davies 12:19

113 Yeah, I think Greenpeace needs to have it's grown to have such a huge audience like the other day,
114 my dad, my mum, who like it's not like this shared a Greenpeace petition with my dad, my dad's
115 signed the Greenpeace petition, and then set up a direct debit to Greenpeace. Like, this is not
116 something that would have happened five years ago, three years ago. Yeah. So I think they are
117 broadening their appeal. Yeah. And therefore becoming more effective because they have more
118 resources. So they can go harder for more different organizations. But it means that maybe their
119 message is also softening as a result of like bringing in a board a church of people.

Paul White 13:02

120 Yes. And, conversely, maybe the smaller groups tend to use a more kind of direct language, okay,
121 because the organizational policies haven't necessarily been developed to the same extent about
122 communication, or that I know they do some degree of testing, but probably not as much as a big
123 organization like Greenpeace. But maybe there's there's a case of getting attention. You know, if
124 you're a little bit more sensationalist, a little bit more anarchy stuff. That's the correct word. But
125 yeah.

Ali Walker Davies 13:37

126 Yeah. And I think like, there's also, obviously as the internet has evolved, and the kind of it's very
127 easy to right click Beatty stuff as well. And I think organizations are sensing like they have more of a
128 responsibility to not oversimplify things, because that kind of reductive but there's a race to culture
129 wars.

Paul White 14:00

130 How related to that, how do you how much would you think that a bigger it doesn't have to be
131 Greenpeace but a big organization? When they write to me or when you're reading my for them?
132 How much is about informing the reader have something that they might not know about? How
133 much is it convincing them to take action on that? Because I, I see that within different
134 organizations, different degrees, that there's different levels at which they appear kind of general or
135 just group advocacy groups for different causes.

Ali Walker Davies 14:37

136 And then for the organizations that we work with, it's kind of 70% 75% focusing on getting the
137 action. Like the whole point of communicating with someone is to give them something to do as a
138 result of it. It's not just enough to tell them that there's something terrible happening. It's like how
139 can you be part of the solution?

Paul White 14:55

140 Yeah. Okay, okay. Because I was just wondering because I remember even close it in her meeting in
141 the example she gave the Greenpeace email that she presented was much longer than one which
142 you could think would be appropriate for another group. And, and so within that space, of course,
143 there's more space to convince, but it's also more space to set out a position or issue to

Ali Walker Davies 15:21

144 Yeah, what you want to do, what we're trying to do is to get people to not only take action for
145 themselves, but also to share that story to share that information. So it's kind of empowering people
146 with information, but actually, the primary aim is to get them to do that the thing that you've
147 emailed them about?

Paul White 15:38

148 Yeah, of course. Okay, I think this is just the last question I have, because in my, there's one of the
149 things I did my corpus I went through, and I saw the different people involved in the different stages
150 of the email. So whether it was especially like in the subject position of each sentence, whether it
151 was focusing on the perpetrator of the action, or whether it was focusing on the reader, and also
152 found the difference in the groups and this I found that within again, the Greenpeace male that it in
153 the in the part where it was laying out the problem. And the theory of change, until it got to the
154 point where it was actually explicitly asking the reader for action, the reader was not very much
155 encoded in the rest of the male. So there were there was this kind of staging, you know, topic or
156 perpetrator, reader topic, perpetrator read it three times, within the other within the other males of
157 the other groups that say the structure was not so immediately clear, it was a bit more messy with a
158 reader kind of involved a bit more through the mail. Do you have any thoughts about that?

Ali Walker Davies 16:48

159 I think it sounds like the Greenpeace ones, hitting the formula that we tend to work to. Okay. And if
160 you look at so a lot of the work on writing emails to drive action was developed, like around the
161 2008 Obama campaign. So there's the organization Lucy digital, the Chief Digital Officer, gyro, spaz
162 did a lot of work as kind of like a brilliant woman called Lauren Miller, who does Elizabeth Warren's
163 columns, like, they did a lot of developing this kind of formula for writing emails that drive action.
164 And like, simultaneously, it was happening in a lot of organizations, but that's kind of where the
165 formula around good emails to drive action has evolved from. Okay. And it's been tested across kind
166 of the Obama campaigns and Oh, eight in 2012, across like Bernie Sanders, there's a lot of this. Yeah,
167 there's both Warren AOC. Like a lot, like, obviously, the other side is also doing it and Trump, some
168 people are doing it, but like that very much that kind of empowering the individual and kind of
169 saying, right, here's the situation, here's what you can do. Here's the situation, here's what you can

170 do that formula. Yeah, I think indicates that they, as an organization, Greenpeace are following that
171 kind of formula. With that awareness, that kind of, you know, structure.

Paul White 18:12

172 Yeah. Okay. Okay. Because I actually, we wrote and sent out an email for the smaller group of
173 freedom united, in which I tried to involve the person the reader more through the mail, even
174 owned themselves in the hypothetically in the position of the victim of a bad situation. But it didn't
175 seem to have a lot of difference in the impact and a number of openings and a number of petitions
176 signed. So in that case, I wonder, like, is really my final question, but I kind of dicked around. Yeah,
177 the position of the different people through the mail. I didn't have much impact. The campaign was
178 about exploitation of prisons in the US. And what the person of the organization said to me is that
179 they were not sure if it was, you know, if there was something you could do with the structure the
180 mail with the, with the different adjectives or why you place the different people, or if it was just the
181 topic because she said, a lot of people react to that saying, okay, prisoners should work. And so I
182 don't care about this one. It's not it's not as kind of, for many people. This is not as black and white
183 as, for example, the workers in Qatar or something.

Ali Walker Davies 19:31

184 I know, it's difficult because there's already a kind of a guilt. And yes, I use judgment about
185 wrongdoing. I think like, I listened to a podcast about that issue, because there was a thing around
186 prisoners being used as firefighters. Yes. Yeah. And so that kind of thing. And like I think there is a
187 way of like the enemy there is the system and the system is abusing individuals. And so I guess that's
188 what I would focus on. or not. So I would kind of almost remove the prisoners as being victims or
189 anything. And it's kind of because that's taking, everyone can get angry at the system without
190 getting kind of involved in this debate about right or wrong of how prisoners are used.

Paul White 20:14

191 Okay, yeah. So in general, how in the successor a male, how much do you think is regarding how well
192 the email is written? And how much of it is the topic? I know, it's difficult to come up with a specific
193 statistics on this. But interesting,

Ali Walker Davies 20:31

194 The topic has a huge impact on how like, and so a good email program is responding to what is going
195 on in current events and is able to react to that and kind of weave that into. So you're not
196 necessarily trying to drive the agenda, but you're reacting to the agenda and finding relevant ways
197 to put your actions in there. And then like that, how well is it written is always a really difficult thing,
198 because actually, like, all the tests that we do around length, and things, like a lot of things don't
199 have an impact on the click through rate. It's just like, how clearly can you communicate? Why
200 should I want to take that action, and what the impact of that action is going to be? And how long
201 it's going to take them to do it. And so kind of everything else is filler around that.

Paul White 21:11

202 There's a lot of tweaking that you can do, which not doesn't necessarily have a direct impact. Okay.
203 Okay. Okay. Thank you very much. That's all want to ask, I will send my report anyway to you where
204 I'm trying to basically develop a system for measuring how attitude is communicated through these
205 males, if it's direct, if it's indirect, if it's more negative, or positive, etc, etc. And I will see what the
206 results are and I will let you know, I'll send you the document when I finish.

Ali Walker Davies 21:45

207 I Please do. I'd love to read, sounds fascinating.

Paul White 21:46

208 Okay, thanks very much for your time. Okay, take care now. Thanks. Good-bye.

Appendix D: Interview with Brett Chamberlin, the Director of Community Engagement at The Story of Stuff

Paul White 0:00

- 1 So yeah, the first thing, I know you've only been with the organization a couple of years, but what
- 2 can you tell me about...how, how it all came together? And how you got involved as well?

Brett Chamberlin 0:16

- 3 Sure. So the story of the organization really starts with our founder, Annie Leonard, who herself has
- 4 been a lifelong environmental organizer. Annie, as you may know, is now the executive director of
- 5 Greenpeace USA. But prior to founding The Story of Stuff project, she had been a researcher at
- 6 Greenpeace traveling around the world and visiting various environmental sites, and came to see not
- 7 only that they were all connected, of course, through the materials economy, through the way that,
- 8 you know, our products are sourced and disposed of, and the ways that we interact with them, but
- 9 also came to find that much of the environmental communication that she was interacting with was
- 10 heavily siloed. So there might be a conversation about, say, ending child labor in, you know, in a
- 11 sweatshop factory in Asia, or, you know, saving the whales from, you know, ocean harvesting, but
- 12 not a lot of conversation around the social and economic trends, theories and assumptions that
- 13 united all of these disparate environmental and social and ecological problems. So Annie set out to
- 14 develop a piece of media, which was originally conceived of as a lecture and which eventually
- 15 became The Story of Stuff video. That original video was produced with in partnership with a
- 16 creative studio, called Free Range Studios. And so their kind of creative director by the name of
- 17 Jonas Sachs was quite involved in the development of that messaging. And the animation was done
- 18 by our friend Ruben Deluna, who now runs Ruben de Luna Studios. And this over the course of this
- 19 development of this project, the video really evolved from a kind of lecture, which I think the original
- 20 title was something like examining connections within the materials economy or something quite dry
- 21 like that. And in particular, through the input of some of the creatives really evolved into a much
- 22 more public facing, kind of conversational style story, as was eventually produced. Even so the
- 23 assumption that the beginning was that the video would really circulate within kind of environmental
- 24 circles. And that kind of helped shape the conversation within the kind of green space. However, the
- 25 video really took off and became a bit of a viral sensation. The video was produced at the end of
- 26 2007. So early 2008, you know, YouTube is now just one or two years old. And so the video became
- 27 one of the first cause oriented viral videos on the kind of burgeoning social web. And it really did
- 28 release this kind of pent up demand for a conversation about consumerism and its impacts in a way
- 29 that really hadn't existed before in the mainstream, nor had been kind of accessible to folks, you
- 30 know, even at a grade school level. So, that real explosion of interest, it gave birth to the Story of
- 31 Stuff Project that we generated this massive audience of millions of people who had seen the film,
- 32 and we're now coming back to Annie and saying, Okay, what do I do? So the Story of Stuff Project
- 33 was founded to really capture that interest and to provide a better pathways for both us as an
- 34 organization to partner with other groups working in this area, and for us to help steer members of
- 35 the public and members of our audience that were interested in these topics towards action. And
- 36 then finally, to continue to produce videos that brought the similar kind of Story of Stuff project...
- 37 Story of Stuff conversational style to a variety of other topics, from cosmetics, to bottled water, and
- 38 using these specific product categories, generally, to examine a particular theme. So the story of
- 39 cosmetics is really about toxicity. The story of electronics is really about, you know, the product
- 40 being designed for the dump or design for repair. Story of bottled water is really about
- 41 manufactured demand. It's about companies, you know, using marketing and messaging to create
- 42 demand for a product that otherwise wouldn't, there wouldn't be demand for, because of course
- 43 you can get water out of your, your tap. So that's, that's really the overview of our structure. Annie
- 44 left the organization, I think, in 2014, to go to the ED of Greenpeace USA. I joined the team in 2016.

45 So I've been here about four and a half years. And we are now seven staff members with a strategy
46 focused on campaigning, media making and network weavings. We work closely with partners across
47 a variety of fields. And these days, our campaign focus is mostly around plastic pollution, and fighting
48 water privatization water extraction from companies like Nestlé.

Paul White 4:56

49 Yeah, well, yeah, I've certainly seen that in my corpus. As a strong focus on Nestle's bottling
50 operations and also the, when you did their plastic collections to do the kind of audit of, of the
51 brands who are creating all that plastic so, and yourself as the you're the Director of Community

Brett Chamberlin

52 The Director of Community Engagement, yes.

Paul White

53 So, What does that directly involved in the writing of the campaigns or...

Brett Chamberlin 5:31

54 Many of them, I mean were quite a small team, there's seven staff members at the moment. So, you
55 know, our roles aren't super rigid. Often that the copy is written by whichever staff member is
56 working in that program area, our executive director, Michael Rohini, actually leads a lot of the water
57 work. And our Campaigns Manager Sam Pierce is particularly focused on our plastics campaign. So
58 often, one of the two of them will, you know, do the first draft of an email, our development
59 managers, Smruti Arvin may take the first pass, if it's strictly a fundraising email. Often, I will do a
60 copy edit on the second round. And often as the person developing many of the like digital action
61 pages on our digital action platform action kit, I'll be the one kind of taking some of the existing text
62 and digesting it new formats. So, yeah, it usually is whatever staff member is working in that
63 particular area. That's drafting the copy.

Paul White 6:38

64 So, getting like down to the actual campaigns? I have some observations about this, which I'd like to
65 tell you. But first, I just want to get your kind of input about the general kind of priorities and values
66 behind it. But what would you say is like your approach towards talking about the perpetrator of
67 some of these environmental and also related social kind of damages? And what's the role that you
68 see for the, for the reader in these mails? Right, and messages in general?

Brett Chamberlin 7:18

69 That's a good question. So starting with your second question, first, in a role for the reader is
70 obviously, generally, but there's a particular action we're inviting people to take. So you know, often
71 we're quite focused on what is it that we're asking folks to do, and ensuring that that is the clear
72 thrust of the message. So if we're doing a fundraiser, and we're asking for financial support,
73 indicating very clearly, you know, why their support is necessary, what their support will empower us
74 to do. Contrastingly, if it's an action email, and we're inviting people to call their legislators, we need
75 to make it really clear, why are we asking you to call your legislators at this time? Why is this bill
76 important? How will this bill impact the matter at hand? We'll make it very clear that, you know, we
77 want folks to be involved in the process and have a sense of you know, why their action matters. So
78 that they can feel empowered by that action, and not just feel like cannon fodder sometimes, right,
79 where we're just like deploying them, you know, willy nilly, to you know, for like collectivist
80 purposes, we're not just trying to like get our engagement rates up, there's a real impact to the work
81 they're doing. In terms of how we talk about the perpetrators in these cases, I think that we often
82 are trying to position the ways that corporate actors behave in our world, as being very clearly at
83 odds with the kind of broader project of human flourishing. And point out that, you know, these

84 corporate actors are in it for profit, not for people, they're not always trying to make the world a
85 better place, they're trying to make themselves richer, and they operate without regard for the
86 social and environmental impacts of their actions. So in that way, you know, it's not so much about
87 trying to portray, like, you know, nationally, is the evil empire necessarily, but it's really trying to
88 indicate the ways in which, you know, through the incentives in place, and that attractive capitalist
89 economy, you know, they are fundamentally at odds with the broader project of human progress.

Paul White 9:35

90 Yeah, well, I mean, I see how that ties into the beginnings of the organization with the, the first Story
91 of Stuff video, you know, it was it kind of took a broad picture of society to try to say what the
92 systemic problems were.

Brett Chamberlin 9:50

93 Right, exactly. It invites people to step back and say, you know, what, what is this project all about,
94 like do this project I mean, you know, kind of human societies, you know, in somewhat grand terms.
95 Are we really out to try and just get more stuff? You know, more status indicators and so on? Or can
96 we, you know, give space to, as reported industry solutions, or world not focused on more, more and
97 more, but on better and better health and better communities? More parks or education, that it
98 relationships and so on?

Paul White 10:22

99 Yeah, yeah. Like, uh, you know, the better, you said, the more. I just kind of really briefly tell you
100 about my observations in my research and, and just ask for your feedback after that. So I, you know,
101 I, I kind of, I came to the project not really knowing what I would find, and I just recently finished
102 analysing all my corpus and got the first results back. And this, the biggest difference that I found
103 was between freedom united, or this kind of social action group and the other three, including
104 yourselves, which are more environmentally oriented, even if, you know, there might be some social
105 elements there. And the biggest difference I found between this two groupings, is that this social
106 action group when they're talking about the perpetrators of, in this case, kind of modern slavery, so
107 we're talking about people, for example, in Libya, who literally been sold at slave markets to workers
108 in Qatar, who died to make the infrastructure for the, for the World Cup for the Football World Cup.
109 Or just domestic workers kind of in many, many different countries around the world, the structures
110 they use, they kind of they focus a lot on the victim of the injustice rather than the perpetrator. And
111 they do that through using kind of a lot of passive verbs, when they're describing the situation, so
112 they'll kind of name somebody who's undergone this suffered through this modern slavery, and they
113 say this person is has been abused, exploited, etc, etc, etc. And then after a while, they might bring
114 in who they think is responsible, like the government or not, not so much private companies, unless
115 they're kind of state run companies anyway. So the kind of state that... they're connected to the
116 government. And so yeah, they and the other the other way, as well as they, they use a lot of nouns
117 like exploitation, and slavery, and injustice. And these nouns have the effect of kind of hiding, who
118 was responsible for this injustice or this slavery, etc. Whereas in the environmental campaigns,
119 generally, a lot of them start with, you know, this company is doing this to us, you know, so you have
120 the company, very well kind of clear and specified. And you have the people kind of as being
121 impacted by their actions, which then goes to the part where they ask for, for the reader to act,
122 petition signing or donations or whatever. And so the question that comes up, in my mind is, what is
123 most effective in persuading, not the people who are already engaged in these campaigns to kind of
124 get involved and to act. But they say the middle 70%, to kind of heard about environmental issues,
125 but not really active. Which of these two approaches is more effective? Is it more effective to kind of
126 very name the responsible party and make it very, very clear? Or would it would it possibly be more
127 effective to concentrate on the results of their actions on the on the general public and so placing
128 the general public in a kind of victim role? Rather than just only kind of the hero role who comes in

129 and helps resolve the situation? So I don't know. That's a very quick explanation. I don't know if
130 you'd be able to follow.

Brett Chamberlin 14:21

131 You have any interesting insight? Yeah, yeah. I mean, that it's certainly that that checks out from you
132 know, that the content I typically interact with. Yeah. So I wonder, I think perhaps the reason is a
133 more pragmatic than strategic. Well, I suppose the reason may well be that you know, in the case of
134 Nestle extracting water for example. The impacts are more distributed, right? You know, the people
135 that are obviously being created in slave market are certainly the direct victims there. And of course,
136 there's broader social consequences for, you know, destabilized nations that are dealing with this.
137 But, you know, generally that those impacts are relatively constrained to the people interacting in
138 that system. Whereas with, you know, corporate malfeasance that can impact you know, the whole
139 region, or like in the case of like, plastic pollution, right, being quite global problem. So, so that's part
140 one of it right, it's just, it just tracks with, you know, the scale at which these crises are emerging.
141 And then I think reason two, I would say is that, you know, within a, I suppose, a mal-functioning
142 state and like say Libya, there are public control mechanisms, right. So like, we know who Nestle is,
143 we know that our shareholders are, you know, we know what government agency and institution
144 has that regulatory power to enforce, you know, environmental controls or whatnot. Whereas we do
145 not necessarily know who the actor is responsible for slave markets are, or, you know, to the extent
146 that we do and the pathways to addressing that type of behaviours is less clear. So, you know, the
147 focus needs to be more on a kind of discrete impact of an individual, than then saying, you know,
148 Nestlé's slave wing.

Paul White 16:37

149 Yeah. But there was there was one more example, I want to talk to you about. At a recent
150 conference, I compared a Greenpeace campaign mail about plastic pollution to the text of... are you
151 familiar with the program Last Week Tonight?

Brett Chamberlin 16:56

152 I am. Yes.

Paul White 16:57

153 Yeah. So recently, I think about a month ago, they also did a program about plastic pollution and
154 about...

Brett Chamberlin 17:04

155 Yeah, it was quite good, we're happy with that.

Paul White 17:06

156 Yeah, especially the stuff about the recycling triangle. About that being a farse. Basically, you know,
157 and I compared the I got the text from the program, of course, I had to change it a little bit to make
158 it more into a readable text than a spoken text, but I just changed some kind of superficial aspects.
159 And I noticed as compared to that Greenpeace, that in the programme, they did give kind of a more
160 of a victim role to the to the viewer. In construction is like saying, you might go to the supermarket
161 and understandably buy this product, because you see the recycling symbol, and you have no idea
162 that you're being deceived, or conned or something like this. So through kind of putting the reader in
163 this case, sorry, the viewer in the subject position and using these passive verbs without nominating
164 the companies that were doing it, in that text, they gave more different roles to the reader say at
165 one point, the role is the victim of deception, but without naming who is deceiving them, and then
166 coming down to the viewer as, as being an actor, being able to do something being able to react to
167 it. Whereas in the, in the, in the Greenpeace case, you had, like, you know, the supermarkets are

168 producing all this plastic pollution, they're polluting our environment, send them a message. So the
169 case of the reader is very restricted to that have just kind of material action. And one, which is not
170 actually real, if you I mean, because it's a request is something which they could possibly do.

Brett Chamberlin 19:05

171 So I think the reason for that would be to focus on the concern around focus on individual action,
172 right? So you know, often environmental conservation is focused on individual consumer choices.
173 Whereby, you know, if you care about the planet, your solution is go shop green, go buy a re/-sable
174 water bottle, yada, yada, yada. As we know, of course, you know, it's very difficult to make
175 sustainable choices within an economy that's not designed for sustainability. And so it's
176 fundamentally a losing game. So I think we're particularly wary of any communication that focuses
177 on the individual as the individual actor because it then puts them in a position to, you know, try and
178 perfects their actions, or kind of fight this uphill battle within, you know, a broader economic or
179 cultural space that is not designed for it. Whereas where we keep the focus on the producer or the
180 corporate actor in this case, it makes it clear that we hold them responsible and accountable for, for
181 this issue. So there's certainly something to be said about the first person voice, you know, as are the
182 individual focus as used in that John Oliver segment, because from a storytelling perspective, it helps
183 the person kind of step into the story of themselves, right? So you know, when you say like, you go
184 to the supermarket, you see this so that the person is that experiencing that, as opposed to when we
185 say, you know, the corporate plastic industry did this or that thing, it's, you know, the person that
186 really doesn't see themselves in that story, but it does allow us to kind of assign blame in appropriate
187 places.

Paul White 20:47

188 Yeah. So there's, so there's maybe, like, do you think there's a balance in between focusing on the,
189 on the perpetrator focusing on the readers? Is there something is this to try to find a balance in that
190 in your communications?

Brett Chamberlin 21:04

191 I think so. I mean, you know, we often just use the kind of collective voice when we refer to our
192 community as our community. So you know, that strikes a balance between, you know, people
193 seeing themselves as part of that, and allowing us to kind of talk about the ways in which our
194 community collectively is responding to these acts, issues, taking action, the values that we hold the
195 types of ways that we interact with these topics. But it also allows us to kind of keep a collective
196 frame where we can position our community as a whole as a kind of change making group at the
197 kind of institutional level going up against groups like Nestle or the plastics industry or whatnot, you
198 know, through collective action as intervention, not through individual choices, or kind of singular
199 one person kind of do.

Paul White 21:48

200 Yeah, I mean, I definitely see that in the I think the use of this inclusive way, and ours is really
201 important. In that sense. And I think, if I could just ask you one, one final question, which is about the
202 funding for sort of stuff. Is it purely through donations, individual donations, or do you get some
203 funding from some other organizations?

Brett Chamberlin 22:16

204 We receive institutional support as well. So we have grant funders, providing larger foundation
205 support. So you know, could be \$1,000 grant for kind of a one year project, it could be, you know, six
206 figures over the course of multiple years. Yeah, it's a couple of those large, like, large, multi-year
207 foundational grants. It's a couple of kind of smaller, either major donors or smaller foundational
208 grants, and a large pool of individual donors.

Paul White 22:50

209 Okay. And just to ask the ballpark figure of your kind of year, the yearly budget just for, for
210 comparison with the other groups?

Brett Chamberlin 23:01

211 Yeah, in 2021, it's \$1.7 million.

Paul White

212 That's great. Thanks, I if, if you like I can send you some, I'm thinking of drawing up a kind of
213 document which leaves out all the academic kind of linguistic theories, but just emphasizes the more
214 kind of practical applicable results of my research and if you'd like I can send you that if you're
215 interested.

Brett Chamberlin 23:28

216 Yeah, I'd love to read that. It's a really interesting topic and it certainly be interested in reading more
217 and seeing if it's particularly any learnings that I might glean from it. So I welcome you sending that
218 over.

Paul White 23:38

219 Okay, great. I should be able to get it done by the summer is finishing at the moment.

Brett Chamberlin 23:44

220 Marvellous. I look forward to it. And I really do wish you the best of luck in your research. I think this
221 is a fascinating topic.

Paul White 23:49

222 Okay. Thanks a lot for your time.

Brett Chamberlin 23:53

223 Take care now.

Paul White 23:54

224 Okay, you too. Bye.

Brett Chamberlin 23:56

225 Bye.

ALIGNEMENT ET AFFILIATION DU LECTEUR IMAGINAIRE DANS LES CAMPAGNES DES GROUPES ACTIVISTES ÉCOLOGISTES ET SOCIAUX

Résumé

La recherche sur les discours sur l'environnement, notamment ceux qui encouragent une relation durable avec le monde naturel, s'est rapidement développée au cours de ces dernières années (voir Stibbe, 2020). Cependant, la plupart des études ont adopté une analyse du cadrage médiatique ou de contenu (Agin & Karlsson, 2021 ; Comfort & Park, 2018), et peu d'entre elles analysent le(s) texte(s) dans la perspective des rapports du niveau macroscopique au niveau microscopique. Cette thèse associe une analyse des « moves » (voir Swales, 2004) d'un corpus de 100 courriels de campagnes sociales et environnementales à une analyse qualitative des fréquences et des distributions des marqueurs d'évaluation (Martin & White, 2005), des marqueurs d'*interactant* (Tann, 2010 ; G. Thompson, 2012), des ordres et des questions (Kim & Thompson, 2010 ; Thompson & Thetela, 1995).

Les résultats identifient une série de différences dans l'utilisation de ces marqueurs entre, d'une part, un groupe préoccupé par des questions sociales (Freedom United) et, d'autre part, trois groupes focalisés sur l'environnement (The Green Party, Greenpeace et The Story of Stuff). Pour les marqueurs d'évaluation, les membres de Freedom United utilisent plus de marqueurs de *JUDGEMENT* sous la forme de "sanctions sociales" et moins d'"estimes sociales" que les autres groupes. Ils ont également utilisé moins de marqueurs d'*APPRECIATION* ainsi que plus de marqueurs négatifs et moins de marqueurs positives d'*ATTITUDE* que les autres trois groupes. Enfin, ils utilisent plus de marqueurs d'*ENGAGEMENT* contractuels, moins

de marqueurs d'*interactant* inclusifs et moins de questions.

Pour parvenir à une vision plus globale de ces observations, certains marqueurs ont été interprétés comme signalant l'alignement du lecteur imaginaire, tandis que d'autres ont été considérés comme signalant l'affiliation du lecteur imaginaire. Parmi les études récentes proposant des cadres d'affiliation des lecteurs (Knight, 2010a ; Peter White, 2020a ; Zappavigna et Martin, 2017), c'est principalement l'approche de Don (2019) qui est adoptée dans ce travail car elle distingue clairement les concepts d'alignement des lecteurs liés à des positions et des valeurs partagées, de l'affiliation des lecteurs reposant sur des normes culturelles, des connaissances et/ou des expériences partagées. Nous observons que Freedom United dépensait moins de ressources pour représenter le lecteur imaginaire comme fortement affilié que les groupes centrés sur l'environnement. Greenpeace a utilisé les marqueurs d'affiliation du lecteur d'une manière fortement stratégique qui soit pour compenser la réduction de l'alignement du lecteur vers la fin de ses courriels. Malgré l'utilisation de moins de marqueurs d'affiliation des lecteurs, on a observé que Freedom United, avec plus de cinq millions d'adeptes sur Facebook contre moins d'un million pour chacun des groupes environnementaux, réussit mieux à créer une communauté en ligne (c'est-à-dire à affilier son public) que les trois autres groupes environnementaux.

Des recherches futures sont nécessaires pour déterminer si la distribution des marqueurs utilisés par Freedom United est représentative de l'ensemble du mouvement militant pour les questions sociales. Si c'est le cas, il se pourrait que l'accent mis sur l'identité commune avec le lecteur comme moyen pour encourager l'action (c'est-à-dire, mis sur l'affiliation du lecteur) soit jugé plus approprié dans les campagnes de caractère environnemental plutôt que social. Ce qui peut à son tour être lié à la différence du niveau typique d'empathie ressenti par le public pour la souffrance humaine par rapport à la

souffrance du monde animal ou naturel (reflétant la " hiérarchie de l'empathie ", voir Goatly, 2018:233).

Mots clés : discours sur l'environnement, Appraisal Theory, médias alternatifs en ligne
alignement du lecteur, affiliation du lecteur .

ALIGNEMENT ET AFFILIATION DU LECTEUR IMAGINAIRE DANS LES CAMPAGNES DES GROUPES ACTIVISTES ÉCOLOGISTES ET SOCIAUX

Abstract

Research into environmental discourse, especially of the type which encourages a sustainable relationship with the natural world, has been rapidly increasing in recent years (see Stibbe, 2020). However, most studies adopted a framing or content analysis (Agin & Karlsson, 2021; Comfort & Park, 2018), with few analysing text from a macro to micro level. This thesis combines a move-structure analysis (Swales, 1990) of a corpus of 100 social and environmental campaign e-mails with a qualitative analysis of the frequencies and distribution of appraisal markers (Martin & White, 2005), interactant markers (Kim, 2009; Tann, 2010; G. G. Thompson, 2012) and the mood categories of commands and questions (Kim & G. Thompson, 2010; Thompson & Thetela, 1995).

The findings of this thesis include the identification of a series of differences in the use of these markers between the one social-issue activist group (Freedom United) and the three environmental-focus groups (The Green Party, Greenpeace and The Story of Stuff) investigated here. Broadly speaking, Freedom United were found to use more JUDGEMENT markers of 'social sanction' and less of 'social esteem' than the other groups. They also used fewer APPRECIATION markers and more negative and fewer positive markers of all ATTITUDE categories than the three environmental-focus groups. Finally, they use more contractive ENGAGEMENT markers, fewer inclusive interactant markers, and fewer questions than the other groups.

To create a more global view of these observations, certain markers were taken as signalling the alignment of the imagined reader (i.e., ENGAGEMENT markers), while others were taken to signal the affiliation of the imagined reader (i.e., inscribed vs. invoked ATTITUDE and interactant markers). While recent studies have proposed frameworks of reader affiliation (Knight, 2010a; Peter White, 2020a; Zappavigna and Martin, 2017), this study takes its main inspiration from, and hopefully develops, Don's (2019) framework which clearly distinguishes the use of reader alignment, as signalling shared values or stances, from reader affiliation, as indicating shared knowledge, experience or cultural norms. Based on the data, it was observed that, overall, Freedom United spend fewer resources on portraying the imagined reader as highly affiliated than the environmental-focus groups. Of the latter, Greenpeace used the markers of affiliation most strategically to compensate for the reduction in the construed alignment of the reader on the campaign issue towards the end of their e-mails. Despite these differences in the use of markers of reader affiliation, it has been observed that Freedom United, with over five million Facebook followers compared to under 1 million for each of the environmental-focus groups, is more successful in creating an online community (i.e., affiliating their audience) than any of the other three environmental-focus groups.

The reasons behind the differences in approach between the one social-issue group and the three environmental-focus groups cannot be established with certainty. Future research is necessary to see if the distribution of markers used by Freedom United is representative of the wider social-issue activist movement. However, if it is, then it could be that emphasizing communal identity with the reader as a means to encourage action (i.e., emphasizing reader affiliation) is felt to be more necessary in environmental than social campaigns. This in turn may relate to the difference in the typical level of empathy the

audience feels for human suffering as compared to animal or natural world suffering (reflecting the 'empathy hierarchy', Goatly, 2018:233).

Key words: environmental discourse, Appraisal Theory, online alternative media, reader alignment, reader affiliation.

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