**Metaphor and the (1984-85) Miners' Strike: A Multimodal Analysis**

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## 0.  Introduction

Recent research in Cognitive Linguistics and Cognitive Linguistic Critical Discourse Studies (CL-CDS) has shown that metaphor plays a significant role in structuring our understanding of social identities, actions and events.  This research also demonstrates that metaphorical modes of understanding are not restricted in their articulation to language but find expression too in visual and multimodal genres of communication.  In this chapter, I show how one metaphorical framing – STRIKE IS WAR – featured in multimodal media representations of the 1984-85 British Miners' Strike.  I analyse this metaphorical framing from a critical semiotic standpoint to argue that the conceptualisations invoked by these framing efforts served to 'otherise' the miners while simultaneously legitimating the actions during the strike of the Government and the police.  I begin, in Section 1, with a brief introduction to the British Miners' Strike.  In Section 2, I introduce in more detail cognitive metaphor theory and the notion of multimodal metaphor.  In Section 3, I briefly introduce the data to be analysed.  In Section 5, I show how the STRIKE IS WAR metaphor featured in the language of news reports as well as in two multimodal genres - press photographs and editorial cartoons - and consider the potential (de)legitimating effects of this framing.  Finally, in Section 5, I offer some conclusions.

## 1.  The Media and (1984-85) British Miners' Strike

The (1984-85) British Miners' Strike represents one of the most pivotal and controversial periods in British industrial relations history.   The action began on 6th March 1984 in response to the closure of several coal pits and the belief that the Government planned further closures which would ultimately bring the UK coal industry to an end.  The strike lasted a year until the miners returned to work on 3rd March 1985.  The year-long strike witnessed bitter disputes between Margaret Thatcher, the then Prime Minister, and the National Union of Mineworkers lead by Arthur Scargill.  Throughout the strike, there were also several flashes of violence between police and miners on the picket line, most notoriously at the Orgreave coking plant.  This often involved so-called 'flying pickets', miners who would travel to picket still operational mines, and metropolitan police officers who had been redeployed in key areas of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire.

Media coverage of the strike remains a much contested issue with miners, journalists and other commentators claiming the mainstream media pursued a consistently anti-trade union agenda, systematically demonising the striking miners while justifying Government policy and aggressive police tactics (Williams 2009, 2014).  As one example of controversial media practice, in May 1984, *The Sun* planned to publish a front page with a picture taken of Arthur Scargill at a rally in Mansfield with his arm outstretched in a pose reminiscent of Adolf Hitler.  The picture was to be accompanied by the headline 'Mine Fuhrer'.  However, the printers refused to put this copy into production and on 15th May the paper appeared instead with the following statement on printed plain background: "Members of all The Sun production chapels refused to handle the Arthur Scargill picture and major headline on our lead story.  The Sun has decided, reluctantly, to print the paper without either".

(a) Planned page                    (b) Published page

Figure 1. *The Sun,* 15 May 1984

The picture, in conjunction with the reference to Hitler in the headline, serves to frame the strike as a war by connecting with background knowledge relating to World War II. In spite of the controversy surrounding this particular edition of *The Sun*, this metaphorical framing was in fact a persistent feature of media discourses throughout the strike.

Despite the significance of the strike itself and the media's stance toward it, surprisingly little discourse-analytical work has been carried out to investigate, systematically and empirically, the semiotic resources used in reporting the strike and their potential ideological effects. One well-known exception is Montgomery (1995: 241-245). Coverage of industrial disputes tends to focus on the disruptive consequences of the action rather than on the causes behind it (Glasgow Media Group 1976, 1980, 1982). This held true for coverage of the miners' strike where violence on the picket line was considered one of the most newsworthy dimensions of the action. However, Montgomery's analysis reveals a further, more subtle, pattern in the different participant roles assigned to actors in the violence reported. He found that the police were typically assigned the grammatical role of 'patient' while miners were assigned the role of 'agent' in the actions described. This grammatical patterning is not natural or inevitable but is a particular representation which not only reflects an underlying ideological position but which, when systematically repeated in privileged communication channels such as daily newspapers, serves to discursively construct a certain way of seeing and thinking about the events depicted that is difficult to recognise as anything other than natural. In this context, such a grammatical patterning contributes to constructing a discourse in which the police are seen as victims of violence acted out by the miners.

Montgomery's analysis is primarily a transitivity analysis. He does note, however, in the sphere of vocabulary, a tendency to use words associated with military campaigning, whereby pickets 'stage an ambush' and 'bombard the police' who in turn 'send in the mounted brigade on two flanks' and 'charge dramatically'. Such expressions, when they occur systematically inside a given discourse, are not independent lexical choices but, rather, are reflective of and constitutive of underlying conceptual metaphors which serve to structure our understanding of complex social situations. In this chapter, it

is shown that militarising metaphors were a persistent feature in media framings of the miners' strike, in both language and image. We turn to cognitive and multimodal metaphor theory in the next section.


## 2. Metaphor in Language and Image

In Cognitive Linguistics, metaphor is regarded not primarily as a linguistic device but as a cognitive process of frame projection which is reflected in and effected through metaphorical expressions in discourse (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 2003; Fauconnier and Turner 2002). From this perspective, metaphor is a matter of construal in which one *frame* is selected to provide a means of understanding a situation or event belonging to another frame. Through repeated patterns of metaphorical projection, an entire frame may come to be structured in terms of another inside a system of conceptual metaphors that makes up worldview.

Frames are open-ended, encyclopaedic knowledge structures, conceptual in nature, representing particular areas of knowledge and experience (Filllmore 1982, 1985). They exist at different levels of abstraction such that one frame may be said to elaborate and entail a more general frame. Frames are made up of *elements*: 'core' elements are those which are essential to the meaning of a general frame while non-core elements characterise more specific instantiations of the general frame (Ruppenhofer et al. 2010). In discourse, frames are accessed or activated by references to the frame itself or to its elements. Any element therefore provides an entry point to the rest of the frame which is then available to contribute to meaning construction and affect. Metaphorical construals arise when the text, through various types of textual relation, establishes a correspondence between elements belonging to two different frames, one of which functions as the *source* and the other as *target*. Conceptual correspondences between other frame elements, not made explicit in the text, are established as a consequence of the metaphorical projection invoked.

In metaphors, embodied or culturally salient frames get selected to provide structure to otherwise unfamiliar or underspecified frames, including frames for complex social and political situations. In doing so, metaphors reduce complex situations to more tangible scenarios, accentuating certain aspects of reality while simultaneously obfuscating others.

In Cognitive Linguistic Critical Discourse Studies (CL-CDS), metaphor is therefore seen as an important ideological framing device. Metaphors define how social situations are to be understood but also how they are to be reasoned about, reacted to emotionally, and responded to materially (Beer and De Landtsheer 2004; Charteris-Black 2004; Chilton 1996; Dirven, Frank and Pütz 2003; Dirven, Polzenhagen and Wolf 2007; Hart 2010; Koller 2004; Musolff 2004, 2006, 2016; Semino 2008; Stockwell 1999; Wolf and Polzenhagen 2003). Metaphors problematize situations in specific ways, promote particular solutions to those 'problems', and pave the way for actions which accord with the metaphor. For example, as Fridolffsson (2008: 138) observes, conceptualising political demonstrations as war, not only serves to demonize the protesters but, as it translates into action, the metaphor "establishes the plausibility for military intervention when dealing with political protest". Metaphorical expressions in texts are, thus, an important focal point in studying the discursive construction of ideology, as it is encoded in conceptual metaphors, and the legitimation of social action.

An important development in cognitive metaphor theory has been to show that conceptual metaphors are not restricted in their articulation to language but find expression also in visual and multimodal texts (Bounegru and Forceville 2011; Forceville 1996, 2002, 2006, 2008; Forceville and

Aparisi 2009).  This is to be expected since, as Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 153) state, metaphor is "primarily a matter of thought and action and only derivatively a matter of language".  Visual (or pictorial) metaphors arise when the source and target frame are each referenced in the image.  This often involves intertextuality whereby the image itself or a particular feature of it invokes another image belonging to the source frame.  This may be a specific image such as a famous painting or an iconic, mythologised image in collective cultural memory (Werner 2004). Multimodal metaphors arise when the target frame is determined in one modality (typically the visual) while the source frame is supplied in another (typically the linguistic, which may also involve intertextuality).  In many cases, however, the boundary between visual and multimodal metaphor is blurred.  The image alone may be enough to invoke a metaphorical reading but the source frame is nevertheless supplied in linguistic co-text.  In such cases, following Barthes (1977), the linguistic co-text is said to provide an 'anchor' which functions, in case of any ambiguity, to reinforce the metaphorical reading.

One frame which has been found to play a fundamental structuring role in a range of discourses, from media discourses of migration to business discourses around mergers and acquisitions, is a WAR frame (Hart 2010; Koller 2002).  The WAR frame features in visual and multimodal as well as verbal articulations of these discourses (El Refaie 2003; Koller 2005).  The WAR frame has also been found to feature in both verbal and visual discourses of political protest (Fridolfsson 2008; Hart 2014a/b).  I describe the WAR frame below and in the following section show how it featured in linguistic, visual and multimodal representations in media discourses of the miners' strike.

2.1 The WAR frame

The WAR frame, as Semino (2008: 100) observes, is particularly wide in scope, at least in Anglo-American English, where it may be metaphorically applied to "any domain of experience that involves difficulties, danger, effort and uncertain outcomes".  In the domain of politics, the WAR frame is conventionally used "in relation to conflict between individuals, groups, parties and governments and oppositions" (ibid.).  The WAR frame is made up of a number of structural elements as shown in Table 1.  Core elements include PARTICIPANTS (*army, soldiers* etc.) and PROCESSES (*invade, attack, peace talks* etc.).  Other elements include the PLACE where war occurs and the INSTRUMENT/MEANS with which it is carried out.  References in text to any of these elements are likely to trigger a war framing.

The WAR frame entails, i.e. has as an inherent component of its meaning, more general frames or schemas for VIOLENT ENCOUNTER and OPPOSITION.  Scenes and events construed in terms of the WAR frame inherit these structural properties as 'metaphorical entailments'.  Metaphorical applications of the WAR frame in the domain politics therefore serve to "dramatize the opposition between different participants in politics (who are constructed as enemies), and to emphasize the aggressiveness and seriousness of political debates, conflicts or elections" (Semino 2008: 100).  The frame necessarily involves perspective and construes one opposing participant as the aggressor and the other as the victim.

The generic WAR frame has instantiations in frames for specific, culturally salient, wars which are also available for metaphorical projection.  For British citizens, this is most likely to include frames for World War I and World War II, which are most widely taught in schools and referenced in popular television, film and literature.  A war framing may therefore be realised through references or allusions to the particular people, processes, places, instruments etc. involved in a specific war.  Thus, a WORLD WAR II frame, for example, is likely to be invoked by references to Churchill, Hitler, Normandy or the Battle of Britain.  When a specific war frame is selected for projection,  the target scene not only inherits the structural properties associated with the generic WAR frame, which is entailed by the more specific frame, but collective memories and emotions associated with those specific historical

moments are also conjured.  Media *framing efforts* depicting the miners' strike as a war, then, are likely to have had a number of specific *framing effects* in shaping public understandings of, and attitudes toward, the strike.

| Entails frames | VIOLENT ENCOUNTER | |
|---|---|---|
| | OPPOSITION | |
| Elaborated in frames | WWI | |
| | WWII | |
| | COLD WAR | |
| Core frame elements | Participants | *Army, soldiers* |
| | Processes | *Invade, attack, launch, peace talks* |
| | Purpose/Issue | *Fight for freedom* |
| Non-core frame elements | Time | *War of 1914-1918* |
| | Place | *Battle of Trafalgar* |
| | Manner | *Bloody war* |
| | Instrument/Means | *Tanks, guns, horses* |
| | Duration | *30 years war* |
| Associated concepts / scripts | Danger | |
| | Justice/injustice | |
| | Responsibility | |

**Table 1.**  The WAR frame

**3. Data**

The data analysed was collected from the Newsroom archives of the British Library.  Six major events in the year-long period were identified and the data oriented to these.  The data centred on instances of violence between police and picketing miners.  The six major events were:

- 12.03.1984 – Beginning of strike
- 15.03.1984 – Death of miner David Jones
- 18.03.1984 – Mass mobilisation of police forces
- 29.05.1984 – First use of police riot gear at Orgreave coking plant, Sheffield
- 18.06.1984 – 'Battle of Orgreave'
- 04.03.1984 – Strike ends, miners return to work

Seven national newspapers were included in the sample: the *Daily Mail,* the *Daily Mirror,* the *Daily Express, The Sun,* the *Times,* the *Telegraph,* and the *Guardian*.  For each newspaper, all pages covering the events were selected from first editions published the following day or two days later in cases where the story continued to run.  Cartoon data was supplemented using the British Cartoon Archive held electronically at the University of Kent (https://www.cartoons.ac.uk/).

**4.  Analysis: STRIKE IS WAR**

4.1 Language

Headlines and lead paragraphs framed the strike metaphorically in terms of a generic WAR frame. In headlines, this was often by means of reference to the frame itself as in the following examples:

(1)     PIT WAR: Violence erupts on the picket line as miner fights miner (*The Sun,* 13.03.1984)

(2)     Crushed to death in Scargill's picket war (*Daily Express,* 16.03.1984)

(3)     8,000 cops on alert to foil pits war (*The Sun,* 19.03.1984)

Headlines are especially important in providing a frame for understanding the subsequent text. Not only are they visually salient, often appearing in large and bold print, but as van Dijk (1988) observes, they serve to express the semantic macro-structure of the text. In other words, headlines perform a *frame setting* function, providing a reference point around which the remainder of the text is oriented and interpreted.

While these headlines evoke the WAR frame via the lexical item *war*, in the lead paragraphs that follow, the war framing is further expounded by reference to frame elements, including PARTICIPANTS ('mum's army of miners' wives', 'armies of pickets', 'an army of 8,000 police'), PROCESSES ('battle', 'rampage', 'besiege') and MANNER ('bloody pit war'):

(4)     A mum's army of miners' wives did battle with 200 of Aruthur Scargill's flying pickets yesterday … and won. The angry housewives squared up to massed ranks of spitting, snarling pickets and cheered their men safely into work. (*The Sun,* 13.03.1984)

(5)     Despite the tragedy, Yorkshire miners' leaders have refused to call off their rampaging armies of pickets – in defiance of a High Court ban. Six hundred of them were out in force the night Mr Jones died at the besieged Nottinghamshire pit. (*Daily Express*, 16.03.1984)

(6)     An army of 8,000 police were at battle stations last night – ready for the final bust up with Arthur Scargill's flying pickets in the bloody pit war. (*The Sun,* 19.03.1984)

With WAR providing a structuring frame from early on in the strike, subsequent events become conceptualised as processes associated with war. For example, violence at Thorseby pit, near Ollerton, was referred to by *The Sun* as the 'Battle of Thorseby Colliery' (16.03.1984). This was a strategy that persisted throughout the strike, most notoriously in the so-called 'Battle of Orgreave'. Negotiations between Government, the Coal Board and the National Union of Mineworkers were construed as 'peace talks'. And the miners eventually returning to work was seen as an act of 'surrender'. Roles were also assigned within the frame with Arthur Scargill, for example, cast in the role of an 'army general'.

(7)     The crucial peace talks expected to begin today will be held in Yorkshire. (*Daily Mail,* 31.05.1984)

(8)     Surrender came on a tight 98-91 vote by an NUM delegate conference at the TUC headquarters in London (*The Sun,* 04.03.1985)

(9)     Arthur Scargill stood like an army general surveying his warring troops in the bloody battle of Orgreave yesterday. (*Daily Express,* 19.06.1984)

These language usages serve to establish a set of discursive conditions in which images of the strike are readily interpretable in term of the WAR frame. In the case of news photographs, this framing is often further reinforced through immediately accompanying co-text in the form of captions. However, even in the absence of such immediate co-text, the wider co-text and intertextual context act as an anchor or 'attractor' (Gibbs and Cameron 2008), pulling potentially war-framing images firmly into a metaphorical reading.

News photography is traditionally thought to serve a documentary function, evidencing the realities reported verbally in text (Bednarek and Caple 2012: 112). It is certainly the case that photographs capture real happenings and make at least an implicit claim to truth and objectivity. More recently, however, it is recognised that news photographs construct and evaluate the 'realities' they depict, serving as symbolic representations with emotional appeal (ibid.). Images associated with war are especially evocative, standing as symbols of key moments in history capable of conjuring feelings of both national pride and prejudice (Bednarek and Caple 2012: 116). Bednarek and Caple point out that imagery associated with the wars of the twentieth and twenty-first century especially is embedded in the national psyche and frequently deployed for propaganda purposes in order "to galvanize a particular social group to support or resist a particular action" (2012: 116).

In examining press photographs of the miners' strike, centred around violence on the picket line, we find images indexical of World War I in particular with the WORLD WAR I frame accessed via three main elements: PLACE, PARTICIPANTS, and INSTRUMENT/MEANS.

### 4.2.1 PLACE

The locations where violent interactions between police and striking miners took place were depicted as battlefields, reminiscent of World War I. The image in Figure 2, for example, suggests the wasteland left by major battles in the First World War. The war framing is reinforced in the caption that accompanied the image.

(10)     BATTEGROUND: Uprooted sign and broken walls (*Daily Mirror,* 19.06.1984)



**Figure 2.** Fallen sign at Orgreave

Similarly, the image in Figure 3, which was accompanied by the caption in (11), brings to mind the barbed wire barricades used in World War I, which are symbolic in particular of the Battle of the Somme. Although such barricades were used by both German and allied forces, in popular British conception they are associated with German defences. The image together with its caption thus serves an additional perspectivising function, casting the police and the miners in the roles of 'ally' versus 'enemy' respectively. Moreover, where the Battle of the Somme is often taken to epitomise the senseless loss of life suffered in World War I, the framing undermines the strike by presenting it as causing similarly senseless suffering with little to gain.

(11)    <u>BARRICADE</u>: The deadly line of sharpened wooden stakes aimed chest high at police horses (*Daily Mirror,* 19.06.1984)



**Figure 3.**  Wooden stakes at Orgreave


While the images in Figures 2 and 3 remind us of the brutality of war, the image in Figure 4 depicts a moment of peace and humanity.  The image intertextually references an iconic, much mythologised, image of the 1914 Christmas Day football match played between German and allied forces on 'no-man's land'.  Thus, although the image depicts a moment of peace, it nevertheless maintains a war framing, via the element of PLACE, by drawing analogies between No Man's Land in World War I and the fields surrounding collieries involved in the strike.  This correspondence is made explicit in the caption accompanying the image:

(12)    COME ON YOU BLUES: A police officer keeps control as three strikers converge on him in a football match played on <u>no-mans land</u> during a break from picketing at the Bilsthorne colliery. (*Guardian,* 17.03.1984)
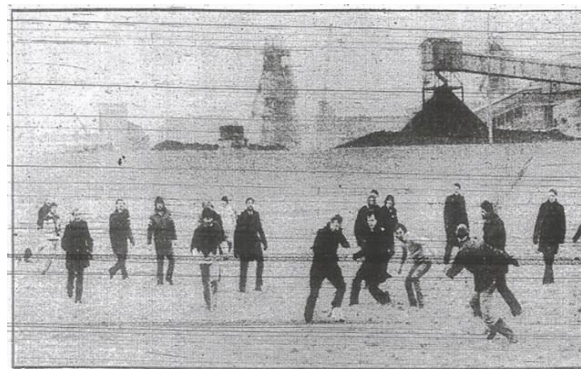


**Figure 4.**  Football match played between police and miners


### 4.2.2 PARTICIPANTS

Within the war framing, police and miners were depicted as soldiers.  The police in particular were shown in military-like configurations.  In Figure 5, for example, the police are seen in a configuration

suggestive of a military drill or parade.  The caption that accompanies the image serves to reinforce this metaphorical reading:

(13)    BATTLE FORMATION: The massed ranks of police at Orgreave, confronting pickets trying to stop coal leaving the plant (*Guardian*, 19.06.1984)
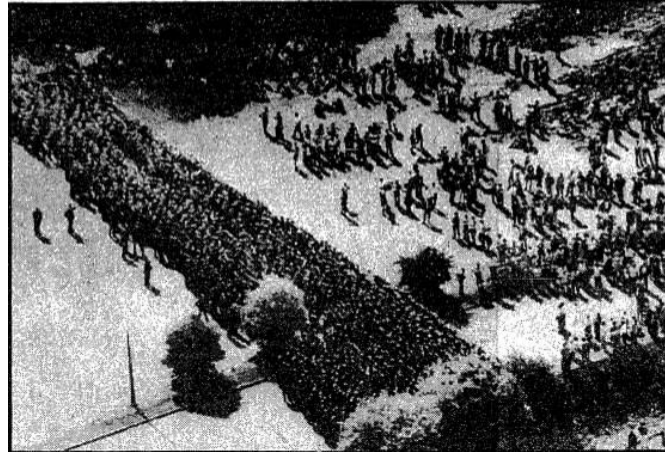


**Figure 5.**  Mobilisation of police forces

It is worth noting that the density and uniformity of the police, which itself contributes to the military framing, further legitimates the police by presenting them as disciplined and their actions as coordinated.  By contrast, the dispersal of the miners in the image suggests an unorganised rabble rather than a highly trained state Army (for similar analyses of real war photographs see Machin 2007).

While the image in Figure 5 shows the police collectivised as an 'army' the image in Figure 6 shows a single police officer construed as an individual 'soldier'.  The image, published on the front page of *The Sun* at the end of the strike, is accompanied by the phrase 'lest we forget' in the headline.  This phrase comes originally from the poem *Recessional* written by Rudyard Kipling in 1897 and refers to the sacrifice of Christ.  However, it is reused in the Ode of Remembrance where it is added as a final line to the fourth stanza of Laurence Binyon's poem *For the Fallen*, written in 1914 in honour of British soldiers who had already lost their lives in World War I.  The metaphorical framing arises in this instance multimodally, where it relies on an interaction between the figure in the image and the intertextual reference in the headline, which serves to compare the efforts of police officers in the strike with the sacrifices of British soldiers in the First World War.
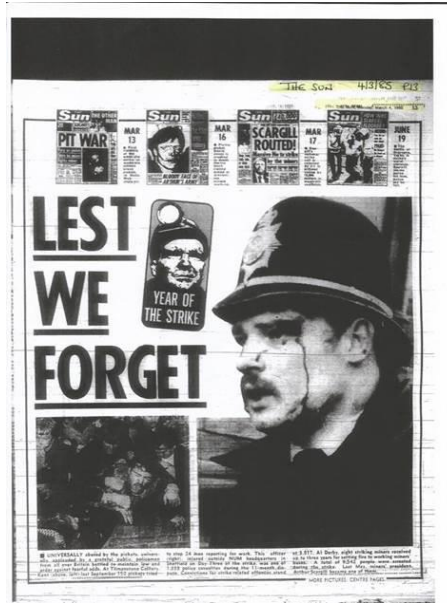
**Figure 6.** Front cover of *The Sun* (04.03.1985)

### 4.2.3 INSTRUMENT/MEANS

Pictures of police on horseback were a frequent feature of news photography during the strike. Images of police on horseback are reminiscent of mounted forms of warfare associated especially with World War I. Such images thus evoke a WORLD WAR I frame via the element INSTRUMENT/MEANS. Cavalry warfare is often considered more noble than modern forms of warfare, which it is held in contrast to. Thus, while the headline in Figure 7 simply reads 'CHARGE', the lead paragraph accompanying the image appraises the police action as 'an amazing cavalry charge on picketing miners'. A very similar image was published in the *Daily Express* with the caption 'Into action: Mounted police scatter pickets after officers had faced barrages of bottles, stones and deadly new missiles' (30.05.1984).



**Figure 7.** Front cover of the *The Sun* (30.05.1984)

4.3 Political Cartoons

In contrast to news photography, political cartoons are widely recognised as evaluative and rhetorical, provide historical records of contemporary attitudes (Swain 2012: 82). A number of studies have now addressed, through the lens of cognitive metaphor theory, metaphorical framings in the visual or visuo-verbal genre of political cartoons (e.g. Bounegru and Forceville 2011; El Refaie 2003, 2009; Schilperoord and Maes 2009).

Gombrich (1971) argues that metaphor is a common and expected device in political cartoons. In cartoons depicting the miners' strike, we find further metaphorical framings of the strike as a war. However, while news photographs, in constructing the strike as a war, appealed mainly to a WORLD WAR I frame, political cartoons exploited a WORLD WAR II frame. Here, the metaphorical construal is evoked primarily through correspondences established between frame elements of PARTICIPANT.

Consider the cartoon in Figure 8. The most central and salient feature of the image and thus the one most likely to function as an entry point to the relevant frames is Arthur Scargill. Scargill is depicted, however, in the uniform of a German General in World War II. This textual relation is an example of 'hybridity' in multimodal metaphor theory, showing two distinct entities merged into a single *gestalt* (Forceville 2008). It sets up a conceptual correspondence between Scargill and a Nazi General which, in turn, educes a wider WORLD WAR II framing of the strike.

Correspondences between other frame elements, namely elements of PLACE, can be seen in the image. For example, the winding tower of the mine resembles a watch tower in a Nazi concentration camp. The train tracks and the chimneys in the background are further reminiscent of iconic images of concentration camps. These correspondences support the metaphorical framing but at the same time are established only as a consequence of the metaphorical projection cued by the depiction of Scargill in German military uniform. In other words, they are not metaphorical 'triggers' but take on a metaphorical reading in light of correspondences established explicitly elsewhere in the image.



**Figure 8.** Arthur Scargill as Nazi (© News UK. *The Sun,* 17 March 1984)

While the cartoon in Figure 8 evokes a WORLD WAR II framing in which Scargill is seen as a Nazi General, the cartoon in Figure 9 establishes a WORLD WAR II framing by comparing Margret Thatcher to Winston Churchill.  The construal relies on iconic images of Churchill smoking a cigar as well as the myth of Churchill as a bulldog.  The cartoon is in fact a recontextualisation of a famous patriotic cartoon, produced by Sydney Strube and published in *The Daily Express* on 8th June 1940, depicting Churchill as a bulldog (see Figure 10).  In the same way as Figure 8, then, the metaphor is realised as features associated with two distinct figures are fused to create a new hybrid image.  The visual metaphor is further reinforced by linguistic co-text in the phrase 'go to it'.  This phrase appeared in the same way in Strube's original cartoon and later came to feature on campaign posters produced by the Ministry of Information as a message to 'civilian soldiers' working on the 'home front' in World War II.



**Figure 9.**  Margret Thatcher as Winston Churchill (© News UK.  *The Times,* 6 June 1984)



**Figure 10.**  Winston Churchill.  (Sidney Strube, *Daily Express,* 8 June 1940)

Narratives of the Second World War are frequently redeployed by the media as a lens through which to understand contemporary situations (Kelsey 2015). However, as Kelsey points out, following Barthes, when historical moments are mobilised to make sense of contemporary events they are themselves mythologised, reduced to simple, archetypal, narratives. It is this mythologised version of history that gets projected in metaphorical understandings of contemporary situations.

In the cartoons above, the complexities of World War II and thus, as a function of the metaphor, the miners' strike, are compressed in a number of ways. For example, as El Refaie (2003: 88) notes, political cartoons tend to reduce large social groups to one stereo-typical image. In these cartoons, the miners' strike, which involved multiple parties and affected large numbers of people, is reduced to a binary opposition between Thatcher and Scargill. This *personification* "enables the cartoonist to represent complex issues and relationships in a much more simple and easily understandable form" (E Refaie 2003: 91) with a number of ideological consequences. It excludes other possible voices and therefore restricts the debate to only two dichotomous positions. But it also personalises the situation, encouraging judgements based on the characters of two individuals rather than on the issues at stake. The metaphoric projections involved, moreover, construct those characters in particular ways as Thatcher and Scargill inherit qualities associated with their counterpart elements in the WORLD WAR II frame.

In popular memory, Winston Churchill is revered as a national hero and has come to stand as a symbol of defiance, resilience and courage in the face of adversity. His mythical character is frequently exploited in nationalist propagandist discourses (Kelsey 2015a). In Figure 9, the metaphorical projection serves to bestow Thatcher with traits associated with Churchill. Thatcher is thus characterised as defiant, resilient, valiant etc. By contrast, in Figure 8, Scargill is attributed personality traits associated with a Nazi General.

In reducing the strike to an opposition between Thatcher and Scargill, caricatured as Churchill and a Nazi general respectively, the war framing retells an archetypal narrative (Lule 2001) of 'Hero versus Villain'. Archetypal narratives are familiar stories with conventional characters, standard plotlines and predictable outcomes. In the Hero versus Villain narrative, the hero fights for the values and ideals of the society in which their story features (Lule 2001: 82). He/she is intelligent, brave and benevolent. The villain is intelligent but irrational, driven by self-interest, and intent on destruction. Crucially, however, the hero is victorious in the end. The metaphorical construal, thus, not only attributes to Thatcher and Scargill the status of 'hero' and 'villain' respectively, but in so doing makes it seem inevitable that the miners' strike will be defeated.

**5. Discussion and Conclusion**

In this chapter, war framings have been shown as a persistent feature in media representations of the British Miner's Strike. The frequency and systematicity with which these metaphorical framings occur suggests that these examples are not independent framing efforts but rather reflect, reify and reinforce an entrenched worldview, encoded in the form of an underlying conceptual metaphor STRIKE IS WAR. This conceptual metaphor constitutes our understanding of the strike, so that the strike is actually conceived as a war. It forms the basis on which our attitudes and actions toward the strike are developed. Indeed, this media framing created a space for war-based reasoning in Government policy. Cabinet documents recently released under the 30 year rule reveal that Thatcher was encouraged by her policy unit, in a paper dated 13 July 1984, to pursue a "war of attrition, where the perceived way of the strike ending is for miners to go back to work".

The chapter has shown that the STRIKE IS WAR metaphor is manifested across semiotic modalities, thus further evidencing Forceville's (2006: 381) claim that metaphors "occur non-verbally and multimodally as well as verbally". Though, as El Refaie notes, visual metaphors are not simply translations into the visual mode of verbal metaphors. Rather, in the visual modality, the author may "give the metaphor a new twist or focus on elements which would otherwise remain unused or unnoticed" (2003: 87). While in the language data, then, the STRIKE IS WAR metaphor is realised through projections of a generic WAR frame, in the visual data, the metaphor is rendered through projections of WORLD WAR I and WORLD WAR II frames in particular. Interestingly, it was found that news photographs tended to appeal to a WORLD WAR I frame while editorial cartoons appealed to a WORLD WAR II frame.

For many images in the data, the metaphorical interpretation is dependent on intertextual references either in the image itself or in accompanying language. In other words, the source frame is accessed as features of texts belonging to WORLD WAR I and WORLD WAR II frames are echoed in the current text. In this way, intertextuality provides a vehicle for metaphorical understanding. As Werner (2004) states, the "echoing of themes, quotations, symbols, storylines, or compositional elements from older images and famous written texts may create visual metaphors". In such cases, of course, the metaphorical interpretation depends on the reader recognising the intertextual references being made. Again, as Werner (2004) puts it: "allusions to historical events and personages, or to past cultural texts (e.g. poems, novels, famous quotations, art), are only successful if the reader is able to access the allusionary base from which the analogies are drawn". When they are not, intertextuality is divisive and serves to create an elite in-group who are able to make the connections and who are held in contrast to those who lack the same cultural capital (ibid.).

It is important to note that the media's framing of the strike as a war was not necessarily a deliberate attempt on the part of individual journalists to undermine the strike. For example, the STRIKE IS WAR metaphor may have been motivated by perceived similarities between the WAR frame and scenes in the strike. At the level of event-structure, a VIOLENT ENCOUNTER frame is instantiated in both acts of war and the violent events witnessed on the picket line. The WAR frame, in other words, may have been made available via its entailed VIOLENT ENCOUNTER frame which figures in any literal understating of the target scenes. Similarly, actions of flying pickets bear a structural resemblance to acts of invasion in so far as both involve a group of people entering the 'territory' of another. Moreover, in both the WAR frame and the strike, those large groups are led by powerful individuals. Finally, at a more encyclopaedic level, both World War I and the 'battle of Orgreave' involved horses. What may have begun, then, as a novel, 'situationally triggered' metaphor (Semino 2009) licensed by perceived commonalities with the target situation, became a conventional means of reporting the strike, providing a dominant frame through which the strike could be understood. Nevertheless, alternative metaphors are always available and the particular metaphorical mode of understanding presented achieves a number of ideological effects.

Construing the strike as a war resulted in particular metaphorical entailments which served to delegitimate the NUM and the striking miners while legitimating the position and actions of the Government and the police. The general WAR frame entails an opposition between two sides, one of whom is seen as 'the enemy'. Without exception, it is the striking miners who are cast in this role. From this perspective within the frame, the actions of the government and the police are justified as being in the national interest. This is especially the case in elaborations of the metaphor involving frames for WORLD WAR I and WORLD WAR II. These frames stand mythologically as symbols of national identity, pride and unity. Their invocation in the STRIKE IS WAR metaphor is therefore likely to galvanise support for the Government policy in the face of 'the enemy' and bestow a conviction that the course of action pursued by the Government is morally right and worth 'fighting for'. The metaphor therefore

precludes the possibility of compromise and resolution. Framing the British miners' strike as a war, then, served to reduce a complex situation to a simple scenario with a restricted set of goals and outcomes. Had the media employed a different metaphor, it might have been possible to imagine the strike taking a different course and, ultimately, having a different outcome.

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