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**Appraising the Chilean labor movement during 1925: The Case of *The South Pacific Mail***

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**Abstract**

The multidimensional relationship between Chile and Great Britain during 1810 and the mid twentieth century has been thoroughly studied by different areas of inquiry. In this sense, discourse analysis has resorted to the analysis of written press to explore various dimensions of this relationship. The present dissertation will analyze the way in which strike-related news were delivered and appraised by the Valparaiso-based, British newspaper *The South Pacific Mail* during 1925. Particularly, our dissertation aims to investigate how the Chilean social movement was appraised by this media sample, particularly in its portrayal of the Chilean working class. The topic was analyzed in eight pieces of news of the 1925 edition of *The South Pacific Mail*. Once digitized, the corpus was analyzed in the light of Martin and Rose's Appraisal theory (2007). Our results suggest that the close relationship between Great Britain and Chile greatly affected the appraisal done by the British newspaper of the Chilean working class. In particular, it provides evidence that the economic, social and cultural dimensions of this relationship had a negative influence on the appraisal of the Chilean labor movement and its causes.

Keywords: Discourse analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, Appraisal theory, attitudinal resources, Chilean labor movement, British immigrants, Valparaiso

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“Las mujeres formamos un hemisferio humano. Toda ley, todo movimiento de libertad o de cultura nos ha dejado por largo tiempo en la sombra. Siempre hemos llegado al festín del progreso, no como el invitado reacio que tarda en acudir, sino como el camarada vergonzante al que se invita con atraso y al que luego se disimula en el banquete por necio rubor. Más sabia en su inconsciencia, la naturaleza pone una luz sobre los dos flancos del planeta. Y es ley infecunda toda ley encaminada a transformar pueblos y que no toma en cuenta a las mujeres” (Mistral, 1906).

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## 1. Introduction

The study of language has been approached from various disciplines and each of them deals with a particular dimension of language. In this sense, discourse analysis can be defined as an area that studies “language use relative to social, political and cultural formations” (Jaworski and Coupland, 2006: 3). Following this definition, Critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) has established itself as an approach which deals with language in context, focusing particularly on its relationship with power, ideology and racism. One particular dimension that can be analyzed and studied following these principles is the way in which newspapers create, appraise and deliver information. As Martin and White (2005) state, writers not only take a particular stance but also “simultaneously invite others to endorse and to share with them the feelings, tastes or normative assessments they are announcing.” (p. 95). This particular function of newspapers shows us that reporters take a particular stance in which they aim to construct a version of an event, a point studied in previous literature (Martin & White, 2005; Bednarek, 2006; Jakaza & Visser, 2016; Jirasataporn, 2018). Without doubt, this issue has serious implications regarding freedom of speech, freedom of the press and, of course, how language is instrumentalized to serve particular purposes. In order to apply this theoretical framework, researchers resort to historical and cultural studies. This integral approach allows for a better understanding of how language is used in a particular context. This principle will be followed in this dissertation.

As we previously mentioned, historical and cultural studies enable an in-depth, linguistic analysis of the context in which newspapers are grounded. In this case, we take as a starting point the British press in Valparaiso during the mid-nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth century. Particularly, we will focus on *The South Pacific Mail*, a British newspaper. In order to carry out our investigation, we will use Martin and Rose’s Appraisal theory (2007). In brief, this theory seeks to analyze the attitudes found in different pieces of texts. These attitudes might be of appreciation, judgment and affect. Also, the graduation resource can be used to sharpen or focus an idea. By using these conceptual tools one can establish the different stances found in written texts, in this case, that of journalists. By determining the particular stance found in each

newspaper, it is possible to describe the appraisal of various events. Hence, we aim to investigate the way in which this British newspaper appraised Chilean strike-related news during 1925. In order to do so, the appraisal theory will be supported by resources of historical studies.

We chose this year in particular for two reasons. Firstly, due to the ongoing COVID-pandemic, we were unable to find physical issues of British newspapers. Following an extensive online search, we found the 1925 edition of *The South Pacific Mail*. Secondly, as we shall see throughout this dissertation, 1925 is a crucial year to Chile. A range of social, cultural and political events marked the first quarter of the twentieth century. To name a few, the enactment of a new constitution, the social question and country-city migration, the heyday of the nitrate industry, a massive increase in immigration, the evolution of the role of women within society, and the development of an articulated, working class.

*The South Pacific Mail* was a British newspaper written in English published in Chile between 1909 and 1965. Its main editor and owner, Henry A. Hill belonged to the British community in Valparaiso and created this newspaper with the aim of it becoming the main media outlet that dealt with issues regarding the British Colony, topics of interest within Chile and Britain and current worldwide issues during the twentieth century. The motto of this newspaper “Unity, Progress and Prosperity” encouraged togetherness within the British community. This newspaper is also characterized as having commercial purposes while claiming not to be influenced by any specific political group.

In order to develop the analysis of Attitudinal categories established by Martin and Rose (2007) we chose a Mixed-Method research approach in which we quantitatively and qualitatively describe our investigation in terms of a specific group of eight news articles that portray issues related to the labor movement in Chile. Tables summarizing elements of Affect, Judgement, Appreciation and Graduation were assembled according to Martin and Rose’s Appraisal theory to review our pieces of news. After every news article went through an Attitudinal analysis, bar graphs were created to measure and assess these categories and to arrive at conclusions from this investigation.

Results for this investigations proved to be fruitful, since the varying findings and respective analyses allowed for the observation of different attitudes adopted by the authors of the given pieces of news, such findings and attitudes, upon being compiled into quantifiable data, demonstrated how the author's attitudes coincide with the editorial guidelines of the newspaper, and furthermore, they coincide with the established relationship between the British and Chilean governments, showing a clear alignment with the authorities, but exposing many negative remarks about the labor movement.

At last, the structure of the present dissertation is the following: first, we establish our objectives and subsequent research questions to be discussed and answered in this research, then a historical overview of the period is offered, describing both Chile and its relation with Great Britain. Following the latter review, the theoretical framework used for this research is presented describing discourse analysis along with appraisal theory. Afterwards, the design for the methodology is set forth. And finally we have the discussion of the results, along with the conclusion to this research.

### **1.1 Problem statement**

The complex relationship between Chile and Great Britain has been an important subject of discussion in studies about Social Movements (Mayo, 1981; Estrada, 2006; Donoso Rojas, 2014). This fundamental relationship permeated virtually every aspect of Chilean society from its independence up to the mid-twentieth century. Politics, economy, society and culture, among other dimensions, were shaped by this fruitful, yet unbalanced relationship. Chile's economic dependence on Great Britain meant on the one hand economic prosperity, and on the other hand, it signified dreadful dependency influenced by the economic and political interests of the British Empire. Certainly Valparaiso was the center of this relationship, in terms of its geography, its economy, its modernization and its culture. Particularly regarding this last point, one special dimension of culture which was born from this relationship was the British written press of Valparaiso. One particular aspect that we intend to study is whether the British press in Valparaiso was influenced by this relationship, and if so, how its discourse was influenced and biased by this complex association. We aim to study this aspect making use of the resources

provided by Martin and Rose (2007) Appraisal model and historical studies. Finally, we believe the discussion of the issue at hand can certainly shed some light on the problematic relationship between discourse and power, and can foster further discussions on this one particular aspect of the relationship aforementioned.

## **2. Objectives**

### **2.1 General Objective**

To critically analyze the way in which strike-related news were delivered and appraised by British newspapers of Valparaiso during the Parliamentary Period in Chile using a semantic model of appraisal and historical studies.

### **2.2 Specific objectives**

1. To identify and briefly explain how the sociocultural context of the Parliamentary period in Chile influenced the British press in Valparaiso.
2. To explain how the relationship between Chile and Great Britain influenced the way in which strike-related news was delivered by British newspapers in Valparaiso.
3. To identify, classify, and analyze different attitudinal lexico-grammatical resources used in the British newspapers of Valparaiso to convey evaluative meanings in strike-related news.
4. To explain how these lexico-grammatical items were used, and what attitudinal information they tried to convey about the social movements in Valparaiso.
5. To explain the function of these resources in the construction of attitudinal meaning.

## **3. Research questions**

1. Following the Appraisal model, which type of attitude (i.e. affect, judgment, appreciation) is more prominent in the 1925 edition of *The South Pacific Mail*? Are these attitudes amplified or hedged?

2. What is the impact of these three types of attitudes in the construction and delivery of information by British newspapers?
3. What is the influence of the sociocultural context of Chile during the parliamentary period in the way information was delivered and appraised by the British press in Valparaiso?
4. Is it possible that the multidimensional relationship between Chile and Great Britain biased the news regarding strikes?
5. Is the role of women in industry and in the labor movement highlighted in the selected articles from the 1925 issue of *The South Pacific Mail*?

#### **4. The Historical context**

##### **4.1 The historical context of Chile during the Parliamentary period (1891 - 1925)**

###### **4.1.1 Government and politics**

Following the 1891 revolution the Chilean government changed dramatically. According to Villalobos (1996), “by reducing the authority of the executive branch, the parliamentary system made the president a more or less decorative figure” (p. 166). Certainly, this situation would only worsen during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Seven presidents ruled the country during the parliamentary period: Jorge Montt, Federico Errazuriz, German Riesco, Pedro Montt, Ramón Barros Luco, Juan Luis Sanfuentes, and Arturo Alessandri Palma. These presidents came from an oligarchic and quasi-aristocratic background. Similarly, the Chilean congress of the period was constituted by oligarchic men. These deputies and senators had made their fortunes through mining, land-owning, and through arranged marriages.

During the first years of Jorge Montt’s government political parties were allowed to choose their ministerial cabinets and by doing so they increased the influence of the parliamentary system. The conservative and liberal parties ruled parliament until the creation of the radical party in 1863 and the liberal-democratic party in 1893. Different alliances were formed between parties in order to appoint cabinet members or even presidents. Although these political parties were not divided by political ideologies they were divided by religious beliefs.

On the one hand, the Conservative party encouraged clericalism whereas the radical party stood for the anti-clericalism movement. Their similarities and differences made each government seem weak and almost decorative. For instance, President Errazuriz had twelve different cabinets during his presidency.

Another situation which worsened the already critical state of the Chilean political class were the electoral frauds that occurred during this entire period. Chilean land-owners forced their tenants to vote for their candidates. Political parties bribed whoever could not be forced to vote. Political agents would fix electoral registers and create or destroy valid votes. Apart from this, political parties would do everything at their disposal to put their members in various bureaucratic positions that became increasingly important in the constitution of the new middle class.

By 1910 political corruption had reached new heights and thus a new law was passed to prevent electoral fraud (Collier & Sater, p. 179). In 1915 political instability was at its peak, for example, President Sanfuentes had seventeen cabinets with a duration of three months each.

To sum up, the outlook on life of the Chilean political class of the period was that of an elite. This elitistic way of life was influenced by the latest trends in Europe, particularly, in France. The political elite in Chile intended to imitate the *Belle époque*, but by doing so they drifted even further from the real needs of a country that was vastly rural, impoverished and underdeveloped. Furthermore, as was previously discussed, political corruption and instability had reached its peak during the first decade of the twentieth century. Ultimately, the end of World War I struck Chilean economy and society in a very powerful way.

During this period of great economic and political changes, the controversial figure of Arturo Alessandri emerged, a great orator and demagogue who managed to seduce both the incipient middle class and part of the working class, which were both weary of the conservative oligarchy. Despite this initial flirtation between Alessandri and the working class, he quickly squared off with the oligarchy and dismissed the demands of the working class. One of Alessandri's main concerns was the approval of the 1925 constitution which he managed to

achieve by being supported by the military. This constitution, as well as the social laws approved during this period benefited the working class who were fighting for these demands since 1903. In *A Short History of Chile*, Sergio Villalobos explains that the political situation in Chile changed in 1924, after an uprising of young army officers who were against the oligarchic parliament. The Chilean parliament was forced to enact different laws which eventually benefited the working and middle classes. This led to the creation of a new constitution in 1925 which lasted until 1980. In spite of the benefits brought by this new constitution, “political instability reigned in Chile the following years” (Villalobos, 176).

#### **4.1.2 Economy**

##### **Agriculture**

During the second half of the nineteenth century Chile was an important producer and exporter of flour, wheat, and meat. Particularly, Chilean agriculture was greatly benefited by the American and Australian gold rushes because these two countries imported several Chilean products. However, during the early twentieth century production barely matched what had been produced in the previous century. Australia, the United States, and Canada, among other countries, had become important rivals in wheat production and eventually Chile resorted to importing food. Additionally, plagues and bad weather conditions also diminished Chilean agricultural industry. (Collier & Sater, p. 148) Nevertheless, according to Collier & Sater (1996), the biggest problem with Chilean agriculture was the hyper-concentration of land in the hands of Chilean *hacendados* (land owners). By 1900, Chilean *hacendados* owned 75% of the land, and by 1917 0.46% of people owned half of the entire Chilean land (p. 148). Other than the hyper-concentration of land, Chilean *haciendas* did not produce at a national level, and had no interest in creating a national industry based on agriculture or livestock farming. Also, foreign capitalists were not interested in investing in these fields and instead they invested in mining and *casas comerciales*.

During the 1920s, both agriculture and livestock farming grew significantly in Chile, however, the hyper-concentration of land in the hands of Chilean landowners prevented a substantial growth in production at a nationwide level. Additionally, Chile's debt increased

terribly (300%) in the period between 1891 and 1924. This over-indebtedness was not justified as it mortgaged the possibilities of future generations, and the profits from exports failed to cover the contracted debt. Despite the fact that the national manufacturing industry grew during this period (Collier & Sater, p. 184) like agriculture and livestock farming did, Chile continued to depend on its mono-exports which were severely affected by the economic recession that followed after the end of the Great War. The end of the First World War highlighted a number of problems that affected Chile, among some of these problems, economic dependence on mono-exports, *haciendas* in the Chilean countryside, the creation of synthetic nitrate, and also political instability resulting from the parliamentary period.

Finally, according to Collier and Sater (1996), due to the fact that very few Chilean families owned more than half of Chilean land they were not worried about investing or producing at a more significant rate. Thus, unlike the manufacturing and nitrate industry which grew significantly, agriculture remained entirely dependent on Chilean land-owners, a situation that would go on until the 1960's and that would reach its climax during the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende (1970 - 1973) and their radical land reform.

### **Nitrate Industry**

According to Donoso Rojas (2014), the annexed provinces of Tarapacá and Antofagasta were fundamental for Chilean economy as they played a fundamental role in: “the reconfiguration of a small and impoverished state, to another that expanded around the interests created by that industry” (p. 97). The economic prosperity brought by the nitrate industry was so significant that “only between 1880 and 1883 the state raised more revenue than in the period 1817-1866”. (Donoso Rojas, p. 97). According to Collier and Sater (1996) the nitrate industry was a gift for the Chilean economy and one third of its overall revenue remained in Chile. However, this industry was handled mostly by foreign capitalists due to the fact that Chile did not have a robust industry nor the interest of handling such an affair. For instance, by 1895, 60% of nitrate revenue ended up in British hands.



This gift for the Chilean economy seduced thousands of Chileans that went to work and live in La Pampa. Between 1875 and 1907, the population of La Pampa grew from 2,000 to 234,000. (Collier & Sater, p. 152). Work was hard and dangerous, besides, accidents, diseases and deaths were not uncommon. However, Chilean miners kept working at La Pampa because their salaries were higher than Chilean *inquilinos*, and their living conditions were supposedly better than in Chilean *conventillos*.

Chilean nitrate's main importers were Germany, the United States, France and Belgium. Nitrate was mostly used to create explosives as well as fertilizers. Due to high prices Germany created its synthetic nitrate, one of the most important factors in the decline of the golden age of Chilean nitrate. For instance, by 1913 27% of Chilean nitrate exports were absorbed by Germany and Belgium. However, after the start of the First World War both countries dramatically stopped importing Chilean nitrate. This shift of events severely damaged the Chilean economy. Additionally, England restricted the lines of credit provided to Chile. Thus, the Chilean economy could neither get credit nor sell its nitrate. For example, between 1914 and 1915, 91 nitrate *oficinas* were shut down (Pinto, 158). Luckily for the Chilean economy, between 1914 and 1918, a new market opened up for Chilean nitrate: The United States of America. Thus, although the Chilean economy was deeply affected by the war, this new market was a breath of fresh air for Chile. For example, in 1917 at least 60,000 people were employed in the nitrate industry, and, for the first time, 3 tons of nitrate were produced in Chile (Pinto, 159). However, as had already previously happened, this economic relationship abruptly ended in the late 1920's.

Unfortunately, the Chilean state failed to create a robust national industry based on the economic prosperity achieved during the pre-war period. Moreover, following the end of World War I, economic dependence towards nitrate exports doomed the Chilean economy to be entirely dependent on a number of economic crises that affected Europe during the first quarter of the twentieth century. According to Donoso Rojas (2014), the economic catastrophe which followed the end of the nitrate industry was the Chilean state's fault. For example, he mentions the incapacity to compete with synthetic nitrate; the inexistence of thorough nitrate regulations and

finally, the incapacity of the Chilean state to provide an alternative to the dependence on mono-exports.

Following the end of World War I, British influence and power was jeopardized by the United States. Additionally, the contraction of the post-war British economy led to an abrupt end of the relationship between British capitalists and the Chilean state. Certainly, these crises affected the working class and caused a number of exodus from the *Norte Grande* to other cities of Chile, mainly Santiago, Valparaiso and Lota.

### **4.1.3 Social situation**

#### **The Social question and the country-city migration**

Between 1920-1921, nitrate national production fell by 50% and exports fell by 60% (Collier & Sater, 187). The decline of the national nitrate industry led to a strong migratory wave from the north of the country to the central zone, mainly Santiago. Chile's capital city was not prepared for the reception of such a large number of people (in addition to people coming from the *haciendas*), which led to a demographic explosion and consequently to a health and social crisis. These antecedents, added to others, heightened the crisis of the period known as the social question, characterized by extreme poverty, very high infant mortality rate, child malnutrition, health pandemics, and an increase in crime and prostitution within *conventillos* and *ranchos*, two of the most common types of housing during the period. According to Collier and Sater, the social question had existed in Chile since at least 1870 (p. 176).

Kuznesof (2013) reports that the high levels of country-city migration from 1920 onwards led to rapid urbanization in Latin America, including Chile. (p. 92) Likewise, Kuznesof assures that these migrations were mainly motivated by industrialization processes and by economic crises in rural areas far from urbanized areas. In the particular case of Chile, the latter occurred, as a deep crisis of the northern nitrate industry led the Chilean working class to migrate to cities such as Santiago or Valparaíso.

**The state of the Chilean Labor Movement during the early 1900's**

According to Grez (2007), the period between 1891 and 1914 is considered to be the golden age of nitrate in Chile. By 1914, there were 134 nitrate offices in the Chilean Pampa (p. 16). This period is particularly important to develop a historical overview of the evolution of the Chilean working class because by then “The advent of modern economy and the proletarianization of the Chilean labor force had permeated the set of social relations in the main cities and in the mining areas.” (p. 2) In other words, during this period, the Chilean working class finished its transition from a markedly colonial and rural class to an industrial, proletarian class (Pregger-Roman, 1983).

Grez states that by 1895, the forms of labor demonstrations were reflected as acts “closer to the merely criminal such as robberies, destruction of public and private property, mutiny, or quarrels” (p. 12). This practice was not only undertaken in the Chilean Pampa, but also all across the country, especially in Santiago, Lota and Valparaiso. This type of violence is classified by the author as “social violence without a claiming purpose” (p. 26).

During the first years of the twentieth century, this form of demonstration was replaced by general strikes and lists of demands. Two important strikes occurred in 1903 (Valparaiso) and 1905 (Santiago), respectively. These two strikes would delimit the way that the Chilean working class would follow in the next two decades. According to Grez (2007), this new form of demonstration worried the Chilean oligarchic elite, since it was no longer a purely violent reaction of the working class, but it always included a list of labor and social demands. This new form of workers' organization made “a greater, but still limited incorporation of women into the social struggle in efforts to support striking men” (p. 32) possible. Regarding the first decade of the twentieth century, De Shazo (1977) stated that: “Working class blood flowed freely in Chile between 1903 and 1907, peak years of labor union activity and industrial violence” (p. 146). Additionally, regarding why the Chilean labor movement became increasingly political, De Shazo (2007) adds that: “Workers became increasingly aware of the oppressive nature of the state and were more resolved to employ direct-action tactics in their labor disputes” (p. 148).

According to Grez, between 1902 and 1904 the labor movement consolidated and became sophisticated in their new form of struggle which was represented by general strikes. Within the working class, various political lines were to be found, among which communists, democrats, and anarcho-syndicalists stood out. The latter, following an anarchist ideology, proposed through the workers' and anarchist press that social demands should not go through a political intermediary, such as a political party. Both De Shazo (1977) and Grez (2007) agree that the influence of socialist-anarchism in Chilean unions stressed the importance of direct action: "The tactics and outlook of anarcho-syndicalism guided many of the labor unions of Santiago and Valparaíso through their first strikes between 1902 and 1908. Workers learned that direct action against employers, not political or mutual aid activities, won them material benefits" (De Shazo, 147). These new forms of demonstrating were increasingly "structured around clear objectives" (Grez, 33).

Between 1902 and 1907, a series of general strikes occurred in the north of Chile and in the port of Valparaíso. New forms of workers' organization took shape at a national level which demonstrated levels of coordination that had never been seen before. The numerous massacres and police repressions against workers' strikes generated greater class consciousness within the working class, as well as greater solidarity among workers. De Shazo (1977) states that "When labor temporarily gained the upper hand in a major strike, seriously disrupted the operations of a key industry, or threatened to disturb the peace; the Government did not hesitate to intervene" (p. 146). This severe repression suffered by the working class increased both its anger and class consciousness, two fundamental elements to create a revolutionary class identity.

### **Labor relations between workers, capitalists, and the Chilean state**

During the first decade of the twentieth century the Chilean working class evolved into a sophisticated and revolutionary class. For instance, between 1902 and 1908, at least 200 strikes occurred in Chile (Collier & Sater, 1996: 177). Nevertheless, the authors point out that the Parliamentary regime stayed out of the disputes between workers and capitalists. The role of the Chilean state during this period was that of a regulator, as the main economic issues were handled by Chilean and foreign capitalists. Regarding the importance of foreign businessmen in

Chile, Donoso Rojas (2014) states that: “The nitrate industry association to capitals and foreign influences, mainly British, forced the continuity of a liberal model” (p. 98). Thus, the Chilean state provided political stability whereas capitalists handled business affairs, including dealing with workers’ demands. For example, by 1914, only two social laws had been passed by the Chilean parliament. In spite of the apathy shown by the Parliamentary regime, they did not hesitate to use military force once a general strike got out of hand. Regarding this point, De Shazo (1977) states: “State participation in labor disputes generally favored employers. Police units guarded their property and protected the 'right to work' of strikebreakers” (p. 146). During the first 5 years of the twentieth century, the Chilean elite became preoccupied with the new tactics used by unions. This change of tactics was brought about by anarchists and their direct action. The Chilean elite usually blamed foreign interference in the politicization of the working class: “Elites in Chile first realized that anarchists were operating within the working class during the much-publicized maritime strike of April-May 1903 in Valparaiso.” (De Shazo, 148). Nevertheless, there was actually very little foreign influence in Chilean unions unlike in countries like Argentina or Brazil, where foreign anarchists actually played a fundamental role in the construction of a revolutionary labor movement.

During the same period of time, nitrate had become the most important asset in Chilean economy, and regarding this point, Pinto (2007) states that between 1880 and 1920, a steady and ever increasing number of people moved to La Pampa, looking for new opportunities and better salaries. The author argues that the importance of the nitrate industry was so crucial that it shaped what is known as the *Norte Grande* of Chile; a natural region which includes Tarapaca and Antofagasta. This new shape of the Norte Grande gave a new outlook on life to its residents, and all *pampinos* acquired a particular sense of living in a community and of getting involved in politics. Regarding this northern, proletarian identity, Pinto (2007) states that: “the harsh, shared experiences and the absence of very intense family or territorial ties also configured feelings of group solidarity that at times could be very serious, and that authorize to speak of the "pampina identity"” (p. 154). Solidarity between workers and residents co-existed with the hot-headed personality of many workers of the nitrate mines. Along with their impulsiveness, an *esprit de*

*corps* shaped the working class which fought against the authorities like no other proletarian group had done before in Chilean history.

In 1910, Chile celebrated its first century of independence. On the one hand, the Chilean elite glamorously celebrated its first 100 years of economic independence, and on the other hand, both the social question and the Chilean labor movement were at its peak. In 1909 the FOCH (*Federación obreros de Chile*) organization was created. This organization became highly influential for Chilean socialist unions. Meanwhile, in 1919 a Chilean division of the Industrial Workers of the World (from now on IWW) was created. The Chilean division of the IWW became especially influential in the unions in Valparaiso. Both organizations, socialist and anarchist, respectively, led the Chilean labor movement during the period. Additionally, the Soviet revolution of 1917 brought a considerable amount of hope for an already organized and sophisticated movement. At least 130 strikes occurred in Chile between 1917 and 1920 (Collier & Sater, p. 180).

According to Santibañez (2018), between late 1919 and early 1920 the Chilean labor movement began its process of re-articulation in the north of Chile (Antofagasta) following what had started during the fruitful period of 1916-17. This process was carried out by unions of dock operators following socialist and anarchist ideas. In spite of the increasing politicization of the labor movement, Santibañez (2018) rejects the importance given by other historians to the IWW in the Chilean Pampa. For instance, important strikes occurred in 1921 and 1923, respectively, yet Santibañez (2018) adds that the IWW had little or no power over the unions in Antofagasta and Iquique during the 1920s (p. 25).

Thus, to sum up, during the Parliamentary period an important labor activity occurred in Chile between workers and capitalists in the North of Chile and in Valparaiso. These relationships, shaped by foreign, political ideas such as Marxism and Anarchism, were usually handled by workers and capitalists whereas the Chilean government provided political stability and repression.

#### 4.1.4 Foreign relations

By 1891 Chile had a number of problems regarding their foreign relations, namely, with the United States, Argentina and Bolivia. These difficulties included a possible war with the USA (1891), with Argentina (1896), and problems in terms of the demarcation of frontiers with Bolivia (1896). The estrangement between Chile and Argentina was so serious that both countries invested extensively in their naval forces and both of them became the sixth and seventh most powerful naval forces in the world (Collier & Sater, p. 170). Eventually, King Edward VII had to intervene until finally the situation about the frontier was settled and rumours of war ended. Similarly, in 1904 Chile and Bolivia signed a peace treaty that put an end to decades of rumors of a new war among South-American countries. According to Collier and Sater (1996) both of these results were negative for Chile, claiming that it was another symptom of the critical state of the Chilean political class; an elite which poorly dealt with all of the aforementioned instances.

However, not all foreign relations were as difficult. For instance, Germany, France and Belgium were key importers of Chilean nitrate. Additionally, the country's relationship with the United States had been positive prior to the possible 1891 war; Chile had been an important wheat exporter supplying for the California gold rush during the 1840's.

Nevertheless, as is well known, the most important relationship during this period was between Chile and Great Britain. This relationship can be traced back to the early days of Post-Independence Chile, finishing around the 1930s. As we shall explain later on, this was a fruitful yet unbalanced relationship which shaped almost every angle of Chilean society, particularly in Valparaiso. The main settlements of British capitalists in Chile were in the nitrate mines in the north of the country and in Valparaiso, the latter being the center of the British community and their activities. Despite the fact that Chile was never a British colony, the country acted as one during this period. In spite of the economic prosperity brought to both countries by this relationship, particularly to Britain, economic prosperity did not last and was

even intermittent at times. Pregger-Roman (1983) summarized British interests in Chile as follows:

“British domination of the Chilean economy passed through three stages of evolution. In the 1820s, a resident British commercial community in Valparaiso gained control of the nation's foreign commerce and the transportation infrastructure that carried it. In a second stage, British influence extended to domination of Chile's banking network, both during the period when banking was an informal auxiliary of commerce and later, when it was established on a formal basis structurally independent of commercial activity. This latter period was also marked by an expansion of British interests into the mining sector, which took the form of portfolio stock investments. The third stage followed the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), and in it British control of nitrate mining took the form of an enclave of British ownership” (p. 39).

Certainly, Pregger-Roman's summary is concise and useful, however, it fails to describe the impact of the British Empire in Chilean culture, society and politics. These aspects are clearly linked to one another, and will be discussed in the next section focusing on its economic, political and cultural dimensions. This description intends to shed light on the importance of British influence on Chilean economy and society, particularly, on the relationship between British and Chilean capitalists and Chilean workers.

## **4.2 The relationship between Great Britain and Chile**

### **British Settlement in Valparaiso**

The port of Valparaiso accelerated its process of modernization following the arrival of immigrants from Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States of America. This steady process of modernization took place between 1820 and 1840. Among several factors that allowed this fast and steady process of modernization, it is possible to underline the early independence of Chile, its political stability, and also a number of wise economic decisions.

Throughout the nineteenth century Valparaiso became a cosmopolitan city, and by 1895, 7.45% of Valparaiso's population was of migrant origin (Prain, p. 11). Valparaiso was a



flourishing city; communities from different nationalities started establishing their own institutions, and the British colony was one of the most prominent communities. It is possible to find British influence in the economy of Chile immediately after Chile's independence from the Spanish Kingdom (Estrada, 2006; Burdach & Hayward, 2019). Between 1,000 and 3,000 English merchants, agents, artisans and marines arrived in the country looking for wealth and a better life (Pinochet Valdivieso, 2012). It is important to highlight that not all British citizens were businessmen or wealthy people as there were also physicians, architects, labor men, cashiers and engineers all across the city. Thus, British influence was not only found in business but also in the development of industries and technology, such as in the building of railroads (Burdach & Hayward, 2019; Prain, 2016).

Prain (2007) points out that the British community in Valparaiso settled particularly in both Cerro Alegre and Cerro Concepcion. According to Estrada (2006), British residents had already settled in Cerro Alegre in 1820. Mount Pleasant, as the British called Cerro Alegre, became a beautiful "British citadel" (Prain, p. 16), far from the center of the city. Many parks, squares and gardens were found on this mount. These places of recreation favored socialization within the British community. This wealthy community of British immigrants largely contrasted with the rest of the city, particularly with the center and outskirts, where native population lived under severe economic conditions. The British community embellished their settlement at Cerro Alegre with neat, beautiful gardens where they could enjoy nature and quiet at home. This process of reorganization and embellishment of the mount was undertaken with the aim of creating a settlement where the British could feel as comfortable as being at home. Certainly, the rest of the city was far from clean and organized, thus, their efforts focused mostly on this citadel.

#### **4.2.1 Economic relationship between Great Britain and Chile**

The economic relationship between Chile and Britain was based on the economic dependency of Chile towards the British Empire. The period between 1880 and 1930 was crucial for the development and growth of the port of Valparaiso. Foreign relations were enforced with

diverse trade being opened to many foreign countries, evoking an attractive centre of exchange and income.

Following its independence, Chile enabled free port trade with the 1813 Trade Act, which regulated and offered privileges to foreigners after a four year residence (Pinochet Valdivieso, 2012). This Trade Act made it possible for many foreigners to arrive and dedicate themselves to rising commercial activities. Chile thus inserted itself into modern capitalism (Ortega, 2005). Being culturally and economically independent from Europe looked like a positive situation. By 1845, Chile had signed a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation with Great Britain, and Valparaiso became a financial capital. The importance of the port, due to its commercial flow, was reflected in the housing development in Viña del Mar, Limache, Villa Alemana, and Chorrillos where wealthy British families settled.

Following its independence and incorporation to world Capitalism, Chile needed a market that could absorb a large proportion of their exports, particularly, copper, wheat and nitrate. Chile also needed a market that could provide what it could not produce because of a weak national industry. Meanwhile, Britain, as an industrialized nation, produced and manufactured what Chile could not. These imports included mostly textiles, machinery and equipment used in different fields such as agriculture, mining and transportation. By 1890, Britain absorbed almost 70% of Chile's exports, and provided 1/3 of Chile's imports (Collier & Sater, p. 100).

The economic relationship between British merchants and Chilean capitalists was productive as Chile needed the goods and services provided by Britain. Moreover, Chile provided political stability, as well as an honest and educated bureaucracy which was essential to keep the relationship in good terms. Trading ties between Britain and countries such as Uruguay, Argentina, Chile or even Japan were extremely close. The common denominator of these relations was Britain's economic predominance, supplying the finished goods that undeveloped countries wanted, and providing a market for their produce. Britain was able to offer a vast range of goods, services and capital that were cheaper and more efficient than their competitors.

In 1854, the Chilean congress passed a law governing limited liability companies, which opened the way for the *Banco de Valparaíso* to open in 1855. Half of its board was British when it merged with other banks to form the *Banco de Chile*. British stock-ownership was considerable because they knew how to run banks and had good relations with wealthy Chileans. Credit was available from the wealthy, private banks associated with the Ossa and Edwards families or import-export houses, foreign and national. Chileans hired Britons in executive positions until the establishment of a British bank during the nitrate era. The British supported the first Chilean insurance company and British commission houses entered the field of business through agencies from companies at home.

Britons participated constructing and running all the railroads, financing some and acquiring shares in others. They also privately financed mining lines in the north, such as the lines in Copiapo-Caldera, Coquimbo, Carrizal and Cerro Blanco. Britons profited from chartering, insuring and repairing ships while Chileans could efficiently transport their goods, and this became a form of dependence. In all, Britons had no ambitions of land-ownership and were not interested in agriculture, but supplied modern equipment while processing agricultural produce. Industry was devoted to processing or repairing, and was later on boosted by the War of the Pacific.

### **The Role of the British Government**

The British government did not play a significant role in establishing British interests in Chile. In fact, they only acted to protect British subjects when they were discriminated against or suffered personal injustice (Pinochet Valdivieso, 2012). Commercial demands were limited; no active steps were taken in supporting the commercial operations of the “informal empire” because their *laissez-faire* policies in trade were enough encouragement for British entrepreneurs. Governmental relationships were confined to diplomatic relationships, and Santiago was not a popular destination for young diplomats. Even though some British merchants became members of the British Parliament on their return from Chile. These positions had no commercial importance in Chile. Relations between Chilean Britons and their

government did not result in the creation of policies; London authorities followed passive policies by default.

### **British Merchants and The Chilean Elite**

British merchant's investment in nitrate did not make a lasting impact in Chile. The British happened to influence Chilean society only incidentally. They preferred to invest in British business and their spare funds were used to support banks, insurance companies, established railways, and utility companies to influence their management. This restricted their role to organizing the import-export trade, and to supplying skills that were needed in modern sectors of the economy.

Due to profitable trade in agriculture and mining, Chileans controlled most of the joint-stock companies and now possessed money to invest. Members of the Chilean elite-landowning class admitted the newly rich, therefore creating a continuation of the social status quo. Governmental policies reflected a preference for the aristocratic elite, however, those who really benefited were the land-owning class. British investments in the modernization of sectors were large but selective, as they did not want any change in the hierarchical society they dominated. Chile carried on depending on foreign markets for mining produce, as it did before, even though it now consumed a great quantity of its agricultural production. The British contributed to the creation of this situation.

Additionally, the merchant community that controlled the economy did not want to create a national industrial capacity, so they refused to allow the development of local industries by withholding the necessary capital. However some secondary industries did develop during this period and the government increasingly aided new industries. British commitment to Chile was limited in terms of capital and time. They worked in the most modern sectors in the country, in collaboration with the local elite. The British linked Chile firmly with the world economy and helped in the modernization of sectors of the economy. Even though Britain kept the lion's share of the profits, the mass market in Chile was too small to hold up large-scale industry, the demands from industrial and mining workers remained too little to encourage investment.

Investors desired to adhere to mining, banking, insurance and railways because they knew these areas could get expert assistance and good profits.

### Trading houses in Valparaíso



*Figure 1.* Valparaiso del Recuerdo. (2019). Calle Blanco. Oficinas de Balfour y Cía en 1923 [Image]. Retrieved from [https://mobile.facebook.com/valparaisodelrecuerdo/photos/a.1109267702429333/2748326911856729/?type=3&source=54&\\_rdc=1&\\_rdr&refsrc=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F](https://mobile.facebook.com/valparaisodelrecuerdo/photos/a.1109267702429333/2748326911856729/?type=3&source=54&_rdc=1&_rdr&refsrc=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F)

*Figure 2.* Salazar, C (2013). Un singular inmueble histórico: La casa Gibbs, de la casa Gibbs [Image]. Retrieved from <https://urbatorium.blogspot.com/2013/12/un-singular-inmueble-historico-la-casa.html>

During the mid-nineteenth century, Valparaíso was considered the most important commercial centre in Latin America. Within the city, commercial houses or agencies were the great sustain of Valparaiso's economy.

*Williamson, Balfour & Cia* (pictured on the left) was one of the houses that were founded specifically to work with Chile, created by Williamson and David Duncan. Firstly, other houses were settled in Lima, while the rest were destined directly in Valparaiso, extending relationships with England, USA and Germany. Nonetheless, these commercial houses were not considered Chilean abroad, due to the fact that the origin of capital as well as their founders were foreign.

Characterized by their diverse businesses, some companies such as Gibbs and Hunts (as seen on the right) worked as bankers as well as commercial agents. This type of professional performance was born during the heyday of Chilean mining. From 1842, Valparaíso was the main focal point of nitrate production, in this city ships were loaded and transactions were carried out. The British had an active role in the commercialization of this mineral, providing credit to *Tarapaqueños* as well as to nitrate offices. Due to the great presence of Chileans in the port, there were about 11 nitrate companies in the city, Chilean capital increased by 28%. Nonetheless, the decrease of the price of nitrate had a huge impact on Chileans, who had to depart from Tarapacá a year before the War of the Pacific, which impacted our economic system in a negative way, as production percentages decreased to a 7% of the total production of the region.

In the scenario of the War of the Pacific, Chile lost a huge percentage of earnings, meanwhile British and German agencies were able to submit contracts of possessions under a good relationship with Peruvian authorities, and took power over many territories. In fact, in 1889, there were 17 nitrate offices that traded their actions to Great Britain.

To sum up, Chile was clearly an informal dominion which depended socially and politically on Britain. Merchants were influenced by the administrators of this empire, who served Chilean and British economies. This came to be through the development of economic undertakings and not through a formal British imperial process, which as a result left British

modernization having little effect on Chilean society. The ruling elite increased their wealth and power through collaboration with the Britons and the nitrate industry, and this allowed the continuation of 19th century patterns well into the next century.

#### 4.2.2 British Society in Valparaiso

Between 1850 and 1885, the British community had very clear roles and positions within Chilean society (Mayo, 1981). In this sense, it is important to bear in mind that the British community was very reduced. In fact, by 1865, there were only 3092 British citizens in Chile, most of them located in Valparaiso (39%) (Mayo, p. 104). By 1875, the British men in Valparaiso represented 43.3% of the colony's population in Chile. This scenario was due to the fact that most British workers lived in the same area they worked in. Because of their high positions and important levels of productivity within Valparaiso, British citizens were highly considered and respected by the Chilean authorities and politicians. In fact, when President Montt opened the *Bolsa Comercial*, a gathering place for businessmen, forerunner of a stock exchange, (a picture of this establishment is included below) at Valparaiso in 1858, he specifically celebrated the role of foreigners. (Mayo, 1981).



*Figure 3.* Biblioteca Nacional Digital de Chile. [Bolsa de Comercio de Valparaíso, 1864] [fotografía]. Sala Medina. [Image]. Retrieved from <http://www.bibliotecanacionaldigital.gob.cl/bnd/635/w3-article-331349.html>

### **Family life and Socialization in the British community of Valparaiso**

Within the British community, great importance was given to family life with the father having the role of authority in the group (Pinochet Valdivieso, 2012). Traditions and values (e.g. punctuality, good manners, etc.) were transmitted from generation to generation. One of the most characteristic features of British families was that of maintaining English as the language spoken at home.

Traditional foods acted as identity elements. Members of the British colony always kept the custom of gathering as a family every day to drink tea. They would have tea with scones, pancakes and bitter orange marmalade. However, they also had Chilean food, given the fact that most housemaids were Chilean and cooked native dishes. This demonstrates that even if they had strong British roots, they inevitably acquired Chilean traditions.

Spaces to socialize (church, school, sports clubs, etc.) allowed the British colony to have cohesion and endurance. Education was essential ; all schools required the use of English even in recesses, and had to adapt to the Chilean education model where students had to choose between studying humanities in Chile or going to study abroad in England.

The English Church united the British colony with masses encouraging Anglican devotion. Charity organizations were funded, such as the Guild Girls in which women would donate money to sustain a home for old British women who were sick or poor. The British Hospital in Valparaiso had free attention rooms for the poverty stricken. Sports were very important to British people. They introduced football, tennis, cricket, golf, athletics, hockey and other sports to Chile. Sports were encouraged in schools, where fields at the Sporting Club were leased to take students to train. Big companies supported sports and encouraged their employees to attend sport activities as social spaces.

Press media were fundamental for the construction of the identity and cohesion of the British colony. Each British home had to have a copy of *The South Pacific Mail* where



everything in relation to the members of the colony was published: births, deaths, christenings, social life, etc.

The British colony came together on several occasions during the year. The English society maintained values and cohesion by organizing diverse parties, for example, the queen's birthday was celebrated at the council's house. Saint Andrew's society gathered Scottish descendants in the region with the goal of promoting mutual aid between associates, spread a patriotic feeling, and cultivated Scottish art and literature.

The British settled in both *Cerro Alegre* and *Concepción* in Valparaiso first (which are portrayed below in this order). These hills began to have a very marked British identity (Prain, 2007; Pinochet Valdivieso, 2012). Thanks to their economic boom, British high society started to populate rural areas such as Viña del Mar. Once the construction of a railway was over in 1852, the number of tourists increased towards the hills and valleys of the Coast Mountain Range. Tourist *villas* can be traced in Limache, Quillota, Villa Alemana, Chorrillos, Olmué and Viña del Mar.



Figure 4 Chile del ayer. (2017). El habla de los porteños: Cerro Alegre 1900 [Image]. Retrieved from <https://web.facebook.com/ChiledelayerPaginaOficial/posts/889452451213629/>

Figure 5. Memoria Chilena, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. Cerro Concepción de Valparaíso, se ve una subida y casas, hacia 1890 [Image]. Retrieved from <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-581028.html>

It was common for British colony members to marry among each other; however, it became even more common for them to marry Chileans. In the beginning of the twentieth century, two types of British residents were distinguished in Valparaiso: those who arrived in the 19th century and stayed, and a floating population of British who lived in Valparaiso for a short period of time. Both groups allowed for the institutions they created to be kept alive.

Although the British community partially embraced the Chilean port culture of Valparaíso, migrants kept their traditions, language, and love for their homelands (Prain, p. 14). In order to knit ties between the British, migrant communities, several social institutions were created with the purpose of favoring the socialization between countrymen. Some of these institutions were the Anglican church of Saint Paul's, the Mackay School, and the British newspapers. It is because of these institutions that British cohesion, traditions and identity were maintained and preserved.

### **Landmarks of the British culture in Valparaiso**

The following section will briefly describe some of the most important landmarks of British culture in Valparaiso. This influence ranges from religion and education to social life and written press. Additionally, a number of pictures are included in order to show how these landmarks looked like during this period.

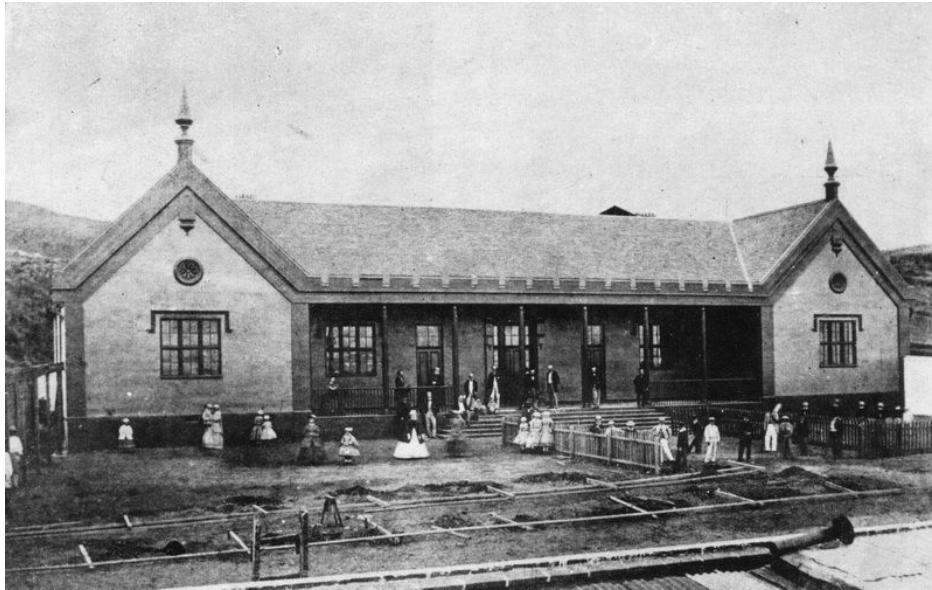
### Saint Paul's Cathedral



*Figure 6.* López, A. (2012). Iglesias de Valparaíso [Image]. Retrieved from <https://valpoiglesias.blogspot.com/2012/11/iglesia-anglicana-saint-paul.html>

Saint Paul's Anglican Church's construction in Valparaíso was a consequence of the imminent presence of Anglicans in the city. A religion that emerged due to the arrival of Britons, which signified an upcoming rupture of Catholicism as the only religion accepted in the country. Designed by William Lloyd (Prain, 2016), and built in 1858, Saint Paul's Church became a cornerstone of both the British and German communities in Valparaíso. Placed in the Cerro Concepción, it became fundamental for both communities to hold marriages and baptisms. Interestingly enough, this church was built before the existence of freedom of religion in Chile (1865). Besides being a distinctive institution of the Protestant community, it not only served for YMCA meetings, but also for debates and literary activities as well (Prain, 2007).

## The Mackay School



*Figure 7.* The Mackay School. Historia Mackay [Image]. Retrieved from <https://www.mackay.cl/historia/>

The migrant communities in Valparaíso taught their children to embrace and keep their cultures. It is for this reason that German, British, and French schools were built during the second half of the nineteenth century. Particularly, in 1857 the British community built the Artizan school which later was re-named as The Mackay School (portrayed in this picture as it looked in 1877). The type of education provided by The Mackay School was centered in arithmetic, languages, geography and grammar. This type of education was thought of as a way of preparing students to work for the various *Casas Comerciales* (trading houses) of Valparaíso. Throughout its various changes of names and principles, the Mackay School kept its focus on preparing students for middle class jobs with a particular focus on achieving social mobility.

## The British Social Clubs in Valparaíso

According to Prain (2007), Social Clubs in Valparaíso were fundamental for the socialization of the migrant communities in the city. There, members could share their language, costumes, traditions and interests (Prain, p. 28). The first British social club was the Union Club

(which is portrayed in the picture below) founded by fifty gentlemen in 1842. In 1883, a new club was founded by young, British citizens, and it was named the Junior Club, later renamed as the English Club. The English Club had a patriotic stance, and it was fundamental for the spreading of British culture through debating, reading and discussion. This patriotic stance was important not only for the spread of British ideas, but also for the spreading of these ideas among the Chilean community in Valparaiso.



*Figure 8.* Salazar, C. (2013). *Cómo pudo haber sido y cómo no fue el edificio del club de la Unión* [Image]. Retrieved from <https://urbatorium.blogspot.com/2013/12/como-pudo-haber-sido-y-como-no-fue-el.html>

### **Legacy of William Lloyd**



*Figure 9.* Juneyie, J. (2012). William Lloyd (engineer) [Image]. Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William\\_Lloyd\\_\(engineer\)#/media/File:William\\_lloyd.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Lloyd_(engineer)#/media/File:William_lloyd.jpg)

The importance of William Lloyd and his work in railways represent an illustrative case of an exchange of ideas and knowledge between Europe and America, through his work as engineer, architect and business consultant linked to civil work. His work favored connectivity, exchange and professional, as well as technical feedback. Additionally, it favored cultural exchange between countries and continents in an early period of globalization. Thus, his life and work categorizes Lloyd as an active agent of both development and modernization in Chile (Prain, 2016). For instance, the Valparaiso-Santiago railway stood as a symbol of union and strength among citizens; a combination of foreign science with national industry.



*Figure 10.* López, A. (2012). Iglesias de Valparaiso [Image]. Retrieved from <https://valpoiglesias.blogspot.com/2012/11/iglesia-anglicana-saint-paul.html>

Another important achievement in Lloyd's work is the construction of Saint Paul's cathedral (Prain 2007; Prain, 2016). It is a mixture between modernizing and maintaining tradition which captivated people's eyes, as he replicated patterns that were characteristic of England and Europe, providing a reflection of the European idiosyncrasy settled in Valparaíso. Besides, details such as the stained glass used are fundamental as they show a real commitment from Lloyd, since he was in touch with the cultural impact stained glass could evoke. The church is once again a product of science, progress and tradition, and it incarnates early globalization. It is certainly important to bear in mind that during this period, "Valparaíso played a key role in early globalization in the late nineteenth century, becoming a key locus for the circulation of goods, ideas and exchanges of modernity" (Burdach & Hayward, 2019: 189). Thus, Lloyd's work in both railroad and in architectural construction represents a key point of this connection between Europe and South-America, and of course, of the steady process of modernization of the "leading commercial port on the Pacific coast" (Burdach & Hayward, p. 189).

### **The British Press in Valparaíso**

According to Couyoumdjian (1987), regarding the number of newspapers created by foreign colonies in Chile, the British press occupies the second place, only behind the German colony (p. 185). The first British newspaper to be created in Valparaíso was *The Telegraph of Valparaíso*, in 1826, and secondly, *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, in 1827. As Burdach and Hayward (2019) state: "British newspapers developed hand in hand with the Chilean press" (p.

189). The *bourgeois* ideals spread by *El Mercurio de Valparaiso* were those of economic progress with a particular focus on mercantile, political, and literary matters.

The creation of British newspapers in Chile had as its main goal to cover and inform about the various activities and news related to their community and homeland. British newspapers in Chile played a significant role in the production, circulation and reception of information during the first decades of independence. Some of the British newspapers from this period are *The Chilian Times* (1876), *The Star of Chile* (1904), and *The South Pacific Mail* (1909).

According to Edmunson (2009), *The South Pacific Mail* was the “most famous, influential, and enduring of the newspapers published in English in Chile” (p. 243). Concerning the creation of this newspaper, Couyoumdjian (1987) explains that the first owner and editor of this newspaper was Henry Hill, a bright and educated Englishman. Moreover, he was very involved in the British community of Valparaiso, for instance, by taking part in the Anglican church of Saint Paul. Finally, *The South Pacific Mail* did not represent any political stance in particular, and was not financially supported by private individuals. It thus had “editorial independence, valued by both his owner and its readers” (Couyoumdjian, 1987: 185-6). Perhaps, this editorial independence favored the success that characterized this newspaper during its first years of existence. Within the first year, it would be issued in Chile, Bolivia and Perú. Regarding its success, Edmunson (2009) adds that by 1923, the South Pacific Mail would denominate itself as the “The official organ of the English-speaking communities in Chile and Bolivia” (p. 244).

During the first decade of its existence, Henry Hill was the main editor of the newspaper. By 1924, Osvald Hardy Evans had replaced Hill as the main editor of the newspaper (Couyoumdjian, 1987). Because of the lack of funds and staff, *The South Pacific Mail* could not compete with the Chilean newspapers, and so it kept its focus mainly on the matters of the British community in Valparaiso, for instance, marriages, christenings, deaths, sport events, and important social events.



Finally, concerning our research subject, Couyoumdjian (1987) explains that because of the lack of funds, *The South Pacific Mail* tried to represent the entire British colony, and as to Chilean political matters, it was “cautious, giving room for all sorts of opinions” (p. 190). As previously mentioned, the apparent “political neutrality” of the *South Pacific Mail* will be examined particularly in how the newspaper delivers and appraises Chilean strike-related news.

In the following section, we will briefly introduce the topic of the role of women’s work both within Chilean society and the Chilean labor movement. As we shall see, this topic is directly related to the Chilean labor movement, as well as to the appraisal done by British press in Chile.

#### 4.2.3 The role of women’s work within Chilean society



*Figure 11.* Gobierno de Chile, Ministerio de las Culturas, las Artes y el Patrimonio. Registros femeninos de propiedad intelectual en Chile (1886-1925) [Image]. Retrieved from [https://www.propiedadintelectual.gob.cl/623/w3-article-29201.html?\\_noredirect=1](https://www.propiedadintelectual.gob.cl/623/w3-article-29201.html?_noredirect=1)

#### **The Debate about Women’s work**

According to Catalán, Beer and Cardarelli (2009), research on the work of women in Chile has barely been developed in the last decade. Even though some investigations, such as Caffarena (1924), registered women’s work, only in the decade of the eighties an appropriate development of studies about women stemmed from various disciplines. The scope of ways in which women were studied expanded, questioning the imminently masculine character given to paid activities, which allowed us to understand female work participation as a lengthy

phenomena. Researchers from different disciplines confirmed the productive function of many domestic activities performed by women. A transference phenomena existed between women's supposed lack of domestic work and productive work (Carrasco, 1999 in Catalán, Beer and Cardarelli, 2009), while women performed the work that allowed working-class men to be fed, dressed and in condition to work and were not considered workers themselves (Davin, 1984 in Catalán, Beer and Cardarelli, 2009). The conception of reproductive and productive work as two separate spheres was questioned, activities with no pay developed in the domestic sphere were a necessary dimension of the work needed to reproduce socially. An investigation that reconstructs and analyzes the trajectory of reproductive, productive and voluntary work employed by women in Chile beginning in the last years of the XIX century until the end of the XX century was developed by the Women's Studies Center. Three periods in history were distinguished: 1880-1920, 1930-1973 and 1973-2000.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century the development and modernization of industrial production was promoted. In this context, the State and Society of Fabric Development (SOFOFA) employed working class females to develop small, productive, artisanal jobs while using rudimentary or primitive techniques: needle-work, weaving and domestic services. They felt that in order to take advantage of this workforce women should be instructed in modern techniques for the production of garments and fabrics. Catalán, Beer and Cardarelli (2009) observe that the data contained between the 1885 census and the 1907 census indicated a strong female presence in the textile industry, with women representing more than 80% of employees. Meanwhile domestic services was the second most important activity where women were employed.

Female presence in industrial establishments generated an important debate about women's work and the need for legislation. While the insertion of women in industrial production was encouraged by the State and industrial sectors, debates held by representatives of political parties, catholics and health professionals highlighted the serious threat this type of work posed to the reproductive capacities and domestic responsibilities they felt women owed to society. Catalán, Beer and Cardarelli (2009) affirm that the visibility women acquired in these

debates, in the first stages of industrial capitalism, manifested a conception that the exercise of certain paid activities in workplaces could harm the roles attributed to women. The presence of women in industries threatened their condition or potential to be mothers, which reflected the centrality of maternity as a mode of femininity which characterized discourse referring to working-class families. Female workers threatened patriarchal relations within the labor movement, putting women almost at the same level of men, as employees, as their presence heightened the pressure of dropping wages and threatened to undermine the “virility” of men in the labor movement.

### **The Emergence of Women in the labor Movement in Chile**

Working-class women faced harsh living conditions in the beginning of the 20th century. The lowering of female salaries promoted poverty and misery in Chilean families, as statistics demonstrated a considerable amount of these families were maintained by women. Lopez (2010) affirms women lived alienated in dismal houses, dealing with high child mortality rates and diseases, putting up with the precariousness and violence of everyday life, complying with the role of worker and home-owner, surviving this double oppression of the exploitation related to class and gender. Not being considered a citizen by society left women with no political or social rights.

Lopez (2010) states the growing quantity of working-class women in the public sphere was considered a problem by the Church and the State. Explained as part of a moral crisis, women’s presence in the workplace would mean family’s disintegration, vice and immorality. State policies prohibited children and women from night work, however the enforcement of these laws was up to business owners. The Catholic Church censored feminine work, but recognized that if they did work they should never neglect their traditional role. Women were made responsible for the evils of family and society, insisting that these things depended on her fulfilling her true role in a family as wife and mother.

Working-class women became objects of public discourse, sanctioned to stay in their place as wife and home-owner, having their sexuality and bodies controlled, while also being

forced to work precariously for low wages. According to Lopez (2010) entrepreneurs saw potential in their workforce and tried to take advantage of this new market, making men and women compete. Women's salaries were lower than men's, even if their work hours extended into domestic work, taking care of the kids and the house, essentially double shifts. Virtually having no rights, not even the capacity to vote, they were considered as inferior or incapable by the law, assimilated as minors. Surviving sexist violence, females were subordinated and considered inferior just because they were women.

Women's participation in the labor movement stemmed from these struggles, questions and tensions. It became hard to discuss their role as women, analyzing what society, the church and men said about them, most of all when this social construction had been imposed on them as what was natural. Apart from this, male workers felt threatened by the presence of women in the workplace, because it questioned their socially constructed model of masculinity, which ascribed males with the function of leader of the home and provider. This generated debates in labor organizations and unions who questioned if women should join them. Through the analysis of the categories of class and gender carried out by Lopez (2010), female worker exploitation under capitalism can be studied in this historical context, analyzing how the female workforce came to be associated with precariousness, high rates of exploitation and low salaries, articulated with the oppression they experienced as women as part of a system based on inequality, hierarchy and oppression.

Feminist press from the labor movement gave rise to newspapers which discussed these issues such as *La Alborada* in 1905, and *La Palanca* created in 1908. Both were created with the purpose of spreading working-class women's problems and ideas. Tensions in terms of their position within the labor movement arose while having to face the indifference and misogyny of their comrades. From the perspective of class relations, work exploitation is denounced and the burgesses were blamed for it. Even though these women were part of the labor movement, they also mentioned their own specific issues, which allowed a feminist awareness to develop in terms of their realization of the way they were oppressed by the State, by religion and even by

their own male comrades. Lopez (2010) states that after the 1920's feminism in the labor movement started dying down, but it prevailed in the organizations to come in the 1930's, such as the Pro-Emancipation Movement of Chilean Women. A multiplicity of voices and discourses about women's experiences, including the State and the church's, constituted the political, cultural and social scene at the time. We believe that by studying women's role in the labor movement in Chile we will be given a better comprehension of the problems, ideas and struggles women went through in the beginning of the 20th century.

After this enlightening section about the role of women's work within Chilean society and within the Chilean labor movement, we will proceed to present our theoretical framework.

## **5. Theoretical Framework**

### **5.1 Text and Audiences**

It is not possible to read the characteristics of an audience at the surface level of a text. All texts are used in context and genres; readers incorporate their socio-cultural background in the context of the text (Talbot, 2007). Therefore, in order to fruitfully engage with media discourse, it is not accurate to isolate either the audience of this text or the object of study, since the focus should be entailed in both of them. Regarding newspapers, the relation between texts and audiences is a field that lacks consistent research. It is highly important to take into account that audiences are able to provide meaning to the text as they pair it with their own socio-cultural background. In the case of our study, *The South Pacific Mail* plays the role of provider of information for a large number of citizens in Valparaíso concerning important issues that took place within and outside the country. The British community certainly formed a physical and cultural space, in which ideals and perceptions were entailed in order to maintain their European lifestyle. This study observes how this newspaper serves as an ideological tool in which lexical attitudes are used with the aim of introducing postures where the British align themselves with the world view, values and traditions of their own community.

## **5.2 Positioning, authority and erasure**

The relationship between text and audiences appears to be heavily linked with positioning, authority and erasure when it comes to “issues of power and hegemony relating to dialogism in media discourse more generally” (Talbot 2007). The main point, according to Talbot (2007), is that the personalization of case studies can be used productively, since the evaluative framing of voices and alignment in texts is highly important. This relates to our study in terms of alignment and evaluative arranging of voices by editors in *The South Pacific Mail* while reporting on certain events related to the Chilean labor movement in our analysis. Double-voicing and alignment in press reporting is raised as an issue, editorial teams align their voices, articulating views and catchphrases, implicitly endorsing others while those who they do not agree with are left to argue their own case, presenting them with no evaluative framing and ‘neutral’ reporting verbs. Talbot (2007) mentions that while dialogism is foregrounded in some reports, in other cases dialogism is suppressed. It is an important fact to consider in our study that press authors merge their own ideas with the ideas they agree with, double-voicing and alignment presents itself according to the interests of those who write, while at the same time authors distance themselves from the perspectives they do not agree with or consider.

## **5.3 Media Discourse**

### **5.3.1 Histories of Media Globalization**

Van Leeuwen and Machin (2007) make reference to the studies of sociologists and how they have demonstrated that news are composed of an odd set of institutional practices that must be understood in terms of their social and historical development. News and its associated practices, the organization of its institutions, its format and genre, all have their origins particularly in European and American culture. News agencies have been central to the global spread of news as a genre and also in terms of content, making the press the first global medium. Early nineteenth-century newspapers were an important vehicle of political communication, even if they did not yet separate between facts and comments. These early newspapers openly took sides in political issues and carried editorials on the front page in which debates with

correspondents were conducted that could last for days. Van Leeuwen and Machin (2007) remark the importance of three aspects in the development of news agencies to understand the development of global communication in general. These aspects are the close links they set between news and the global financial market, the journalism of information they originated with its routine devices and standardized formats that guaranteed facticity and credibility, and finally the way in which they catered to national propagandistic interests and international market-oriented interests.

Media Discourse is referred to by O’Keeffe (2011) as interactions that happen through a broadcast platform where discourse is directed to a non-present reader, listener or viewer. The author mentions it is key for the investigation of media discourse that written or spoken discourse is oriented to the readership, listening or viewing audience. It is necessary to consider the process by which media is manufactured. In this sense, Critical Discourse Analysis takes a critical stance in terms of media discourse, continually appraising what is consumed by us from our manufactured mass media. The linguistic analysis of newspaper media has often turned out sceptical, linguists tend to police subtle manipulations of language to twist reality. O’Keeffe (2011) mentions White’s (1997) findings of how journalists can claim to be neutral and objective by using formal language while circumscribing subjective interpersonal features in hard news reports, suggesting this impersonal register is a rhetorical scheme to obscure a reporter’s subjectivity. The author also points out how Biber et al. (1999) recognized the language of newspapers as part of the four most important registers in English, together with fiction, spoken conversation and academic writing and the importance of Swales’ (1990) ‘genre analysis’ of print media where its differences with other genres of language are described. Reah (2002) is mentioned by the author as characterizing a bottom-up influence of discourse, syntax and lexical choice on the construction and manipulation of meaning by using case studies from the press. Bednarek (2006) conducted a corpus-based study of evaluation in newspapers. Her quantitative analysis detailed her framework of evaluation and bias in newspapers. O’Keeffe (2011) states Critical Discourse Analysis offers great potential as a framework for analyzing newspapers, while mentioning that discourse about newspapers has not been studied collaboratively.

O’Keeffe (2011) makes reference to Van Dijk (2001) in defining CDA as a type of research that essentially studies the way dominance, inequality and abuse of social power are enacted, resisted and reproduced by texts in social and political settings. Critical studies of discourse are guided by problems of injustice, abuse of power, social class, race and gender. It is important for our analysis to consider van Dijk’s (2009) statements about how discourses produce and proliferate the social domination of one group over others and how dominated groups may resist that abuse discursively. The current widened availability of newspapers in digital format eases the assembly of corpora to reveal the persistent framing of events over a period of time, which is specially relevant for our study. The author refers to the participation framework present in written discourse, where an author or authors are present as the ones who broadcast through the written medium to readers, considering that the final product can be read at any time after it has been published. However, the present day study of media discourse and its participation frameworks are changing as all types of communication have opened up to a multitude of different opinions.

### **5.3.2 Media interactions**

O’Keeffe’s (2011) approach to media interactions focuses on the insufficiency of the dyadic model of interaction between speaker and hearer, and on the role of the audience. She proposes a participation framework where all media interactions happen between a presenter, one or more guests and an audience. The media interaction is only a culmination of the interactions between producers, researchers and interviewers. Additionally, participation frameworks can take place in television, social media and written media which will affect the interaction in terms of how the message is packaged differently in each case. A framework based on Pragmatics and an interactional analysis can emphasize the interplay of power semantics, on how power can be downplayed, challenged or redressed. Corpus linguistics allows us to look at data in its totality and see consistent patterns of use. The language we use in media interactions encodes indexical socio-cultural information that draws on and reinforces the property of the participation framework, and they can only be investigated adequately by using different methodological tools to adapt to different aspects.



### **5.3.3 Pronouns as indices of audience identity**

O’Keeffe (2011) states researchers agree on pronoun use being non-canonical in nature, while noting that Wales (1996) asserted that because they have a wide variety of social roles, interpersonal pronouns are hardly ever neutral in their reference. In media interactions in established participation frameworks speakers make systematic choices when referring to themselves, their world and others in it in relation to what is not. Pronouns chosen by speakers in media interactions are an index of socio-cultural identity that can be studied.

### **5.3.4 Deictic mapping: centring and othering**

According to O’Keeffe (2011) pronouns can either refer to centring (me, we, us) or othering (they, those, them). When applying this notion to media discourse, it is affirmed that one can make assertions based on deictic markers as indices of context at a societal level, especially in terms of how a presenter or audience collectively position themselves in relation to others politically, socially and interactionally within a participation framework. Positioning is normally associated with power semantics in dyadic interactions, where footing, alignment and framing are linked. Additionally, a large number of encodings of enmity and otherness are to be found in media interactions.

### **5.3.5 Self-reference**

O’Keeffe’s (2011) approach employed the identification of self-reference tokens as a strategy since they provide additional indicators of identity, marking self-definition and positioning, which allows one to examine the language participants use to position themselves politically, socially and interactionally. O’Keeffe (2011) sustains that the central position within any participation framework is collaboratively negotiated over time and indicates a collective identity. Media promotes identities in audiences by representing their positions. Underlying identities and antagonisms are created in the way we use pronouns to refer to others, categories are arranged according to shared assumptions about the cultural range of co-participation in terms of vague categorization, self-reference and indexical information. It is clear that media

interactions do not take place in an ethereal vacuum, but are grounded in social space and driven by shared knowledge and a sense of common identity.

### **5.3.6 The search for Identity**

Van Leeuwen and Machin (2007) focused on two major Models of identity. One model is imposed by nation states, reinforced in national news media, education systems and other national institutions and determines people primarily as citizens. The other model obeys the interest of global corporations, and it is spread through global media and marketing practices and determines people primarily as consumers. These two models are discourses that are characterized by practices that have consequences in macro and micro contexts, regarding policies of nation states and global corporations and practices all consumers have to take part in. According to Van Leeuwen and Machin (2007), social actor analysis in terms of the power of the nation state allows us to analyze expressions that often categorize people. There are three types of identification: classification, relational identification and physical identification. Classification defines identity in terms of classes of people within a society, they are historically and culturally variable and respond to the interests of institutions that promote them. Relational identification refers to identity as to culturally specific relations to each other, as a friend, aunt, colleague, etc. Physical identification constructs identity in terms of limited and specific physical characteristics of specific groups of people, for example, redhead or black. Some classifications are designed to service the needs of nation states and national institutions in order to spread a coherent sense of nationality despite the diversity that has risen from immigration. All forms of national identity revolve around race and a shared history. The nation state classifies people in terms of what they are. This form of identity can not be chosen or changed and the further away it is from the category of white British the more the consequences of its power will be felt in the public and private spheres.

### **5.3.7 Identity and corporate power**

The classifications pointed out by Van Leeuwen and Machin (2007) when analyzing press articles include a changeable set of identity features, co-defining identity in terms of consumer behaviour above all other features. Today self-representation is used to convey lifestyle identities rather than given social identities although some groups still adhere to the traditional. Since lifestyle combines individual and social style, these groups have been thought of as interpretive communities. If the definition of speech communities is extended to non-linguistic modes of communication, such as readers of newspapers or magazines, the involvement of an audience is articulated through patterns of consumption, accessories, bodily disposition and social behavior. Should the producers of the magazine or newspaper be included we would see these propositions are designed by a hierarchically organized institution which regulates and shapes these ideas in strategic ways. The means we use to express lifestyle rest on composites of connotation and contradictions that are typical of the way lifestyle models are portrayed. Consumption and consumer goods are crucial for the expression of lifestyle identities. Lifestyles are propagated to serve the interests of powerful social institutions who keep records of people's identities through market surveys, purchase information, etc.

Following this section devoted to Global Media discourse and its study, we will present the center of our theoretical framework. This section will be constituted by an introduction to discourse analysis, and, most importantly, to the Appraisal theory of Martin and White (2007).

## **5.4 Discourse Analysis**

To begin with, it is important to state that there is not a single, universally-accepted definition of what is discourse analysis, or even what is understood as 'discourse'. There are several definitions of 'discourse', all of which rely on the approach that comprises it. Certainly, this evolving field has broadened into other disciplines, adapting to the necessities of each area. Particularly, in linguistics several definitions of the word 'discourse' may be found. According to Schiffrin, Tannen & Hamilton (2013), these definitions can be divided into three large categories: (1) anything beyond the sentence, (2) language use, and (3) a broader range of social

practice that includes nonlinguistic and nonspecific instances of language. (p. 1). Thus, deciding on one particular definition of ‘discourse’ will depend on what approach is undertaken to do research. For instance, for Jaworski and Coupland (2006) discourse is “language use relative to social, political and cultural formations -it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order and individual’s interaction with society” (p.3). On the other hand, Nunan (1993) understands discourse as “the interpretation of the communicative event in context” (p. 6). Finally, Cook (1989) defines discourse as “stretches of language perceived to be meaningful, unified, and purposive” (p. 156). It is clear that there are different conceptions of discourse, and therefore, of discourse analysis. In our opinion, the growing popularity of this field can be reflected in the number of definitions and conceptions of both ‘discourse’ and discourse analysis. Morgan (2010) defines discourse analysis as “an umbrella term for the many traditions by which discourse may be analyzed.” (p. 1). Particularly, we understand ‘discourse’ as “a broad conglomeration of linguistic and nonlinguistic social practices and ideological assumptions that together construct power or racism” (Schiffrin, Tannen & Hamilton, 2013: 1).

Morgan (2010) discusses six different traditions that have been identified within discourse analysis and these are: conversation analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, discursive psychology, critical discourse analysis, Bakhtinian research, and Foucauldian research. As Fernandez (2018) argues “The use of one DA theory instead of another depends upon the nature of the data and of the study.” (p. 4). Particularly, our dissertation follows the critical discourse analysis theory. In the following section, we will briefly describe the systemic functional linguistics method, and then we will proceed to describe CDA.

#### **5.4.1 Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis**

According to Matthiessen (2012), Systemic functional linguistics “grew out of an effort to develop an applicable kind of linguistics, starting with the work by M.A.K. Halliday in the 1950s and drawing on functional and anthropological approaches to language in Europe and North America from the 1920s onwards.” (p. 436). Certainly, this “applicable” approach is a powerful tool which intends to provide the resources of linguistics to solve real world problems. Thus, this activity is not only a matter of reflection but particularly of action. Furthermore,

Matthiessen (2012) adds that: “applied linguistics constitutes the synthesis position bringing theory and application together in dialogue” (p. 436). In other words, in this approach both theory and action go hand in hand in the solving of different problems related to language.

Halliday described three key metafunctions of his SFL theory and these are ideational function, interpersonal function and textual function. The first function refers to the possibility of speaking about the world or about your subjective insight through the resources of language. Secondly, interpersonal function refers to the possibility of building and maintaining social relationships because of and through language. Finally, the textual function refers to the fact that information is organized in a coherent and unified way. Regarding the SFL model, Cheng and Chiu (2018) claim that it: “conceptualizes language as a set of systems from which users make choices to create meanings in a social context to achieve specific communicative functions” (p. 100). About this point, Fernández (2018) explains that sharing one’s point of view, pointing out our goals or explaining your daily routine are indeed language in context, and therefore, worth studying. Additionally, Garcia, Sagre & Lacharme (2014) state that: “SFL studies language in context in terms of field, tenor, and mode. Field refers to the subject matter of discussion at any situation. It answers questions such as “what is going on in the text,” and “what are people doing” (p. 106). On the other hand, ‘tenor’ refers to the relationships and roles of the people involved in a social situation. Finally, ‘mode’ refers to the channel of communication used. Regarding the relationship between these batteries of concepts, Cheng and Chiu (2018) state the following: “the field variable of discourse is related to ideational resources, while the tenor variable relates to interpersonal resources, and the mode variable relates to textual resources” (p. 100). In a nutshell, Fernández (2018) states that: “For SFL scholars, text is understood as the way through which a culture unfolds in its social context.” (p. 5).



Following this, Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was born from this interaction between systemic functional linguistics and critical linguistics. According to Matthiessen (2012): “CDA is one of a number of specialized, or special-purpose, kinds of discourse analysis; and the “critical” aspect is one of a number of important strands within an applicable and socially accountable kind of discourse analysis” (p. 443). In this sense, CDA takes a critical stance in which the role of hegemony (as understood by Marx and Gramsci) and solidarity between oppressed people plays a key role in the action itself of doing research. As Chen (2018) affirms, “Language and social institutions are inseparable” (p. 966).

#### **5.4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis**

According to Fairclough (1992), Critical discourse analysis is an approach toward the amalgamation of language studies and social theory. Morgan (2010) adds that it “is an interdisciplinary field that includes linguistics, semiotics and discourse analysis” (p. 3). Fairclough (1995) defined three dimensions to critically analyze discourse: text, interaction, and social context. Firstly, ‘text’ includes the linguistic features such as grammar and vocabulary, and the organization of discourse (i.e. cohesion and coherence). Secondly, according to Hashemi and Ghanizadeh (2012) ‘interaction’ refers to “rules, norms, and mental models of socially accepted behavior” (p. 38). Finally, ‘social context’ refers to the context in which a text is embedded and how it shapes it. Thus, according to this approach, it is impossible to analyze a text without taking into account its context (Morgan, 2010). Moreover, one of the main objectives of this approach is to unmask ideologies found both within and without the text. In other words: “to unmask ideologically permeated and often obscured structures of power, political control, and dominance, as well as strategies of discriminatory inclusion and exclusion in language in use” (Wodak, 1992; as cited in Hashemi and Ghanizadeh, 2012). Therefore, in this approach, it is of paramount importance to shed light on the complex relationships between discourse, power, ideology and dominance. Because of its interdisciplinary nature, it is possible to use this approach in the analysis of various disciplines, for instance, law, education, and as in this case, media. According to Van Dijk (2012), the purpose of researchers doing critical discourse analysis is to “understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality” (p. 352).

Hence, in this sense, by resorting to this approach, applied linguistics becomes a tool with not only linguistic purposes but especially social ones. Regarding this, Chen (2018) states that CDA pays close attention to the reception of discourse by society. Additionally, Van Dijk adds that CDA is not another method for doing discourse analysis, but it is rather a new perspective of conceiving language as a situated tool. In this sense, this new approach becomes a powerful tool that is inherently politicized, and thus aligns itself with the marginalized groups that are dominated, for instance, by language. Certainly, this point of view is shared by us, and it is consistent with our object of study and our research objectives. As Van Dijk (2012) states, “CDA focuses primarily on social problems and political issues” (p. 353). Additionally, Morgan (2010) adds that “critical discourse analysis shows how ‘elites’ play a prominent role in reproducing dominant discourses.” (p. 3). Without doubt, that is a point that we intend to analyze and discuss in this dissertation. As Van Dijk (2001) states: “CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society”. (p. 353). In order to fulfill our aims, we can, for example, study the ways in which discourse structures are displayed in the production and reproduction of social dominance. This point shall be discussed into more detail in the following pages, once the appraisal theory is presented. Finally, CDA aims to bridge the gap between language (micro-level) and power and politics (macro-level), two levels that appear to be separated, but that are closely related to one another (Rubtcova, 2016), as we shall see and discuss.

### **5.5 Appraisal Theory**

To analyse the corpus we have gathered, we will be using J. R. Martin and David Rose’s Appraisal theory (2007), which will help us understand how a text is constructed on the base of a series of parameters that compose certain attitudes within a text. Martin and Rose (2007) explain that attitudes: “Have to do with evaluating things, people’s character and their feelings. Such evaluations can be more or less intense, that is they may be more or less amplified. And the attitude may be the writer’s own or it may be attributed to some other source.” (p. 26). As a result, these parameters contribute to measuring the values the author has assigned to his message. In this way, we can understand how he relates to the text, and therefore, to us, the



readers. In this sense, discourse is viewed as “negotiation” (Martin & Rose, 2007; Jirasataporn, 2018).

Attitudes, then, will refer to the content embedded in the text that indicates how someone feels about a particular person, event or object. Appraisal is concerned with “evaluating the types of attitudes that are negotiated in a text; the strength of the feelings involved, and the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned” (Martin & Rose, 2007: 25). Within the Appraisal theory, attitudes can be amplified or hedged, thus, attitudes are gradable depending on how the author feels about one particular thing, person, or feeling, therefore, these attitudes can be ranked from high grading to low grading. Additionally, sources within a text can express their attitudes toward particular subjects as well, and thus, it is necessary to bear in mind whether it is the actual source talking or if it is being quoted by the author.

According to Martin and Rose (2007), there are three main types of attitudes, and they define them as follows: “Technically we refer to resources for expressing feelings as affect, resources for judging character as judgement and resources for valuing the worth of things as appreciation.” (p. 28). It is important to remark that according to the authors, only one of the attitudes can occur at a time. Thus, in summary, in the Appraisal model three types of attitudes can be found; these attitudes can be amplified and hedged, and finally, the source is fundamental to analyze what is the purpose behind assigning one particular feeling to one particular element.

Appraisal resources are used to establish the tone or mood of a passage of discourse, as choices resonate with one another from one moment to another as a text unfolds. The pattern of choices is thus ‘prosodic’. They form a prosody of attitude running through the text that swells and diminishes, in the manner of a musical prosody. The prosodic pattern of appraisal choices constructs the ‘stance’ or ‘voice’ of the appraiser, and this stance or voice defines the interrelationship between appraiser and reader/audience and his discursal intention. In other words, as texts unfold, they try to move us in different ways, to form different kinds of relationships with us, to interact with us strategically (Jakaza & Visser, 2016). A point shared by

Jirasataporn (2018) who stated that: “reading comprehension does not only require the ability to understand and gain meaning from what has been read, but also the ability to extract and construct meaning through what the writer intended to convey in writing” (p. 171). Bednarek (2006) makes a very interesting point when answering the question as to why study ‘evaluation’ (here referred to as ‘appraisal’): “Our short-term evaluations may then turn into long-term values, which are as important to our lives as our beliefs. Our values arguably determine to a large part who we are personally, which path of life we choose to take, and which friendships we form.” (p. 4). In other words, the preconceptions we have about things might become our beliefs, and thus, it is important to study one of the main sources of our information and preconceptions: newspapers (Tehseem et al. , 2020). Therefore, critical discourse analysis becomes a powerful tool to analyze what shapes our beliefs and minds, and certainly Appraisal is “one of the major discourse semantic resources construing interpersonal meaning” (White and Martin, 2003). As Kazemian and Hashemi (2014) summarize: "Discourse shapes the way people think and the linguistic features are vehicles which carry ideologies and perceptions of the social world" (p. 1180). Thus, for our particular research topic, the appraisal theory will be fundamental as it helps to “research the language by which speakers express ideological positions, explicit and implicit value patterns in ‘objective’ texts, and correlations between parameters of appraisal/evaluation” (Bednarek, 2006: 32). Furthermore, we agree with Bednarek (2006), when she summarizes the importance of the appraisal theory as follows: “It reveals the significance of context and the interpersonal character of evaluation as well as the communicative importance of evaluation itself.” (p. 31). Certainly, the discussion of political and socioeconomic aspects in discourse analysis is of paramount importance, some even argue that it is of: “overwhelming importance in an overall account of the media” (Bednarek, 2006: 12). In this sense, both the context in which the text was produced and the context itself of the newspaper in question are relevant for a holistic overview of the topic at hand. As Tehseem et al. (2020) state, the particular system of attitudinal positioning used by a particular author is “shaped by the particular cultural and ideological situation in which it operates” (p. 676), thus, by interpreting our corpus in context, we shall be able to identify how the texts might have been biased by their context of production.

Without doubt, the resources provided by this theory will allow us to properly discuss and answer our research questions, and of course, to discuss the relationship between language, ideology and power. In the following subsection the three main types of attitudes will be discussed into more detail.

### 5.5.1 Attitudes

#### 5.5.1.1 Affect

According to the appraisal theory, people can express two different types of feelings: positive and negative. The first refers to good feelings whereas the latter refers to bad feelings. Also, feelings can be expressed either directly or indirectly, thus, being implied. According to the authors, reading out of context can mislead the reader, but when text is interpreted in context, feelings can be appraised and analyzed, even when they have to be implied, for instance, in a metaphor. Martin and Rose (2007) state that direct and implicit feelings constantly work together in the construction of meaning in context.

Positive		<i>Loved</i>
Negative		<i>Cried</i>
Explicit	Emotional state	<i>Hopeful</i>
	Physical expression	<i>Jumping with happiness</i>
Implicit	Extraordinary behaviour	<i>Punched the wall</i>
	Metaphor	<i>Angry as a bull</i>

**5.5.1.2 Judgement**

Martin and Rose (2007) define the second type of attitude as follows: “As with affect, judgements of people’s character can be positive or negative, and they may be judged explicitly or implicitly. But unlike affect, we find that judgements differ between personal judgements of admiration or criticism and moral judgements of praise or condemnation.” (p. 32). In other words, personal judgments can be positive (admiring) or negative (criticizing), and they can be made either directly or indirectly. Secondly, moral judgments can be positive (praising) or negative (condemning). According to Tehseem et al. (2020), this is the: “main kind of attitude expressed in news reporting” (p. 676). A point of view that we are yet to share or refute.

		Explicit	Implicit
Personal	(Positive) Admire	<i>Smart</i>	<i>She was the president of a huge company.</i>
	(Negative) Criticize	<i>Coward</i>	<i>He is no longer what he used to be.</i>
Moral	(Positive) Praise	<i>Truthful</i>	<i>Everybody went to him for advice.</i>
	(Negative) Condemn	<i>Unjust</i>	<i>The government clearly shows that second class citizens do exist</i>

**5.5.1.3 Appreciation**

Finally, we can state that ‘appreciation’ refers to how we feel about things whereas ‘affect’ refers to how we feel about people, and ‘judgement’ refers to how we feel about their behavior. As with the first and second attitude discussed, ‘appreciation’ can be positive or negative, and they can be made either directly or indirectly.

According to Martin and Rose (2007), sometimes it is difficult to draw a line between ‘judgement’ and ‘appreciation’, and thus they suggest to: “take co-text into account, rather than analysing simply item by item.” (p. 40). In other words, it is important to read in context (taking into account adjacent words) rather than analyzing item by item in isolation, a point shared by Bednarek (2006). By doing so, we could clearly draw a line between, for example, judging someone’s behavior and someone’s skills.

Positive	<i>Stunning</i>
Negative	<i>Dull</i>

### 5.5.2 Graduation

It is important to bear in mind that attitudes can be amplified or hedged by different resources (Martin & White, 2005). Martin and Rose (2007) explain two types of resources for amplification, and they define them as following: “The first is for ‘turning the volume up or down. These include words that intensify meanings, such as ‘very’, ‘really’, ‘extremely’, and vocabulary items that include degrees of intensity, such as ‘happy’, ‘delighted’, and ‘ecstatic’. We refer to this kind of amplifying as *force*. The second kind involves ‘sharpening or ‘softening’ categories of people and things, using words such as ‘about’ and ‘exactly’, ‘real’ and ‘sort of’, and ‘kind of’. We refer to this kind of amplifying as *focus*.”

#### 5.5.2.1. Force

Within the category of ‘force’, two subcategories are to be found: ‘intensifiers’ and ‘attitudinal lexis’. The first concept refers to words that are used to amplify the force of attitudes (e.g. ‘very’, ‘really’, ‘extremely’). Intensifiers allow us to compare things; one element is the best when compared to another one. The second concept, ‘attitudinal lexis’ refers to words that: “include degrees of intensity, such as happy/delighted/ecstatic.” (Martin & Rose, 2007: 44).

They are referred to as lexis because they are content words ‘with attitudes’, unlike the previous category of grammatical words.

**5.5.2.2. Focus**

Martin and Rose (2007) define ‘focus’ as follows: “focus is about resources for making something that is inherently non-gradable gradable.” (p. 46). Focus is used to sharpen and soften the boundaries between words; boundaries that at first appear to be ‘clear’ and ‘definitive’.

For example, Martin and Rose (2007) include the following example to make their point: “*Real* policeman sharpens the focus, *a sort* of policeman softens it” (p. 46). In the previous example, the expressions ‘real’ and ‘sort of’ modify ‘policeman’, and virtually turn it into a word that can be graded. Another example is ‘deep blue’ and ‘bluish’. In this case, ‘blue’ is the modified element with the contrast between a ‘sharp’ blue (deep), and a ‘softer’ one (bluish).

Graduation	Force	Intensifiers Attitudinal lexis Metaphor Swearing	<i>He is amazing</i> <i>Torn to pieces</i> <i>Burning red</i> <i>Fuck!</i>
		Raise Lower	<i>Incredibly</i> <i>Somewhat</i>
	Focus	Sharpen Soften	<i>Definitely</i> <i>Sort of</i>

**5.5.3 Sources of attitudes**

The last dimension of appraisal theory to be discussed is the source of attitudes, the source of where the evaluations come from. While in the narrative of a text we might have the voice of only the author, and narrator, referring to a mono gloss text, or single voice, we can also have multiple voices, an heteroglossic text.

This usage of multiple voices within a text, or heterogloss, works with three simultaneous parameters: projection, modality, and concession. This system as a whole, according to Martin and Rose (2007), is called engagement.

When dealing with these additional voices then, first we have projection, which comes in place when we report on what someone else says or thinks. Moreover, when projecting, we might quote directly what was said, or paraphrase it, but always stating rather clearly what the source of this voice is. For example, we might find speech markers such as “he said”, “she thought that”, “they knew”; we call these “projecting clauses”. However, we can also find projection within those clauses, when we report on more than one source, for example, in the expression “he knew that John said that dad wished for a better idea”. We can observe and analyze the source of the source, giving a text more layers of complexity and depth. As such, we call this “projecting within clauses”. Also, another source of projection, is when we “name the speech act” from where the source is located, often dividing sentences to provide such. For example, reporting from a letter, a speech, or a broadcast. Finally, we have “scare quotes”, referring to the use of punctuation marks to denote when we are using other people’s words and sentences.

Besides projection, we have a second parameter of engagement, called modality. This parameter aids us in a way similar to graduation, since it provides additional voices in the form of polarity, or the space between the positive end of the spectrum of a word, and the negative spectrum, in other words, the intermediate space between the absolute yes, and the absolute no. Halliday (1994) describes five types of modality, those being usuality, probability, obligation, inclination, and at last, ability.

To begin with, usuality, as the name implies, refers to how often an event takes place, or how usual it is. This grading uses markers such as “always”, “often”, “sometimes”, “never”. Then, we have probability, stating how probable an event is, this parameter makes use of the markers “is” or “is not”, “must”, “should”, or “might”. On the third place, we have obligation, or how someone or something is required to act, this scale uses words like “do” or “do not”, and

“must”, “should”, as well as “could”. Furthermore, we have inclination, which deals with how one can lean towards one belief, or another, about a certain thing or topic. And finally, we have ability, referring to the voice’s capacity of being able to do a particular thing, in this case, we use the markers “can” or “cannot”.

The third, and last criteria of engagement, is concession, and it is concerned directly with the reader’s interaction with the text, since it operates with the expectancy of the reader as it reads through the text. As Martin and Rose (2007) state “[it] has to do with the way it tracks readers’ expectations, adjusting them as her story unfolds” (p. 56). Consequently, we have words that directly counter what has just been said, such as “but”, “however”, or “nonetheless”. Therefore, it can be said that this idea measures how expected or unexpected certain parts of a text can be.

All in all, and as stated before, all of these standards work simultaneously to compose the engagement system of the appraisal theory, including depth and complexity to the narrative of a text by identifying, analyzing, and describing the additional voices found in it.

Following this presentation of the Appraisal theory, we will proceed to present our methodology.

## **6. Methodology**

### **6.1 Method**

It is of our deep interest to study the way editors from the British Colony in Valparaiso who wrote in *The South Pacific Mail* during the twentieth century appraised events related to the labor movement according to Martin and Rose’s Appraisal Theory. By analyzing the attitudes in their discourses through appraisal, we can discern how the authors positioned themselves, their identity within hierarchies and how they perceived inequality while reporting on protests and strikes. The methods utilized to undertake this investigation will be described in this section.



To undertake this investigation we have chosen a mixed research approach because of its combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches. One may say the object of study possesses objective reality, but it is also subjective according to Hernandez, Fernandez and del Pilar (2010) in the way that it is composed of a vast amount of different realities, as different researchers perceive various distinct meanings, which at the same time are created by interactions, and unique experiences. Many phenomena and problems are so complex and diverse that only one approach tends to be insufficient to deal with their intricacy. Creswell (2005) has stated that mixed designs can obtain a greater variety of perspectives. The mixed method approach which we will utilize therefore confronts the differences between various theories and manages to link the results obtained from separate methods.

There are specific questions we asked ourselves in terms of developing our investigation using a mixed method research approach. In the beginning we wondered if our quantitatively measured results would converge with our final qualitative results, aiding our explanation of our research questions. We also wondered if the specific context of this time period would influence the editor's intentions in *The South Pacific Mail*, which categories of Appraisal would stand out in their discourse, and which specific attitudes could be manifested by these linguistic expressions. Qualitatively we thought about the possible perspectives or ideologies expressed by the editors choice of words and what these attitudes might express. We will use both quantitative and qualitative approaches to guide our analysis and measure results from the perspective of Martin and Rose's (2008) Appraisal theory. We believe this will reveal the different ways authors of *The South Pacific Mail* appraise the Workers' movement in Valparaiso, blending both strategies in Mixed Methods research approach.

Unexpectedly, while gathering information during the year 2020, we faced a situation during our investigation where we had to deal with a lack of access to resources because of the Coronavirus pandemic. Our ability to retrieve data from historical records that could only be accessed in person inside Libraries and Museums was hindered by this situation, but we were able to overcome these difficulties by accessing a full online issue of the 1925 edition of *The South Pacific Mail* to work with. We selected the year 1925 as a time frame after some

discussions in terms of the relevance of historical context during this period, as the relationship between Chile and Great Britain was going through various social and economic circumstances. The year 1925 is when our selected articles from *The South Pacific Mail* were published. Being aware of this time period allowed us to investigate the stance the British written press in Valparaiso had on Chilean political and cultural issues. Through a linguistic analysis of the attitudinal words employed by the editors of this newspaper referencing the Chilean labor movement, hierarchical relationships prevailing at the time are revealed, as well as societal problems in terms of deplorable male and female working conditions, and events such as strikes and protests in response. We wondered how the convergence of these cultural phenomena influenced the intention of the authors of the news articles from *the South Pacific Mail*, and how our analysis can describe and characterize their experiences in reference to Chilean social movements. We seek to observe their reflections through an analysis of the lexico-grammatical elements that reveal attitudes in their speech.

This investigation focuses on a specific group news articles, considering historical background and linguistic analysis as the major components in this investigation. Our specific material of investigation are newspaper issues that we have been able to access, which we analyzed in depth, later conducted analysis according to attitudinal categories and discussed the results acquired. To summarize, we gathered information about British newspapers of Valparaiso and identified the sociocultural context of the Parliamentary period. After this we analyzed how the elements found in the reports made by editors in *The South Pacific Mail* provided us with evaluative meanings in strike related news articles. Through the analysis of these lexico-grammatical items in graphs and tables, we were able to later discuss what these news articles could elucidate about identity, positioning and attitudes towards the labor movement in Chile.

## 6.2 Corpus

The corpus of our study is contained within eight newspaper articles which were thoroughly analyzed for the purposes of our investigation. The first edition of *The South Pacific Mail* was published on the 6th of November in 1909 by Henry A. Hill. This newspaper was described as a commercial enterprise that did not represent a political or specific group and was not subsidized. Its motto was “Unity, Progress and Prosperity”, implying unity within the British community would bring forth progress and prosperity. Osvald Hardey Evans became a permanent figure in *The South Pacific Mail*, starting around 1917, becoming main editorialist in 1924. This newspaper developed a position as spokesman of the British community in Chile and connected residents through its information about the British community while also commenting on important events in Great Britain.

According to our research purposes, the news articles selected consist of eight pieces of news set in different months during the year 1925 in reference to the Chilean Labor movement. These eight representative pieces of news depict the way social issues were appraised by the authors and editors of *The South Pacific Mail*. We used a sampling strategy guided by purpose to select these articles, which means they were chosen subjectively. This implied skimming through a great number of articles contained within the 1925 edition of *the South Pacific Mail* and selecting a relatively small number of articles which were related to our topic of interest in order to study these cases intensively. This type of sampling allowed us to select the articles that mattered the most in order to extract meaningful information in terms of attitudinal elements. We had in mind that these sampled pieces of news had to be analyzed according to categories of Appraisal in order to review their attitudes. After these articles were officially selected, they went through a scanning process through the software “OCR: ABBYY Reader” in order for them to be digitized into Word documents. Following the process of conversion into digitized documents, these eight different news articles became our corpus, where we would extract quantitative data after lexico-grammatical elements were analyzed in terms of attitudinal markers. Elements of attitude were displayed in tables and graphs to obtain our initial quantitative results aiding our qualitative interpretation and explanation of the data collected.

Our final discussion was informed by our initial quantitative results. Both quantitative and qualitative results were integrated while establishing our final report.

It was important for us to take into account how the context of each of these articles signified that the report contained within them was influenced by political or sociocultural issues. "The Political Situation in Chile" is a journalistic piece of news that gives us vast insight towards both the political and social challenges Chile was facing in the 1920's as well as to how British editors perceived these matters. President Alessandri's visit to the city of Valparaíso highlights good political relations between the Chilean President at the time and British authorities within the city. The piece of news titled "Strike in the Nitrate Region" refers to the multiple demonstrations that took place in Iquique while President Alessandri was visiting Valparaíso, and the author's opinion on this subject is expressed explicitly towards the end of the news article. "End of Nitrate Railway Strike" refers to a previous event where several strikes happened in the north of the country and mentions a meeting between working men and railway authorities which marked the end of the conflict. Within the piece of news "British Women Delegates to League" the author refers to those who are protesting against a lack of female representation within the League of Nations, making special reference to the resentment and discomfort felt by all who participated in this demonstration because no women were appointed to the new commission investigating slavery.

Within "Cheaper Housing for the People" the protests against rising rent prices in Valparaíso are addressed, mentioning the importance of the Governmental Junta which was developed in order to improve the challenging economic scenario that these high prices put citizens in. "Public Protest Against Increased Patentes" discusses the movement sustained by horse-drawn vehicle owners due to the doubling of the cost of their licenses. This situation is reported to be aggravated due to the drought that threatens their community. "The Demand for Reform in National Education" makes reference to the critical circumstances in which educational centres were intended to function; a severe economic crisis that affected less privileged families and prevented thousands of children from attending school and participating inside classrooms properly, this demand emerged once the Chilean Government established

mandatory primary education. When it comes to “The Presidential Visit to Valparaíso”, this piece of news focused on Arturo Alessandri’s presidential visit to Valparaiso, who returns to the country after his exile. His arrival in Valparaiso and his following trip throughout the city is described, taking into account the relationship between President Alessandri and his followers.

### **6.3 Tables and graphs design**

The tables we selected were based on the models presented by Martin and Rose (2008) in their Appraisal theory, and were put together in order to be able to analyze the news articles we selected with ease. The tables summarized the elements of Affect, Judgement, Appreciation and resources of Graduation and their corresponding variations so that they could be filled out with the utterances and words presented in every news article which we observed denoted specific attitudes held by the editors. After every news article previously described went through this attitudinal analysis we were able to quantify the data obtained through the use of bar graphs. These graphs were assembled through Google Sheets with the intention of them being as clear as possible by portraying the main attitudinal categories of Affect, Judgement, Appreciation and Graduation in terms of their presence as elements, in different colors and making use of the bars in the graph to depict the quantity of Negative or Positive Affect, Explicit or Implicit Judgement, Negative or Positive Appreciation, in addition to Force and Focus. Through this representation it was possible for us to assess which of Martin and Rose’s categories of analysis was present in each piece of news and with what frequency, and draw conclusions from this evaluation.

### **6.4 Instruments and materials**

One crucial instrument that served in large proportion for the development of this research was OCR: ABBYY FineReader. This program played the role of reading and transcribing PDF documents into text thanks to its optical character recognition abilities. Making use of this program allowed the development of our investigation, since we were able to convert images of news articles contained within *The South Pacific Mail* into documents in an electronic format, in order for each piece of news to be read from a closer and clearer perspective. This instrument allowed us to transcribe news articles into Microsoft Word text documents through

the use of a software that focused on character recognition, called OCR, which allowed it to scan photos and documents and turn them into files which one can edit.

### **Quantifying elements of attitude, Importance of modality**

As researchers we decided to collect specific types of quantitative and qualitative data since quantitative methods close-ended data and qualitative methods provided us with open-ended data, this blend provided a stronger understanding of the problem than either approach could by itself. The digitized 1925 edition of *The South Pacific Mail* we made use of to obtain the news articles selected for this study allowed us to put together our analysis of attitudinal elements and we were able to highlight the relevance of modality through our discussion.

1. First of all we participated as a group in an extensive reading session of *The South Pacific Mail*, where we went through each page and selected the news articles that were suitable for our study. These pieces of news had to necessarily encompass social issues that took place within Chile in reference to the labor movement.
2. Secondly, we made use of the program “OCR: ABBYY Reader” in order to transform the digital images contained within the 1925 edition of *The South Pacific Mail* of each piece of news into Word documents, which would make it more convenient for us to read and properly analyze them later on independently.
3. Thirdly, these selected texts proceeded to be analyzed according to the presence of attitudinal markers following the model of Appraisal theory.
4. The findings gathered by this analysis were put together in tables in order for the proper distribution of each lexical attitude present within the pieces of news according to their categories of Appraisal. These tables were adapted to our study and derived from Martin and Rose’s *Working with Discourse*, establishing in this sense a table to observe four lexical attitudes: Judgement, Appreciation, Affect and Graduation, in order to undertake our attitudinal analysis.

5. Once the tables were completed, the data collected was quantified in Graphs assembled through Google Sheets in order to concisely draw out reliable numbered results measuring the presence of each lexical attitude.
6. These numbered results put together into graphs were discussed according to the historical context of these news articles, Appraisal categories of Attitude, and how Modality and Prominence allow for a deeper analysis of these attitudinal elements.

To summarize, the tools we utilized were composed of measurable and observable verbal written language in the form of news articles, which were digitized and linguistically analyzed using tables and graphs quantifying our categories of analysis, leading up to our discussion of results. A Mixed Methods research approach making use of both qualitative, open-ended, and quantitative, close-ended, strategies allowed us to achieve an integrated design analysis through merging, connecting and embedding data (Creswell, 2014). This approach may have posed some challenges for us such as the need for extensive data collection, the time-intensive nature of analyzing both qualitative and quantitative data and the requirement for us researchers to be familiar with both quantitative and qualitative forms of research. However the complexity of this design also allowed us to develop clear, visual models to properly exhibit the details and flow of analysis conducted in this investigation.

## **6.5 Procedures**

The procedures we used to conduct the exploration of our data were a historical and linguistic analysis, the quantification of data through tables and graphs and a qualitative discussion of our analysis. First of all, our quantitative data, eight articles, were sampled from the 1925 edition of *The South Pacific Mail* using the ABBYY Reader program to be able to transform the PDF file in which they were contained into a transcribed version in a word document. After it was possible for us to access digitized versions of every news article, we created a table design to be able to fill out elements of Appraisal we observed in these news articles when conducting our analysis. Every word and utterance that was considered a marker of attitudes by the editor in these articles was reviewed and indicated in our table design, according

to our motivation to identify the perceptions and perspectives of the editors. In terms of Appraisal theory, the linguistic analysis of data produced a variety of different attitudes, divided into different groups of categories, field, tenor and mode in one level; affect, judgement, appreciation, graduation, modality and their respective subcategories of language analysis. This was used as a frame of reference after putting together graphs with the purpose of quantifying the data we obtained from our analysis and tables. An in-depth interpretation of these elements was also carried out in our results section.

### **6.6 Mixed methods Research**

In recent years applied linguistics began to combine quantitative and qualitative research methods. We chose a mixed method research since it provided higher reliability to our investigation. This study made use of both methods in a one-after-the-other design (Flick, 2017) as it aimed to complement the features of one method paired with the characteristics of the other. When it comes to our research questions, there is a quantitative structure that remains prominent in some of them. However it is possible that the manner in which these questions were answered was effectuated in a qualitative method and vice versa. This is due to the fact that determining the relationship between variables is the base of this discussion. We went through the process of analyzing the results while being aware of their cultural and historical influences.

Our first research question was structured in a quantitative way, since it was meant to measure the most prominent attitude according to the Appraisal model. In the case of the second research question, it is related to the qualitative expression that deals with socio-political aspects that arose from the results gathered from our first question. In terms of our third question, factors regarding the sociocultural context of Chile were addressed in order to identify the influence of these features on the delivery of the information provided by the British press, enhancing the qualitative method within both our question and answer. The fourth question entailed a scenario that relied on the critical analysis carried out through this investigation, highlighting the qualitative method. Finally, our fifth question followed a similar structure to that of our fourth question. The employment of tables and graphs of categorization, following the Appraisal model, marked the way in which this investigation placed one research method as the starting point of



the other. This particular design of analysis is fundamental when undertaking a vast and complete insight to our object of study.

## 7. Results and Discussion

### 7.1 The Political Situation in Chile

The “Political situation in Chile” is a very interesting piece of news because it gives a glimpse of the state of political affairs during 1925 in Chile. On the one hand, the strong connection between the Chilean government, the Chilean navy and the British authorities is depicted. On the other, the discontent of the Chilean working class, as well as the negative view of the British press concerning these matters. Also, this piece of news focuses on the visit of President Alessandri to Valparaiso, and the events which occurred during that event. This visit allows *the South Pacific Mail* to discuss matters regarding the strike at the Nitrate region and the good relations between the president and his followers.

#### Appraisal

##### 1. *Introduction and the positive portrayal of authorities*

From an appraisal point of view, and starting with the observable attitudes found in the text, we can observe the use of various markers that indicate precisely where the author is locating us, when, and with whom, and that is, the *past week*, in *Valparaiso*, and finally, the actors involved, being those *the president, the people, and naval and civil authorities*. In this sense, we could say the author relies strongly on the *focus* attitude, since it specifies exactly those parameters, leaving no room to imagine otherwise. Afterwards, in the paragraphs that follow we encounter a few *appreciation* remarks that positively elevate the situation involving the president and its surroundings, such as the *imposing appearance* of the *fine cruiser* “O’Higgins”. Adding to this, we have a series of positive judgements about the president, the country, and as we have, and continue to comment on, the good relationship between the nation and Great Britain.

2. *A sociopolitical critique of the situation Chile is going through*

Following these positive comments found in the introduction, we have the voice of the author showing his dislike and negative *appreciation* towards the political situation Chile is going through, taking a clear side with the government, and negatively *judging* the people's protests. Furthermore, after talking negatively about the protesters, the author lauds and commends on the president and the government taking the best of measures, making use of positive judgement and appreciation markers. And, from a *force* perspective, it can be said that many markers are used to raise the degree of certain expressions. On the one hand, we have intensifiers to raise the seriousness and gravity of the acts at hand, and on the other, we have markers to raise the positive qualities of the president and the governmental body, an example of this can be seen when the strike is considered *serious*, yet, the situation is handled by the authorities with *thorough efficiency*.

3. *Engagement and the voice of the president within the text*

Also, when reviewing the sources of said attitudes, while most of the text is composed in the manner of a single voice, there are certain passages where heterogloss can be observed. First, discussing projection, we have the use of the expression *it is said* in the third paragraph, indicating a different voice: *foreign agitators*. Additionally, since it is the president the author is speaking of, there are moments where the author will paraphrase what the authority has said, using expressions like *he said, he warned, he asked, he informed*. These expressions signify that these comments come from *he*, the president, and not from who wrote the piece of news.

Secondly, from a *modality* standpoint, few markers that show polarity can be seen, such as *serious, little, many*, indicating a position within a gradable spectrum.

Thirdly, and lastly, from the stance of *concession* the use of the marker *whilst* and *but*, operate the function of counter-expectancy.

**Relationship between the South Pacific Mail, The Chilean government and British authorities**

One of the first elements that called our attention was the extreme importance of a presidential visit to the city of Valparaiso. By then, Alessandri was an extremely well-known politician, thus, his visit to the city was indeed an important event. The importance of this event is best depicted by the “naval review” which was set up for the amusement of the president. Perhaps, the most important point of this naval review was “the presence of H. B. M. cruiser, ‘Constance’ which had returned to Valparaiso to take the opportunity thus offered of complimenting His Excellency”. The fact that a cruiser returned to Chile just to amuse the president is a great example of the good relations between the Chilean government and the Armed forces. It is important to keep in mind that Alessandri was fundamental in the redaction of a new constitution along with the Military junta in 1925 (Villalobos, 1996), thus, their relationship was not only formal but was indeed strong. Also, the good relations between Chile and Great Britain is said to be a “close friendship”, a statement that we agree on. Hence, it is correct to state that the good relations between the Chilean and British authorities with the Chilean armed forces were not just a formality but a reality. The close ties between these oligarchic groups were particularly obvious during the repression of the working class by the armed forces, for instance, in 1903, 1905, 1907 or in 1925, the latter occurring only two months after this piece of news, in Tarapaca.

### **Relationship between the South Pacific Mail and the Chilean Labor movement**

Secondly, the other event which called our attention was the “outbreak of a serious strike in the Iquique nitrate region”. The South Pacific Mail clearly has a negative view of the movement; however, it minimizes its importance by stating that it was influenced by foreign agitators. As we already discussed in our Historical context section, the idea of foreign agitators was common within the press as well as in the Chilean oligarchy, nevertheless, historical evidence has been clear about the minimum impact of foreign “agitators” in Chile. Hence, in this sense, we believe this newspaper intends to portray a fragmented Chilean working class led by dangerous people, ignoring (and hiding) the fact that a much politicized proletarian class was

already articulated by then. Additionally, only two months after this visit, a brutal massacre occurred in the *Oficina La Coruña* in Tarapaca, close to Iquique. At least 2,000 people were killed by the Chilean armed forces, following a number of strikes in the nitrate region. This action was ordered by President Alessandri and Carlos Ibáñez Del Campo. One of the demands of the working class was to reduce their shifts to eight hours. Once again, the strong tie between the government and the armed forces, as well as the repression of the working class is evident.

Finally, this piece of news gives a description of the “current state of affairs”. According to *the South Pacific Mail*, a mild polarization could be perceived in Chile, between those applauding the president and a small group criticizing the government or as the article calls them: “those who were endeavoring to poison the minds of the workers and to divert them from the real path towards the solution of their difficulties”. Yet again, a negative view towards working men is depicted. This piece of news praises the attitude of the president who allegedly favors talking instead of striking; thereby, we argue that this piece of news is clear about its anti-strike position. The striking men are called “agitators” and “strikers” whereas the non-striking men are named “genuine workmen”, clearly showing their position regarding this matter. Additionally, it is important to restate that it was Alessandri himself who ordered the 1925 massacre of La Coruña, so his position was neither entirely democratic nor pacific. Finally, once again the notion of foreign agitators with bad intentions is described when the news article states that there are people “who seem to be determined to make use of a national crisis to secure certain personal advantages without regard to the common welfare.” Here, striking and asking for just demands is not equal to common welfare, but instead it is portrayed as a way of making profit for foreign or evil people.

In conclusion, this piece of news was analyzed in the light of the relationship between *the South Pacific Mail*, the Chilean and British authorities and the working class. From our analysis it is quite clear what is the position of this newspaper regarding the Chilean President and the outbreak of a series of strikes in the north of Chile. Finally, even though the analysis of this

particular piece of news allows an independent understanding of our research topic, it also creates strong links to the rest of our corpus since many similarities were found.

**Results**

This section shows the classification of words and expressions according to their lexical attitude guided by the Appraisal theory, hence, tables are established according to the following attitudes; Affect, Appreciation, Judgement and Graduation.

**Table 1**

**Affect**

	Explicit	Implicit
Positive	is a matter of <u>national pride</u> ,	
Negative	his patience was almost exhausted,	

**Judgement**

		Explicit	Implicit
Personal	Admire	personal courage which His Excellency never fails to exhibit / genuine workman / he is the eloquent exponent	<u>complimenting</u> His Excellency / His Excellency / His Excellency,
	Criticize	Famous law,	Follow <u>one another</u> / <u>interminable</u> precession / new <u>inconvenience</u> ,
Moral	Praise		thorough <u>efficiency</u> is a matter of national pride / the traditions of a <u>century of close friendship</u> / always ready to discuss
	Condemn	endeavoring to poison the minds of the workers and to divert them from the real path,	Foregin <u>agitators</u> who have taken <u>refuge</u> / after being <u>expelled</u> from <u>neighboring</u> states / if he found them to be under the influence of

			unknown individuals whom they could not name themselves and who refused to come forward to take the responsibility for their acts / who seem to be determined to <u>make use of a national crisis</u> to secure certain personal advantages without regard to the common welfare.
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**Appreciation**

Positive	<u>Fine</u> cruiser / imposing / interesting / Satisfactory / Undoubtedly / lofty ideals
Negative	The <u>social unrest</u> of the central and southern part of the country / monotonous <u>regularity</u> / continues / have been <u>referred</u> to the minister of public welfare / protest / eventual,

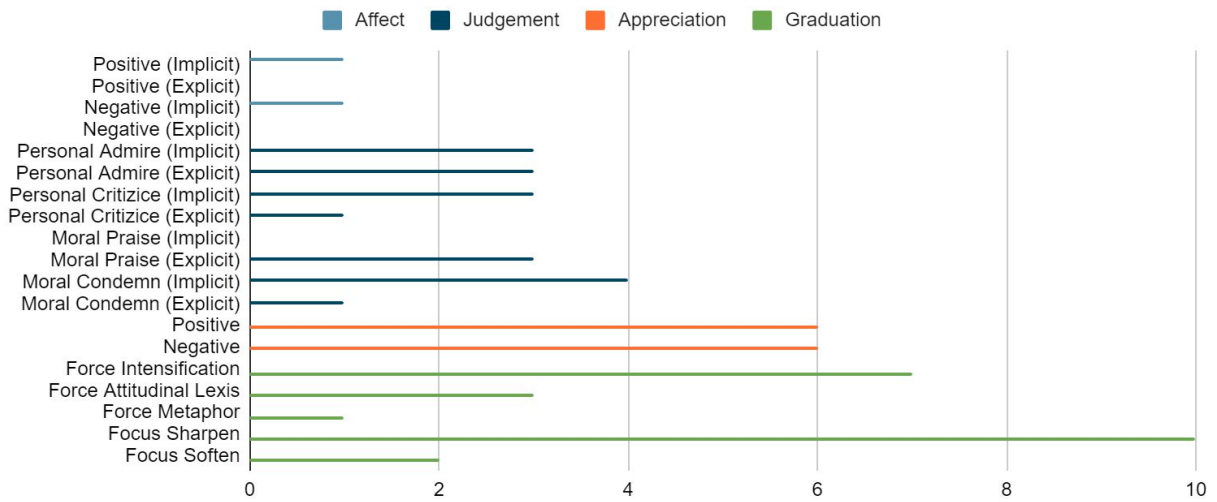
**Graduation**

Force	Intensifier	<u>Thorough</u> efficiency / <u>Serious</u> strike / outbreak / Doubled, Energetically / <u>energetic</u> attitude / Little, many,
	Attitudinal lexis	<u>century of</u> close friendship / <u>Magnitude</u> of the task / the majority,
	Metaphor	a sort of instantaneous photograph,
Focus	Sharpen	<u>Sufficiently</u> imposing / <u>past</u> week / <u>Don</u> Arturo / <u>More</u> evident / <u>This</u> country / <u>only</u> more evident / <u>still</u> be out / In the <u>meantime</u> / <u>Two</u> <u>hours</u> to pass / <u>In</u> the capital,
	Soften	Of any kind / <u>almost</u> exhausted

A graph which quantifies the amount of attitudinal elements present in terms of Judgement and Graduation in this piece of news is portrayed in the following part.

**Graph 1**

Affect, Judgement, Appreciation and Graduation in The Political Situation In Chile



**7.2 The Presidential visit to Valparaiso**

This piece of news focuses on the presidential visit of Arturo Alessandri to Valparaiso after returning from his exile. His arrival to Valparaiso and subsequent trip around the city is carefully narrated focusing on the relationship between the president and his followers. His speech is paraphrased by the South Pacific Mail highlighting his great oratory and his call for harmony amid an outbreak of social unrest in the north of Chile.

**Appraisal**

*1. Praising the president, condemning the protests*

This piece of news’ structure is remarkably similar to “The Political Situation in Chile” from an appraisal point of view, since it starts off by giving a very objective and impersonal introduction, introducing the actors of the story and where it takes place. However, it does use more *force* markers this time to accentuate and intensify some expressions in order to add semantic weight to this section. Likewise, as with the previous piece of news, whenever the

popular unrest is mentioned, it is criticized by the author, often using negative markers of *appreciation*.

### 2. *A personal admiration of the figure of the president himself*

Nonetheless, it differs from the previous piece of news in the sense that the overall tone of this extract, is one of positive sentiment towards the president itself, rather than a nation, or a government. Such is the case, that we can even find markers of *affection*, referring to the interaction between the people and the president. We have markers such as *the enthusiastic sightseers, his beloved country*. Whereas from the *judgment* point of view we have the entire description of the presidential visit. We have expressions like *A welcome [that] the plaza has never seen before*, or comments about the president's speech being *[a] magnificent piece of eloquence* and, *the most notable event of the afternoon*, certainly, very personal comments of admiration towards president Alessandri. Subsequently, we have a string of comments accentuated by *force* intensifiers, accompanied by positive *appreciation* markers, like *imposing, grandiose, magnificent, essential, greatness, highest*. Along with these rather subjective markers, we have a piece of news that tries to be quite specific about the topics at hand, using many sharpening markers and adding *focus* to the text. Words like *only, ever, any, exactly, absolutely* mark the intention of the author wanting to be clear and specific about certain inquiries.

### 3. *The authority as source of engagement*

In terms of *engagement*, in brief, we have *projection*, since the author names and refers to a speech given by a different voice than himself, referring to *he* various times, paraphrasing some of the passages of the speech. At times, the author quoted literally what the president said as well, using words like *he said, his words were, he had noted*.

## **Relationship between the South Pacific Mail and The Chilean government**

Firstly, this piece of news starts recounting the event of the visit of president Alessandri to the city of Valparaiso. Once again, as previously seen in the "The political situation in Chile", a close link between the president, the armed forces and the people is presented. This supposedly



fraternal relationship is presented in the “demonstrations” and “crowds” of people which gathered to salute the president, in the military honors received, and also, in the commission of high officials of the railway company that came to see the president. As was previously discussed, the visit of president Alessandri was a very important event for the city, and thus high honors were paid to his figure. The trip which Alessandri takes from Baron station towards the *Intendencia* building is carefully described in terms that are grandiloquent and expressive. The description sounds more like a story is being told, perhaps a religious one, instead of objectively explaining an event. Finally, the flower offerings that were given to the president are the perfect example of this carefully narrated event where Alessandri appears to be more of a messianic figure than a president. This way of describing his trip, as well as describing the good relationship between the president and the armed forces, stands out from this piece of news showing that *The South Pacific Mail* was aligned with the government.

### **Relationship between the South Pacific Mail and the Chilean Labor movement**

Secondly, this piece of news proceeds to reconstruct the speech given by Alessandri. This speech and the grandiose welcoming given to the president were due to the fact that he had just returned to the country from his exile. He returned to Chile on March 20<sup>th</sup>, 1925. This speech begins by pointing out the importance of harmony and union between the Chilean people, or as it is quoted: “A new edifice must be raised on the base of harmony, concord and love”. Then, the president proceeds to explain what the sources of disruption and disunity in the country are: the social movements. Alessandri claims that social movements are a problem because they are “a direct negation of the spirit of harmony that was so essential”. Certainly, a peculiar statement to be made, taking into consideration the precarious situation of the working class at the time, as well as the numerous massacres suffered by the labor movement (De Shazo, 1977; Pinto, 2007). By resorting to historic evidence, it is impossible to claim the 1925 state of Chile was harmonious, much less the state of the working class. After that, Alessandri advises the working class not to resort to “manifestations of violence or force”, a clear reference to the series of strikes that occurred across the country during the period. Moreover, Alessandri responds to those jaded with poverty to not trust “agitators who take advantage of your truthful ignorance to

turn you aside from the path of order, tranquility and social wellbeing”. Once again, as was previously seen in “The political situation of Chile”, the articulated working class is portrayed as agitators with foreign interests in contrast to the government who seeks to solve their problems with dialogue.

Thirdly, the idea that Alessandri was a member of the working class and a true activist for their rights is presented. In this sense, this idea is used to “unite instead of divide”, a notion that is repeated in several occasions, perhaps, due to the fact that the working class was particularly active during the period, for instance, in the North of Chile (Santibañez, 2018). Alessandri even claimed that if the working class did not trust him, he might have to go on an exile again. Certainly, these extreme statements are used to move people and show them that the president supports them and will provide them with what they need, unlike labor movements. Also, Alessandri claimed that he had spent all of his exile studying how to help the Chilean people, showing his strong commitment to the people.

Finally, the author states that the previous words of Alessandri were not his exact words but rather an “imperfect” reconstruction of his speech. It is said that his great speech is a perfect example of the “spirit of moderation which is so absolutely essential if the country is to be saved from disaster”. This repetition of the words “disaster”, “agitators”, “harmony”, “concord”, and others, shows that maybe the oligarchic class was seriously worried about the number of actions undertaken by the politicized Chilean unions. Interestingly enough, this piece of news concludes with the meeting between the president with a group of “working men’s societies” who came to show their “respect and adhesion to the president”. Not much is said about this meeting or the reason for including this, an unimportant event, but we argue that it was used at the end to show the close connection between the president and the working class, as well as the fragmentation of the working class.

In conclusion, one of the most recurrent ideas of this piece of news is the chaotic situation in Chile because of foreign agitators who deprive honest men from the path of hard work and harmony. The author seeks to provide harmony but instead gives a sense of anguish from the ruling class in the midst of the articulation of a revolutionary, proletarian class. Also,

the clear connection between the newspaper and the government is highlighted, thus jeopardizing the supposed neutrality of *the South Pacific Mail*. A point which has been shared by the results of the rest of our corpus.

**Results**

This section shows the classification of words and expressions according to their lexical attitude guided by the Appraisal theory, hence, tables are established according to the following attitudes; Affect, Appreciation, Judgement and Graduation.

**Table 2**

**Affect**

	Explicit	Implicit
Positive	<u>Enthusiastic</u> sightseers / His <u>beloved</u> country,	Demonstrations of <u>welcome</u> / people, who crowded round with offerings / He had faith in the <u>goodness</u> and <u>sincerity</u> of the people,
Negative		

**Judgement**

		Explicit	Implicit
Personal	Admire	Such a welcome as in all probability the historic plaza has never before witnessed / Most notable of all the events of the afternoon was the speech made by His Excellency from the balcony / unshaken faith/an eminent financial expert / magnificent piece of eloquence / admirably / distinguished guests,	His Excellency / his Excellency / The public ought to recognize that <u>he had made a great sacrifice</u> in taking a heavy burden upon his shoulders, and he had only done it on condition that the <u>people should have confidence in him</u> , he had made the greatest sacrifice / He had arrived at the highest post to which a Citizen might aspire, he offered his life, join him in raising the hymn of

			concord and harmony, he had returned to this country to unite, dedicated the whole of his time to study in the interests of his country / His Excellency,
	Criticize	imperfect as it is,	
Moral	Praise	<u>triumphal</u> progress	President saluting his many personal acquaintances and responding to the ovation offered by the people / He ever inclined to the side of the party that most required his aid and protection / A government exists that earnestly desires to act towards all with the strictest justice and impartiality / he gave his whole life to better their situation,
	Condemn		A new edifice must be raised on the base of harmony, concord and love / Certain movements of the working classes that appeared to him to be in the highest degree unjustified and untimely / The people had no need to resort to manifestations of violence or force / stomachs cannot be filled by outcries and disorders / agitators / It is an infamous crime to resort to disorder,

**Appreciation**

Positive	Imposing / <u>enormous</u> crowd / imposing / <u>interesting</u> moment / Grandiose / Frankly / Brief / magnificent / essential / interesting
Negative	state of abandonment / monetary problem / Disaster

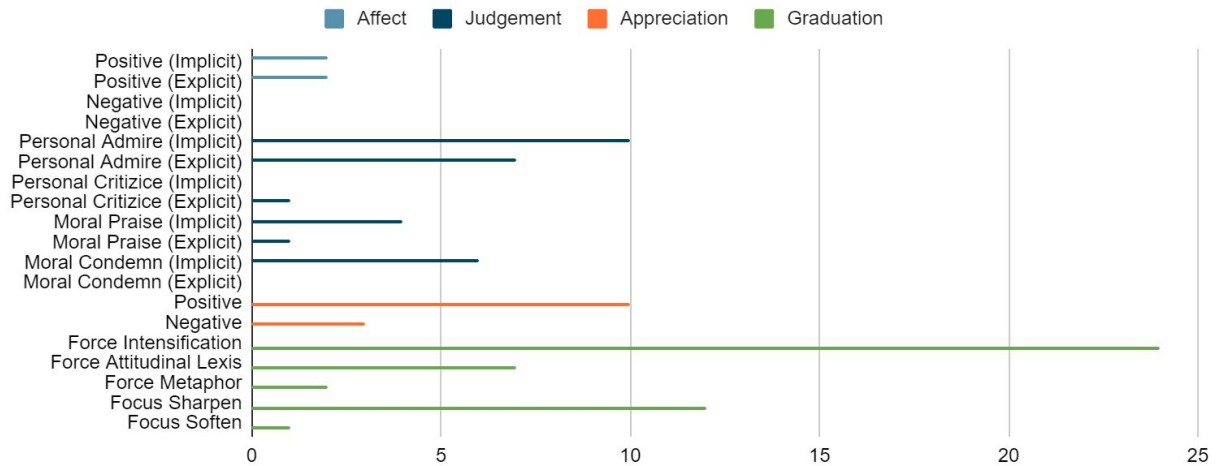
**Graduation**

Force	Intensifier	<u>high</u> officials / crowd / <u>enormous</u> crowd / every / with difficulty / Filled / never before / of all the events / Grandiose / the <u>greatness</u> of his responsibilities / <u>All</u> must be of accord / <u>all</u> the vital, utmost importance / highest / all / his <u>whole</u> life / many years / the <u>highest</u> post / all / all / all / <u>several</u> delegations / enthusiastically / several
	Attitudinal lexis	Don / No halt / nothing / Magnificent / gala performance / gold plaque / imperfect as it is
	Metaphor	a new Chile / the country is to be saved,
Focus	Sharpen	Tuesday afternoon / directly / Only / <u>ever</u> demanded / He was the President / not of a determined group / but of <u>all</u> / <u>any</u> question / he <u>ever</u> / He himself / He himself / But above all / Exactly / absolutely
	Soften	A number,

A graph which quantifies the amount of attitudinal elements present in terms of Judgement and Graduation in this piece of news is portrayed in the following part.

**Graph 2**

### Affect, Judgement, Appreciation and Graduation in The Presidential Visit To Valparaiso



### 7.3 End of the nitrate railway strike

This brief piece of news is directly related to the “Strike in the nitrate region” piece of news included as well in our corpus. “End of the nitrate railway strike” focuses on the end of the railway strike in the nitrate region following a meeting between working men and the railway authorities.

#### Appraisal

##### 1. Success and praise towards the authorities

With this short and precise report of the event at hand, we can still perceive a few markers of appraisal. Following the same pattern as with the previous articles, positive comments about the authorities take centerpiece in this paragraph, comments like *thanks [to the] intervention of the intendente, the minister sent a note congratulating him, and the success of his mediation.*

##### 2. A note of objectivity and lack of negative attitudes

Unlike the two previous pieces of news, this text seems to be one degree more objective, in the sense that it leaves aside negative comments about who is against the government, using markers like *workmen*, instead of words like agitators or protesters, indicating an absence of judgemental attitude. Also, the situation and the problem the government has solved is not as praised, and the authorities not as admired as on other occasions. Since the markers referring to it do not carry as much weight and impact, since the author only refers to the strike as a mere *dispute*, hedging the meaning and showing a lack of focus and force.

### **Relationship between the South Pacific Mail and The Chilean government**

Due to the fact that this piece of news is brief, it is difficult to establish clear relationships between *the South Pacific Mail* and the Chilean government. However, there are a number of elements which can be analyzed in the light of the context of Chile during the period.

Firstly, it is said that this strike ended because of the intervention of the *Intendente*. His attitude in this dispute is morally praised by the newspaper, a point which is not a surprise if we take into account the perspective of *the South Pacific Mail* concerning these matters. Additionally, the inclusion of the salutation received by the *Intendente* from the Minister of Labor shows not only the satisfaction of the government with the results of this meeting, but also that of *the South Pacific Mail*.

### **Relationship between the South Pacific Mail and the Chilean Labor movement**

Once again, due to its brevity, it is hard to determine from their exact words how the newspaper relates itself to the social movements, in this case, represented by the railway strike. Nevertheless, we argue that the position of the newspaper toward the end of the railway strike is of satisfaction. By assuming this, we can argue that the railway strike was not only a problem for the government and railway authorities, but also to the printing press. The newspaper begins by stating: “The strike lasting eighteen days *affecting* the Tarapaca Railway (...)”. We think that the choice of the word “affecting” shows that striking is seen as a problem and not as a legitimate

form of demonstration. Perhaps, this piece of news could have stated: “The strike lasting eighteen days *taking place* at the Tarapaca Railway”, showing a more objective way of describing an event. Furthermore, as we discussed in our historical context section, striking was one of the most recurrent forms of demonstration during the period. Striking led to great achievements by the Chilean labor movement, but also to a number of massacres in the hands of the Chilean armed forces, following orders of the government. As we have previously seen in our corpus, striking was a problem to both the government and the *South Pacific Mail*. This is by no means strange if we consider that the traditional printing press followed the directions given by politicians and by national and foreign capitalists. Certainly, *the South Pacific Mail* was not an exception.

In conclusion, even though little information is provided in this piece of news, by taking into account the rest of our corpus and our historical evidence, it is easy to pinpoint the position of this British newspaper regarding striking, and in this case, the end of a strike.

**Results**

This section shows the classification of words and expressions according to their lexical attitude following the Appraisal theory, hence tables are established according to the following attitudes: Affect, Appreciation, Judgement and Graduation.

**Table 3**

**Judgement**

		Explicit	Implicit
Personal	Admire		congratulating him / success of his mediation.
	Criticize		
Moral	Praise		thanks in great measure to the intervention of the Intendente
	Condemn		



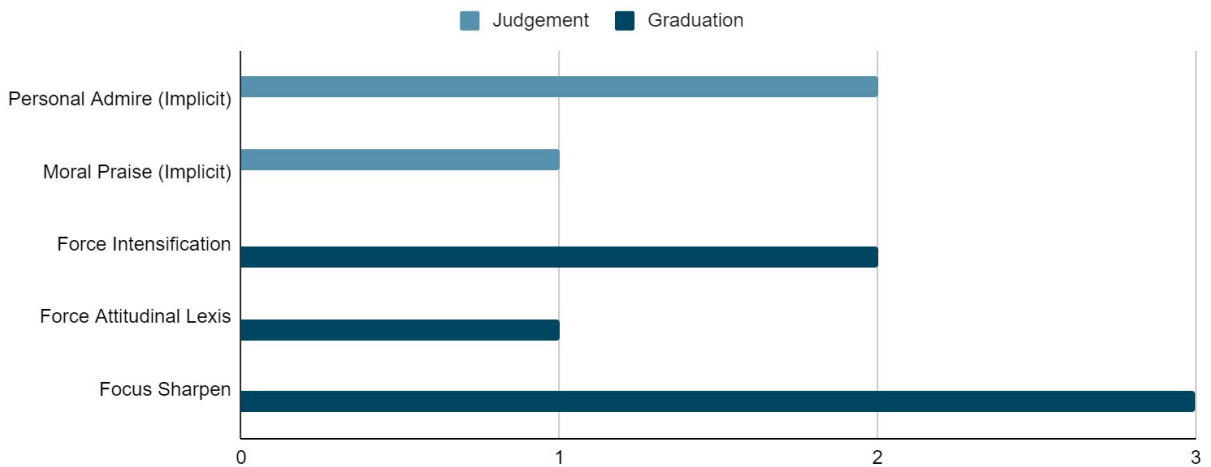
**Graduation**

Force	Intensifier	completely settled / great
	Attitudinal lexis	the dispute
	Metaphor	
Focus	Sharpen	eighteen days / stated to be now / Senor Amengual
	Soften	

A graph which quantifies the amount of attitudinal elements present in terms of Judgement and Graduation in this piece of news is portrayed in the following part.

**Graph 3**

Affect, Judgement, Appreciation and Graduation in End Of The Nitrate Railway Strike



\*No markers of Affect or Appreciation were found

#### 7.4 The strike in the nitrate region

This piece of news focuses on a series of strikes that took place in Iquique while President Alessandri was visiting Valparaiso. Also, the alleged demands of the workers and the response from the president to this situation are discussed. Finally, a serious critique to the strikes and the social movements in general is given by the author.

#### Appraisal

##### 1. *Time framing, signs of affect, and initial condemning of the incidents*

The first quarter of this piece of news proves to be the most objective part of the news article, and furthermore, the most informative as well, establishing the time framing, the actors implicated, and how they relate to the situation in general.

Additionally, this time framing allows us to comprehend the synchronicity of the events we have discussed so far, since the first paragraph refers to the president and his visit to Valparaiso upon returning to the country. In this case, we can notice clear signs of affect when the author refers to the *well merited tribute of respect and affection to the returned President [that the people] of Valparaiso were paying*. While that was happening, a strike broke out in Iquique, and unlike the previous piece of news, the author, without delay, takes a *judgement* attitude, condemning the act and criticizing the people behind it, calling the workers *a band of agitators*.

##### 2. *Negative judgement over the strike, the workmen and their demands*

Once again, the author takes a critical stance over the topics at hand, referring to the demands of the workers as *impossible*. Furthermore, when discussing the strike the author uses the following expression: *the spirit of disorder [...] has again made its presence felt*, an expression that leads us to believe that every matter the country was going through at the time was alright, until this strike took place. Moreover, while raising the gravity of the events, the

author still makes sure to find moments to praise the authority in the face of this unacceptable situation, such as when the author says *the fine speech His excellency made*.

### 3. *Use of graduation and heavy intensification*

Finally, the last section of the text assumes an intense *graduation* attitude, using a considerable amount of intensifier markers, coupled with a few metaphors. All these comments are used to raise the intensity and seriousness of the issue, and how the workmen's demands are impossible to comply with, often using these rather subjective metaphors that appeal to the personal stance of the author rather than an unbiased observation of the matters. Examples of the latter include expressions like *the pockets of people*, *the game is not worth the candle*, *the very life of Chile depends on commerce*, and *to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs*.

### **Relationship between the South Pacific Mail, The Chilean government and Foreign Capital**

From the very start, the South Pacific Mail aligns itself with the president and the government concerning this situation. It is clearly stated that the president “deplores” this situation where “impossible demands” are requested by a “band of agitators”. Here, the position of the government is clearly highlighted: Wages cannot be raised because the Chilean economy cannot deal with such a burden. The fact that the speech of the president is recurrently praised is yet another proof of the sympathy felt towards Alessandri and his comments concerning the social movements.

Additionally, *the South Pacific Mail* clearly praises the work done by foreign capitalists who have “the goose that lays the golden eggs”, *ergo*, a very profitable business for them and for the Chilean government. About this point, the newspaper states that “the very life of Chile depends on commerce”, meaning that it is impossible to risk this industry for the demands of a group of foreign agitators.

Hence, in this piece of news the position of the newspaper is once again clearly delimited: in favor of the government and of both national and foreign capital. Of course, such a

relationship is in detriment to the demands of the nitrate workers. If, on previous pieces of news the event of the strike was purely sketched, here the position of *the South Pacific Mail* is given.

### **Relationship between the South Pacific Mail and the Chilean Labor movement**

Certainly, this is one of the most subjective pieces of news from our corpus. In particular, the perception of this newspaper regarding the social movements, and striking in general, is clearly depicted in the various statements regarding these matters. Firstly, the breaking news of a strike in the nitrate region is given. According to *the South Pacific Mail*, this movement is led by a “band of agitators”. As we have previously seen and discussed, this notion of “foreign agitators” was common at the time. It is clear that claiming that a “band” of “agitators” leads a movement is a critique and a way of diminishing the credibility of the demands. Furthermore, their demands are declared as “impossible” and their actions have an inner “spirit of disorder”. Once again, the entire movement and its demands are delegitimized by these statements concerning the movement. As we discussed in our previous subsection, the speech of Alessandri focuses on the reasons as to why it is impossible to raise wages. According to the newspaper, “The very existence of the Industry is at stake” because of these demands. Additionally, the following quote clearly subsumes the point of view of the newspaper (and of the Chilean elite) regarding the worker’s demands: “It is easy to demand lessened hours of work and higher pay. Especially now that organizations have been formed that are quite capable of paralyzing the commercial life of the country at any moment”. Here, just demands are not just but are moved by either greed or laziness. Also, the power of the unions is indeed acknowledged, but in a negative way. This power is not something that contributes to the country, but it is rather a way of attacking Chile in favor of foreign forces. This form of demonstration is ridiculed and demonized as follows: “The strikes and popular movements merely add to the popular unrest”. Hence, their actions are not for the benefit of the country, but are merely violent and aimless actions. Finally, raising wages or giving workers new rights is called a “a very shortsighted policy” because, according to the Chilean elite, it risks the normal operations of the Chilean economy as a whole by striking, demonstrating or by asking for better salaries and shorter working hours.

In conclusion, this piece of news is very enlightening regarding the position of the newspaper (and by default the government) concerning the strike in the nitrate region. The constant attacks towards the movement, as well as the constant praise of the actions of the president gives us clear insight into their position and agenda. Moreover, this piece of news works independently, but it is directly connected to three of our previous analyzed pieces of news. By analyzing each independently and then as a whole, it is possible to have a better understanding of the topic at hand.

**Results**

This section shows the classification of words and expressions according to their lexical attitude guided by the Appraisal theory, hence, tables are established according to the following attitudes; Affect, Appreciation, Judgement and Graduation.

**Table 4**

**Affect**

	Explicit	Implicit
Positive		well merited tribute of <u>respect and affection</u> to the returned President,
Negative		we <u>regret</u> to see,

**Judgement**

		Explicit	Implicit
Personal	Admire		fine speech of His Excellency,
	Criticize	a band of agitators / commerce cannot do this indefinitely / a very shortsighted policy.	
Moral	Praise		
	Condemn	the already overburdened national revenue. / tending to	A strike has broken out [and it has] occasioned the closing down

		decreased efficiency /	of twelve nitrate oficinas. / The spirit of disorder which he so much deploras has again made its presence felt. / This continual demand for increased salaries, we regret to see, has penetrated every class of the community. / It is easy to demand lessened hours of work and higher pay. [...]But, where is the money to come from? / The strikes and popular movements merely add to the popular unrest. /
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### Appreciation

Positive	eloquent / <u>fine</u> speech / frankly,
Negative	impossible / overburdened,

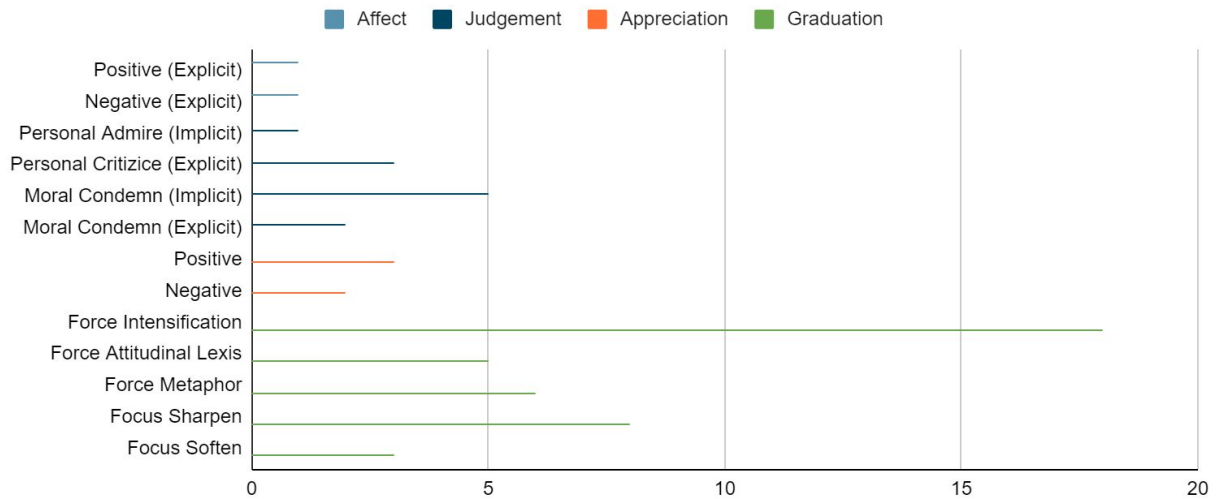
### Graduation

Force	Intensifier	many / <u>well</u> merited tribute / increased / very / increasingly / <u>considerable</u> loss / essential / every / as a whole / all / Already / important / only / very largely / so much / again / very / every
	Attitudinal lexis	serious / the returned President / impossible / impossible / powerful
	Metaphor	The very existence of the Industry is at stake / the pockets of the people / the game is not worth the candle / time is at hand / the very life of Chile depends on commerce / kill the goose that lays the golden eggs
Focus	Sharpen	the Nitrate region / Iquique nitrate region / at the time of writing / Tuesday afternoon / The latter / From one place only / specifics / at present
	Soften	etc. etc. / whether / it appears,

A graph which quantifies the amount of attitudinal elements present in terms of Judgement and Graduation in this piece of news is portrayed in the following part.

**Graph 4**

Affect, Judgement, Appreciation and Graduation in Strike In The Nitrate Region



### 7.5 The demand for reform in national education

Education has an essential role within society since it is linked to the manner in which society itself is constructed paired with the influence it has on economic growth. Educational centres are established as an ideological source, from which values, principles and behaviors emerge, in order to impact positively the life of citizens.

Throughout the history of our country, educational-related issues have been a complex subject to refer to, due to the lack of resources that deprive students from having a suitable learning process. The beginning of the 20th century marked the development and growth of the country's ideology inserted by the Government. From 1900, school attendance became one of the main focuses for both citizens and the government, since it was considered a tool to impose social and political order. Thus, primary and secondary schools were considerably massified during this period.

According to Braulio Carimán Linares in *El "problema educacional" entre 1920-1937: una historia de reformas y limitaciones*, in the XXth century, Chile was going through a political crisis (Parliamentarism's illegitimacy); an economic crisis (Nitrate's decline); as well as a social crisis (strikes and repression). In this scenario, the flaws from the educational model were treated hastily, providing a failing management in terms of providing resources for educational institutions, besides the malnutrition that several students struggled with due to poor conditions. (Carimán, 2012).

The breakdown of this matter is not created when the Government starts a plan for the enforceability of "escolarización", but rather when the resources for children to actually attend schools in suitable and proper conditions were nonexistent.

This piece of news encompasses a particular situation that reflects this context; a Primary Teachers Congress, which appeared to be a simple matter for the British press, turns into the centre of manifestations that aimed to prove the urgency of reforms related to the health care of students and their socio-economic scenario, which was certainly an obstacle towards the accomplishment of an obligatory "escolarización".

### **Modality**

The types of modality entailed by Halliday have the ability to identify several intentions from the speaker. The five types are usuality, probability, obligation, inclination and ability. Each type has a range of modal meanings in which certain words are able to sharpen or soften each function.

From the beginning of this piece of news, there is an unexpected sense that prevailed on the author's voice. *It was with surprise* and *what appeared to be expressing* information negotiation, to highlight how probable the following turn of events are, but mainly, to indicate the degrees of positive or negative polarization. In further reading, we are going to find *seem*



*rather* and *somewhat* as markers within the range of modal meanings, being strongly present throughout this news.

In the third paragraph negation has a role, as Halliday has sustained of persuasive writing, in which there is space for a voice which is not the one that suits the speaker, nonetheless it is made present in order to be denied. *A crime against humanity* as well as *not meat for exploitation* opens up to the possible audience who may believe these affirmations in the opposite way.

When it comes to the fourth paragraph, the classifications of how probable something is, are clearly stated, eg.; *so badly organized* is a sentence that is certainly present on the negative pole. The author is now countering on anyone who believes the organization has been made correctly.

### **Concession**

In the book *Working with Discourse*, Martin and Rose introduce a third resource by Halliday, known as ‘counter expectancy’. In every piece of news, there is always an underlying context which is introduced to the reader, in order to plant expectancy with regard to the facts presented. Counter expectancy is a phenomenon in which the expectations are not accomplished due to counter facts provided by the author. In *The Demand For Reform National Education*, exists an underlying sense of expectancy from the author, who proclaims that the gathering of educational entities at the congress developed in a surprising manner.

Throughout the text, there is certainly a subtle presence of concessive conjunctions. Similarly to Mode, we encounter expectations that even though are not accomplished, they are acknowledged by the author. For instance, when making reference to the lyrical Latin type of speeches, there was definitely a strong sense of rejection towards the capitalization of the educational system. *It was there, however, and stripped of their adornments the speeches were “strong meat for babes”*. In further reading, the author explains which are the intended objectives of authorities with regard to the educational course, nonetheless, far from being that the point of the scheme, educational unions and committed professionals contrast this ideal of

model with the rough reality of the country; a clear division of society into social ranks, which deprives all students to experience scholarship in a suitable manner:

*The great point of the scheme, however, seems to lie in the course it lays open to the pupil.*

We are going to proceed now to discuss the presence of judgement, affect, appreciation and graduation within the article. From the beginning the author certainly entails certain attitudes in a more prominent way. Appreciation is the attitude more likely to be found in this piece of news. Previously we have mentioned and explained the context in which this scenario took place; a rough economic crisis which affected the entire territory and its political-cultural dependencies. From a foreign and external point of view, the emerging manifestation seems completely unexpected to the British community. *It was with surprise* is actually the first utterance of the article, which reflects the reaction that most foreigners must have had. The attitude of appreciation is constantly found, as the author provides an insight to the situation, attaching both negative and positive features such as *with astonishing eloquence*, when referring to the speeches presented during the gathering, and *antiquated methods, so full of moral sores* to describe the rejection towards the educational deficiency from the present individuals.

When it comes to judgement, we can rely on the social and cultural context that surrounded the territory as well as the repercussions of an imminent crisis. In fact, the author then proceeds to explain the reasons that manifestation had, and states that the educational system *fails in every respect to satisfy the aims of modern education*. An assertion like this portrays clearly a moral judgement that condemns the educational system due to the lack of supporting tools towards the less privileged students. Judgement is an attitude that certainly appeared on banner devices within the gathering; *“The existing school is a crime against Humanity”* the sentence expressed a clear judgement towards the topic in question, reflecting the significance of the matter.

Regarding Affect within this article, there is a defined presence of this semantic attitude when referring to the characteristics of this movement and how it was undertaken. *Enthusiastic supporters* and *striking feature of the gathering* are examples of feelings that appear throughout the article, and contribute to portray the context around it.

Focus and force play an essential role as a variation of lexical attitude, in fact, the recurrence in which we find graduation is by far the highest among the rest of attitudes. As we have discussed previously, focus provides lexical tools to sharpen or soften the meaning of words. Overall, in *The demand for reform in national education* there is a strong presence of focus, (Graph 1) for instance, in sentences such as; *a simple Congress of Primary School teachers, Other, Throughout* and *Mass meetings* the meaning of the words is being sharpened by the author, who certainly intends to highlight the magnitude of the issue.

**Results**

This section shows the classification of words and expressions according to their lexical attitude following the Appraisal theory, hence tables are established according to the following attitudes: Affect, Appreciation, Judgement and Graduation.

**Table 5**

This section shows the classification of words and expressions found within the previous piece of news according to their lexical attitude following the Appraisal theory, hence, tables are divided by different attitudes such as Affect, Appreciation, Judgement and Graduation.

**Affect**

	Explicit	Implicit
Positive	<i>Enthusiastic supporters / Enthusiastic / fraternity</i>	
Negative	Exhorted / a breakdown	<i>striking feature of the gathering</i>

**Judgement**

		Explicit	Implicit
Personal	Admire		
	Criticize	<i>Much was said / The existing school is a <u>crime against Humanity</u>" / is an old Germán school on Chilean soil / want schools on the hills / <u>idiots, if not criminals</u></i>	<i>By the introduction of other</i>
Moral	Praise	<i><u>their enthusiastic supporters / free men</u></i>	
	Condemn	<i>who seem rather to have swamped the subject of immediate interest / not meat for exploitation. / fails in every respect to satisfy the aims of modern education / they are idiotized / antiquated methods / The existing system of education fails entirely</i>	

**Appreciation**

Positive	<i>what appeared to be / It was with surprise / impassioned oratory / Who seem to have swamped / with astonishing eloquence / beautiful / lyrical Latín type / the greatness of the nation / lyrical embellishments</i>
Negative	<i>pickets of mounted police, soldiers and machine guns / We who have no boots / antiquated methods, so full of moral sores</i>

**Graduation**

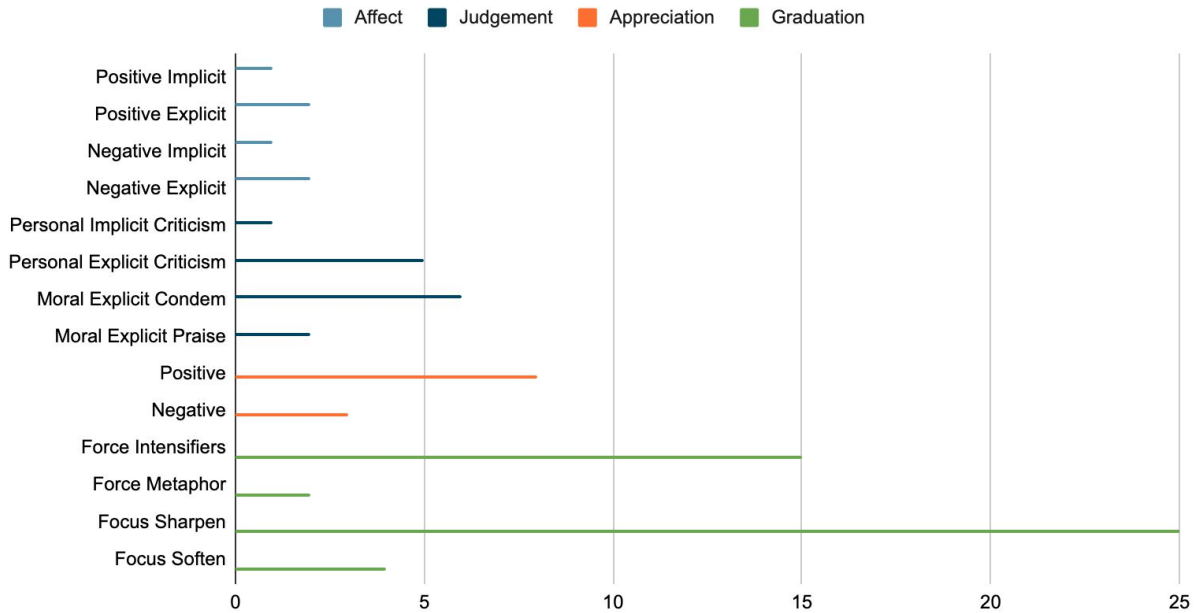
Force	Intensifier	<i>Under such circumstances. / Pressing / And / Problems / more important problems of the moment. / These later days / It is</i>
-------	-------------	--

		<i>somewhat difficult. / It is somewhat difficult. / Great / Really noticeable / The imperative necessity / most complete / have many points of interest / of all social classes / a very heavy responsibility / The great</i>
	Attitudinal lexis	
	Metaphor	<i>was buried under roses / "strong meat for babes."</i>
Focus	Sharpen	<i>a simple Congress of Primary School teachers / Other / Throughout / Mass meetings / Immediate interest / Of the moment / Santiago / seven different platforms / Immediate / Throughout / Without delay / Present / Valparaíso / Many of them / New / Complete / Some / in the past, Señor Luis Quiñones, The children / the "Resolutions, Intendente of the Province / the only means / Association General de Profesores / Valparaíso / The system of education / the Liceos.</i>
	Soften	<i>Possibly more important / and some of value.</i>

A graph which quantifies the amount of attitudinal elements present in terms of Judgement and Graduation in this piece of news is portrayed in the following part.

**Graph 5**

**Affect, Judgement, Appreciation and Graduation in The Demand for Reform in National Education**



**7.6 Cheaper Housing for The People**

**Appraisal**

*1. Praise and Critiques towards high rents*

Even though this short piece of news manages to describe the rent situation in Valparaiso in a relatively small number of words, we can still notice how the authorities are referred to positively. The author seems to admire how the government *is improving the situation of the working class in this respect*. However, judgement is also implied when the rent is described as *high*.

*2. Force intensifiers and Focus being sharpened and softened*

This piece of news seems to employ the use of an intensifier, specifically, the word *Popular* when referring to the protests against the rise in rent prices, which implies the participation of a large group of people who were in favor of this manifestation. The use of this word may also be for the purpose of comparing other protests that were not as massive as the one against rent hikes. In terms of Focus, despite the brevity of this news extract, many words are used to sharpen the boundaries between the government and common people, such as *Valparaiso*, *Governmental Junta* and *under-secretary of the Ministry of Public Health, Sr. Poblete Troncoso*. These terms are contrasted with terms used to soften and graduate evaluations of those who are protesting, such as *A committee of rent payers*.

In terms of *Projection*, *Modality* and *Concession*, there are too few speech markers in this news extract indicative of additional voices regarding reporting, polarity or expectancy within the text.

### **Relationship between the South Pacific Mail and The Chilean government**

According to Hidalgo (2003), overcrowded and insalubrious housing in the context of the Law of Worker Housing passed in 1906 and migration towards large urban areas caused by the Nitrate crisis led to the formation of the committee of Rent Payers mentioned in this news article. This organization wanted to defend rent payers against the constant price hikes. A general strike by rent payers was unleashed in 1925 where they refused to pay their rent as a way to pressure the government, who responded by enacting Law 261, also known as Housing Law or *Ley de la Vivienda*, which meant the State could control rent prices, creating Housing courts. The implementation of this law divided the Rent payers movement, in time the courts proved inefficient at defending the strikers interests. The leaders of this movement wanted to resume mobilization but failed to find the massiveness that accompanied the movement at first, which led to the end of the Rent payers strike. Our results will be displayed in the following section of our analysis.

### **Results**

This section shows the classification of words and expressions according to their lexical attitude guided by the Appraisal theory, hence, tables are established according to the following attitudes; Affect, Appreciation, Judgement and Graduation.

**Table 6**

**Judgement**

		Explicit	Implicit
Personal	Admire		
	Criticize		
Moral	Praise		<u>Improving</u> the situation of the working class in this respect
	Condemn	<u>High</u> rents	

**Graduation**

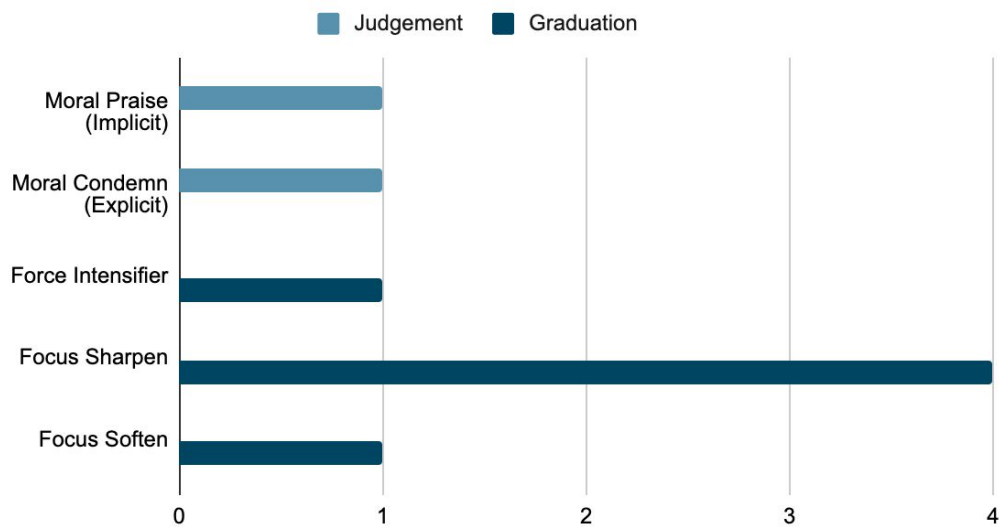
Force	Intensifier	<u>Popular</u> protest,
	Attitudinal lexis	
	Metaphor	
Focus	Sharpen	Valparaiso, Governmental Junta, undersecretary of the Ministry of Public Health, <u>Sr.</u> Poblete
	Soften	A committee of Rent Payers

A graph which quantifies the amount of attitudinal elements present in terms of Judgement and Graduation in this piece of news is portrayed in the following part.

**Graph 6**



## Graduation and Judgement in "Cheaper Housing for the People"



### 7.7 Public Protest Against Increased *Patentes*

#### Appraisal

##### 1. *Explicit Negative Affect towards Protests*

In terms of Affect, this piece of news describes how those who rode horses or horse-drawn carriages were protesting against the increase of automobiles. The author clearly expresses his emotions towards those who were protesting and how he believes they have affected residents in Valparaiso; this is what is conveyed in these protests are *Disturbing [of] the normal life of the community*. The word *Disturbing* is emphatic when highlighting the feelings of anxiety and worry the author believes him and the community to have experienced in this context.

##### 2. *Explicit Criticism and Explicit and Implicit Condemnation.*

The attitude of the author of this news article demonstrates Judgement in several instances during the description of the behavior of the demonstrators. While reporting on the events, the author makes several Personal Judgements which are Negative in nature while Explicitly Criticizing the demonstrators. The article is introduced by detailing that last Tuesday in Valparaiso *the unusual spectacle was seen*, making reference to the protest in an ambiguous and dismissive way. The author then proceeds to describe how the horse-drawn carriages of the demonstrators appeared to be *in every stage of decay* to him, suggesting that their vehicles were in such precarious state may indicate his critical attitude towards the marchers themselves. He further criticizes them when continuing his sentence as *though appearances are not reliable*, there is great emphasis in his use of the word *though*, which means he is being ironic or scornful of the physical aspect of those who were marching and their vehicles. The word *spectacle* is then repeated to criticize the protest when the author finishes his report, once again referring to the demonstrations in a contemptuous tone. In terms of what the author condemns explicitly, he seems to take an unexpected stance in favor of the demands of the demonstrators, stating that they are protesting against the *sudden doubling of the cost* of their licences. The word *sudden* is highlighted because it may reflect an Alignment phenomenon where the author's voice merges with the voice of those who are protesting because they seem to share the same beliefs. The author later reports that the cost of hay, which is the food for animal transport, is almost *prohibitive* which once again implies this is also his attitude towards the rising cost of goods. To develop this idea the author describes the occupation of horse-drawn carriage owners as being threatened by the *continual increase* of modern vehicles, and it seems that this growth is considered a negative situation for him. Additionally, this piece of news states that it is likely that the rising costs of hay and the new laws will affect the horses *most heavily*, implying that the author feels empathy towards the consequences the animals of horse-drawn carriages will have to suffer. Finally, the presence of one marker of Implicit Condemnation which describes how the protest has become a *potent* factor of disturbance in the community.

### 3. *Negative Appreciation of the Protest*

This piece of news demonstrates the author's own negative appreciation of those who are demonstrating in Valparaiso as a whole by referring to the event as *an interminable procession*. By referring to the demonstration as an endless and never ending parade the author implies that it is tiresomely long, but that it also seems to have no real purpose.

#### 4. Attitudinal Lexis, Metaphors and an Intensifier of Force and Focus being Sharpened and Softened

A great number of Attitudinal resources are amplified in terms of the Graduation of Force in this piece of news. When referring to horse carriage owners and stating how *their very occupation* was threatened by the increasing costs, the author's emphasis is reflected in the choice of the word *very* as an amplifier. The meaning of this expression is magnified to mean that the demonstrators can even lose their occupation forever, which will most definitely have devastating consequences. The expression *though appearances are not reliable* mentioned before as explicit criticism can also be classified as Graduation as Attitudinal Lexis of Force. This expression contains words with attitudes while describing degrees of intensity in terms of the physical aspect of the demonstrators and their carriages in an ironic tone. Additionally, we can observe the presence of another Attitudinal Lexis when the author refers to the protests as "movement" in quotations, suggesting that this demonstration is not a real movement and should not be taken seriously, which is stated in the following way, *The "movement" represented the protest of the owners of horse-drawn vehicles against the sudden doubling of the cost of their licences*. When finishing his report, the author states that the protest was *a revelation of the prehistoric condition in which merchandise is transported from place to place in this port*, making use of a clever metaphor of derogatory character to make fun of the rudimentary techniques used in the port of Valparaiso.

Likewise, there is a considerable number of Focus resources that are being sharpened and softened in this article. The author points out that the demonstrations happened on *Tuesday*, specifically in *Calle Prat* in *Valparaiso* in order to outline the context of events. When describing the horses of demonstrators the author mentions they *certainly did not look overfed*

and that it was *likely* that regulations would hurt them the most, which appraises the state of animals in this context. Apart from this, Focus is also sharpened to appraise expressions referring to authorities when the author clarifies that prices have risen due to *one of the decree laws* aside from the imposition of *new regulations*. Conversely, we may also find that Focus is Softened in terms of the boundaries between words when the author states that the horse-drawn vehicles of demonstrators were *apparently* in decay and that the cost of hay was *almost* prohibitive. These words portray a specific contrast between authorities and demonstrators.

In terms of *Projection*, the speech marker *was seen* reports what was observed by citizens in Valparaiso when the protests against the rising price of horse-drawn vehicle license plates began. The demonstrators are referred to in reported speech by saying that *interested parties point out* that their occupation is being endangered. Concerning *Modality*, we were able to find markers of *Probability* when the editor states that the cost of hay *is almost prohibitive* and that *it is likely enough* that these legislations will affect the horses used for transport. While describing how decrepit he finds the horse-drawn vehicles of demonstrators the editor makes use of a marker of *Concession*, adjusting readers' expectations. The phrase *though appearances are not reliable*, is declared by the author, directly countering what was just said in an ironic way.

### **Relationship between the South Pacific Mail and The Chilean government**

Errazuriz (2010) states that the exponential increase of automobiles, buses and motorcycles during this decade in Chile did not replace animal traction vehicles until 1925. Most animal traction vehicles that were used to transport cargo and motorized vehicles made for this end only, began to gain importance from this year on. The slowness of animal traction in comparison to motorized vehicles was associated with traffic and a higher risk of accidents, with the added difficulties of horses being frightened by the sound of engines and horns. Seemingly unsuitable for modern traffic, they also posed a hygienic problem of excrement and urine in the streets, added to the flies that gather around the animals appeared to justify the expulsion of animals as a mode of transport in cities. It seems that the increased cost of *patentes* that caused

the above mentioned demonstration could have been used as a strategy to promote motorized vehicles instead of animal traction vehicles. The results gathered by our analysis are displayed in the following table where phrases and words depicting specific attitudes were quantified.

**Results**

This section shows the classification of words and expressions according to their lexical attitude guided by the Appraisal theory, hence, tables are established according to the following attitudes; Affect, Appreciation, Judgement and Graduation.

**Table 7**

**Affect**

	Explicit	Implicit
Positive		
Negative	Disturbing of the normal life of the community	

**Judgement**

		Explicit	Implicit
Personal	Admire		
	Criticize	Unusual spectacle, in every stage of decay, spectacle, <u>though</u> appearances are not reliable	
Moral	Praise		
	Condemn	<u>Sudden</u> doubling of the cost, Prohibitive, Continual increase, most heavily	Potent

**Appreciation**

Positive	
Negative	Interminable procession

**Graduation**

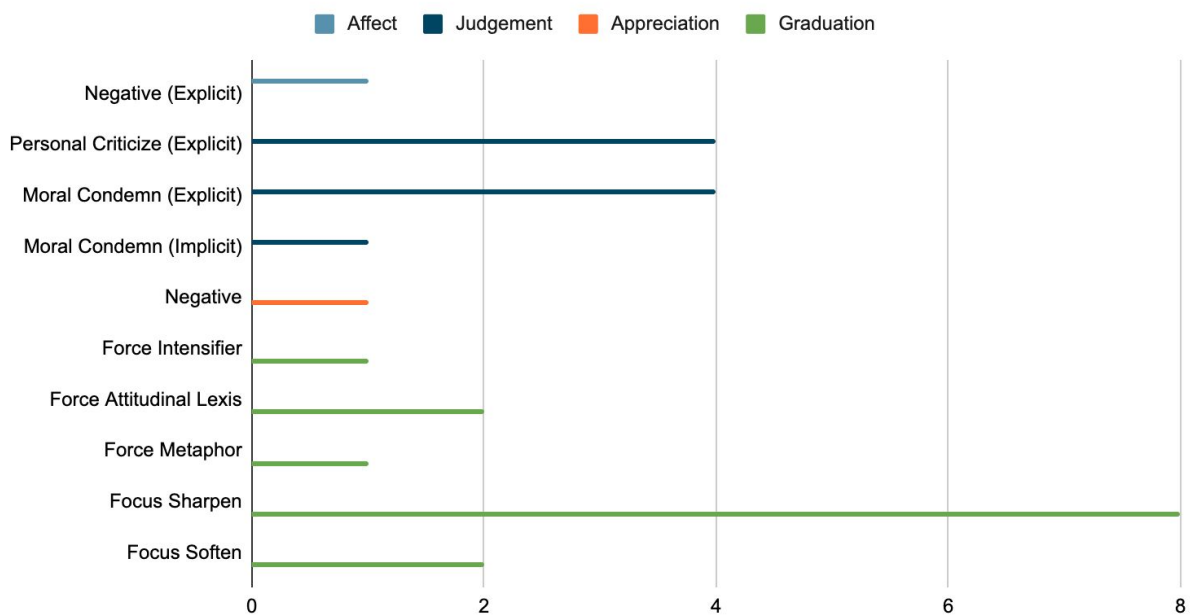
Force	Intensifier	Their <u>very</u> occupation
	Attitudinal lexis	Though appearances are not reliable, "Movement"

	Metaphor	a revelation of the prehistoric condition in which merchandise is transported from place to place in this port
Focus	Sharpen	Tuesday, Calle Prat, Valparaiso, certainly did not look overfed, likely, horse-drawn vehicles, one of the decree laws, New regulations
	Soften	Apparently, almost

In the following graph attitudinal markers and resources are sorted according to the quantities in which they appear in terms of Affect, Judgement, Appreciation and Graduation.

**Graph 7**

Affect, Judgement, Appreciation and Graduation in "Public Protest Against Increased 'Patentes'"



### 7.8 British Women Delegates To League

#### Appraisal

1. *Explicit and Implicit Negative Affect towards the lack of Women Delegates*

The author's Affect towards this situation seems to be in alignment with those who are protesting, Negative Affect is present when indicating that *Great indignation* was felt by all

participants in the demonstration. Explicit Affect is also shown in this news article in the description of a debate in which demonstrators were demanding the presence of women as delegates, as women advisers only had a *precarious* occupation in conferences. The usage of these expressions explicitly acknowledges that the author agrees with the fact that women were being underrepresented in different Commissions assembled by the League of Nations by evaluating these circumstances negatively. There are several instances of Implicit Negative Affect in this piece of news. The author mentions that resolutions were recently passed *urging* the British Government to hire women delegates for their next assembly, highlighting the pressing nature of this negative situation while implicitly aligning with those who are protesting this matter. As these assemblies discussed issues which greatly affected a vast number of women, the author reports a conference of women's societies which will be held in the future to *press* for a British woman to be appointed to the commission. It is also further remarked that there was a discussion as to the appeal of *pressing* for the appointment of fully accredited women delegates, the use of these two words indicating the author's implicit beliefs that this matter requires immediate action.

### 2. *Personal Explicit Criticism of the lack of representation in these Assemblies*

The author's Judgement is present in only one stance of this news article, this instance establishes an instance of Personal Judgement of criticism. This attitude is expressed as the author reports that the Permanent Mandates Commission has only one woman member and determines that *such representation [is] being deemed totally inadequate* by massive groups of women. It is clear that the author views this lack of female representation in Commissions as an unfavourable situation and disproves of it. The emphasis made by the author by using the expression *totally inadequate* highlights the author's stance in terms of their position, as they view the number of women being hired as insufficient and ineffective.

### 3. *Positive and Negative Appreciations about the absence of female members*

Two Positive Appreciations are present in this report, the first can be found in the statement *A protest against automatically placing women members of the Assembly on the fifth*

or *humanitarian committee*. The words *against automatically placing* express positive appreciation towards the protest that is being held. It is consequently explained that the women were being placed *on the fifth or humanitarian committee* while the protestors argued they should be participating in Assembly committees. The second Positive Appreciation is present in the word *should*, which is used to emphasize that women should be appointed to other committees. The author aligns with the ideas sustained by the demonstrators. In terms of Negative Appreciations, the first case is *especially as such subjects as domestic slavery, acquisition of girls as part of dowry schemes, and adoption of children with a view to their future enslavement*. The author includes in his statement a variety of elements depicting the harsh and cruel problems women are facing at this time in society, as a way of emphasizing the importance of this protest. The second instance of Negative Appreciation is where the author mentions that *Workmen's compensation did not concern women*, where one may suspect the author is writing with tongue in cheek, as it is later stated that women should be able to join all meetings even if they were only affected indirectly by the issues discussed.

#### 4. *Attitudinal lexis, Force Intensifiers and Sharpening and Softening of Focus*

There is a far greater presence of elements of Graduation than any other attitudinal marker. Concerning Force, the intensifier *fully* is used to amplify the status of accredited female delegates, while *only* is used to highlight that women were only being hired as substitute representatives for the League's assemblies. There is emphasis when expressing that *all* demonstrators were outraged that no women were being selected for the new commission. According to the author this commission would look into the *whole* question of slavery, highlighting the necessity for women to discuss this social issue. The importance of this subject is underlined when it is mentioned that women's societies were to gather in the *immediate* future to pressure authorities. The word *only* is used to call attention to the fact that *only one woman member* was assigned to the commission, and it is contrasted with the word *immense* to refer to female populations. The author utilizes *fully* again to refer to the recognition of female delegates, supported with *only* to make a point that women were being selected as technical advisers. The term *only* is used a third time to refer to the uncertain existence of jobs for women. This is



followed by *all*, to foreground the aspects women should be included in. The presence of one item of Attitudinal lexis is found in the author's phrase *At the best of times*, a negative comment made to emphasize the truthfulness of the situation. Regarding Focus, boundaries are sharpened between authorities and demonstrators by the designation of their status, the *Council for the Representation of Women in the League of Nations* is said to be located in *London* and managed by the *British Government*. These authorities also organize the next *Assembly of the League* and select *British delegates* who will participate in their *Council sessions* and in the *Permanent Mandates Commission* held in *May*. Authorities pertaining to the issue being reported are distinguished, to make a point that these decisions made by the *British Government* are being demonstrated against. In Focus, boundaries are softened to refer to those who are in disagreement with the decisions made by authorities, highlighting the presence of *only one woman member* and ironically mentioning that women had *already* been *frankly* told their presence was not necessary in conferences.

Concerning *Modality*, we were able to observe one marker of *Obligation* when it is stated by the editor that qualified women members *should* be appointed to committees, in reference to how members of the League of Nations should be required to act.

### **Relationship between the South Pacific Mail and British authorities**

Piguet (2017) affirms the Inter-Allied Women's Conference was summoned with the purpose of introducing women's issues to the peace process after the First World War. Women had been denied the opportunity to participate in the official proceedings many times before finally being allowed to present a resolution to the League of Nations Commission which covered trafficking and sale of women and children, women's political and suffrage position, and the change of education in order to incorporate human rights of all persons in every nation. Though most of their efforts were deterred, they marked the first instance women were allowed to participate in an international treaty negotiation, they won the right for women to serve in The League of Nations in all positions and their contributions for humane labor conditions and prevention of trafficking were accepted. Consequently in 1920, the League of Nations opened its

doors to both women and men, two hundred and forty-five women were employed to work in Central Service or as Secretaries. Women’s organizations like the “Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom”, the “International Women’s Suffrage Alliance” and the “International Council of Women” pushed for the League of Nations to employ more women.

According to Piguet (2017) the International Women’s Suffrage Association wrote an agenda and objective for a Women’s Bureau, which would improve conditions for women and provide them with an active role in the League of Nations. Consequently, by 1925, women made up half of the League’s employees but were mostly handling exclusively feminine positions with few or no responsibilities such as shorthand typist, copyist or secretary. In general, women were paid less than men who worked in the same department for the same amount of work. A traditional division of labor in the highest positions was present, most women worked in areas directly related to women’s issues while only men worked on economics, direct diplomacy or questions of war and peace. Another issue was that female applicants usually had insufficient education for the position which made it difficult for them to compete with their male counterparts who landed higher posts and often had former work experience. With the escalating international tensions of the 1930’s and the League’s reputation being put on the line, men replaced departing women in the organization as equality between men and women was not as important as it used to be before.

**Results**

This section shows the classification of words and expressions according to their lexical attitude guided by the Appraisal theory, hence, tables are established according to the following attitudes; Affect, Appreciation, Judgement and Graduation.

**Table 8**

**Affect**

	Explicit	Implicit
Positive		

Negative	Great Indignation, precarious	Urging, press, pressing,
----------	-------------------------------	--------------------------

**Judgement**

		Explicit	Implicit
Personal	Admire		
	Criticize	such representation being deemed totally inadequate,	
Moral	Praise		
	Condemn		

**Appreciation**

Positive	A protest against automatically placing women members of the Assembly on the fifth or humanitarian committee, Should
Negative	[especially as such subjects as domestic slavery, acquisition of girls as part of dowry schemes, and adoption of children with a view to their future enslavement], Workmen’s compensation did not concern women

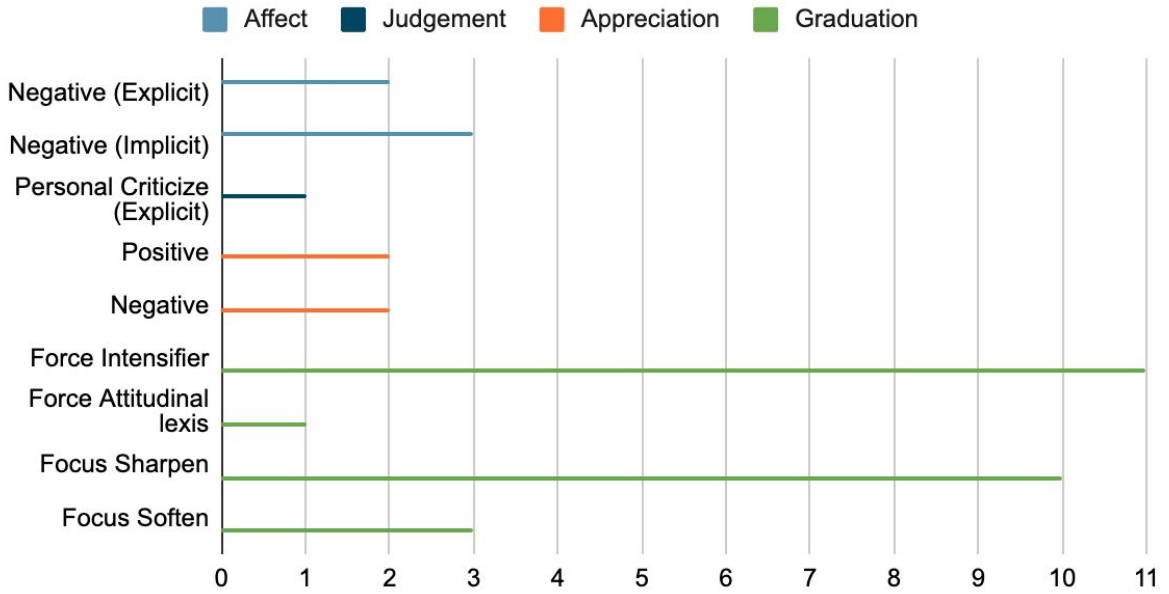
**Graduation**

Force	Intensifier	Fully, only, all, whole, immediate, <u>only</u> one woman member, immense, fully, only, only, all
	Attitudinal lexis	At the best of times
	Metaphor	
Focus	Sharpen	Council for the Representation of Women in the League of Nations, London, British Government, Assembly of the League, British delegate, Council Sessions, Permanent Mandates Commission, May, British Government,
	Soften	only one woman member, already, frankly

In the following graph attitudinal elements were quantified in terms of Affect, Judgement, Appreciation and Graduation and according to their presence in this piece of news.

Graph 8

Affect, Judgement, Appreciation and Graduation present in "British Women Delegates to League"



## 8. Conclusion

In summary, throughout this investigation we analyzed eight pieces of news concerning the activities undertaken by the Chilean labor movement during 1925. In particular, these pieces of news discussed matters regarding raise in taxes, the role of women in society, strikes, and the relationship between the Chilean president and the working class. We carried out our analysis using the resources provided by Rose and Martin (2007). We analyzed the way in which these news were appraised and we proposed causes for the particular stances found within the corpus. From this linguistic analysis, a series of conclusions can be drawn. According to the research questions we posed in the beginning of this investigation, there are several aspects we need to take into account so that our interpretation is clear.

Firstly, regarding our analysis of attitudes in news articles following Martin and Rose's (2007) Appraisal Model, we were able to observe the preponderance of several attitudinal markers. In "The Political Situation in Chile" we find prevalence of Judgement and Graduation, specifically in the presence of 10 markers of Focus being Sharpened. In the piece of news "The Presidential visit to Valparaiso" we were able to find predominance of Judgement on 28 occasions and the highlighting presence of 24 Force intensifiers in terms of Graduation.

Additionally, in the "End of the Nitrate Railways Strike", Graduation and Judgement are prevalent equally through the presence of 3 elements in each case. In "The Strike in the Nitrate Region" we were able to observe the preponderance of Force on 29 occasions with regard to Graduation and 11 elements of Judgement. In the news extract "The Demand for Reform in National Education" we found that there was a predominance of Graduation with 15 Force intensifiers and 25 instances of Sharpening of Focus. Moreover, in "Cheaper Housing for the People" we observed the dominance of Focus being Sharpened in 4 instances concerning Graduation. In "Public Protest against Increased 'Patentes'" we found a preponderance of Graduation and Judgment with 8 elements of Focus being sharpened and 4 equal instances of Personal explicit criticism and Moral explicit condemnation in each case. Furthermore, in "British Women Delegates to League" we noticed how Graduation was predominant with 11

Force Intensifiers and 10 occasions where Focus was Sharpened. According to our results, there is a prevalence of Graduation and Judgement in all of the analyzed news articles, demonstrating that Judgement is one of the main types of attitudes expressed in news reporting, which we predicted in our Theoretical Framework. In the same way, Graduation was also predominant which would reveal that the editors of these news articles often made use of resources of Amplification or Hedging.

Secondly, many implications of the way in which news were appraised were observed, following the application of appraisal theory and its analysis, for instance, one of the key parameters observed, was the author's point of view. While the precise authors of each piece of news remains unknown, it is certain that they follow a particular editorial guide that is consistent throughout all the pieces analysed. The use of the three attitudes, with the use of graduation, and in combination of the different uses of sources of attitudes within each text, shaped the message in a way that we as readers can understand the text itself better, and understand the author and its intentions while writing in depth. Concerning the point of view, it is clear that some of its remarks are charged with evaluations, as stated throughout this text, often siding with the Chilean government and authority figures, and frequently commenting negatively on those who oppose the Chilean administration.

Thirdly, we argued that the context of this period indeed influenced the way in which pieces of news were appraised by *The South Pacific Mail*. Particularly, it is quite clear from our analysis that the relationship between the Chilean government, the national and foreign capitalists and the Chilean armed forces was strong and fruitful. On the other hand, the relationship between these established institutions and the Chilean working class, and its labor movement, was problematic and even violent. This characteristic is not only evident in the historical resources that were used (Collier & Sater, 1996; Villalobos, 1996; Grez, 2007; Donoso, 2014) but also in the selected corpus. Hence, we believe that the dialectic relationship between one part and the other was fundamental for the negative way in which the labor movement was appraised.

Fourthly, about the implications of the British community in Valparaíso and its impact on the stance of journalists, we can argue that it was indeed an influential element. For one thing, as we discussed in this dissertation, the British colony in Valparaíso was multidimensional and its influence over the city and the country was very significant. Their interests in various industries assured them a close relationship with the political center found in Santiago. Moreover, their cultural and religious activities spread their costumes, beliefs and ideas in the form of cathedrals, neighborhoods, and newspapers, among many other forms. This economic comfort, as well as their political ties, meant that their ideals were of significant importance for the nation of Chile during the analyzed period. Certainly, their economic and political ideals were in accordance with that of the Chilean bourgeoisie and government. Hence, these ideologies were found in their written press. These newspapers were respected, read and diffused thoroughly, even in other countries. Thereby, we can clearly state that *The South Pacific Mail* was not neutral. In this sense, this newspaper followed what we have been arguing so far, that is, spreading information through a clearly ideological lens. Therefore, our corpus is a great example that the pieces of news regarding the Chilean labor movement were appraised in a negative light whereas the good relationship between the British colony and Chilean government was positively appraised. For this reason, the clearly subjective stance highlighted through markers of attitudinal amplification found throughout our corpus sheds light on the importance of the relationship between language, ideology and power; a crucial point studied by CDA.

In the fifth place, in terms of the role of women and its significance as represented by the analysis undertaken, there are several factors we need to take into account. The news article we analyzed titled “British Women Delegates to League” is successful at portraying the injustices and invisibilization of the work women performed during the twentieth century, as it mentions how human rights violations were affecting women worldwide as they were not allowed to have a say in the matter because they were considered as inferior. This is related to the role of women during the labor movement in Chile, as the contextual information provided clarifies that women were undermined by the Chilean government, who did not consider them as proper citizens (taking into account that women were not allowed to vote at the time), and they were even

overlooked in the political parties where they participated within the Chilean labor movement. “British Women Delegates to League” makes a specific report about how The League of Nations refused to hire female associates to participate in Committees which brought about demonstrations and movements against this type of oppression. Taking all of this into account we were able to conclude that women’s role in industry and labor movement was highlighted in the articles we selected, specifically in this news article, nevertheless, our analysis was also able to shed light on women’s deprecating work and living conditions during the twentieth century.

Finally, this topic of discussion is certainly a fruitful area of research. In this sense, what we have analyzed here is both interesting and important to understand the way in which language is related to issues such as power, ideology and culture. Additionally, our research topic is of paramount importance to understand how the Chilean labor movement was portrayed in the written press. Thus, by doing research on this topic, researchers can advance ideas regarding Social Movement studies, as well as ideas regarding CDA.

Although the present dissertation thoroughly analyzed its research topic, there are certain limitations and projections that need to be highlighted. For one thing, the limitation of resorting to just one newspaper (i.e. *The South Pacific Mail*) is evident if researchers intend to propose hypotheses about this research topic. Therefore, we expect that once the COVID-pandemic ends, both digital and physical copies will be available to carry out new investigations following these lines. Moreover, we focused on the way in which the Chilean labor movement was appraised, but it is clear that future research needs to focus on even more particular topics, for instance, the role of women within the labor movement, workers press compared to traditional press or the Chilean labor movement in the nitrate mining industry. Without doubt, further research could shed light on issues that have been briefly discussed or analyzed here. By focusing on particular topics and resorting to other newspapers, researchers could foster new ideas for academic discussion.



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## 10. Appendix

### Appendix A

#### **The Political Situation in Chile, April 16, 1925**

The leading event of the past week has been the stay of His Excellency, the President of the Republic, in Valparaiso and the opportunities that this visit has afforded him of addressing himself directly to the Naval and Civil Authorities, and, on more than one occasion, to the people of Valparaiso.

The naval review, the first, we believe, in this country in which submarines have taken part, was in every respect a success; the squadron, in which, after an absence of four years from the port, the fine cruiser "O'Higgins" figured, presenting a sufficiently imposing appearance, whilst its thorough efficiency is a matter of national pride. An interesting feature of the review was the presence of H. B. M. cruiser, "Constance." which had returned to Valparaiso to take the opportunity thus offered of complimenting His Excellency and the Chilean Navy, a service linked to that of Great Britain by the traditions of a century of close friendship.

In our last issue, reference was made to the tone of the public speeches of Don Arturo Alessandri. in which he reiterates his appeal for patience and confidence in the good will of his government. The magnitude of the task that he has been called back to this country to undertake is made only more evident by the outbreak of a serious strike in the Iquique nitrate region, fomented, it is said, by foreign agitators who have taken refuge in this country after being expelled- from neighbouring states. The news at the time of writing is satisfactory, as it is to the effect that the men of the twelve oficinas affected by the movement have returned to work. The railwayman and the employees of the Iquique tramways are reported to be still out.

In the meantime the social unrest of the central and southern part of the country is indicated by Strikes that follow one another with monotonous regularity. The strike of the employees of the Commercial Telegraph continues; the demands of the bank employees, refused by the common accord of the Managers, have been referred to the Minister of Public Welfare. The owners of horse-drawn vehicles defiled through the business streets of the town on Tuesday



in an interminable procession that took two hours to pass the Intendencia, as a protest against the decree-law that has doubled the amount of their "patentes". The employees are beginning to find a new inconvenience in their famous law' in the fact that, owing to the clause prohibiting distraint on salaries retail traders are refusing to give credit of any kind, as they have no means of guaranteeing eventual payment.

An incident in the Capital gives a sort of instantaneous photograph of the present state of affairs in Chile. The workmen of the Fundacion Libertad were defiling before the windows of the Moneda, and when His Excellency appeared on the balcony, whilst the majority of the demonstrators applauded him, voices were raised in the crowd against the President and his government. With that personal courage which His Excellency never fails to exhibit, the President descended among the strikers, expressing his opinion energetically with respect to those who were endeavoring to poison the minds of the workers and to divert them from the real path towards the solution of their difficulties. He warned his hearers frankly that his patience was almost exhausted, and that he would take up an energetic attitude against agitators of whatever class or kind. He asked the strikers to send him a delegation, and when this was done, he asked its members to name the persons whose outcries had originated the incident.

As no answer could be given to this demand, His Excellency informed the delegates that he was always ready to discuss matters with genuine workman, but he would never do so if he found them to be under the influence of unknown individuals whom they could not name themselves and who refused to come forward to take the responsibility for their acts.

The President, undoubtedly, is sparing no effort to realise the lofty ideals of social justice of which he is the eloquent exponent, though he is receiving but little assistance from many people in this country, who seem to be determined to make use of a national crisis to secure certain personal advantages without regard to the common welfare.

## Appendix B

**The Presidential visit to Valparaiso, April 9th 1925**

On Tuesday afternoon, after a train journey which was a repetition of his triumphal progress from the Argentine frontier to the Capital, Don Arturo Alessandri arrived at the Bella Vista station in Valparaíso. Imposing demonstrations of welcome awaited the presidential train in La Calera, the first stop, Quillota, and Limache. No halt was made at Viña del Mar, the train proceeding directly to the Barón station, where His Excellency was received by high officials of the Railway and where, during the changing of the locomotives, he conversed with a crowd of workmen on the platform. An enormous crowd awaited his Excellency at the Bella Vista station, where military honours were rendered by an imposing assemblage of sailors from the fleet, the naval schools, Boy Scouts, and troops of the garrison, in review order. From the station to the Plaza Sotomayor, every point of vantage was occupied by enthusiastic sightseers whilst in front of the Intendencia the police and troops with difficulty kept clear a space between the building and the Prat Monument. The procession to the Intendencia, through the crowded streets, moved very slowly, the President saluting his many personal acquaintances and responding to the ovation offered by the people.

It was an interesting moment when, last in the file of cars filled with the Civil authorities, Naval and Military chiefs, the Presidential automobile stopped before the gates of the Intendencia. It was impossible for the police to hold back the people, who crowded round with offerings of flowers and accorded the chief magistrate such a welcome as in all probability the historic plaza has never before witnessed. Most notable of all the events of the afternoon was the speech made by His Excellency from the balcony, immediately after the sailors, the Naval school and the troops had defiled before him.

He thanked the people for the grandiose manifestation of their welcome to him on his return to his beloved country, regarding it not so much as a personal tribute but as a homage to the national ideals and aspirations that he served with unshaken faith. They brought more than ever to his mind the greatness of his responsibilities and the magnitude of the task that lay before the country. All must be of accord in realizing the necessity of making a new Chile, and for this

the cooperation of all the vital forces of the country was necessary. A new edifice must be raised on the base of harmony, concord and love.

'With regard to the present situation his words were of the utmost importance. He had noted, he said, certain movements of the working classes that appeared to him to be in the highest degree unjustified and untimely, since they were a direct negation of the spirit of harmony that was so essential. The public ought to recognize that he had made a great sacrifice in taking a heavy burden upon his shoulders, and he had only done it on condition that the people should have confidence in him. To seek justice, the people had no need to resort to manifestations of violence or force, but to his sense of justice and right, which all could claim who asked for it with proper respect. In taking up the reins of government once more he had made the greatest sacrifice ever demanded of a Citizen of the Republic. He had made this sacrifice because he had faith in the goodness and sincerity of the people of Chile. They must seek the remedy of their difficulties and the solution of the problems in his good will, and not in disorder, since if they did so, he would have to carry out his duty and cause his authority to be respected. He was the President, not of a determined group, but of all, and when any question was brought to his notice, he ever inclined to the side of the party that most required his aid and protection. Whence come these movements of discontent and disorder in different parts of the country?

I hear a voice reply—Because we are hungry! But I assure you that stomachs cannot be filled by outcries and disorders. If you want justice, come to me, not to agitators who take advantage of your trustful ignorance to turn you aside from the path of order, tranquility and social wellbeing. It is an infamous crime to resort to disorder when a government exists that earnestly desires to act towards all with the strictest justice and impartiality.

He himself came from the people, and he gave his whole life to better their situation and to raise them from the state of abandonment in which they had languished for so many years. He had arrived at the highest post to which a Citizen might aspire, and had nothing to ask for himself, and he offered his life freely if by doing so he could contribute to the public good. He asked them all to forget the past and join him in raising the hymn of concord and harmony, for he had returned to this country to unite and not to divide. If they had no confidence in him, let them

say so frankly, that he might once more take the road of exile. With regard to the immediate difficulties of the day, they knew that the government had contracted an eminent financial expert, already renowned for his work in South America, to assist in the settlement of the monetary problem of country. He himself, during his exile, had dedicated the whole of his time to study in the interests of his country. But above all, patience, tranquillity, cooperation, concord and harmony were necessary, and if these were granted, he believed that he would shortly be able to deliver to them a new, prosperous, great and happy Chile.

The above brief summary of the Presidential address imperfect as it is, will serve to give some idea of what has been described by all who heard it as a magnificent piece of eloquence, exactly adapted to the circumstances of the moment and admirably calculated to infuse that spirit of moderation which is so absolutely essential if the country is to be saved from disaster. His Excellency subsequently received in the Intendencia several delegations of workmen and employees. A number of distinguished guests dined with the President, who later attended a gala performance in the Victoria Theatre, during the course of which he was enthusiastically greeted by a crowded audience. An interesting incident was the presentation on the part of several working men's societies, of a gold plaque, as a testimony of their respect and adhesion.

## Appendix C

**The Strike in the Nitrate Region, April 9th 1925**

Whilst Valparaiso was paying a well merited tribute of respect and affection to the returned President, serious news from the Nitrate region was occupying the minds of many. A strike has broken out in the Iquique nitrate region which, at the time of writing has occasioned the closing down of twelve nitrate oficinas and of the Nitrate Railway. It is stated that a band of agitators is proceeding from one oficina to another insisting on their closing down.

The demands of the men are stated to include a forty per cent increase in wages, and that the oficinas to which they are attached should come out of the Association of Nitrate Producers.

This strike, with its impossible demands, is an eloquent commentary on the fine speech of His Excellency, delivered on Tuesday afternoon from the balconies of the Intendencia. The spirit of disorder which he so much deplors has again made its presence felt. It is frankly impossible for the Nitrate Industry, upon which the welfare of Chile depends, to pay the increased wages demanded. The very existence of the Industry is at stake, threatened as it is by powerful competitors. It is becoming increasingly necessary to reduce expenses materially, or, as an alternative, to reduce the selling price of nitrate. The latter course means a considerable loss to the already overburdened national revenue.

This continual demand for increased salaries, we regret to see, has penetrated every class of the community. It is easy to demand lessened hours of work and higher pay. especially now that organizations have been formed that are quite capable of paralyzing the commercial life of the country at any moment. But, where is the money to come from?

From one place only, the pockets of the people, in the form of increased taxation, increased railway fares, custom house duties, postage rates, duties on essential medical specifics, dearer bread, milk, mud and water, gas etc. etc. The strikes and popular movements merely add to the popular unrest. In every branch of activity. whether in the manual occupations or in banks and commercial houses, the movements of the day are tending to decreased efficiency, to the prejudice of the public as a whole. Commerce, it appears, is to pay for all. but commerce cannot do this indefinitely. Already we hear of important concerns that give work to hundreds of

employees and workmen protesting that the game is not worth the candle, and that the time is at hand when the only thing for them to do will be to close down. It cannot be too often insisted on, the very life of Chile depends on commerce and very largely on foreign capital. The idea at present seems to be to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs—a very shortsighted policy.

Appendix D

**End of the Nitrate Railways Strike, April 30th 1925**

The strike lasting eighteen days affecting the Tarapaca Railway is stated to be now completely settled by an agreement arrived at between the Railway authorities and the workmen, thanks in great measure to the intervention of the Intendente of the Province, Senor Amengual. The railway service has been resumed in normal conditions. The Minister of Labour has sent to the Intendente a note congratulating him on the attitude he assumed towards the dispute and on the success of his mediation.

## Appendix E

**The Demand for Reform in National Education, April 23rd 1925**

It was with surprise that the people of Valparaiso, Santiago and other population centres throughout the Republic saw what appeared to be a simple Congress of Primary School teachers serve as the occasion for mass meetings, with their customary accompaniments of “desfiles,” impassioned oratory and, significant of these latter days, pickets of mounted police, soldiers and machine guns. Under such circumstances it is somewhat difficult to separate the aims of the school teachers from the contributions of their enthusiastic supporters, who seem rather to have swamped the subject of immediate interest by the introduction of other pressing, and possibly more important problems of the moment.

The meeting was convoked by the Association General de Profesores de Chile for the purpose of making a public manifestation in favour of the immediate dispatch of the project of general reconstruction of primary and normal instruction throughout the State. In Santiago, this meeting brought out thirty workmen’s, student’s, railway and general employees’ institutions, and from seven different platforms the Government was exhorted to reform without delay the present system of education.

In Valparaiso the meeting was also attended by the labour unions, many of them representing strike movements, but all enthusiastic for educational reform. A striking feature of the gathering was the great number of banners bearing devices referring to the subject,—“The Book and the Hammer made brothers, demand social justice”—“Do you want a New Chile? Complete reconstruction of the Educational System’.”—“The existing school is a crime against Humanity”—“The Asociación de Profesores wants to make free men and not meat for exploitation.”—“The Chilean school is an old Germán school on Chilean soil,”—“We who have no boots want schools on the hills.” etc. The orators enlarged upon these themes with astonishing eloquence. Some really notable speeches were delivered, of the lyrical Latin type, full of beautiful phrases in which the class war was buried under roses. It was there, however, and stripped of their adornments the speeches were “strong meat for babes.” Much was said about “the eternal interests of oligarchism and capitalism.”



It would seem that all who in the past have laboured to educate the people of this country haven been idiots, if not criminals. “The school of to-day,” said Señor Luis Quiñones, “fails in every respect to satisfy the aims of modern education. The children educated in it lose their individuality,, they are “idiotized” with antiquated methods of instruction and so help to maintain this system of society that is so badly organized and so full of moral sores.”

The imperative necessity of national regeneration as the only means of saving the Republic im- plies an educational-social problem, which, if left unsolved, will bring about a breakdown; The existing system of education fails entirely to fulfill its mission and must be reconstructed at once on the basis of—etc.

The project of reform drawn up by the Association General de Profesores is the most complete hitherto, and the people of Valparaíso (representing the organizations of workmen, employees and other institutions that constitute the living forces that make up the greatness of the nation—) call upon the Government etc. etc. The projected reforms, divested of lyrical embellishments, have many points of interest and some of value.

The system of education is supposed to start with the kindergarten, through which children of all social classes must pass, in order to learn fraternity from the outset. The pupils will pass into vocational schools, in which it will be the duty of the teacher to study their individual aptitudes, in order that the children can be directed into the industries or professions for which they are best fitted. It may be commented that this duty places a very heavy responsibility on the teacher. The great point of the scheme, however, seems to lie in the course it lays open to the pupil, from whatever social rank he may have come, from the primary school to the University, with the elimination of the preparatory sections in the Liceos.

Appendix F

**Cheaper Housing for the People, February 12th 1925**

In view of the popular protest against the high rents in Valparaiso, communicated to the Governmental Junta by a committee of Rent Payers, the matter is being studied with a view to improving the situation of the working classes in this respect. The under-secretary of the Ministry of Public Health, Sr. Poblete Troncoso has been instructed to draw up a report on the matter for the information of the Government.

## Appendix G

**Public Protest against Increased 'Patentes', April 16th 1925**

On Tuesday last the unusual spectacle was seen in Calle Prat and the other principal business streets of Valparaíso of an interminable procession of horse-drawn vehicles, apparently in every stage of decay, though appearances are not reliable. The "movement" represented the protest of the owners of horse-drawn vehicles against the sudden doubling of the cost of their licences by one of the decree laws that have proved such potent factors in the disturbing of the normal life of the community. The interested parties point out that owing to the drought, the cost of hay for their animal is almost prohibitive, whilst their very occupation is threatened by the continual increase in the number of auto-lorries. The horses certainly did not look overfed and it is likely enough that the new regulations would fall most heavily upon them. The spectacle was a revelation of the prehistoric condition in which merchandise is transported from place to place in this port. It was to be remarked, further, that a considerable number several years ago.

## Appendix H

**British Women Delegates to League, February 21, 1925**

At the morning session of the annual meeting of the Council for the Representation of Women in the League of Nations, held in London, recently, resolutions were passed urging the British Government to send fully accredited women delegates (not substitute delegates only, as in the past) to the next Assembly of the League, and to include women among the technical advisers who accompany the British delegate to the Council sessions.

Great indignation was manifested by all present that no woman had been appointed on the new commission to investigate the whole question of slavery, especially as such subjects as domestic slavery, acquisition of girls as part of dowry schemes, and adoption of children with a view to their future enslavement, were to be discussed; and it was resolved to call a conference of women's societies in the immediate future to press for the appointment of a British woman to this commission, and also to the Permanent Mandates Commission, which has only one woman member, such representation being deemed totally inadequate in view of the immense women populations that are dealt with under the commission.

**Accredited Women Delegates.**

A discussion also took place as to the desirability of pressing for the appointment of fully accredited women delegates at the annual conferences of the International Labour Office, instead of sending only women technical advisers, as has been the practice up to the present. Women advisers, it was contended, had only a precarious tenure of existence at the best of times, and had already been frankly told that their presence would not be necessary at the next conference in May as the subject under discussion then, workmen's compensation, did not concern women. The meeting was of the opinion that every Labour conference was of interest to women, either directly or indirectly.

A protest against automatically placing women members of the Assembly on the fifth or humanitarian committee, rather than on other of the Assembly committees, was registered, and the attention of the British Government called to the fact that women members of the assembly, equally with men, were interested in all the various aspects of the work of the League, and

should, therefore, in future, be appointed to other committees, if, by individual knowledge they were well qualified to serve on these.