# Plumbing Ideology in the Press: A Corpus-Driven Analysis of In-grouping and Cultural 'Othering' in Reportage of the Hawker/Ichihashi Murder Case

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## Abstract

This study explores how national identity as ideology is encoded in the production of news. A major component of this ideology is the tendency to realize national self-identity through 'othering,' the construction of an 'us and them' dichotomy. In turn, this may promote a myth of superiority and dominance of the in-group over outside groups and cultures. The results of the analysis contained in this study on the reportage of the murder case involving Lindsay Hawker and Tatsuya Ichihashi suggest that in the UK press this ideology tends to be based on a platform of racial and cultural superiority over the 'other' Japanese culture. In comparison, the Japanese press discourse exhibits a process of negating the 'other,' excluding agency and maintaining a largely internal and exclusionary focus.

The analysis of this study centers on UK and Japanese media reports of a press conference held in Tokyo on March 24th, 2008 by Hawker's family. A systematic analysis utilizing the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been applied to explore the ideological underpinnings and values encoded in and represented by the two texts. As well as drawing from the analytical framework outlined by Fowler (1991), tools from Fairclough's guide to performing CDA, contained in his book, *Language and Power* (2001), are combined in this study. In addition, the results have been quantitatively tested through the analysis of a small corpus constructed for this study

## 1. Background

### 1.1 Impetus for this study

I heard about the murder of Lindsay Ann Hawker from the plumber sent to fix my leaking boiler. He had been lamenting Britain's healthcare and how it gives free services to "anyone who manages to get into our country" and "makes the working man pay." Apparently unaware that as a visiting student I was also receiving tax-funded benefits, he then inquired as to where I was from. I told him that I normally resided in Japan, whereupon he excitedly remarked that they had found the "Japanese nutter who killed Lindsay." As I didn't know the story, he eagerly launched into a summary of the case. Adamant that he "had nothing against the Japanese people" (a common feature in racist discourse – see van Dijk, 2006), his story was nonetheless told from a perspective of cultural and moral superiority. He mused about the ineptness of the Japanese police force and the nearly certain likelihood that, after being on the lam for over two years, the fugitive was being aided by the Japanese people. In the course of this short conversation, my plumber had engaged a discourse that aligned him within a certain group of British nationals[1], creating a position from

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[1] A fuzzy concept to say the least – but presumably citizens of (white) British ancestry who worked hard and paid the taxes that were then being wasted on healthcare for immigrants.

which to propagate stereotypes of other (particularly Asian) cultures as inept and possessing questionable morals.

I wondered how this story was evolving in Japan. Having lived there for eight years, I suspected that the story would be reported in a different light. I had experienced the negative effects of in-grouping ideology in Japan and knew that western countries such as the UK held no monopoly on the use of discursive practices to demarcate a clear divide between the in-group and outsider. Indeed, the oft-used term for foreigner, 外人 –gaijin or literally 'outside person' is a fairly clear indication of the prevalence of this ideology. This story presented a unique opportunity to observe the evolution of national identity in the discourse of two cultures affected by one story: the tragic events surrounding the Hawker/Ichihashi case.

An investigation into the background of this case led me initially to the Daily Mail, a tabloid newspaper in the UK that is well known for making use of cultural stereotypes similar to those that my plumber had voiced. Indeed, upon reading one of the first articles, the Daily Mail seemed to be drawing such cultural sentiments. The article describes Hawker's parents as "an unassuming, hard-working couple, their priorities in life⋯ to earn a decent living and look after their three girls" (Sanderson 2007). The attention – grabbing headline of a different article, "Lindsay Nut Stalked Second Girl" (Wheeler 2007) hints at the content of the article: that Tatsuya Ichihashi, the suspected killer in this case, was likely obsessed with white, western women. As David McNeill's (2007) scathing article on the "Yellow Peril" being rolled out in the press pointed out, the Daily Mail (and other tabloid newspapers) seemed to be employing cultural stereotypes and sensational headlines in order to draw in readers.

Members of the quality press were equally quick to denounce the racial stereotyping being employed in the tabloids, with The Guardian's Jenny Holt denouncing the Daily Mail's "mindless foreigner bashing" and stereotyped portrayals of Japan (November 13, 2009). Indeed, The Guardian's reportage of this story seemed more objective – at least on the surface. It's headlines were more subdued as in the following examples: "Father of murdered teacher makes appeal in Tokyo" and "Lindsay Hawker murder suspect arrested in Japan" (both taken from the GR sub-corpus as discussed later).

The coverage in the Japanese quality press, as in The Guardian, also seemed reserved in its coverage of this case. Not that this is unusual. Indeed, the discourse in the Japanese press in general tends to be more reserved in its portrayal of the news than some its more salacious western counterparts. In reporting this case, the headlines are nearly mundane in tone; for example, "Ichihashi's attorney says suspect has cut ties with his parents", and "Man wanted over Briton's murder was in Osaka, Fukuoka" (retrieved from the MR sub-corpus, also discussed later). The Mainichi seemed to be relaying the news in the fashion expected of a respectable newspaper - in a detached and impartial manner.

The news, however, is never a neutral affair. Indeed, objective, impartial reporting of the news does not exist (Fairclough 1995). The sensational naming and stereotypical caricatures that tends to grace the tabloids is nearly absent in The Guardian and Mainichi's reports on this case; however, ideology in these newspapers is nonetheless present - it is just expressed through more subtle discursive features. This is not to say that newspapers and the media are consistently and deliberately conspiring to promote a particular agenda or bias. The presence of ideology in discourse is not always – indeed often is not – a conscious decision; nonetheless, the production of a text is made based on the underlying knowledge and opinions (MR as discussed later) held by those with control over the final publication (Fowler 1991).

### 1.2 The Lindsay Hawker/Tatsuya Ichihashi Story

In October of 2006, Lindsay Ann Hawker travelled to Japan to work as an English instructor at Nova, a large chain of English schools. Five months later, on Monday, March 26th, 2007, police were alerted by her school that Hawker had not shown up for work and had, according to friends, not returned home after giving a private lesson to Tatsuya Ichihashi, a man who had previously followed her home from

work and requested to be taught privately. Discovering a note with Ichihashi's address on it, police went to his apartment. While officers were distracted, Ichihashi fled the scene. Hawker's battered and bound body was subsequently found on the balcony of Ichihashi's apartment in a bathtub filled with sand, and a manhunt was launched for Ichihashi. He avoided capture for over two and a half years by disfiguring his face, getting cosmetic surgery, and even living and foraging for food on a remote island in Okinawa. As time passed, Hawker's family became increasingly involved in raising public awareness of the hunt for Ichihashi, visiting Japan several times to speak with the press, hand out leaflets, and even enlist the help of the Japanese mafia. One of these press conferences, held by the Hawker family in Japan on March 24, 2008, is the focus of the two main articles being analyzed in this study.

Ichihashi was apprehended on November 10th, 2009 while attempting to board a ferry. At the writing of this paper, Ichihashi is in custody and his trial has begun.  He recently published a book, 逮捕される まで空白の２年７ヶ月の記録 'Until I got Arrested: A Memoir of the Missing Two Years and Seven Months', detailing his life on the run. Though he refers in his book to 'what he did,' and has written a letter of apology to Hawker's family, Ichihashi has admitted only to charges of rape and abandoning Hawker's corpse.   He has denied the more serious charge of intent to commit murder that he also faces.

## 2. Theory and Methodology

### 2.1 Discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis

This paper will make use of the analytical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as it is outlined in Fairclough (2001), Fowler (1991), and van Dijk (1991). Various people have interpreted discourse in various ways. In this paper, the term discourse is used as it is defined by Fairclough (1992: 28) as language that transcends mere use; it is "language use, whether speech or writing, seen as a type of social practice."   Discourse does not refer simply to a text; indeed it refers to the processes of production and interpretation of texts in any social interaction. Therefore, text analysis must also take into account the production of the text and the interpretation of the text vis-à-vis what Fairclough (2001:20) calls "members resources" (MR), a common knowledge of language, representations of society, its values, beliefs, and assumptions. The concept of MR is used in this study to explore how ideology is successfully imbibed and reinforced.

### 2.2 Discourse and the News

This study deals with the case of Lindsay Hawker's murder. However, on a wider scale it is about discourse in the news - particularly the role it plays in constructing values and perceptions of national identity. The importance of news in this role is immense. It is one of the most prevalent sources of information these days; we are constantly bombarded with news – on the television, on the radio, on the Internet – it is hard not to be informed by the news. Reading, watching, or listening to the news is how the majority of people, with access to media, come to know what is happening in the world. News is not just a simple recounting of what happened, however. The press organs that produce the news present it as an impartial conveyance of information, implied as authoritative and correct. However, each article is in fact the "recontextualization" of an event (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003: 273), distinctly separate from the discourse-external reality of that event. News (or rather the discourse used in the news) constructs a myriad of "discourse objects" that are encoded with and simultaneously contribute to the encoding of social values and perceptions within that society (273). The story being covered is, in essence, secondary to this function. Indeed, as this study attempts to show, the coverage of the Hawker/Ichihashi case presents a version of the events of this murder which are shaped by and contribute to the discourse of  national identity based on in-group belonging and denigration of those deemed to be outsiders.

**2.3 Ideology and Hegemony**

Ideology and hegemony are two concepts that are central to this study. Ideology as it is used in this paper refers to "meaning in the service of power" (Thompson in Fairclough, 1995). This power is derived through control over others' perceptions of reality and meaning, mainly through the communication of ideas and values through discursive practices. This study looks at the ideology of national identity based on in-grouping and othering. This is, in Fowler's (1991) definition, "homocentrism; a preoccupation with countries, societies and individuals perceived to be like oneself; with boundaries; with defining 'groups' felt to be unlike oneself, alien, threatening" (17). This, in turn, "breeds divisive and alienating attitudes, a dichotomous vision of 'us' and 'them'" (17).

Hegemony is another important concept related to the power of discourse to affect social change through the creation, sustenance, and breakdown of dominant ideologies (originally defined by Gramsci 1971, cited in Fairclough 1993). In this model, overt forms of control such as using violence to crush resistance are not necessary. Instead, it is through subtle forms of discourse manipulation that a group or class is brought under control. Indeed, the group being controlled comes to reproduce this control of their own free will – through the reconstitution of the very discourse that sustains their domination (van Dijk 1993). This can be seen in the examples of my plumber and student (discussed in the conclusion) who accept and assimilate the discourse as their own and transmit it to others. This is mass acceptance of an ideology – a process whereby the MR of a people group is 'programmed' to align with the ideology being promoted. Hegemonic control through social norms and conventions depends on the largely unchallenged unequal power relations that underpin them and are taken for granted.

The news, in its privileged position of supplying a particular and generally accepted version of the truth, represents a key tool in affecting change in the MR of a population. There is power in being able to reach a wide audience. When a population's MR are aligned with an ideology – in this case the superiority of the dominant in-group over 'others' as a national identity – the arbitrary nature of these assumptions goes largely unquestioned. Thus, the favored paradigm is sustained by a public unaware that their news propagates discrimination, stereotyping and dismissing of the 'other.'

**2.4 The Newspaper Articles**

The two main articles under analysis in this paper have been taken from The Mainichi Shinbun (in Japan) and The Guardian (in the UK), two 'quality press' newspapers relatively comparable in political slant. The article from The Mainichi Shinbun (Yamamoto 2008), was downloaded from their Japanese website and is entitled, "千葉・市川の英女性殺害：事件１年「容疑者、出頭を」家族が呼びか". I have this translated this into English as "One Year Since Murder of British Woman in Chiba, Ichikawa - Parents Call on Suspect to Surrender". The English translation (in the Appendix) stays as close to the Japanese meaning as possible, intentionally sacrificing eloquence for a more transparent representation of the original text. The main Guardian article under analysis (McCurry 2008) is entitled "Family Calls for Help to Find Teacher's Killer in Japan".

**2.5 Criticism of CDA and Corpora as Solution**

Though this study employs CDA, it should be noted that CDA as a methodology is not without its critics. Michael Stubbs, (1997) in his article, "Whorf's Children: Critical Comments on Critical Discourse Analysis" raises valid concerns over CDA's methods of data collection and text analysis. He points out that the analysis of text is often confined to "text fragments" and is "conceptually circular" due to the inherently ideological interpretation of text –no less affected by the MR of the person decoding the text as the person who produced it. To circumvent this dilemma, Stubbs proposes the use of corpora to furnish qualitative, empirical data in buttressing (or indeed disproving) the qualitative analysis acquired through

CDA techniques. Though perhaps impossible to completely remove researcher bias from any analysis of text, the use of carefully constructed corpora offers a promising way to lessen the impact of a researcher's MR and ideological bias on the selection and interpretation of data. Accordingly, I have constructed a small corpus in order to compare findings of the CDA analysis on the two main articles under investigation. This corpus is herein referred to as the HIC (Hawker Ichihashi Corpus), which consists of two sub-corpora of news reports covering this case. The Japanese articles, taken from The Mainichi, are contained in The Mainichi Reports (MR) sub-corpus. The British articles, retrieved from The Guardian, are contained in The Guardian Reports (GR) sub-corpus. Each sub-corpus contains ten texts of approximately 4500 tokens. The articles cover the span of time from the date of the initial reports of the murder on March 27, 2007 to the period just after Ichihashi's capture on November 10th, 2009. The articles from The Mainichi are all English translations of the original Japanese stories, downloaded from The Mainichi's English site.[2] The articles used to compile The Guardian sub-corpus were downloaded from The Guardian's online news site.[3] Articles were included in each sub-corpus if they reported on this case directly. This was ascertained by the presence in the articles of either Ichihashi or Hawker's names. In addition, to avoid including irrelevant articles, the presence of references to events or facts surrounding the investigation into this case was a prerequisite for inclusion in the corpora. All corpus investigations were carried out using Antconc (Anthony 2007), a freely available but powerful corpus analysis software package.

## 3. Analysis

According to Fairclough's (2001) analytical framework, CDA consists of three 'dimensions': interpretation, or the interaction of the text with producers and interpreters; description, or the formal, linguistic features of the text; and explanation, or how the interaction of the text works in a social context.

### 3.1 Interpretation: Factors of Newsworthiness

News is the daily dose of discursive practice and the one most often associated with wielding socially formative power in its ability to shape and influence MR. It is, in Fairclough's words, a "signifying power" in its ability to represent events and people in particular ideologically biased ways (1995:1). Ideological bias is a strong influence long before a newspaper gets to print. Indeed, the selection of news is itself driven by ideology (Fowler, 1991). Johann Galtung and Mari Ruge (cited in Fowler 1991) and other contributors[4] have formulated a set of 'factors' that they argue are socially constructed filters determining which news makes it to print. The following analysis illustrates a subset of four of these factors relevant to this study.

A. Frequency (F1): This category generally restricts coverage to singular events that accommodate the daily publishing schedule of the press. Coverage of the press conference held by Hawker's family fits neatly into this kind of organization and provides a convenient opportunity to update the unfolding story of this crime.

B. Meaningfulness (F4): This is determined by cultural proximity and/or relevancy. This story involves a murder on Japanese soil of a foreigner (out-group member) by a Japanese citizen (in-group member), making it a meaningful and relevant story for the Japanese press. As Van Dijk (1984) points out, news

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[2] http://mdn.mainichi.jp

[3] http://www.guardian.co.uk

[4] For a comprehensive list, see Coulthard et al (2000).

is often chosen if it relays information about people or events that complicate or represent an affront to a society's goals and values. This, in turn, reinforces the in-group's self-perception as being normal and rational. Ichihashi's alleged crime certainly fits this description and is, therefore, newsworthy.

This story is also meaningful and relevant for the British press as it is about a British national murdered in a foreign country. This importance is magnified by the fact that Hawker, as a discourse object, has been assigned the desirable attributes of the in-group image favored throughout the discourse. Hawker is described as a *beautiful young* [white] *woman who turned heads;* as a *young* teacher from a *normal* family of *average means* who was killed by a *deranged Japanese* man. (items in italics all from the HIC).

C. Consonance (F5): This refers to the notice a paper has of an event. As this press conference was scheduled in advance, the papers were able to accommodate for this story. However, not every press conference held is actually reported on. There must be interest in the story for the media to invest their time in it. As such, this factor co-depends on the positive test of other factors, particularly that of meaningfulness. In this case, as the Hawker/Ichihashi story fulfills the meaningfulness factor, this conference was covered and included as news.

D. Continuity (F7): The Hawker family's press conference is part of the unfolding story of the Ichihashi/ Hawker case. After satisfying other factors and becoming news, the ongoing investigation and developments in the case maintain this story's newsworthiness (see Galtung and Ruge, in Fowler, 1991: 16). As with any product, however, successful long-term sales (in this case consumption of news) are dependent on (and reflect) ongoing public interest. Like any company, news outlets are sensitive to what sells and what doesn't. The long-running coverage of this story certainly seems to indicate that there is strong interest from the public in the UK and Japan regarding the development of this case.

### 3.2 Description
#### 3.2.1 Naming

Ideologies can often be decoded from the lexical choices made in the representation of social actors, a phenomenon that Fairclough (2001: 94) refers to as the "experiential value". Indeed, as Clark argues, naming is a central tool in the construction of ideology, and likewise can be an equally clear indicator of it. (1992).

***Naming in The Mainichi***
Yougisha: *Out-grouping an Insider*

This study focuses on the formation of national identity based on in-grouping of the preferred elements of society while excluding or denying others. When members of that in-group engage in behaviour which poses an affront to the integrity of the in-group, however, that social actor is likely to be ostracized. The usual convention in the Japanese press of naming people who have been arrested but not (yet) convicted is to attach 容疑 *–yougisha* 'suspect', following a person's surname. This convention, rather rigidly adhered to, essentially rules out the more colourful pejoratives often encountered in western press. In The Mainichi articles, Ichihashi is consistently named with this label. Though The Guardian also employs the use of *suspect*, The Mainichi uses it 42.86 percent more, cumulatively through the sub-corpus. This has an effect similar to that of *suspect* in English that the person labeled with it is often perceived as guilty. This perception is arguably stronger in Japan as conviction rates are around ninety-nine percent (Foote, 1992 in Leo 2002; also Ramseyer, 2001). Indeed, as Leo (2001: 210) points out, "In Japanese society, as in the Japanese criminal justice system, an accused suspect is widely presumed guilty, and it is expected that he

will confess, explain his misdeeds, and repent." Therefore, being labeled as a *yougisha* has the effect of putting an offender in the category of 'deviant other' and separating them from the in-group of 'normal,' law-abiding citizens. Ichihashi is, when the discourse situates him in relation to Hawker, a member of the in-group of Japanese citizens in Japan; however, he is distanced from this group when the discourse shifts internally to focus on his status as a *yougisha*.

*Occupation*

Reading or watching Japanese news, it is hard not to notice the pre-occupation with occupation. Rarely is someone introduced in a news story without mentioning his or her job. In particular, the lack thereof is sure to be mentioned if the individual has committed some kind of antisocial behavior. This insinuation is that unemployment and criminality are causally connected. This label, 無職 –*mushoku* 'unemployed', is consistently applied to Ichihashi in the Japanese Mainichi reportage and serves as a way of distancing him from the in-group as a jobless offender. By extension, this validates the working majority's in-group identity of normalcy and law-abiding values.

*Figure 1: Collocates of teacher in The Guardian sub-corpus*

| Rank | Freq | Freq(L) | Freq(R) | Collocate |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 21 | 0 | 0 | teacher |
| 2 | 13 | 7 | 6 | Hawker |
| 3 | 11 | 5 | 6 | Lindsay |
| 4 | 11 | 11 | 0 | British |
| 5 | 7 | 7 | 0 | the |
| 6 | 7 | 5 | 2 | a |
| 7 | 6 | 1 | 5 | s |
| 8 | 6 | 4 | 2 | murdered |
| 9 | 5 | 5 | 0 | of |
| 10 | 5 | 4 | 1 | English |
| 11 | 4 | 0 | 4 | in |
| 12 | 4 | 1 | 3 | Ann |
| 13 | 3 | 0 | 3 | was |
| 14 | 3 | 3 | 0 | language |
| 15 | 3 | 0 | 3 | found |

*Figure 2: Collocates of teacher in The Mainichi sub-corpus*

| Rank | Freq | Freq(L) | Freq(R) | Collocate |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 12 | 0 | 0 | teacher |
| 2 | 6 | 4 | 2 | Hawker |
| 3 | 6 | 3 | 3 | English |
| 4 | 6 | 6 | 0 | British |
| 5 | 5 | 0 | 5 | was |
| 6 | 5 | 2 | 3 | language |
| 7 | 4 | 4 | 0 | of |
| 8 | 4 | 0 | 4 | body |
| 9 | 4 | 0 | 4 | at |
| 10 | 4 | 1 | 3 | an |
| 11 | 4 | 4 | 0 | a |
| 12 | 3 | 3 | 0 | year |
| 13 | 3 | 3 | 0 | the |
| 14 | 3 | 0 | 3 | s |
| 15 | 3 | 3 | 0 | old |

Hawker, on the other hand, is, referred to using the functionalizing categorization of "female English language school teacher." Aside from the relatively infrequent reference to Hawker at all (discussed later), the qualification of *teacher* with *English language school* is pertinent. Comparing the larger sample contained in the MR to that of the GR reveals this to be a much more common practice in The Mainichi than in The Guardian.  In Figure 1, collocate tables for *teacher* in both sub-corpora are compared, organized by frequency and location of collocate occurrence (left or right of the node word *teacher*).

These results indicate that the connection between *teacher* and *English* is much stronger in The Mainichi. Indeed, English occurs in only twenty-four percent of the occurrences of *teacher* in The Guardian, while it co-occurs in fifty percent of the occurrences of *teacher* in The Mainichi. Indeed, *English* co-occurs even more frequently than the articles *the* and a in the Mainichi, a pattern which is not found in The Guardian sub-corpus.  This suggests that the strength of the relationship between these words is quite strong in the Mainichi.  *Language*, a likely co-collocate of *English*, exhibits the same pattern[5].

Use of *English language teacher* as a lexical item is particularly significant when analyzed in the social context of Japan. Though teachers (*sensei*) have traditionally been highly respected in Japanese society, 英会話教師 –*eikaiwa koushi* 'English conversation instructors' do not tend to be included in this bracket. Instead, they are usually associated with foreigners from the UK, U.S. and other "inner circle" countries who are recruited temporarily and nearly on the sole basis that they are native speakers, not generally needing to possess any real teaching qualifications (Ohda 2005: 95).  This designation of Hawker as an English language teacher in The Mainichi reportage may or may not be a deliberately planned strategy; however, its use does have the effect of  preventing Hawker from being identified with the in-group teaching profession and seems to have the effect of distancing or even dismissing Hawker from the in-group constructed in the discourse.

### *Naming in The Guardian*

The Guardian employs a less conventionalized tactic of naming than The Mainichi does. Nonetheless, referential choices are neither random nor void of ideological motivation. Despite professing more objective reporting than the tabloids, The Guardian, too, reverts to more sensational lexis where Ichihashi is concerned. He is named as *teacher's killer* in the headline, later qualified by the term *alleged*. Ichihashi is also referred to as *suspect*, *daughter's killer*, *evil man*, and in the projected speech of Julia Hawker, even a *rat*. The term 'rat' is especially notable in that it carries connotations of a dirty animal, often seen as a kind of evil vermin that is cowardly in nature. It has been applied numerous times throughout media history as a racial slur (van Dijk, 1984). When seen against this historical backdrop, the inclusion of this term in The Guardian and its exclusion in The Mainichi's reportage points to the ideological motivation behind what gets reported and what doesn't.  As a powerful marker of cultural exclusion, it designates Ichihashi's marginalization as a member of an inferior out-group culture (Japanese) in the British press, but is rejected by the Japanese media, which is ambivalent about Ichihashi's status outside of Japan.

Lindsay Hawker, most frequently referred to as the *victim*, is also named in The Guardian according to her relation as *daughter* and *sister*, and functionally as a *teacher*, a label noticeably lacking the qualification or relegation of *English* and *language* found in The Mainichi. Other names include *amazing young woman* and *friend*.   These are all terms that denote appraisal as well as familial and social connection.   These serve to strengthen the identification, within the discourse, of Hawker as an in-group member.

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[5] Although this analysis uses the English translations of the Japanese text, it must be pointed out that the corpus analysis was performed using a wider span than the four positions to the right and left of the node word indicated here to control for the variation of word order in Japanese. This did not affect the results.

### 3.2.2 Agency

Agency, an aspect of the grammatical analysis of text, is also closely tied with lexical choice. Though typically associated with passivization of clauses, this section will focus on what Van Leeuwen (1998) calls the "exclusion of agency," particularly the exclusion of Hawker from the reports in The Mainichi.

In relation to the naming of social actors, producers of text must make choices about how to fit social actors into the text as participants. Van Leeuwen (1998), in discussing the role of excluding social agents, states that:

> Representations [of the world] include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended. Some of the exclusions may be 'innocent', details which readers are assumed to know already, or which are deemed irrelevant to them, others tie in close to the propaganda strategy of creating fear. (p. 38)

As van Leeuwen further points out, some exclusion leaves no trace, which makes this kind of analysis only possible through the comparison of two or more texts dealing with the same topic. Indeed, Hawker's removal from the reportage would not likely be noticed by reading one article from The Mainichi. However, a clear pattern emerges when the larger scope of text in the MR sub-corpus is analyzed. The following charts show the corpus data extracted from just the two articles on the Hawker family's press conference. They contain an exhaustive list of references to Ichihashi and Hawker in various forms. Though quantitative in its extraction and presentation, the results have been qualitatively examined and references to other participants controlled for.

*Figure 3: References to actors in individual articles*

| Reference to Lindsay Hawker | Guardian | Mainichi |
|---|---|---|
| Lindsay/'s | 5 | 1 |
| Hawker | 2 | 1 |
| woman | 1 | 1 |
| she | 8 | 0 |
| her | 8 | 0 |
| daughter | 6 | 0 |
| teacher | 3 | 1 |
| sister | 1 | 1 |
| victim | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 34 | 5 |

| Reference to Tatsuya Ichihashi | Guardian | Mainichi |
|---|---|---|
| Ichihashi | 8 | 4 |
| man | 2 | 0 |
| he | 6 | 2 |
| him | 3 | 1 |
| his | 2 | 0 |
| killer | 3 | 0 |
| suspect | 3 | 4 |
| student | 1 | 0 |
| you | 2 | 1 |
| rat | 1 | 0 |
| Total | 31 | 12 |

As can be seen from the totals in both articles, the references to Lindsay Hawker and Ichihashi are relatively balanced in The Guardian. In comparison, the near exclusion of references to Lindsay Hawker in The Mainichi is noticeable. Rather than make a sweeping generalization about these results, however, it must be borne in mind that these are only two small texts. In light of Stubbs' (1997) concerns regarding sample size, a further probe into the HIC corpus was performed.

*Figure 4: References to actors in HIC (Hawker Ichihashi Corpus)*

| References to Lindsay Hawker | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Guardian | Mainichi |
| Lindsay/'s | 12 | 1 |
| Hawker | 89 | 31 |
| woman | 8 | 4 |
| she | 38 | 0 |
| her | 76 | 12 |
| daughter | 20 | 0 |
| teacher | 21 | 10 |
| sister | 3 | 1 |
| victim | 2 | 1 |
| Total | 269 | 60 |

| References to Tatsuya Ichihashi | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Guardian | Mainichi |
| Tatsuya | 2 | 0 |
| Ichihashi | 80 | 104 |
| man | 14 | 40 |
| he | 61 | 79 |
| him | 28 | 22 |
| his | 60 | 58 |
| killer | 8 | 0 |
| suspect | 14 | 20 |
| student | 4 | 0 |
| you | 8 | 2 |
| rat | 1 | 0 |
| Total | 280 | 325 |

As these results show, the relative frequency of references to Hawker and Ichihashi in The Guardian sub-corpus stays fairly balanced, with 280 references to Ichihashi – just slightly higher than the 269 references for Lindsay Hawker. However, the widening in the disparity of reference to Hawker compared with Ichihashi in The Mainichi is profound. Ichihashi is referred to over five times more than Hawker in the reports from this newspaper. It appears that The Mainichi Shinbun has erased Hawker from this story. This deletion of agency shows that Hawker, as a member of the out-group, is irrelevant to the function of this story. In The Mainichi, the focus is squarely on Ichihashi and the social implications of his transgression against the in-group to which he simultaneously belongs and yet is being set apart from. These results reflect and reinforce the ideology that Japanese citizens are primarily concerned with their status and contribution to the cultural in-group, and that little can be gained from paying out-group social actors anything more than a limited portion of their attention.

### 3.2.3 Lexical Collocation: the Police at Work

The examination of collocations, or the tendency for words that occur in close proximity to draw meaning from that relationship, takes on a key role in Fairclough's analytical framework. In keeping with the tenet that no choice of wording or form is without bias, Fairclough (2001) suggests that examining collocations with key words may yield fruitful evidence of underlying ideology. In the articles being analyzed, this was found to be true in the portrayal of the police.

The discourse built up around agencies of control such as the police is of great interest when examining ideology and hegemony at work. Commenting on language as a powerful tool in maintaining both the control and shape of the group, Fairclough (2001) states "those who exercise power through language must constantly be involved in struggle with others to defend (or lose) their position" (p. 28-29). The legitimization of this power is often achieved through the reinforcement of institutions of power and control such as the police, the law, and assumed national superiority (2001).

A clear example of this reinforcement and struggle in the discourse can be seen in the reportage of Bill Hawker's comments during the press conference regarding the Japanese police's unsuccessful investigation.  Figure 5 contains these two conflicting reports of the same event.

*Figure 5: Bill Hawker's views of Japanese police*

Police in The Guardian:

*Bill Hawker refused to criticize Japanese police, but said he remained' distressed" and' disappointed" that his daughter's killer had yet to be found.*

Police in The Mainichi:

*In a choked voice, Bill said," We have suffered as the suspect has not been captured; however, the police are trying as passionately as they were in the beginning to bring resolution.*

The sample from The Guardian is a narrative report of speech (NRSA – see Fairclough 2003), and as such is an interpretation of Bill's actual words. Bill is reported as *refusing* to criticize the Japanese police. By using the loaded term *refusing*, the author implies that the police in fact deserved to be criticized, possibly for their inability to handle this case efficiently (according to the context of the article), but that Bill restrained himself from doing so. The inclusion of the terms *distressed* and *disappointed* as quoted speech serve to lend credibility to this evaluation by tying it back to Bill's own words. In contrast, the reportage in The Mainichi focuses on the accolades that Bill hands to the Japanese police for their efforts. By choosing which information to include and how to present it, each newspaper's report shapes this story into a version that is complementary to the respective ideological assumptions of national identity present in their reportage. The conflict between these assumptions manifests itself in the differing representation of the discourse item *police*.

*Figure 6: Police in The Mainichi Sub-Corpus*

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agoya late last month, it has emerged.  Police have dispatched a team of investigators
r to surgery matched Ichihashi, leading police to judge there was a high possibility t
s to contact her had been unsuccessful. Police found part of Ichihashi's name and his
40 p.m. the same evening, when he fled. Police later found Hawker's body in a bathtub
rmation on the case.  In June this year police raised the reward for solid information
pelling any of the information, leading police to suspect he had been hiding in the ar
from those in a photo of Ichihashi that police have distributed, with one investigator
ined cooperation from Aichi Prefectural Police in keeping watch for him, but he did no
                                         Police release new photo of man wanted over ki
ng of British woman  ICHIKAWA, Chiba -- Police have released a picture believed to be
th.  Chiba Prefectural Police's Gyotoku Police Station released on Thursday what is be
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*Figure 7: Police in The Guardian*

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urn for follow-up appointments, denying police the opportunity to arrest him.  Photogr
a sofa and a computer.  In desperation, police increased the reward for information le
pines.  In a sign of their desperation, police have released five lifesize cardboard c
Ann Hawker, 22, from northern England.  Police in the UK are liaising with Ms Hawker's
ublic.  In a sign of their desperation, police last month released mock-ups of Ichihas
 suspect, Tatsuya Ichihashi, 29, evaded police officers when they arrived at the flat
ey go to Ichihashi's flat but he evades police officers and flees in his socks, droppi
d by doctors.  Ichihashi, 30, fled from police on the day Hawker's body was found buri
een tea during his detention at Gyotoku police station raises questions about how poli
y of British teacher criticise Japanese police's hunt for alleged killer  Lindsay Hawk
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Further examination of *police* in concordance lines extracted from the wider sample contained in the HIC indicates that the term *police* does, indeed, represent a locus of ideological struggle. Figure six and seven include a small sample of the more relevant lines.

As can be seen from these concordance lines, *police* in The Mainichi are co-collocates of items such as *dispatched*, *keeping watch*, *to judge*, and *release*. These collocations denote power, authority and control, which correspond to the police role of maintaining justice and order. The Guardian, however, paints a far less rosy picture of the Japanese police. Here, the police are *in desperation*, being *criticised* and being *evaded* from by an *invisible* suspect. The exception to this, in stark contrast, is when the UK police are mentioned in the same story; they are *liaising* with the Hawker family, term suggesting sophistication and efficiency. When the entire concordance is viewed, the disparity between the two papers in their reporting of the police is clear. Out of thirty occurrences of police in The Guardian, eighteen of them (or sixty percent) are associated with terms (such as mentioned above) that carry negative semantic prosody. In comparison, in The Mainichi, all nineteen occurrences of *police* are associated with terms denoting power and efficiency. Thus, it can be seen that the representation of *police* as a discourse object forms a point of discursive contention, with each paper constructing *police* in a way that reflects and promotes the ideological bias present in that paper, and by extension, the identity of the in-group it represents. In The Mainichi, a positive image of the Japanese police is presented to legitimize the norms associated with the dominant in-group, whereas The Guardian focuses on the alleged deficiencies of the Japanese police, a strategy that suggests inferiority of this 'other' nation's law keeping entity.

### 3.3. Explanation

This section of Fairclough's (2001) framework deals with how discourse is positioned vis-à-vis social processes. Racism and its role in society is a topic too wide for the scope of this paper. However, racism generally reflects the attempt by a controlling group to maintain that control and minimize the threat posed by other competing elements in society. Van Dijk (1993) asserts that the central issue in maintaining this 'status quo; is reproduction of racism by those social actors who participate in the discourses and practices that perpetuate the hegemony of the in-group (p. 25-26). It is clear from the analysis of these two articles, particularly in light of the corpus evidence, that the discursive practices employed by these two papers reflect and construct the continued hegemony by the dominant in-group majority. The selection and publishing of these articles, coupled with the discursive practices of collocation, naming and agency suppression all contribute to the reinforcement of the ideology of in-group superiority and subjugation of out-groups in Japan and the UK. Othering may take on different forms, particular and relevant to each culture, but the function is essentially the same: to enable the continued hegemony of the dominant in-group within that culture. The Guardian, while officially claiming objectivity and cultural sensitivity is, in fact, a part of the process of replication and construction of a discourse that promotes a national self-image based on an implied superiority over other nations and cultures. The discourse in The Mainichi also promotes a self-image that is based on an implied superiority of the Japanese in-group; however, rather than subtly cutting down other cultures, it tends more often to simply ignore them.

### 4. Conclusion

The murder of Lindsay Hawker, allegedly carried out by Tastuya Ichihashi, not only cut short the life of a young woman, it has also caused immeasurable suffering to the families of both victim and perpetrator. The intent of this study is not to trivialize the pain that the affected parties have gone through. Indeed, the hope of performing this kind of analysis is to explore how discourses in the news construct a version of the event, which is then used as a vehicle to convey ideology, in this case constructing national identity

based on in-group superiority and othering. Indeed, the event (what actually happened) and the discourse that grows up around the event (what is said about the event) are two separate entities and the connection becomes weaker as the discourse evolves.

The aim of this study was to show, through the analysis of the Hawker/Ichihashi case, how the discourse of news often acts as a "primary instrument through which ideology is transmitted, enacted and reproduced" (Teo, 2000:10). With the prevalence of the news and its strong ability to influence the MR of the public, it is crucial for consumers to maintain a critical awareness of discourses at work in the news. This is certainly not as easy at it may sound. As a researcher engaging in CDA, I am aware that I bring my own bias and MR into any interpretation of a text. Though I have included Corpus Linguistic methodology in this interpretation, it is likely impossible for a person decoding a text to step completely outside of the discourse in order to study the ideology at work in it. Nonetheless, the hope of this study is to highlight the need to maintain a critical awareness of the mechanisms in the news by which ideology and bias are constructed and reflected.

Back in Japan, this point was driven home when I mentioned to a Japanese university student that I was researching this case. The first thing she said about this story was, "That British girl wasn't...right." She went on to clarify this utterance, pointing out that Hawker had been teaching private classes in violation of her contract – a disputed detail erroneously reported as true by some of the Japanese media. The student's implication was that the crime was partially Hawker's fault. I was struck by how similar this was to the discourse of my plumber in the UK. Though the country, cultures, and departure point differed, it was remarkable to see the manifestation of in-grouping ideology in the MR of this student. I of course did my scholarly duty as a teacher and implored her to seek out the full story by checking out some other sources before deciding what to believe. I desired that she be wary of the functions of discourses in the press in maintaining hegemonic control and instilling ideology. However, she then stumped me with a decidedly difficult question: where to look? I must confess I was unable to give her an answer I could feel comfortable with.

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**Appendix: Translation of article from the *Mainichi Shinbun***

**One Year Since Murder of British Woman in Chiba, Ichikawa - Parents
Call on Suspect to Surrender (3/25/08)**

On March 24th, two days before the marking of one year since the murdered body of Lindsay Anne Hawker (then aged 22), a British teacher at an English language school, was found, Bill (Lindsay's father, aged 55) and the three other members of his family, came to Japan and held a news conference at the Japan Press Center in Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo.

As the whereabouts of the unemployed suspect, Tatsuya Ichihashi (currently on the wanted list) are still unknown, Bill made an appeal, "Somebody is hiding him, aren't they? There is a chance he could kill someone else so please notify the police immediately".

Mother Julia (51), older sister Lisa (26), and younger sister Louise (21) also took part. Speaking in Japanese, Lisa appealed for [Ichihashi's] surrender, "our beloved sister has been taken away, our family's hearts have been crushed. Please, I want you to atone for your offence".

Following the incident, Bill's family had received a letter from the suspect Ichihashi's family which said, among other things, "(Ichihashi) said that he was learning English and wanted to build parks in America." Bill's response was said to be, "I hope you cooperate with the arrest." In a choked voice, Bill said, "We have suffered as the suspect has not been captured; however, the police are trying as passionately as they were in the beginning to bring resolution.

Yamamoto Taichi