

WILDERNESS AND THE LOADED LANGUAGE OF NEWS

Libby Lester

*School of English, Journalism and European Languages, University of Tasmania,
Hobart, Australia.*

This paper addresses the politicisation of the idea of wilderness in the Australian news media and is based on research into the coverage of the Franklin Dam blockade. Specifically, it analyses the coverage of the 10-week protest in the summer of 1982-83 by the Melbourne Age and the Hobart Mercury, newspapers with very different editorial positions on the issue. Public perception was that these positions flowed through into the news pages as bias. In fact, journalists, photographers, sub-editors and editors in both Melbourne and Hobart were driven primarily by the news narrative being played out in south-west Tasmania. They reported on the same events, chose similar headlines and dramatic images, and quoted similar sources at a similar rate. However, there was a basic difference in their coverage. The anti-dam Age repeatedly labelled the area 'wilderness' in its news stories. The pro-dam Mercury used the label less than five times in total. The paper draws on the work of Allan Bell, Teun van Dijk and Roger Fowler to discuss how this word choice formed an 'alliance of shared meaning' between the newspapers and their readers.

Journalism stream

WILDERNESS AND THE LOADED LANGUAGE OF NEWS

The director of the Australian Conservation Foundation, Dr Geoff Mosley, last night described the World Heritage listing of the wilderness area as the turning point in the battle to save the wilderness region.

- *Age*, 15 December 1982.

In the summer of 1982-83, the Franklin Blockade produced a compelling narrative for the local, national and international media. Melbourne's *Age* and Hobart's *Mercury* newspapers had contrary editorial positions – the *Age* regularly railed against the dam, the *Mercury* against anti-dam conservationists and outside interference.

This paper shows that, at the macro level, the coverage of the blockade in both newspapers was surprisingly similar. Journalists, photographers, sub-editors and editors in Melbourne and Hobart were driven primarily by the news narrative being played out in south-west Tasmania. They reported on the same events, they chose similar headlines, they chose similar dramatic images, and they quoted similar sources at a similar rate.

But they did do something differently. In up to one half of its stories on the Gordon-below-Franklin dam issue over much of the 10-week blockade period, the *Age* used the word 'wilderness' in its naming of the region under threat. The *Mercury* used it less than five times in total.

In making this style choice, the *Age* was at the forefront of the politicisation of the concept of wilderness in the Australian news media. This paper explores the historical shift in meaning of the word 'wilderness', which led to it being a powerful weapon in 1982, and then – drawing on studies of news language by Roger Fowler, Teun van Dijk and Allan Bell – questions the possible motivation behind the newspapers' use or otherwise of the word. It finds that such word choices may not always produce a shift in perception in news audiences, but they can implicate readers in an undeclared bias, forming an alliance of shared meaning.

Wilderness

'Nature' is one of the most contested words in the English language, its existence as more than a social construct often challenged (Hay 2002, pp. 19-25, Baudrillard 1990, p. 65), but its sibling 'wilderness' shows an almost equal propensity to defy stability and change meaning.

The summer of 1982-1983 saw the Australian mainstream media exalt the word 'wilderness' from a past linked with indifference, threat and even malevolence to a future signifying desirability, even marketability – a vivid example of Saussure's

assertion that 'neither signifier nor signified contains any essential core which time cannot touch' (Culler 1976, p. 36).

The essential core of 'wilderness' had been under strain for almost two centuries in North America. The harsh and unforgiving place of the Bible, the dank and gloomy world of Beowulf, the source of frightening cries of the Ancient Greeks and the subject of Lucretius' lament that so much of the earth was 'greedily possessed by mountains and the forests of wide beasts' began, in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, to give way to the Romantic vision of wilderness as a place of refuge, sanctuary, even sublimity (Hay 2002, p. 5, Nash 2001, p. 45, Torrance 1999, p. xx).

Through Emerson and Thoreau in the Nineteenth Century, and Muir and Leopold in the Twentieth, wilderness in the United States became the 'antidote for the poisons of industrial society' (Schama 1995, p. 7). The healing wilderness, as Schama labels it, was 'as much the product of culture's craving and cultures' framing as any other imagined garden', yet real enough to secure a prominent position on the political agenda. Nash writes that conservationists had been aroused repeatedly since the 1910s, the time of the Hetch Hetchy dam controversy, but 'not until the 1950s and 1960s did the quantity and quality of their fury become sufficiently potent to influence the political process' (Nash 2001, p. 235).

The elevation of 'wilderness' in Australia followed a less explicit path than it did in the United States, despite a common foundation for both nations' form of environmentalism – that is, a 'first-order goal' to defend wilderness (Hay 2002, p. 12). Bonyhady cites the 1837 attempt by Tasmania's surveyor-general George Frankland to prevent quarrying in a fern gully on Mount Wellington known as Salvator Rosa's Glen as an early example of protection of a place on aesthetic grounds (Bonyhady 2000, p. 7), and the Nineteenth Century Romantic tradition also existed in Australia. Among Tasmanian proponents were painter W.C. Piguenit (1836-1914) and photographer J.W. Beattie (1859-1930). The Scenery Preservation Act came into being in Tasmania in 1915, and the subsequent work of Gustav Weindorfer and Myles Dunphy throughout the first half of the Twentieth Century helped strengthen and frame a public consciousness of the value of wilderness.

Yet even into 1960s, as organised efforts to protect the south-west of Tasmania began, the word 'wilderness' maintained a specific, descriptive and uncontested meaning. It defined a specific type of place, not an inherent promise of something more, as in this example from a 1962 *Mercury* editorial on the plan for a south-west national park. The plan, the newspaper wrote, 'envisages the development within the proposed park of a tourist area with all appropriate amenities: the definition of wilderness areas suitable for bushwalking and mountaineering; and the complete preservation of "primitive" areas for scientific study only' (Gee 1978, p. 236).

But within a decade, 'wilderness' had begun to take on its modern meaning. The Tasmanian Year Book of 1972 applies a contemporary use, describing south-west Tasmania as 'Australia's finest wilderness area' (Swain 1972, p. 64). The work of photographer Olegas Truchanas was fundamental to this change. Campaigning throughout the late 1960s to protect Lake Pedder, Truchanas presented a series of slide shows and talks on the value of the south west, telling an audience in 1971 that if 'we can accept the view that man and nature were inseparable parts of the unified

world – then Tasmania can be a shining beacon in a dull, uniform and largely artificial world' (Pybus and Flanagan 1990, half-title page).

In 1976, founding director of the Tasmanian Wilderness Society Kevin Kiernan wrote: 'We have to try to sell not the wilderness experience – that is, wilderness as a recreational resource – but the right of wilderness to exist' (Hutton and Connors 1999, p. 161), and in 1978, the Australian Conservation Foundation sub-titled its book on the south west, 'A Tasmanian Wilderness'. By the late 1970s, 'wilderness' had been so imbued with meaning and resonance – both through explicit and implied use – that it became a provocative, powerful political and marketing tool.

Books, films, photographic ephemera poured out of the movement during the late 1970s and early 1980s. These were the nub of a political-commercial-aesthetic nexus which the Tasmanian Greens skilfully nurtured, creating their national distribution through the very successful Wilderness shops. The Greens made wilderness a commodity whose commercial nakedness they clothed in the Romantic aesthetic borrowed from Pignatelli and refined by the wilderness photographers who followed in Truchanas' footsteps (Pybus and Flanagan 1990, p. 161).

By 14 December 1982, when the Franklin Blockade began, the word 'wilderness' was loaded.

The blockade

If the United States' Hetch Hetchy was the first large-scale, nation-wide conservation campaign, the Franklin Blockade was the first international one. Over 10 weeks, 1272 people were arrested, 1324 charges for trespass or obstruction were laid by police, and 447 people were imprisoned at Risdon Jail in Hobart for refusing to accept bail conditions, most for periods of two to seven days, one for 26 days (Wilderness Society 1983, p. 9).

At immediate stake was the lower section of the Franklin River in south-west Tasmania – almost a third of the fast-flowing 125-kilometre long river. Bob Brown, who would lead the campaign to prevent the dam, described this section of the river as 'large and beautiful, with low verdured banks and occasional limestone cliffs lining broadwater after broadwater... No-one lives anywhere by its banks, there are no grazing or arable lands in its basin, no blackberries or willows have rooted in its soil' (Gee 1978, p. 269).

For the Hydro-Electric Commission, however, what was at stake was the ability to eventually produce 340 MW of electricity from the integrated Franklin, Gordon and King schemes, which would add 22 per cent to the state's electricity system (Thomson 1981, p. 22). Politically, socially and economically powerful, the 'Hydro' had rarely been challenged throughout its then 60-year history of dam construction across the island. The flooding of Lake Pedder in 1973 heralded major change - not only for the Hydro. It is now recognised as a key moment in the birth of the modern conservation movement in Australia (Doyle 2000, p. 115, Hutton 1987, p. 2). A number of consequences emerged from the Pedder protest that would impact profoundly upon the Franklin controversy: a willingness – even if reluctant – on the part of federal governments to become involved in state environmental issues; a

strategy on the part of conservationists to directly enter politics themselves, leading to the birth of the world's first green party (Brown and Singer 1996, p. 68); and a recognition by the media that given the right set of circumstances the conservation/development battle could provide compelling news copy.

The coverage of the blockade by two newspapers – the *Mercury* and the *Age* – was particularly contested at the time. In 1982, the *Mercury* was – then as now – the highest circulating of Tasmania's three daily newspapers and the state's only metropolitan newspaper. In 1982, long-serving editor Dennis Hawker retired, and was replaced by a former chief-of-staff, the conservative Malcolm Williams. While still owned locally, it was part of the Herald and Weekly Times group, which would be taken over by News Limited in 1986. The *Age*, the most prestigious and lowest selling of the three daily newspapers in Melbourne at the time, was also first published in 1854. It was also still owned locally, although Fairfax would launch its ultimately successful bid for David Syme and Co in September 1983. But politically, the *Mercury* and the *Age* had little in common, with the small 'l' liberal tradition established at the *Age* in the 1970s continuing on into the 1980s under the editorship of Creighton Burns.

Both papers editorialised regularly on the Franklin Dam issue, and both maintained editorial positions that were consistent, concise and abundantly clear. 'The facts are – however unpalatable to the greenies – that the Gordon below Franklin scheme is the most exhaustively investigated power scheme in Tasmania and probably in Australia,' the *Mercury* thundered on 25 November 1982. 'It will not destroy a large part of the South-West, many of the scenes being shown in conservationist propaganda, or the last wild river' (*Mercury* 1982a). And again on 7 December: 'The Premier, Mr Gray, has quite rightly rejected yesterday's attempt by the Tasmanian Wilderness Society to "do a deal" on the planned blockade by conservationists in the South-West...'
(*Mercury* 1982b). And on 19 January: 'What these misguided protesters apparently fail to realise is that they have been overtaken by a change in public mood. The issue is no longer one of whether or not a dam should be built, but whether Tasmanians have the right to determine their own destiny, free of unwarranted outside interference...'
(*Mercury* 1983a).

Meanwhile, in Melbourne, the *Age* was articulating its position with equal clarity. On 16 December 1982, it wrote: 'The whole point of the issue is that these beautiful valleys are to be drowned for a dam that is *not* essential. As we have pointed out repeatedly, the choice is one between cheap electricity with huge environmental costs and reasonably cheap electricity with the environment preserved' (*Age* 1982). And on 7 January: 'One can sympathise with the Fraser Government over the political dilemma it faces... But if it is concerned for something more than short-term internal harmony, it must intervene to stop the dam. In the beauty of those rainforests, in the grandeur of those mountain valleys, their haunting mists, their spectacular cliffs, rapids and beautiful vegetation, there is something Australia should preserve untouched for all time' (*Age* 1983a).

On a macro level, these editorial positions did not flow through on to the news pages. Spectacular examples of biased reporting can be found, but they were the exception. Generally, the compelling narrative being played out on the river and in the state and federal parliaments was driving news decisions.

Tables 1 and 2 are based on a rolling content analysis conducted on the coverage in the *Age* and the *Mercury* during the blockade period, with a primary interest in the proportion of space given to pro-dam versus anti-dam sources. It shows that both newspapers gave pro-dam sources only about 60 per cent of the space they gave to anti-dam sources – the *Mercury* 61.84 per cent, the *Age* 58.33 per cent.

Table 1: Mercury Source of quotes (in paragraphs)

date	9/12	15/12	21/12	27/12	8/1	14/1	20/1	26/1	1/2	7/2	19/2	25/2	3/3	total
pro-dam	36	7	16	0	0	0	15	0	28	0	0	2	6	110
anti-dam	43	31	16	0	7	14	42	0	1	0	2	12	0	168
total	113	104	46	0	35	32	82	0	32	0	5	17	14	480

Table 2: Age Source of quotes (in paragraphs)

date	9/1	15/1	21/1	27/1	8/1	14/1	20/1	26/1	1/2	7/2	19/2	25/2	3/3	total
pro-dam	2	2	2	2	0	6	24	0	0	0	0	6	0	56
anti-dam	10	10	11	3	6	3	29	3	0	14	0	6	0	96
total	11	58	37	8	29	32	72	7	0	33	0	15	8	333

But if no overt differences are apparent at this level of news coverage, it does not mean that the news agenda was not infected with bias. In fact, a significant bias is evident in the news pages – just on a more covert level.

Tables 3 and 4 show the frequency of the use of the word 'wilderness' as a naming device in all news and colour stories on the Gordon-below-Franklin dam issue that appeared in the Monday to Saturday editions of both papers. Stories were only included in the count if the word appeared as a label outside a direct or indirect quote. Opinion pieces and analysis by claimsmakers were excluded.

Table 3: Mercury Use of 'wilderness'

	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	total
total stories	64	56	24	25	169
using 'wilderness'	2	1	2	0	5
rate	3.1%	1.8%	8.3%	0%	3%

Table 4: Age Use of 'wilderness'

	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	total
total stories	44	49	20	23	136
using 'wilderness'	21	16	3	2	42
rate	47.7%	32.7%	15%	8.7%	30.9%

During the December-January period of peak coverage of the blockade, the *Mercury* referred to the area in question as it always had done – the South-West, the South-West area, the South-West region, South-West Tasmania, Tasmania's South-West... The blockade was the South-West blockade, the South-West protest, the blockade of HEC works, Gordon River blockade, Gordon blockade, the Gordon-below-Franklin dam blockade, the conservationist blockade.

On only a handful of occasions did the *Mercury* use the word 'wilderness' in its news stories to name the area. In December, two stories used the word 'wilderness' as an identifier; in January, there was only one example of this kind out of 56 stories. This was consistent with the rate of usage in surrounding months – two references out of 20 stories in October, two out of 34 in November, two out of 24 in February, and none in the 25 news stories that appeared in March.

When the word was used in this way, it was often under an interstate dateline, such as a story generated from Canberra. When no interstate dateline was present, the story was in the majority of cases attributed to one *Mercury* staff journalist, Wayne Crawford, as in this example from 20 January 1983: 'The Prime Minister, Mr Fraser, made public the two-part offer after a helicopter inspection of the South-West wilderness and Franklin River with Mr Gray' (Crawford 1983).

The *Age*, on the other hand, used the word regularly in its coverage throughout the December-January period. To the *Age*, the area was south-west Tasmania, the south-west of Tasmania, Tasmania's south-west, the Gordon-below-Franklin River, the Franklin; but it was also the Tasmanian wilderness, Tasmania's south-west wilderness area, the south-west Tasmanian wilderness, the Tasmanian wilderness area, Tasmania's south-west wilderness, or, simply, the wilderness area. The blockade was the Franklin blockade or the south-west blockade, but it was also the wilderness blockade, or the south-west wilderness blockade.

There was a similar rate of use of the term in the months leading into the blockade, but as interest in the blockade peaked in January and the federal election was called in early February, the *Age*'s use of the word began to decline. In February only three of the 20 stories referred to the area as wilderness; in March, two of 23; and in April, there was only one reference to the area as wilderness in 18 stories on the issue.

The *Mercury*'s position was consistent. Throughout its coverage of the Gordon-below-Franklin dam issue, it defined the area in question by either the geographical position on the island (in the south west) or in relation to landmarks (the Franklin River). The *Age*, on the other hand, enthusiastically applied the label 'wilderness' throughout the blockade period, only to drop it when the election campaign – a more formal and routine reporting period – began.

Discussion

While 'fifty years of communication research have... made it plainly clear that there is no such simple relationship between media content and its reception and social implications' (Hansen et al. 1998, p. 95), a framework for discussion about the use by the *Mercury* and *Age* of the word 'wilderness' during the summer of 1982-83 can be found in the works of Fowler, who argues that news language – like all language – is

not neutral, but a highly constructive mediator (Fowler et al. 1979, Fowler 1986, 1991); van Dijk, who has studied the reproduction of racism through news discourse (van Dijk 1991, 1998); and Bell, whose detailed study of the language used on New Zealand radio explores the concept of style in news as audience design (Bell and Garrett 1998, Bell 1991, 1984).

Van Dijk's discussion of style in relation to choice of words such as 'mob' and 'rentamob' instead of 'crowd' and 'demonstrators' is relevant in that just as such word choices may be interpreted 'as signalling the ideological position of the reporter' (van Dijk 1998, p. 116) so too could the choice to use the label 'wilderness' on the part of *Age* reporters be seen as a reflection of their understanding of both the area under threat and the meaning of the word 'wilderness'.

Sociolinguist and journalist Allan Bell's work on style – that is, specific word choices made by the language user – as a response to media audience is also of some interest as he concludes 'that at all levels of language variability, people are responding primarily to other people. Speakers are designing their style for their audience' (Bell 1984, p. 197). His differentiation between the responsive and the initiative is also relevant here. While speakers are often primarily responding to their audience in the language they produce, they can also on occasions 'take more initiative and use language to redefine their relationship to their audience' (Bell 1991, p. 105). But Bell argues that within the media, some genres are more prone to response and others to initiative, with the more formal genres such as newscasting towards the responsive end of the scale.

Fowler's work is of particular relevance in that he highlights the dense presence in newspaper discourse of category labels – or categorisation – which 'tell us a good deal about the structure of the ideological world represented by a newspaper or by a certain type of newspaper' (Fowler 1991, p. 93). He writes that 'a newspaper assumes that there is always only one reasonable point of view on any matter presented. Editorials visibly *affirm* this point of view; the news and other pages are written to assume that this point of view is natural, common sense, to be taken for granted, not needing to be asserted' (Fowler 1991, p. 231).

He continues:

The fact is that *readers* are implicated in the discursive articulation of values and beliefs. A reader cannot easily read through a newspaper article disinterestedly, and sit back and say 'that's biased'. The individual, processing the discourse by scanning and understanding it, has to take on board the paradigms and stereotypes that are implied: if s/he does not, the discourse will not signify. Discourse always has in mind an implied addressee, an imagined subject position which it requires the addressee to occupy. Newspapers are concerned – and deliberately, despite the unnoticeability of the discursive processes – to construct ideal readers: 'Time/Guardian/Sun reader'. The real reader, you or I, will be comfortable with the ideological position silently offered by the particular newspaper, whether s/he notices it or not (Fowler 1991, p. 232).

Was the *Age*, in its use of the word 'wilderness', deliberately evoking a concept that had reached some kind of apotheosis in the summer of 1982-'83? Perhaps, although

further qualitative research would be needed to better understand the conditions that existed in the newsroom at the time. What is considered more likely is that the newspaper was simply responding to the perceived beliefs of its readers, speaking to Fowler's ideal readers who were comfortable with the discourse offered and its implied 'paradigms and stereotypes'.

An opinion poll conducted before the blockade began gives insight into the likely views of the *Age* readership. The poll, conducted by Irving Saulwick and published in the *Age* on 4 October 1982 under the heading 'Dam plan finds few supporters', found that 'only 24 per cent of Australians support the Tasmanian Government's plan to flood the Franklin and Lower Gordon rivers' (Radic 1982).

According to the story, 24 per cent of Victorians supported the flooding, while 42 per cent were opposed. The sample in Tasmania was a small one, but found that 52 per cent supported their government's plan while 41 per cent opposed it. Also of relevance to the *Age*, which has always seen itself as the paper-of-choice of the educated compared to its traditional rival the *Sun* (now *Herald-Sun*), only 21 per cent of the university educated favoured the damming, while 58 per cent of the university educated opposed it.

While this poll shows that the *Age*, in opposing the dam, was clearly in line with the views of the vast majority of its potential readership, more telling is what the newspaper *understood* the beliefs of its readers to be, the constructed 'ideal readers'.

This is discernible from editorials published at the time. The *Age* was clear on what it considered the majority view. 'On 5 March the majority of Australians voted to have the Franklin saved. The fact that Tasmanians themselves voted against the national tide is not the point. The south-west wilderness area belongs to the nation and the world. By insisting otherwise, Mr Gray is out of step and out of touch' (*Age* 1983b). The *Age* was also in no doubt about the views of the *Mercury's* readers. 'Perhaps the saddest thing about this whole issue is that so few Tasmanians, and so few of their leaders, have tried to see the issue from both sides' (*Age* 1983a).

Conclusion

News production is clearly influenced by individuals, whether as reporters in writing the news copy, sub-editors creating headlines or editing copy, and editors making edicts on questions of style, but news is rarely the product of a single person. As such, it is treated here as a group activity. It is likely that the word choices made by the *Age* and the *Mercury*, in their coverage of the Franklin Blockade, were attributable to a number of people, a group which, consciously or otherwise, was responding to the perceived beliefs of its readers.

While newspaper editorials may at times be produced to reflect reader opinion, it is not acceptable practice on the news pages, which may explain the covert nature of the bias discussed here. The fact that the *Age's* use of the word 'wilderness' to name the area slowed during the election coverage is an indication of an awareness on the part of the *Age* of the power of the style choice the newsroom had been making, of the power of the word.

By 1982, 'wilderness' was a powerful word. Its essential core had changed to signify desirability, yet it maintained an element of awe and exclusivity. That summer it still meant something to be 'arrested in the wilderness' (McQueen 1983). The word is applied more liberally now – Schama's 'craving' and 'framing' freely indulged. In the late twentieth century, the concept of wilderness was increasingly exploited for politics and commerce. The Franklin Blockade showed us how it could be done.

Even the *Mercury* quickly caught on. One month after the High Court brought down the decision that stopped the dam, the *Mercury* published a book of south-west photography called *Wilderness in White* and promoted it on the front page (Mercury 1983b). The word 'wilderness' had found its way to page one.

References

- Baudrillard, J. (1990). *Revenge of the Crystal: Selected Writings on the Modern Object and its Destiny 1968-1983*. London: Pluto Press.
- Bell, A. (1984). Language style as audience design. *Language in Society*, 13, 145-204.
- Bell, A. (1991). *The Language of News Media*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bell, A. and Garrett, P. (Eds.). (1998). *Approaches to Media Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Berger, A. A. (2000). *Media and Communication Research Methods*, Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Bolinger, D. (1980). *Language: The Loaded Weapon*. New York: Longman.
- Bonyhady, T. (2000). *The Colonial Earth*. Carlton South: Melbourne University Press.
- Brown, B. and Singer, P. (1996). *The Greens*. Melbourne: Text.
- Culler, J. (1976). *Saussure*. London: Fontana.
- Doyle, T. (2000). *Green Power: The Environment Movement in Australia*. Sydney: UNSW Press.
- Finch, R. and Elder, J. (2002). *Nature Writing: The Tradition in English*. New York: Norton.
- Fowler, R. (1986). *Linguistic Criticism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. London: Routledge.
- Fowler, R., Hodge, B., Kress, G. and Trew, T. (1979). *Language and Control*. London: Routledge.
- Gee, H. (1978). *The South West Book: A Tasmanian Wilderness*. Melbourne: Australian Conservation Foundation.
- Giordano, M. (1987). *A Man and a Mountain: The story of Gustav Weindorfer*. Launceston: Regal Publications.
- Green, R. (1983). *Battle for the Franklin*. Melbourne: Australian Conservation Foundation.
- Hansen, A., Cottle, S., Negrine, R. and Newbold, C. (1998). *Mass Communication Research Methods*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Hay, P. (2002). *Main Currents in Western Environmental Thought*. Sydney: UNSW Press.
- Herman, E. S. and Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Random House.

- Hutton, D. (1987). *Green Politics in Australia*. North Ryde: Angus & Robertson.
- Hutton, D. and Connors, L. (1999). *A History of the Australian Environment Movement*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Jensen, K. B. and Jankowski, N. W. (Eds.). (1991). *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research*. London: Routledge.
- Lakin, R. (Ed.). (1972). *Tasmanian Year Book 1972*. Hobart: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics.
- Leopold, A. (1966). *A Sand County Almanac with Essays on Conservation from Round River*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Lowe, D. (1984). *The Price of Power: The Politics behind the Tasmanian Dam Case*. South Melbourne: Macmillan.
- Lupton, R. (2000). *Lifeblood: Tasmania's Hydro Power*. Edgecliff: Focus.
- Nash, R. F. (2001). *Wilderness and the American Mind*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Orwell, G. (1962). *Inside the Whale and Other Essays*. Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Pybus, C. and Flanagan, R. (Eds.). (1990). *The Rest of the World is Watching*. Sydney: Pan Macmillan.
- Schama, S. (1995). *Landscape and Memory*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Swain, R. (1972). The Fauna of South-Western Tasmania. In Lakin, R. (Ed.) *Tasmanian Year Book 1972*, Vol. No 6 (pp. 56-64). Hobart: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics.
- Thomson, P. (1981). *Power in Tasmania*. Melbourne: Australian Conservation Foundation.
- Thoreau, H. D. (1986). *Walden and Civil Disobedience*. New York: Penguin Classics.
- Torrance, R. (Ed.). (1999). *Encompassing Nature*. Washington DC: Counterpoint.
- van Dijk, T. (1991). The interdisciplinary study of news as discourse. In K. B. Jensen and N. W. Jankowski (Eds.). *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research*. London: Routledge.
- van Dijk, T. (1998). Opinions and Ideologies in the press. In A. Bell and P. Garrett (Eds.). *Approaches to Media Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- White, S. (1996). *Reporting in Australia*. South Yarra: Macmillan.
- Wilderness Society, The (1983). *The Franklin Blockade*. Hobart: The Wilderness Society.

Newspaper articles

- Age. (1982). Tasmania's world heritage. *Age*, 16 December, p. 13.
- Age. (1983a). Why the Franklin should be saved. *Age*, 7 January, p. 13.
- Age. (1983b). Impasse on the Franklin. *Age*, 24 March, p. 13.
- Crawford, W. (1983). Gray rejects open cheque. *Mercury*, 20 January, p. 1.
- McQueen, J. (1983). Arrested in the Wilderness. *Age*, 20 January, p. 11.
- Mercury. (1982a). Power game. *Mercury*, 25 November, p. 6.
- Mercury. (1982b). A high price. *Mercury*, 7 December, p. 6.
- Mercury. (1983a). Circus tricks. *Mercury*, 19 January, p. 6.
- Mercury. (1983b). Wilderness in white. *Mercury*, 30 July, p. 1.
- Radic, L. (1982). Few supporters for Tasmanian dam plan. *Age*, 4 October, pp. 1 and 16.

Introductory quote

- Ellilngsen, P. and Balderstone, S. (1982). A turning point: ACF chief. *Age*, 15 December, p. 5.

Address for correspondence

Libby Lester

School of English, Journalism and European Languages

University of Tasmania

Private Bag 82

Hobart

TAS 7000

Libby.Lester@utas.edu.au