

Changing Images of Margaret Thatcher

by

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VOL 2

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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University of Kent

November 1996



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CHAPTER 7

EDITORIALS

Powerful Persuaders

The printed word is more than just a tool of communication. It helps shape our convictions and judgements, appealing to emotion or intellect or expectation (Britton 1992 : 21) The nature and intent of Editorials makes them potentially powerful persuaders, since, by varying methods they are intended to "lead".

To avoid confusion with articles discussed in Chapter 6, the 'Editorial' here means the regular unsigned article stating the publication's official view on major issues, within an established bias.

In newspapers generally the Editorial is on a specific left hand page which rarely alters. In the Broadsheets this is near the centre, in the Tabloids it is close to the front page. The two serious Periodicals, Spectator and New Statesman, have a different location, whilst Punch and Private eye do not have a conventional Editorial. In some publications there is a special layout and print type for the Editorial. In exceptional circumstances the Editor may write the article, more usually it is one of the leader writers. The Daily and Sunday Mirror sometimes give additional emphasis to the Editorial by starting it on the front page and continuing on page two, the usual location. In this case the day's headline serves a dual purpose. For maximum effect, such as during the election campaign, these two papers occasionally have a cartoon or line drawing to accompany the Editorial, but they are the only two researched publications to do so.

The length of an Editorial depends on the 'quality' and size of the publication - the tabloids are limited compared with the broadsheets. The language is in the 'house' style and suited to the anticipated readership. Thus the Broadsheets have the space and the readers expect a reasoned discussion or intellectual argument, one more likely to reinforce the traditional values, rather than forceful persuasion. Grammar, syntax and an extensive vocabulary regulate the whole. This is close to Bernstein's analysis of 'formal language' where "... meaning is logically explicit and finely differentiated". (Bernstein 1959 : 316) By contrast the Tabloid Editorial is brief, colloquial, often emotive, using statements and rhetorical questions to lead and convert, or convince. It may reinforce readers' traditional values; it appeals to basic instincts, but is sometimes closer to propaganda than reasoned argument. This resembles Bernstein's 'public language' where "... meaning is implicit and crudely differentiated". (Bernstein op cit)

The two serious Periodicals, each with a strong allegiance, parallel the style of the Broadsheets in the Editorial. In Punch infrequent Editorial-type comment appears in the Diary or similar article, but it tends to consist of an isolated statement in the midst of sundry small items. Private Eye has a 'proprietary letter', unique and quirky. Neither of these publications is included in statistics and comment in this chapter.

It is anticipated that the different Editorial approaches will be reflected in the adjectives used and type of verbal images employed to describe Mrs Thatcher personally and politically. Using a format similar to Chapter 6, quantitative matters are dealt with first, covering frequency of mention of Mrs Thatcher and the number of different descriptions used at each election by type of publication. Qualitative matters follow, when these descriptions are considered for their significance, compared and contrasted by election and type of publication.

Table 7.1 Analysis of General Election Editorials

	1979			1983			1987		
	Total Editorials	Mentioned	Significant Mention	Total Editorials	Mentioned	Significant Mention	Total Editorials	Mentioned	Significant Mention
DAILY PAPERS									
THE TIMES *	24*	17	13	24	12	7	24	20	10
THE GUARDIAN	24	16	8	24	14	11	24	17	4
DAILY EXPRESS	24	9	4	24	11	4	24	15	7
DAILY MIRROR	24	15	12	24	16	13	24	15	13
SUNDAY PAPERS									
SUNDAY TIMES*	5*	4	2	5	3	2	5	4	2
OBSERVER	5	5	-	5	3	2	5	5	3
SUNDAY EXPRESS	5	2	1	5	2	1	5	3	1
SUNDAY MIRROR	5	2	1	5	4	3	5	5	3
PERIODICALS									
SPECTATOR	5	4	2	5	3	1	5	4	3
NEW STATESMAN	5	1	-	5	3	2	5	3	2

Definitions for MENTIONED and SIGNIFICANT MENTION as in Table 6.1 in the previous chapter.

There are no Editorials, as such, in PUNCH and PRIVATE EYE. They are therefore omitted here; a further note occurs in the text.

The reason for the figures under EDITORIAL TOTALS is discussed further in the Appendix.

SIGNIFICANT MENTION Editorials are analysed further in Tables 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4. They appear as POLITICAL i.e. the emphasis is on the politician and political matters, and PERSONAL i.e. the emphasis is more on personality and related matters.

* DAILY and SUNDAY TELEGRAPH in 1979

Statistics

The Editorial analysis (Table 7.1) shows the number of times Mrs Thatcher was mentioned by each group of publications at each election. Additional histograms show the number of Political and Personal Editorials 'about' Mrs Thatcher.

In the analysis, 'mentioned' is used in the widest context. It can mean one reference or several in the Editorial, and includes appropriate alternatives to her name. Mrs Thatcher may not be the subject of, or an essential part of the comment. Editorials 'about' Mrs Thatcher indicate that she is the main subject, even if reference is made to other people.

The histograms indicate whether Editorials 'about' Mrs Thatcher are more concerned with the politician or the personality. Where there was uncertainty regarding the emphasis, then it was counted as political.

DAILY PAPERS

In the daily papers (Table 7.2) Mrs Thatcher is mentioned on at least half the available days by these papers - 2 Labour, 1 Conservative - at each election. The exception is the Express, where the level is very much lower until 1987, when it matches the Mirror total. Again, with the exception of the Express, there appeared to be almost as many mentions of Mrs Thatcher, line (b), in 1979 as Opposition Leader and would-be Prime Minister, as in 1987 when she was looking for a third victory. As we shall find, Telegraph Editorials were lavish with favourable comment about Mrs Thatcher. The fluctuation in the Telegraph/Times 'mentioned' figures are deceptive. Had the Times been published in 1979 possibly gravitas, not enthusiasm would have reduced or levelled the first percentage.

Table 7.2

Editorials in Daily Papers

Analysis of SIGNIFICANT MENTION Editorials to show POLITICAL and PERSONAL ones with their percentages of Editorials in which Mrs Thatcher is mentioned. Statistics from Table 7.1

PAPER

ELECTION YEAR

(a) Total election Editorials

(b) Number of Editorials mentioning Mrs Thatcher

(b) as % of (a)

(c) SIGNIFICANT MENTION EDITORIALS

(c) as % of (b)

(d) POLITICAL and PERSONAL EDITORIALS as % of (c)

TELEGRAPH	TIMES	
1979	1983	1987
24	24	24
17	12	20
70.8%	50%	83.3%

GUARDIAN		
1979	1983	1987
24	24	24
16	14	17
66.6%	58.3%	70.8%

DAILY EXPRESS		
1979	1983	1987
24	24	24
9	11	15
37.5%	45.8%	62.5%

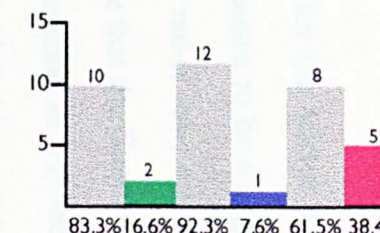
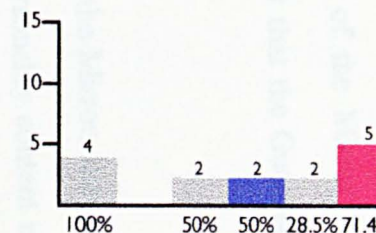
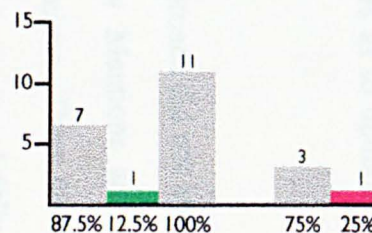
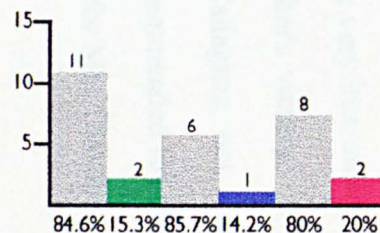
DAILY MIRROR		
1979	1983	1987
24	24	24
15	16	15
62.5%	66.6%	62.5%

13	7	10
76.4%	58.3%	50%

8	11	4
50%	78.5%	23.5%

4	4	7
44.4%	36.3%	46.6%

12	13	13
80%	81.2%	86.6%



POLITICAL



PERSONAL



290a

In the Significant Mention section line (c), the consistent figures for the Mirror contrast markedly with the other papers, particularly the Express. There seems to be a degree of inverted partisanship here. The Guardian's 1987 total also seems rather low, considering Mrs Thatcher was mentioned so much in total (b). One could argue that the Guardian gave more attention to the Labour party and presentation of a Leader making an impressive or credible challenge for Premiership, whereas the Mirror - in Tabloid fashion, was rather obsessive about 'the enemy'. Against this is the consistency of the Mirror's figures regardless of Mrs Thatcher's standing and opponent, and the fact that the Guardian gave more attention to her as Opposition Leader in 1979.

The histograms show that in three papers, the Broadsheets and the Mirror, the politician clearly outnumbers the personality. The Mirror increased the personality content in 1987, the Guardian ignored it in 1983, which makes interesting pointers as to opinions in those particular years, and the prevailing situation.

The Express profile is the very odd one out, since its partisan approach did not alter for the three elections. Only in 1987 did it match Mirror totals for Mentions and personal editorials, and was higher than the Guardian with Significant Mentions. There did not seem to be undue attention on the Opposition Leaders or manifestos, just general daily analysis of, or comment on, the progress of the election. There was one very interesting aspect to the comment on Saturday 5 May 1979, i.e. after Mrs Thatcher's victory. The whole Editorial was a thoughtful and courteous farewell to James Callaghan, not a fanfare or further congratulations for Mrs Thatcher. He was particularly commended for his dignified acceptance of defeat without "histrionics, blame or good advice for Mrs Thatcher".

Table 7.3

Editorials in Sunday Papers

Analysis of SIGNIFICANT MENTION Editorials to show POLITICAL and PERSONAL ones with their percentages of Editorials in which Mrs Thatcher is mentioned. Statistics from Table 7.1

PAPER

ELECTION YEAR

(a) Total election Editorials

(b) Number of Editorials mentioning Mrs Thatcher

(b) as % of (a)

ELECTION YEAR	SUNDAY TELEGRAPH	SUNDAY TIMES	
	1979	1983	1987
(a) Total election Editorials	5	5	5
(b) Number of Editorials mentioning Mrs Thatcher	4	3	4
(b) as % of (a)	80%	60%	80%

OBSERVER		
1979	1983	1987
5	5	5
5	3	5
100%	60%	100%

SUNDAY EXPRESS		
1979	1983	1987
5	5	5
2	2	3
40%	40%	60%

SUNDAY MIRROR		
1979	1983	1987
5	5	5
2	4	5
40%	80%	100%

(c) SIGNIFICANT MENTION EDITORIALS

(c) as % of (b)

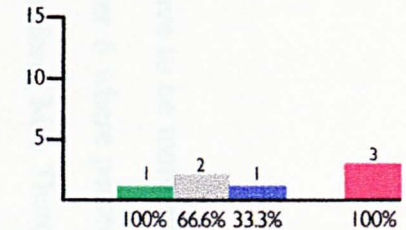
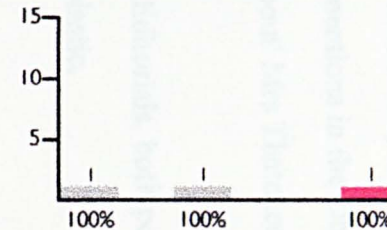
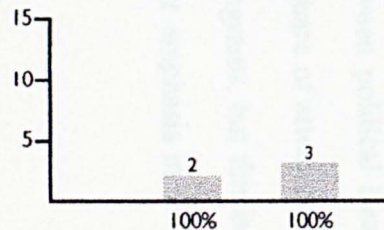
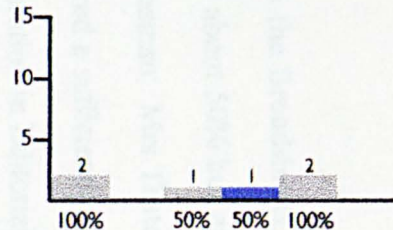
2	2	2
50%	66.6%	50%

-	2	3
-	66.6%	60%

1	1	1
50%	50%	33.3%

1	3	3
50%	75%	60%

(d) POLITICAL and PERSONAL EDITORIALS as % of (c)



POLITICAL

PERSONAL

1979
1983
1987

SUNDAY PAPERS

With the constraints of time and/or space, the Sunday Editorials have to be more succinct and selective. There is also the statistical problem noted in Chapter 6 where percentages tend to be exaggerated by the small totals. Not surprisingly, therefore, Mrs Thatcher is mentioned more in the Broadsheets than in the Tabloids, but, as in the daily section, the Express input is rather limited. Overall at total (b) there are more mentions in the Observer than elsewhere, though at (c) for this paper, there is no Editorial 'about' Mrs Thatcher.

In 1979, only the Telegraph thought Mrs Thatcher warranted two Editorials, both political. Support from this publication - both daily and Sunday - was enthusiastic.

If the Sunday papers were sharing out space and comment between political Leaders in 1983 and 1987, then it appears Mrs Thatcher had more than her share of attention in some cases, total (c). Even this attention tends to look 'thin' in the histograms, but this is part of the exaggeration problem. As one would expect, the Broadsheet emphasis in 1987 is on the politician and the Tabloid on the personality.

PERIODICALS

Editorials in the two Periodicals are similar in tone and style to the Broadsheets, and on partisan lines. With one exception the 'mentioned' totals are well about 50% but may seem exaggerated. Of note are the lack of 1979 statistics in New Statesman; Mrs Thatcher was 'mentioned' twice in one article. She was apparently not considered a sufficiently important or even serious challenge to Mr Callaghan to merit much consideration in Editorials, which preferred to reinforce existing loyalties and maintain the status quo. However, by 1987 Mrs Thatcher was considered both a threat and a challenge by New Statesman, as will be shown later. Although the Spectator has statistics for all three elections it seems surprising

Table 7.4

Editorials in Periodicals

Analysis of SIGNIFICANT MENTION Editorials to show POLITICAL and PERSONAL ones with their percentages of Editorials in which Mrs Thatcher is mentioned. Statistics from Table 7.1

PUBLICATION

ELECTION YEAR

(a) Total election Editorials

(b) Number of Editorials mentioning Mrs Thatcher

(b) as % of (a)

SPECTATOR		
1979	1983	1987
5	5	5
4	3	4
80%	60%	80%

NEW STATESMAN		
1979	1983	1987
5	5	5
1	3	3
20%	60%	60%

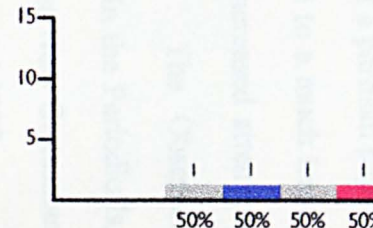
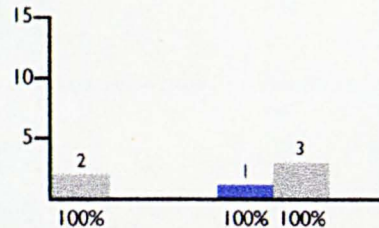
(c) SIGNIFICANT MENTION EDITORIALS

(c) as % of (b)

2	1	3
50%	33.3%	75%

-	2	2
-	66.6%	66.6%

(d) POLITICAL and PERSONAL EDITORIALS as % of (c)



that there was only one Editorial 'about' Mrs Thatcher in 1983, albeit a personal one. The histograms show New Statesman's apparently more consistent profile over two elections against the fluctuations in the Spectator's over three.

In this first section, overall, the emphasis is particularly on the Politician in the Daily paper Editorials, but the Personality is not overlooked, especially in the 1987 Tabloids. The particular surprise was the level of Express statistics and the low profile of a partisan paper. In the more limited space of the Sunday papers the Telegraph/Times and to a much lesser extent the Express, also emphasised the Politician, whereas the Mirror increased attention on the Personality over the three elections, particularly in 1987. The Observer concentrated on the Politician alone, and then only in 1983 and 1987. In the Periodicals, the Spectator interest, though intermittent, was on the Politician, whilst New Statesman gave equal, limited attention to Personality and Politician, but only in 1983 and 1987.

Table 7.5 Analysis of Numbers of Different Names Used at Each Election

	1979	1983	1987
(a) Total number of different names used - all sources ie no repetition or overlap	46	60	48
% change on previous election		*	- 20%
<u>Daily Papers</u>			
(b) Total number of different names used % of election total (a) in brackets	38 (82.6%)	38 (63.3%)	32 (66.6%)
% change on previous election		*	(- 15.7%)
<u>Publication with % Daily paper total in brackets</u>			
Numbers of names used from total (b)			
Times (Telegraph 1979)	28 (73.6%)	7 (18.4%)	11 (34.3%)
Guardian	12 (31.5%)	25 (65.7%)	13 (40.6%)
Express	6 (15.7%)	11 (28.9%)	8 (25%)
Mirror	7 (18.4%)	6 (15.7%)	17 (53%)
<u>Sunday Papers</u>			
(c) Total number of different names used % of election total (a) in brackets	12 (26%)	18 (30%)	13 (27%)
% change on previous election		*	(- 27.7%)
<u>Publication with % of Sunday papers total in brackets</u>			
Number of names used from total (c)			
Times (Telegraph 1979)	3 (25%)	10 (55.5%)	4 (30.7%)
Observer	5 (41.6%)	6 (33.3%)	5 (38.4%)
Express	2 (16.6%)	4 (22.2%)	8 (61.5%)
Mirror	6 (50%)	7 (38.8%)	5 (38.4%)
<u>Periodicals</u>			
(d) Total number of different names used % of election total (a) in brackets	2 (4.3%)	13 (21.6%)	12 (25%)
% change on previous election			
<u>Publication with % Periodicals total in brackets</u>			
Number of names used from total (d)			
Spectator	2 (100%)	13 (100%)	11 (91.6%)
New Statesman	1 (50%)	3 (23%)	4 (33.3%)

* affected by Telegraph/Times change

Table 7.6 Analysis of Names Used Most Frequently in 1979

DAILY PAPERS

Total number of different names used in this Table : 38

Number of names used common to all Daily Papers : 2

Mrs Thatcher Number of times used
 Politician -----“-----

Telegraph	Guardian	Express	Mirror
41	55	17	56
5	4	1	1

Number of names used common to three papers : 2

Thatcher Number of times used
 Margaret Thatcher -----“-----

2	2	2	8
		2	1

Limited Use

Number of other names used per publication, not mentioned above.

25	9	2	3
28	12	6	7

Total number of different names used by each paper at this election. (From Table 7.5)

either she was mentioned in all five Editorials, although none of them were 'about' her politically and personally.

Frequency and Commonality -

Apart from 'Mrs Thatcher' being the most frequently used name, as anticipated, three other points arise. The low input for the Express, noted earlier, is reflected here, and it looks worse beside the high total for the Mirror. The Mirror total also outshines the Telegraph. However, the enthusiasm and ebullience of the Telegraph Editorial seemed to require a much greater range of names than the three other papers put together.

The Mirror's use of 'Thatcher' is not particularly significant at this stage, and this figure covers a 24 day period. As we shall see on a later Table, 'Prime Minister' and such familiar names as 'Iron Lady' and 'Maggie' had very limited use in the 1979 Editorials in all newspapers, and did not appear in periodicals.

Table 7.7 Analysis of Names Used Most Frequently in 1979

SUNDAY PAPERS

<u>Total number of different names used in this Table : 12</u>		Telegraph	Observer	Express	Mirror
<u>Number of names used common to all papers : 1</u>					
Mrs Thatcher	Number of times used	11	32	9	10
<u>Limited Use</u>					
Number of other names used per publication, not mentioned above.		2	4	1	5
Total number of different names used by each paper at this election. (From Table 7.5)		3	5	2	6

Frequency and Commonality

The Observer's outstanding 'Mrs Thatcher' total overshadows the rest, but as we saw earlier she was mentioned in all five Editorials, although none of them were 'about' her politically and personally.

The paper's endorsement was for James Callaghan, as we know. The Sunday Telegraph did not seem to need the extensive variety and range of names like the weekday counterpart, even allowing for the limited number of days. The figure above covers two Editorials 'about' Mrs Thatcher politically, so this contrasts even more with the Tabloids and the Observer.

Table 7.8 Analysis of Names Used Most Frequently in 1979

PERIODICALS

Total number of different names used in this Table : 2

Number of names used common to both Periodicals : 1

Mrs Thatcher Number of times used

	Spectator	New Statesman
Mrs Thatcher	9	2
<u>Limited Use</u> Number of other names used per publication, not mentioned above.	1	-
Total number of different names used by each Periodical at this election. (From Table 7.5)	2	1

Frequency and Commonality

Reflecting the profiles commented on earlier (Table 7.4) the Periodicals' choice in brevity itself. For 1979 this is an interesting contrast. The Spectator, with two names not used to excess signified approval, whilst the criticism of New Statesman is in just two mentions, but no Editorial 'about' Mrs Thatcher.

Table 7.9 Analysis of Names Used Most Frequently in 1983

DAILY PAPERS

Total number of different names used in this Table : 38

		Times	Guardian	Express	Mirror
Number of names used common to all Daily Papers : 2					
Mrs Thatcher	Number of times used	25	69	18	38
Prime Minister	-----“-----	18	12	10	3
Number of names used common to three Papers : 1					
Thatcher	Number of times used	1	3	-	1
Limited Use					
Number of other names used per publication, not mentioned above.		4	21	9	3
Total number of different names used in each Periodical at this election. (From Table 7.5)		7	25	11	6

Frequency and Commonality

There are several interesting changes in these figures compared with 1979. One difference is due to the contrasting Editorial styles of the Telegraph and Times - the reserved approach tempered the input. Another feature, not surprisingly, is the more concentrated use of two names by all the papers. Third : the Guardian and Express totals of different names have doubled, which contrasts with the Mirror's, which is one name less. The Guardian's high total is accounted for by the amount of Editorials 'about' Mrs Thatcher noted earlier (Table 7.2).

The use of nicknames and other familiar descriptions is still limited in all newspapers in 1983, but they appear in both broadsheets and tabloids.

Table 7.10 Analysis of Names Used Most Frequently in 1983

SUNDAY PAPERS

Total number of different names used in this Table : 18

		Times	Observer	Express	Mirror
<u>Number of names used common to all Sunday Papers : 1</u>					
Mrs Thatcher	Number of times used	4	23	3	16
<u>Number of names used common to three papers : 2</u>					
Prime Minister	Number of times used	2	3		2
Politician	-----“-----	1		1	1
<u>Of Particular Note</u>					
Thatcher	Number of times used	6	1		
<u>Limited Use</u>					
Number of other names used per publication, not mentioned above.		6	4	2	4
Total number of different names used by each paper at this election. (From Table 7.5)		10	6	4	7

Frequency and Commonality

The Times total is markedly higher than the Telegraph’s for 1979, but any comparison is impossible. It seems unusual for the Times to use ‘Thatcher’ more than ‘Mrs Thatcher’ in the Editorial, but in 1983 the tone of comment was not critical.

The Observer had two Editorials ‘about’ Mrs Thatcher which does not really explain the high use of her name. She appeared to be something of a preoccupation with the writers, not just Michael Foot’s opponent and a Prime Minister seeking re-election. The Mirror also used ‘Mrs Thatcher’ frequently, in three Editorials (two political, one personal) but in the accepted partisan manner. This almost over-usage or stressing of the name in the Labour press does make a strong contrast with the very limited use in the Conversation press.

In the totals of names, the Observer and Mirror have only increased by one each since 1979, but compensated by re-iteration of one name. The Express total has doubled. The Times total is double that of the Telegraph.

Table 7.11 Analysis of Names Used Most Frequently in 1983

PERIODICALS

Total number of different names used in this Table : 13

		Spectator	New Statesman
<u>Number of names used common to both Periodicals : 3</u>			
Mrs Thatcher	Number of times used	22	24
Prime Minister	-----“-----	2	7
Thatcher	-----“-----	1	4
<u>Limited Use</u>			
Number of other names used per publication, not mentioned above.		10	-
Total number of different names used by each Periodical at this election. (From Table 7.5)		13	3

Frequency and Commonality

From just 2 names in 1979 to 12 in 1983 the Periodicals show the greatest increase of any group of publications. The increase however is mainly with the Spectator’s selection, not all of it indicative of approbation or partisanship. With no list of exclusive names New Statesman used ‘Prime Minister’ and ‘Thatcher’ more, and by this stage the latter had become critical not just a name. The figures above represent very concentrated use of the formal name since Mrs Thatcher was mentioned in three Editorials, in both cases (Table 7.4).

Table 7.12 Analysis of Names Used Most Frequently in 1987

DAILY PAPERS

Total number of different names used in this Table : 32

		Times	Guardian	Express	Mirror
Number of names used common to all Daily Papers : 3					
Mrs Thatcher	Number of times used	62	49	33	38
Prime Minister	-----“-----	16	8	5	5
Politician	-----“-----	1	1	1	1
Number of names used common to three papers : 3					
Thatcher	Number of times used		2	3	1
Margaret Thatcher	-----“-----		1	2	2
Maggie	-----“-----		1	5	1
Limited Use					
Number of other names used per publication, not mentioned above.		8	7	2	11
Total number of different names used by each paper at this election. (From Table 7.5)		11	13	8	17

Frequency and Commonality

Since this was Mrs Thatcher’s attempt at a third election success, it was surprising to find the number of names decreased slightly in 1987 (Table 7.8) although the Times increased its selection and the Mirror trebled its total from 1983. The Express and Guardian totals fell, the latter almost by half. ‘Mrs Thatcher’ remained first choice by a wide margin, but the use of ‘Prime Minister’ as second choice decreased. ‘Thatcher and the less formal names had limited use, though Maggie appeared as often as ‘Prime Minister in the Express. The Mirror’s total of names is interesting because they are used for critical purposes, and this is also the paper’s largest total in the three selections. The guardian was also critical but with a small selection.

Table 7.13 Analysis of Names Used Most Frequently in 1987

SUNDAY PAPERS

Total number of different names used in this Table : 13

		Times	Observer	Express	Mirror
<u>Number of names used common to all Sunday Papers : 1</u>					
Mrs Thatcher	Number of times used	20	24	2	13
<u>Number of names used common to three papers : 2</u>					
Prime Minister Politician	Number of times used -----“-----	1	3	3 1	2 1
<u>Of Particular Note</u>					
Thatcher Margaret Thatcher	Number of times used -----“-----	9	2	3	1
<u>Limited Use</u>					
Number of other names used per publication, not mentioned above.		1	3	4	1
Total number of different names used by each paper at this election. (From Table 7.5)		4	5	8	5

Frequency and Commonality

Probably the most striking feature is the concentrated use of ‘Mrs Thatcher’ by three of the papers, and so little use by the Express. Second, the omission of ‘Prime Minister’ in the Times and the preference for ‘Thatcher’. Like the daily counterpart, concern about, and criticism of Mrs Thatcher and her policies increased considerably at this election. The Observer continued critical and mentioned Mrs Thatcher in all the Editorials. The Mirror was strident, with the criticism fixed around ‘Mrs Thatcher’ and ‘Margaret Thatcher’ more than the formal name - but overall had the largest range of names.

Table 7.14 Analysis of Names Used Most Frequently in 1987

PERIODICALS

Total number of different names used in this Table : 12

Number of names used common to both Periodicals : 3

Mrs Thatcher	Number of times used
Prime Minister	-----“-----
Thatcher	-----“-----

	Spectator	New Statesman
Mrs Thatcher	13	7
Prime Minister	1	8
Thatcher	1	1
Limited Use		
Number of other names used per publication, not mentioned above.	8	1
Total number of different names used in each Periodical at this election. (From Table 7.5)	11	4

Frequency and Commonality

There is a wide gap between the totals of the Periodicals again - marginally narrower than in 1983, but a similar pattern. The most interesting changes are in New Statesman, with the big decrease in the use of ‘Mrs Thatcher and only a slight increase in ‘Prime Minister’, making it first choice. The use of ‘Thatcher’ also declined. New Statesman was, in all senses, plainly critical. The Spectator remained partisan, but was not entirely favourable in the exclusive names, or its support.

To sum up briefly so far: On the whole there were relatively few surprises in the Editorial statistics. Two points of particular note were the unusually low profile of the Daily and Sunday Express until 1987; and the minimal comment on Mrs Thatcher in New Statesman in 1979.

As expected, all publications used 'Mrs Thatcher' as the main name in 1979, by a wide margin. Brief mention was made of 'Prime Minister' but familiar names such as 'Maggie' and 'Iron Lady' had very limited use and did not appear in periodicals. Critical names and descriptions also had very limited use, even in the Labour press.

The more sober terms of the 1983 Times were in marked contrast with the Daily Telegraph of 1979. The Sunday Times, surprisingly, made 'Thatcher' the first choice of name whereas all other publications had 'Mrs Thatcher' and 'Prime Minister' as first and second choice. 'Thatcher' was used elsewhere but to no great extent. Criticism had increased, but generally with names exclusive to a particular publication, as well as with 'Mrs Thatcher' or 'Thatcher'. There was little increase in familiar names or nicknames.

'Mrs Thatcher' remained the first name of 1987, but the use of Prime Minister declined, particularly in daily papers. Critical terms had increased considerably by this election, the Daily Mirror was particularly abrasive. The Guardian and the Observer expressed their disapproval rather differently, as did the periodicals, especially New Statesman.

Names, Images and Descriptions

One of the problems arising in the earlier statistics was in dividing the Party Political from the personal Editorials. Relying on the type of name or description as an indicator was not possible since many of them were applicable either side of the division in both Broadsheet and Tabloid, Labour and Conservative press. It was occasionally difficult to decide where the emphasis lay, as the following examples show.

In 1979 the Daily Telegraph commented:

"... the popular assessment of the character and achievements of Mrs Thatcher will be a powerful factor in deciding the outcome ... (she is) not by nature a chairman; she has ¹(with singular success) drawn the party along the road she wanted it to follow ... often by the unorthodox and alarming method of moving out in front without warning or adequate consultation." (23 April 1979)

The prescience of the last phrase is perhaps more powerful now than when written, bearing in mind later criticisms of "her style of government".

In 1987 New Statesman considered that Mrs Thatcher was "not balanced", but this was very carefully defined as not balanced by her choice of political colleagues as well as in personal/political judgement. It was argued that she was

"... perfectly sane but perfectly narrow. Any prime minister must have a vision." (5 June 1987)

¹ Editorial parenthesis

It might be said that her original speech on why she was a conviction politician had overtones of Martin Luther King's 'I have a dream'. Part of her vision, personal and political totally opposed Socialism; other aspects of her vision were not always comfortable within Conservatism. Her vision was another's nightmare, an alternative notion of balance.²

Again in 1987, noting that any Prime Minister's leadership style becomes controversial after a lengthy period in office, the Guardian thought it "inevitable" that Mrs Thatcher would become "an election issue", and was critical of her "much too personal" methods. The 'election issue' was not a new debate, it was raised in 1979, but for slightly different reasons. The comment continued:

"The way that any Prime Minister (or would be Prime Minister) behaves expresses a set of attitudes and values which form part of any party's public image ... She has encouraged, exploited and sometimes even gloried in the assertive leadership image that has been created for her ... She has played to it quite shamelessly when it has suited her". (2 June 1987)

Editorial comment was also expressed in further images as it reviewed the attitude, behaviour and public persona of the Prime Minister, her party and her politics. As we have already seen, some publications were discursive whilst others were more concise.

We now turn to qualitative matters concerning the variety of names and descriptions used in Editorials, the sources of inspiration and perhaps the reasons for use. The images have been categorised using the same format found in Chapter 6. Each group is then considered by election and in the sections of Daily and Sunday papers, and Periodicals.

² A lateral thought here is that a Prosecutor, choosing his/her words carefully, might seek to raise a reasonable doubt in an innocent way by using the phrase 'not balanced' and defining it as New Statesman did.

Table 7.1.1

Names in Editorials

Numerical analysis of names used by Publication/Category/Year

Daily Papers

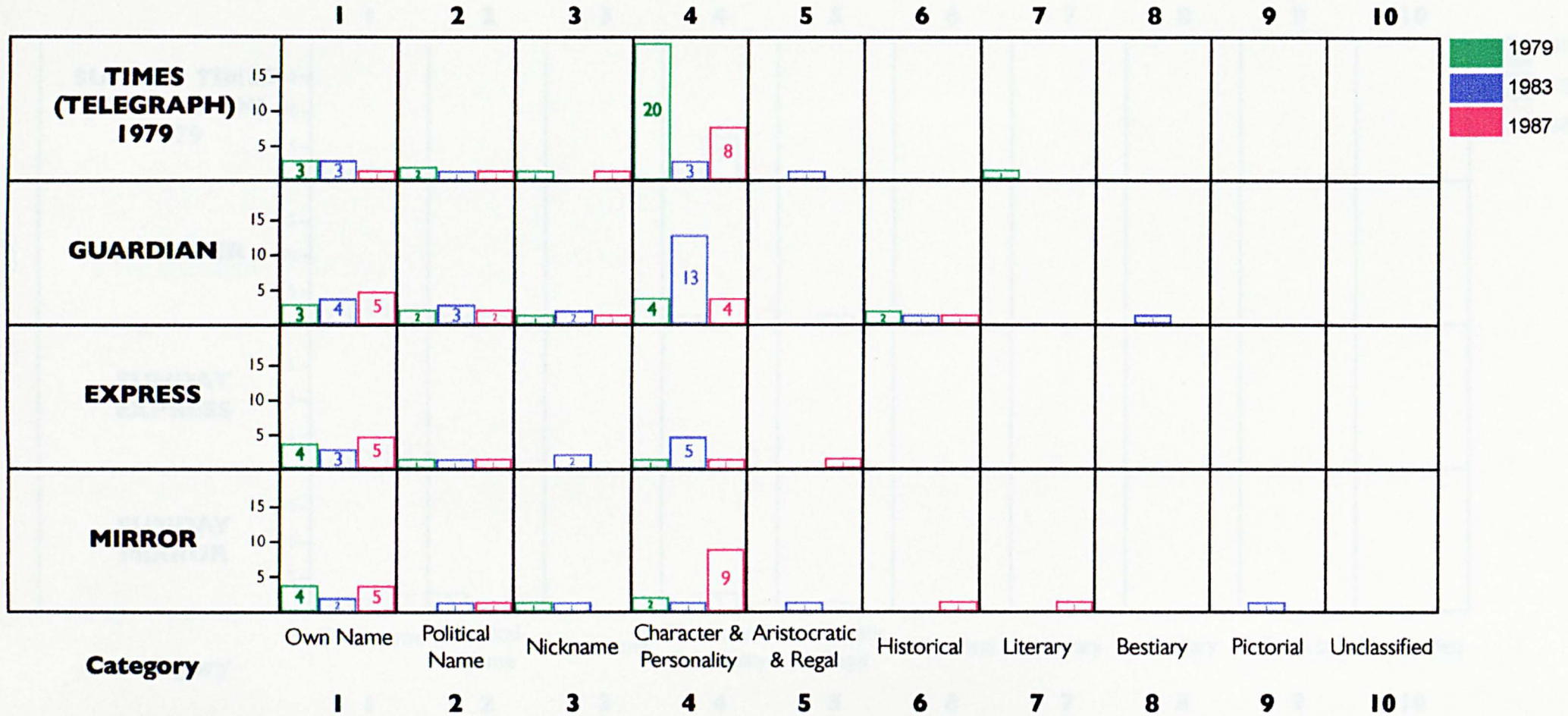


Table 7.1.2

Names in Editorials

Numerical analysis of names used by Publication/Category/Year

Sunday Papers

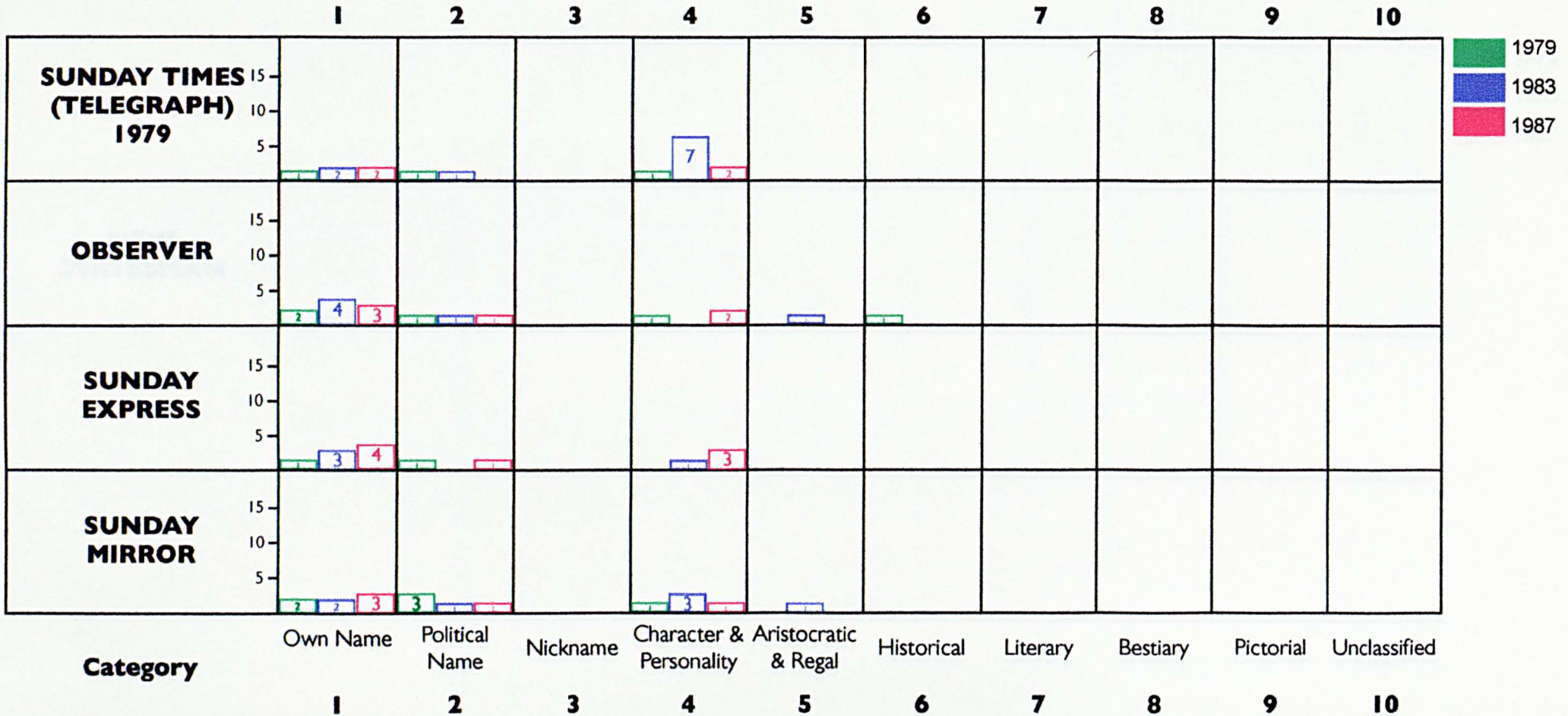
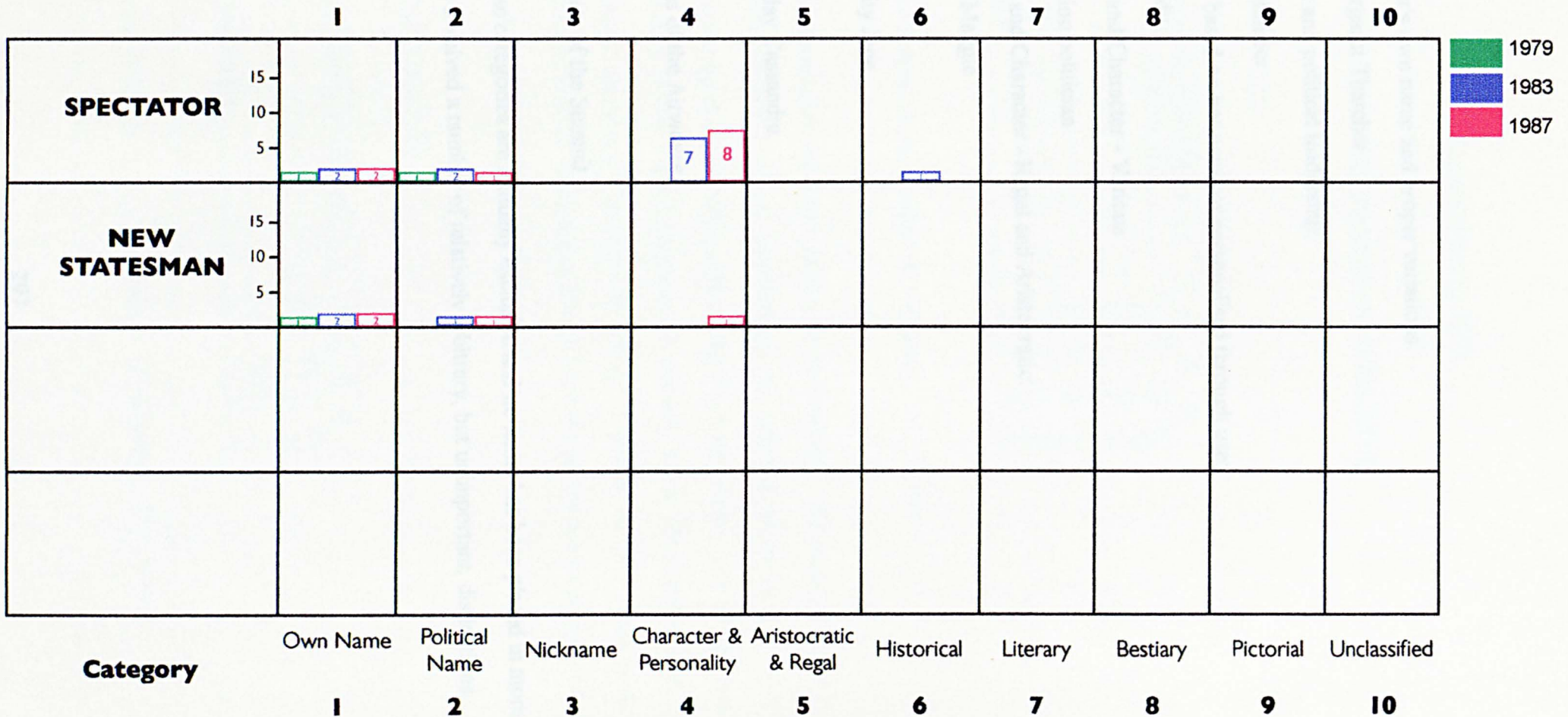


Table 7.1.3

Names in Periodicals

Numerical analysis of names used by Publication/Category/Year

Periodicals



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Categories

- 1 **Mrs Thatcher's own name and proper variations:**
 e.g. Mrs Margaret Thatcher
- 2 **Government and political leadership:**
 e.g. Prime Minister
- 3 **Nicknames, based on her name or personalised through use:**
 e.g. Iron Lady
- 4 **Personality and Character - Various**
 e.g. conviction politician
- 5 **Personality and Character - Regal and Aristocratic:**
 e.g. Queen Maggie
- 6 **Historical**
 e.g. Calamity Jane
- 7 **Literary**
 e.g. latter day Cassandra
- 8 **Bestiary**
 e.g. Tigress of the Airwaves
- 9 **Pictorial**
 e.g. The Star of the Summit

By definition these categories are mutually exclusive and no name has been placed in more than one. This involved a number of relatively arbitrary, but unimportant, distinctions.

General Election 1979

1 MRS THATCHER'S NAME AND PROPER VARIATIONS

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.15)

Number of different names in this Table : 6	*T	G	E	M
Mrs Thatcher number of times used	41	55	17	56
Margaret Thatcher	2	0	2	1
Thatcher	0	2	2	8
Maggie	0	0	2	3
Mrs Margaret Thatcher	0	1	0	0
Margaret	1	0	0	0
Total names per paper	3	3	4	4

*Daily Telegraph 1979 only G = Guardian E = Express M = Mirror

The range is more formal than informal, as the figures indicate. By using 'Maggie' (a proper name in it's own right, and not a nickname) the Tabloids introduce a touch of informality as expected by the readership, and suiting the house style. The Broadsheets also relax the formality briefly - the Telegraph for example using 'Margaret' instead of 'Thatcher'. As noted elsewhere, the Mirror's use of 'Thatcher' at this stage is not particularly significant or critical. With such a limited list it is perhaps not surprising to find the totals for Tabloids and Broadsheets so close together.

SUNDAY PAPERS (Table 7.16)

Number of different names in this Table : 3	*T	O	E	M
Mrs Thatcher	11	32	9	10
Margaret Thatcher	0	1	0	0
Maggie Thatcher	0	0	0	1
Total names per publication	1	2	1	2

* Sunday Telegraph 1979 only O = Observer E = Express M = Mirror

The Observer's staggering amount of usage of 'Mrs Thatcher' was commented on elsewhere. Otherwise, it was interesting to find the similar totals for the formal name in Broadsheet and Tabloids, given the differences in space and layout. The Mirror's familiarity, like its daily counterpart, was probably a token for the readership. Of note here is the absence of 'Thatcher'.

PERIODICALS (Table 7.17)

Number of different names in this Table : 1		S	N
Mrs Thatcher	number of times used	9	2
Total names		1	1

S = Spectator N = New Statesman

As noted earlier, the Periodicals were not adventurous with names and descriptions at this election. Even the Spectator was circumspect. Support and opposition were expressed using the formal name, and the Spectator's only alternative appears in the next category.

2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.18)

Number of different names in this Table : 3	T	G	E	M
Prime Minister	2	0	1	0
Britain's first woman Prime Minister	1	1	0	0
Opposition Leader	0	1	0	0
Total names per publication	2	2	1	1

The obvious gap here is the Mirror not using any of the political leadership possibilities. Even one mention of 'first woman Prime Minister' or perhaps 'Britain's first woman Prime Minister', used by both broadsheets, might have been expected. However, as shown earlier, the Mirror used both 'Mrs Thatcher' and 'Thatcher' more often than any of the other three

daily papers. Such concentrated use in a tabloid Editorial hardly leaves space for more variety. It seems doubtful if the official title above was deliberately avoided since the election result was received magnanimously, and the comments were not particularly disapproving at this stage.

SUNDAY PAPERS (Table 7.19)

Number of different names in this Table : 4	T	O	E	M
Prime Minister	1	0	1	1
Britain's first woman Prime Minister	1	1	0	0
Tory Leader	0	0	0	1
would-be Prime Minister	0	0	0	1
Total names per paper	1	1	1	3

The range of descriptions used by the Mirror looks like a simple progress report. Lack of description here, and in category 1 are compensated for elsewhere.

PERIODICALS (Table 7.20)

Number of different names in this Table : 1	S	N
Prime Minister number of times used	4	0
Total names per publication	1	0

The lack of entries for New Statesman and the entry for Spectator is related to earlier comments in the statistics section.

NOTE There are no further entries for either periodical for this election.

3 NICKNAMES

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.21)

Number of different names in this Table : 2	T	G	E	M
Mrs T number of times used	0	0	0	1
Iron Lady	1	1	0	0
Total names per paper	1	1	0	1

The nature and intent of Editorials would account for these names being relatively little used amongst more serious discussions. The familiarity of a nickname or personalised sobriquet may occasionally lighten the approach and content of an Editorial, and in doing so may reinforce it.

Both these names date from the mid-1970's and were therefore a comfortable and acceptable part of the Thatcher image, rather than coined for a newcomer. They are polar opposites in terms of representation. The distant, resolute and unyielding persona contrasts with the approachable and friendly type of familiarity. To a certain extent both are wishful thinking at that point - Mrs Thatcher's image in 1979 was 'the Housewife', as we know. It is no surprise that the formidable image appears in the Broadsheets, and the more relaxed informality in the Tabloid. The absence of both names in the Express is due to the earlier noted low profile.

No nicknames were used by the Sunday papers or Periodicals at this election.

4 PERSONALITY AND CHARACTER : VARIOUS

As before, the list of names and descriptions in this category are political or personal attributes, and any notions of leadership not included elsewhere. The analysis is according

to the adjective or qualifier into: Favourable (+), Critical (-) and Variable (\pm) i.e. open to interpretation.

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.22)

The three positive statements in the Political section partly supplement Category 2 without adding dimension to Leadership. The 'conviction politician' was Mrs Thatcher's own positive statement and self description. The Mirror's critical 'VAT woman' almost looks an odd one out. though partly a pun on the Batwoman/Superwoman images found elsewhere, it seems not to be a variation of the 'TBW' syndrome at this stage, but criticism about possible additional or changed taxation.

Of particular interest in the Political section is 'Statesman' - rather than Stateswoman. These may have been an unintentional slip with the gender chosen, but it is significant. The advice to Mrs Thatcher was that having become Prime Minister "she must then become a Statesman". The gender mixing and the Thatcher androgyne theme appears in many forms, as we know, in 'The best man for the job', 'Maggie's the man', and the woman warrior/ St Joan. There are other links to be found in the Cartoon chapter, but not in the Photographs.

Clearly most of the descriptions in this category are Personal and Variable and found in the Telegraph, with a few contributions from the Guardian. Many of them are approving or very positive; several others are pleasant and agreeable. The Guardian's two contributions seem to indicate someone a shade removed from an ordinary female.

From the five descriptions under the Variable heading, one of the most interesting is 'she preaches'. Whilst the conviction politician cited Old Testament prophets, she was already preaching doctrines different from paternal Conservatism. Arguably, preaching can become dogmatic and/or self-righteous - 'I am never wrong', or 'I know best/what is needed', 'Do it my way'. It thus becomes the basis of the dictatorial strong female images such as the

Character and Personality 1979

DAILY PAPERS (TABLE 7.22)

	Favourable	P	F	Critical	P	F	Variable	P	F
POLITICAL	politician conviction politician Statesman <u>Total descriptions : 3</u>	T/G/E/M G T	5/4/1/1 1 1	Vat woman <u>Total descriptions : 1</u>	M	1			
PERSONAL	phenomenal industry practical, shrewd & humane high principled brisk able spirited warm vivacious inspiring wise virtuous resolves proven common sense marked ability the Lady not the statutory woman <u>Total descriptions : 15</u>	T T T T T T T T T T T T G G	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1				not by nature a chairman her own brand of caution her own mistress impetuous innovator she preaches <u>Total descriptions : 5</u>	T T T T T	1 1 1 1 1
<u>Total descriptions in this Table : 24 of which Political total : 4 Personal total : 20</u>									
Key	T = Telegraph P = Publication G = Guardian F = Frequency of use E = Express M = Mirror								

Headmistress and Nanny. It is perhaps ironic that the Telegraph should use the phrase intending approval of a positive new approach and philosophy. The four other descriptions are part of a developing style indicated earlier. The Telegraph concedes Mrs Thatcher is 'not by nature a Chairman', and this is a crucial comment. The concept of a Chairman may vary according to the organisation. Generally, impartiality is essential so that accord is achieved and maintained within the group for decision making purposes and the progress of corporate responsibility. With this one statement, however, the Daily Telegraph indicated a weakness that later isolated the First from the Equals.

Particularly significant also is that the Political descriptions are so limited, and reflect Mrs Thatcher's standing - the relative 'outsider' and 'unknown quantity'.

Leadership

There appears to be nothing particularly distinctive to indicate qualities of Leadership in Table 7.22. A Statesman is not necessarily a leader, and neither is a Chairman or conviction politician. It seems a little surprising that the Editorials did not comment on this aspect, especially since Mrs Thatcher's qualities as Leader of the Opposition were not unknown in 1979. If the person and the politician were indivisible, as some writers have argued, then all these descriptions could be considered indicators of her leadership qualities, favourable and critical. The drawback to this view is that several of these phrases clearly are not attributes or notions of leadership, and therefore contribute nothing to the dimensions of that image. No 'Leadership' Table is therefore drawn from Table 7.22.

Numerical Totals (Table 7.22.1)

	POLITICAL				PERSONAL				TOTAL
	Names used per publication								
	+	-	±	SUB-TOTAL	+	-	±	SUB-TOTAL	
Telegraph	2	0		2	13		5	18	20
Guardian	2	0		2	2		0	2	4
Express	1	0		1	0		0	0	1
Mirror	1	1		2	0		0	0	2
Broadsheets	4	0		4	15		5	20	24
Tabloids	2	1		3	0		0	0	3
Labour	3	1		4	2		0	2	6
Conservative	3	0		3	13		5	18	21

Because of the unusually lengthy contribution of the Daily Telegraph and the low profile of the Daily Express, Table 7.22.1 appears unbalanced. The Personal favourable points outweigh all other considerations; the Broadsheets overwhelm the Tabloids and the Conservative papers the Labour ones. In this long list only one description - politician - was used more than once, and then only in the Broadsheets.

SUNDAY PAPERS (Table 7.23)

The Sunday papers contribute relatively little to this Category. The Mirror's phrase is interesting in that it does not sound quite like their usual style, but in 1979 they were magnanimous regarding Mrs Thatcher's win, and Editorials had not been excessively critical during the campaign. Nevertheless, the phrase is unexpected. Also, this is the only time it is used at any election.

The Telegraph seemed to anticipate Mrs Thatcher's increased political stature after the election. Unlike its daily counterpart the Sunday Telegraph uses the feminine word thus avoiding the androgynous image for the present. 'Donna' in the Observer was noted earlier

Character and Personality 1979

SUNDAY PAPERS (TABLE 7.23)

	Favourable	P	F	Critical	P	F	Variable	P	F
POLITICAL	(become) the first Stateswoman <u>Total descriptions : 1</u>	T	1						
PERSONAL	bonny fighter <u>Total descriptions : 1</u>	M	1				donna <u>Total descriptions : 1</u>	0	1
<u>Total descriptions in this Table : 3 of which Political total : 1 Personal total : 2</u>									
Key	T = Telegraph P = Publication O = Observer F = Frequency of use M = Mirror								

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(Chapter 3) and the warning that if Mrs Thatcher became 'prima' there would be no 'pares' any more.

Again, there is no Leadership table here; the two descriptions are not appropriate.

SUNDAY PAPERS (Table 7.23.1)

	POLITICAL				PERSONAL				TOTAL
	Names used per publication								
	+	-	±	SUB-TOTAL	+	-	±	SUB-TOTAL	
Telegraph	1			1	0		0	0	1
Observer	0			0	0		1	1	1
Express	0			0	0		0	0	0
Mirror	0			0	1		0	0	1
Broadsheets	1			1	0		1	1	2
Tabloids	0			0	1		0	1	1
Labour	0			0	1		1	2	2
Conservative	1			1	0		0	0	1

5 PERSONALITY AND CHARACTER : REGAL AND ARISTOCRATIC

No entries

6 HISTORICAL

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.24)

Number of different names in this Table : 2	T	G	E	M
Boadicea	0	1	0	0
Queen Bess	0	1	0	0
Total names per paper	0	2	0	0

The Guardian points two characteristics here in both these names: the regal and the formidable. As we know, both these women may be considered "Warrior Queens". By directly or indirectly fighting for a cause and maintaining their kingdom they sanctioned

resources for war in defence of their realm - normally a male prerogative. Simply by being Queens and Leaders in their own right makes them unique characters - woman in a male role in a male dominated world.

The Editorial use of the images in 1979 had little of the martial overtones, it was more of the woman leader enjoying her role in a predominantly male domain, though undoubtedly a crusading spirit - she said so! There seems not to be a more amiable name for Boadicea implying a humane and less battling image; Queen Elizabeth I appears more friendly by the popular name Queen Bess.

It was surprising to find these two images mentioned at all at this election. Only the Guardian refers to them. They appear more frequently in 1983 as part of the Falkland's influence, and with the development of Mrs Thatcher's leadership image after her first term in office. Also, Mrs Thatcher's regal attitudes were not fully apparent, or noted until after 1979, although certainly in evidence by 1983 - hence the famous Trog cartoon about Trooping the Colour. By 1987 both the regal and formidable had become predominant characteristics.

SUNDAY PAPERS (Table 7.25)

Number of different names in this Table : 1	T	O	E	M
Iron Maiden number of times used	0	1	0	0
Total names per paper	0	1	0	0

It is not entirely clear whether 'Lady' or 'Maiden' was meant here, probably the latter, but by one of the strange contradictions which seem to be part of the Thatcher image syndrome, there was sly intent without the torture overtones.

Sunday Mirror

FATTED CALF—OR THE SAME OLD MENU?

GAZE thoughtfully at the picture on this page.

You'll probably recognise the lady kneeling on the grass. She is Mrs. Thatcher, Britain's would-be Prime Minister.

What on EARTH is she doing there? The answer, of course, is: grubbing for publicity.

This was the famous occasion when she held a calf — wrongly, it turned out.

We've seen her as a tea-taster. We've seen her on a heart machine. It's obvious that she'll do anything that's decent for a good picture.

What a far cry this is from the days of party leaders like Clem Attlee, who even did *The Observer* crossword in his head.

The publicity flair of Mrs. Thatcher raises an important question for the Thoughtful Elector about the Tory leader and her advisers;



Guide for the Thoughtful Elector

7 **LITERARY**

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.26)

Number of different names in this Table : 1		T	G	E	M
Latter-day Cassandra	number of times us	1	0	0	0
Total names per paper		1	0	0	0

The use of this name by the Telegraph was, in itself, a two-edged warning. The mythical Cassandra was the unfortunate lady blessed and cursed with the gift of prophecy; her dire warnings, ultimately true, were never believed. The Telegraph's advice was that whilst Mrs Thatcher had to counteract the effect of James Callaghan's "false bonhomie and reassurance", she also had to moderate her voice to avoid shrillness that might sound like hysteria. A shrill voice, even speaking truths, lacks impact and power to be an effective counterbalance in the House. By implication the female voice lacks the gravitas of the male. As we know, the voice production and humming exercises were started so that Mrs Thatcher's voice dropped several tones - which provoked further criticism in some quarters.

There are no further entries in any category.

GENERAL ELECTION 1983

In image or description terms there is little in 1979 that is really critical of Mrs Thatcher. The uniqueness of her situation meant she enjoyed a degree of freedom from strong criticism. Where criticism was made, reference to her was by name or political title. A few fairly strong images appeared briefly as did two long standing nicknames. Some reference was made to already known characteristics, but little to specific leadership attributes. There are almost dramatic changes in the 1983 analysis, reflecting a term in office and the extremes of a low spell in popularity rising to Falklands fever and the aftermath.

1 MRS THATCHER'S NAME AND PROPER VARIATIONS

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.27)

Number of different names in this Table : 5	*T	G	E	M
Mrs Thatcher number of times used	25	69	18	38
Mrs Margaret Thatcher	2	0	1	0
Margaret Thatcher	0	2	3	0
Thatcher	1	3	0	1
Maggie	0	1	0	0
Total names per paper	3	4	3	2

* The Times

There are relatively few changes here from 1979. 'Margaret' has gone, but it was little used before. Once again there is the huge difference between the use of 'Mrs Thatcher' and any other name. The use of 'Thatcher' has fallen a little, notably in the Mirror. The main difference is in the use of 'Mrs Thatcher' as first choice name. The two Labour biased papers still use it more than the conservative ones; and the Mirror usage is greater than the Times, just as it was greater than the Telegraph in 1979. An interesting change is that 'Maggie' appears once in a Guardian Editorial, but not in the two Tabloids as previously.

SUNDAY PAPERS (Table 7.28)

Number of different names in this Table : 5	*T	O	E	M
Mrs Thatcher number of times used	4	23	3	16
Mrs Margaret Thatcher	0	0	1	0
Margaret Thatcher	0	1	1	0
Thatcher	6	1	0	0
Maggie	0	0	0	1
Thatcher Mk II	0	2	0	0
Total names per paper	2	4	3	2

* Sunday Times

Previously, the Sunday papers used only three names in this category, one of which - Maggie Thatcher - does not appear here, so this list represents a big increase in the variety. There are several important points here. First: the amazing total for the Observer, commented on earlier, is 28% down on 1979. 'Thatcher Mk II' refers to the experienced Mrs Thatcher of 1983, compared with the 1979 challenger. Second: the very large entry for 'Mrs Thatcher' in the Mirror, noting also that apart from the familiar 'Maggie' there are no other variables. The Mirror is also the sole user of this latter name. Third: the low figure in the Times and Express for 'Mrs Thatcher' seems strange. There is really little to compensate for this fall by the use of other names in this category. Fourth: the Times' first choice name is 'Thatcher' not 'Mrs Thatcher'. This also happens in the analysis of names from the articles/light features for this paper. (Chapter 6). It may be an abrupt form of reference, and parallels references to male politicians, but as used here by the Times this is not rude or dismissive treatment.

PERIODICALS (Table 7.29)

Number of different names in this Table : 2	S	N
Mrs Thatcher number of times used	22	24
Thatcher	1	4
Total names per periodical	2	2

This is a rather interesting little table. The Periodicals only used 'Mrs Thatcher' in this category in 1979, but not to this extent. These figures represent a huge percentage increase in the use of the name. In New Statesman by 1983 Mrs Thatcher was the butt of their censure. However, as will become clear, the Editorials did not include a range of names or other images in the criticism, although 'Thatcher' was used for this purpose. 'Mrs Thatcher' therefore had to be used quite extensively. By contrast, the Spectator's use of 'Mrs Thatcher' was favourable, but there are some other surprising descriptions to be considered later. Obviously the style and length of both these Editorials allows the frequent use of the name, whatever the purpose.

2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.30)

Number of different names in this Table : 3	T	G	E	M
Prime Minister number of times used	18	12	10	3
Rt. Hon. Margaret thatcher	0	1	0	0
P.M.	0	2	0	0
Total names per paper	1	3	1	1

The extensive use of the one title here is perhaps to be expected. The Mirror's low total is probably accounted for by the very high usage of 'Mrs Thatcher' recorded in the previous category. It would seem that a name was preferred to a title and supplemented with various images, as will be shown later. It is interesting to see the Express' use of the title close to that of the Guardian, although the latter had two further descriptions as well. Very few of the publications make use of the privy Councillor connection. It appears a little more often in articles in Sunday papers. 'P.M' is also little used in the Editorials. This is an accepted verbal and written abbreviation which is not necessarily friendly, or even a familiarity - although it does depend on the context. Usually, there is no lèse majesté with

it's use, but again it depends on the circumstances. Although there were three descriptions in this category in 1979, only 'Prime Minister' is common to both.

SUNDAY PAPERS (Table 7.31)

Number of different names in this Table : 1	T	O	E	M
Prime Minister number of times used	2	3	0	2
Total names per paper	1	1	0	1

It does seem very strange to find no entry here for the Express. There was no over-compensation with, for example 'Mrs Thatcher' or one of the variations, nor indeed from any other category. Although the profile was low but rising in 1983, noted earlier in Table 6.12.3, nonetheless this omission of even one entry of the official title by a Conservative biased paper is a little unusual.

PERIODICALS (Table 7.32)

Number of different names in this Table : 2	S	N
Prime Minister number of times used	2	7
leader of the Tory Party	1	0
Total names per periodical	2	1

Since New Statesman only used three names altogether in 1983, this possibly explains the greater use of 'Prime Minister', although the directness of the writing may also contribute. The Spectator's lesser use of titles is probably due to the greater range of descriptions employed.

3 NICKNAMES

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.33)

Number of different names in this Table : 4	T	G	E	M
careful housewife number of times used	0	0	1	1
Mrs T	0	2	0	0
Maggie May	0	1	0	0
Maggie is the man	0	0	1	0
Total names per paper	0	2	2	1

The number of names has doubled since 1979, but only 'Mrs T' reappears - in a Broadsheet this time against the Mirror previously. The 'Maggie May' description is a play on words noted earlier. Uncharacteristic dithering and apparent uncertainty on Mrs Thatcher's part concerning the election date drew the comment. However, it is probably fair to say the Guardian was intentionally, but not excessively provocative - the merest glint in the Editorial eye. Possibly too, a hint of a 'love/hate' or 'love-to-hate' approach, also found in the Guardian's witty, sometimes whimsical critical articles discussed earlier.

The 'careful housewife' image, or something akin is a recurring theme, and a useful one since visually and verbally it can be turned favourably and unfavourably according to circumstances. Here, the Tabloids took opposing views.

No nicknames were used by the Sunday papers or Periodicals.

4 PERSONALITY AND CHARACTER : VARIOUS

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.34)

The list of names in this section is slightly shorter than in 1979 (Table 7.22) - 21 against 24. Apart from the range of descriptions there are several points to note. First: The

Character and Personality 1983

DAILY PAPERS (TABLE 7.34)

	Favourable	P	F	Critical	P	F	Variable	P	F
POLITICAL	electioneering lady	G	1				Thatcher factor	G	1
	architect of victory	E	1				President under the Crown	T	1
	the man for the job	E	1				Presidential kind of Prime	T	1
	gut politician	M	1				Minister		
							President Thatcher	T	1
	<u>Total descriptions : 4</u>						<u>Total descriptions : 4</u>		
PERSONAL	her own woman	E	1	brusquely dismissive	G	1	driving desire	G	1
	dominant personality	E	1	uncharacteristically evasive	G	1	statutory woman	G	1
	genuine passion	G	1	not malevolence but			brisk and authoritarian	G	1
	awesome determination	G	1	weakness and stupidity	G	1			
	native wit	G	1						
	adroit grip	G	1						
	the lady	G	2						
	<u>Total descriptions : 7</u>			<u>Total descriptions : 3</u>			<u>Total descriptions : 3</u>		
<p><u>Total descriptions in this Table : 21 of which Political total : 8 Personal total : 13</u></p>									

distribution of descriptions is more balanced this time, as might be expected after a first term in office. The positive or Favourable personal descriptions are down by 50% and no longer greatly outnumber any other section. Second: This distribution is partly due to the change from the Telegraph in 1979 to the Times in 1983. The Editorial style is less fulsome, though mostly favourable. Third: Related to this change, it is now the Guardian with the largest total in the category and interesting to note, the emphasis is towards Personal not Political descriptions.

Also noticeable is the nature of the descriptions themselves in all the papers. They are more positive and perhaps a touch less amiable, and now include some quite critical comment. Previously the Personal comments were almost "too nice" descriptively; these points seem more accurate and honest. A final detail at this stage - there is no description common to all the papers. The distribution of the descriptions makes a useful comparison with 1979. All but one of the Guardian comments are in the Personal section, but they are divided between the three columns with slightly more emphasis on favourable aspects. Because the three critical descriptions are strongly worded, their impact and contrast with the Favourable and Variable selections is perhaps greater. Arguably all three critical descriptions might be considered indicative of flaws in the strong woman façade. It is interesting also that the Guardian repeats 'statutory woman' but without the negative prefix which made the description so positive last time. Some development and transposition of words arising from the Telegraph/Times change may be seen in the Variable column. Whereas in 1979 we had 'not by nature a Chairman', 'impetuous innovator' and 'her own brand of caution' with the implications of a different political style and approach, by 1983 in the same column we have perceptions of Presidential style and approach. In a similar vein one may note also the Guardian's 'conviction politician' in 1979, but the Mirror has 'gut politician' in 1983.

Character and Personality 1983

LEADERSHIP (TABLE 7.34.1)

	Favourable	P	F	Critical	P	F	Variable	P	F
POLITICAL							President under the Crown	T	1
							Presidential kind of Prime Minister	T	1
							President Thatcher	T	1
							<u>Total descriptions</u> : 3		
<p><u>Total descriptions in this Table</u> : 3 of which Political total : 3 Personal total : nil</p>									

Many of the descriptions, regardless of source or classification, indicate single mindedness and determination and are usually signs of a strong character, but stubborn or obstinate or obdurate might sometimes seem a more accurate description.

Leadership (Table 7.34.1)

In 1979 there were no distinctive indications of leadership qualities. There are only three for 1983, significantly perhaps, they are all in the Variable group, based on the word President. The particular problems with this alternative style of Prime Ministerial leadership were discussed in the previous chapter. The three descriptions in the Times were considering the leadership aspect and not the style of the election campaign. It was not felt to be 'a good thing' for the country, even if the intention might be for the country's good.

A feature of this style of leadership is the single mindedness mentioned earlier which could contribute to personal isolation - isolated by design perhaps - but also to the alienation of colleagues and supporters.

Numerical totals (Table 7.34.2)

	POLITICAL				PERSONAL				TOTAL
	Names used per publication								
	+	-	±	SUB-TOTAL	+	-	±	SUB-TOTAL	
Times	0		3	3	0	0	0	0	3
Guardian	1		1	2	5	3	3	11	13
Express	2		0	2	2	0	0	2	4
Mirror	1		0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Broadsheets	1		4	5	5	3	3	11	16
Tabloids	3		0	3	2	0	0	2	5
Labour	2		1	3	5	3	3	11	14
Conservative	2		3	5	2	0	0	2	7

Although the Guardian's input was less than the 1979 contribution by the Telegraph, the greater figures tend to unbalance the Table, though indicating the amount of Editorial attention Mrs Thatcher received. Because of this greater total the emphasis is on the Broadsheets, and to the Labour bias, as might be expected. If all the entries in the Variable column are reclassified as Critical this would only close the gap between Favourable and Critical. Overall the result would remain Favourable in the Personal section, with a balanced total politically.

SUNDAY PAPERS (Table 7.35)

Once again there is the situation where one paper's input is greater than all the rest put together. The Times' descriptions are spread a little, but the surprise is to find most of them in the Variable column.

In the Political section the 'politician' is a simple statement of fact, whereas 'President Reagan's cheer leader' seems rather derogatory. In heightening crowd interest and drumming up support cheerleaders are usually noted for their showy dressing, ebullience and in the widest context, skilful public performances. The alternative view of the performance might consider it a branch of showbiz - all flash, panache and no substance. Arguably it takes a certain type of talent and commitment to be a cheerleader - especially President Reagan's if the argument is extended to note that he was no mean showman himself. The Mirror's description was meant as a criticism of Mrs Thatcher's perceived foolish admiration for, and near subservience to, President Reagan. It is perhaps not quite as malicious as originally intended, having some amusing features - including the mental image of Mrs Thatcher (still at this stage a 'Mumsy' style dresser) in a majorette outfit. There is, of course, the very subtle difference between laughing at someone and laughing with them. Laughter is a great leveller of pomposity.

Character and Personality 1983

SUNDAY PAPERS (TABLE 7.35)

	Favourable	P	F	Critical	P	F	Variable	P	F
POLITICAL.	politician	T/E/M	1/1/1	President Reagan's cheerleader	M	1			
	<u>Total descriptions : 1</u>			<u>Total descriptions : 1</u>					
PERSONAL.	not a fiend in human form courageous woman	T M	1 1	brash manner	T	1	Nanny Headmistress only she is right her simplistic approach	T T T T	1 1 1 1
	<u>Total descriptions : 2</u>			<u>Total descriptions : 1</u>			<u>Total descriptions : 4</u>		
<u>Total descriptions in this Table : 9 of which Political total : 2 Personal total : 7</u>									

In the Personal section where the variable exceeds the other two parts, two of the descriptions are Formidable Female, with the implied characteristics of righteousness and uprightness. The 'simplistic approach' to problem solving suggests, or insists, there are no shades of grey solutions, only black or white, right or wrong; economic policy for example is either the Housewife's strategy, or Micawber's method. The 'simplistic approach' is the root form of 'only she is right'. This would suggest TINA as the possible extension.

There are very few 'fiends' of any kind in all the descriptions of Mrs Thatcher at the three elections. The nearest might be a trio from the Articles chapter: Genghis Khan, Lenin and Hitler. 'Not a fiend in human form' suggests someone infinitely less devilish and sinister.

The Mirror's 'courageous woman' acknowledged some good in a not too popular character, and it contrasts strangely with the bad habit noted in the Times, and the cheerleader.

On the Leadership side only the Headmistress is at all representative, even though the Cheerleader is an example to a like-minded group. Mrs Thatcher is recorded as considering the Headmistress image with great approval, commenting she had known some good examples, and citing especially her own at Grantham. Among other things Headmistresses, like most public persons, are expected to be pillars of rectitude and wise decision makers, upholding the best traditions of their profession. If 'the right approach' is pursued with determination or earnest relentlessness then at some point there is a fine division between rightness and self-righteousness.

Numerical totals (Table 7.35.1)

	POLITICAL				PERSONAL				TOTAL
	Names used per publication								
	+	-	±	SUB-TOTAL	+	-	±	SUB-TOTAL	
Times	1	0	0	1	1	1	4	6	7
Observer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Express	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Mirror	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	1	3
Broadsheets	1	0	0	1	1	1	4	6	7
Tabloids	2	1	0	3	1	0	0	1	4
Labour	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	1	3
Conservative	2	0	0	2	1	1	4	6	8

Overall the Times' larger total influences the result. Rather than imbalance, it perhaps indicates a shade of uncertainty in the Personal section. As it stands the weighting is to the conservative Broadsheets, with the proviso given. If 'Nanny' and 'Headmistress' could be considered Favourable, with 'only she is right' and 'her simplistic approach' as Critical, then the overall result would just swing to Favourable, matching the Daily papers. If, however, all four Variables are considered to be more Critical then the result would be definitely Critical in the Personal section.

PERIODICALS (Table 7.36)

There is the unusual situation here of all the entries being from one publication, and all from one Editorial (11 June 1983), with most of the descriptions in the Critical column of the Personal section. Appearances in this Table are slightly deceptive; the Editorial represents a particular view of Mrs Thatcher, though some of the serious comment was perhaps dressed with a little tongue in cheek.

Being of the opinion that "... the most faithful followers of the Thatcher cult are to be found within the Labour Party", it suggests that Mrs Thatcher acted up splendidly to their

Character and Personality 1983

PERIODICALS TABLE 7.36)

	Favourable	P	F	Critical	P	F	Variable	P	F
POLITICAL							I, as a Government	S	1
							<u>Total descriptions : 1</u>		
PERSONAL	woman of resolution	S	1	ratty rude overbearing peremptory	S S S S	1 1 1 1	zealous revolutionary image	S S	1 1
	<u>Total descriptions : 1</u>			<u>Total descriptions : 4</u>			<u>Total descriptions : 2</u>		
<u>Total descriptions in this Table : 7 of which Political total : 1 Personal total : 6</u>									

expectations during the campaign. for example: "(she was) zealous, overbearing and rude to Sir Robin Day". However, this point is balanced by "(she was) ratty and peremptory in private (perhaps) fearful of having a great prize snatched from her". The Editorial does not say so but it has to be noted that had those fears materialised, the fault would have been attributed to her alone.

It could be argued the 'zealous', 'overbearing' and 'peremptory' are likely to be characteristics of the Strong Women mentioned elsewhere, whether Formidable Females or Warrior Queens. 'Woman of resolution' is equally applicable, but it is also the Personal part of the 'Conviction politician'.

Crucially, what is probably most characteristic of Mrs Thatcher at this stage is "I, as a government". She used the phrase during Brian Walden's interview on Sunday 5 June. It betrays so much: regal tendencies, Presidential traits, the un-Chairman-like approach to Cabinet, a knowledge of self-worth and publicly at least, supreme self-confidence. It was a very special personal comment on her style of leadership.

The 'revolutionary image' seems a logical continuation of the previous paragraph. Whatever Mrs Thatcher did or did not do as a politician or personality, few people could be indifferent to, or ignore her. The 1983 Editorial accepted the revolutionary image as a fact, others though she was still aspiring to it in 1985. "... she would also like to be that entirely un-Conservative creature, a revolutionary". (Young and Sloman 1985 : 35)

She challenged Conservative political tradition and the traditional concept of Prime Ministerial leadership. Convinced of the rightness of her cause, she had a commitment to change and a confident belief in her ability and power to achieve it. Young and Sloman noted that it was not democracy Mrs Thatcher wished to overturn (ibid); but Thatcherism was a radical change nonetheless.

5 PERSONALITY AND CHARACTER : REGAL AND ARISTOCRATIC

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.37)

Number of different names in this Table : 2	T	G	E	M
Queen Mum number of times used	0	1	0	0
The Empress	0	0	0	1
Total names per paper	0	1	0	1

At first sight 'Queen Mum' confuses the issue here, being the wrong generation and the wrong image. 'Mum-ish' or 'Mumsy' Mrs Thatcher's appearance may have been, but the degree of benevolence and graciousness is misplaced. This is Mrs Thatcher's brand of 'Queen' and 'Mum'. The Guardian image is part of the Thatcher contradictions discussed earlier, and is somewhat at odds with the other formidable images.

By contrast 'The Empress' is straightforward in mocking the grandiose image of Mrs Thatcher apparently being more royal than 'the royals'.

SUNDAY PAPERS (Table 7.38)

Number of different names in this Table : 2	T	O	E	M
Queen Maggie number of times used	0	0	0	1
(her) Presidential, quasi-regal style	0	1	0	0
Total names per paper	0	1	0	1

There was an interesting juxtaposition of critical comment, acknowledgement of power, and a line drawing of Mrs Thatcher as 'The Queen' at the Trooping of the Colour ceremony. It was quite subtle. The Editorial (12 June) considered the landslide election result, and thought that probably Mrs Thatcher was the most powerful woman in the country's history. The anomaly was this outcome with three million unemployed. As the writer said: "Who but a candidate for the funny farm would have predicted such a result four years ago". The line drawing supplemented and gave extra power to the Editorial.

The drawing, probably done from a photograph was not a cartoon as such, but with Mrs Thatcher's head on an equestrian figure riding side saddle, there was certainly additional symbolism. Several cartoonists, for example, used the Ceremony as the basis for comment in 1983.

The Observer's comment seems a jumbled mix of styles. The description was meant to emphasise exactly that point regarding the image of Leadership, and Mrs Thatcher's pre-eminence. Like the Daily Mirror, above, it mocked and censured the grandiose style.

6 HISTORICAL

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.39)

Number of different names in this Table : 1	T	G	E	M
(the fervour of) an Aimée Semple Macpherson number of times used	0	1	0	0
Total names per paper	0	1	0	0

Some parallels between Mrs Thatcher and this character are not too hard to find. As an early radio preacher in America, Aimée Macpherson appreciated the possibilities and value of this medium for her message. A controversial Pentecostal evangelist, she began her public preaching aged 17, and was already well known before reaching the airwaves. She was apparently a dynamic and attractive woman, always the centre of attention, with a very personal brand of religious zeal and conviction. She saw her cause as the right and only way - and converted thousands. For years this mission brought her power, fame and fortune, it ended in unhappiness.

The Guardian made an interesting choice in likening the 'religious fervour' of the conviction politician on the electronic media to the radio apostle. "Sister Aimée" however, had one overwhelming advantage over Mrs Thatcher - she owned her own radio station. Implicit in

the Guardian's comparison is the reminder that certain aspects of Mrs Thatcher's image and presentation were honed to suit some parts of the media considered 'sympathetic'.

"In 1979 Gordon Reece ... drew up an 'enemies list' of interviewers who were potentially hostile to Thatcher or who brought out her worst features in interview. The Prime Minister took the unprecedented step of refusing interviews on major news and current affairs programmes preferring 'softer' programmes like BBC Radio 2's 'Jimmy Young Show' and populist light entertainment programmes like 'Jim'll fix it'." (Franklin 1994 : 147)

This 'soft interviews' decision also extended to television allowing visual and verbal possibilities. Franklin records Mrs Thatcher's appearance on a Michael Aspel Saturday evening chat show in the year of the Miner's Strike (1984). He contrasts the "inflexible and confrontational" politician with the celebrity in a "glitzy pink dress".

"Her stage manner possessed all the hallmarks of a showbiz personality rather than a Prime Minister Speaking in uncharacteristically soft and gentle tones, the image she presented was that of a naive and coy little girl." (Franklin *ibid*)

The politician-controlled situation is only a short step from the photo opportunity with the press taking advantage of an event not necessarily set up for their benefit, but one they would prefer not to miss for various reasons. Politicians rarely supply the words on these occasions but journalists' accounts of, and comments about, such events trigger further verbal images and character laden descriptions.

The foregoing methods of presenting the politician and/or the personality are examples of the curious bonding and inter-relationship which exists between politicians and the media. It causes them to be both ally and enemy.

PERIODICALS (Table 7.40)

Number of different names in this Table : 1	S	N
messianic figure number of times used	1	0
Total names per paper	1	0

The messianic figure unites several themes, political and personal, which appear throughout this analysis. Such aspects as zeal, conviction and fervour and a declared mission may equally apply to the politician or the personality. Notions of leadership are implied and may vary from the charismatic or inspired leader to an autocrat or a Führer, a President or Prime Minister.

This 'messianic figure' is the revolutionary image recorded earlier. "... bent upon a complete transformation of our society". (Spectator 11 June 1983) The Editorial seemed to indicate that people did not believe the revolutionary figure to be fearsome or frightening "... for she would not otherwise be so popular" As though to counteract the messianic image with what appears to be almost a non-sequitur, the conclusion is that "... she has persuaded them that the alternatives to herself are either dangerous or dull. Furthermore she has amused them". (Spectator : ibid) After this the 'messianic figure' seems life-size and human.

7 **LITERARY** - no entries

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.41)

Number of different names in this Table : 1	T	G	E	M
Tigress of the airwaves number of times used	0	1	0	0
Total names per paper	0	1	0	0

This is the only Bestiary example in Editorials from the three elections. It appears to be an extension of the Historical Aimée Semple Macpherson recorded earlier but it implies very much more than a medium-and-message image. The choice of 'tigress' for Mrs Thatcher in this instance has far more impact than, say, 'she-bear' used in other contexts, and 'lioness' does not have quite the same ring to it.

Tigress continues the 'female of the species' theme and loosely connects with the gender bending of 'best man for the job'. Tigress also implies not only the ferocious feline aspect but the formidable female opponent or competitor without the bloodthirsty overtones. Mrs Thatcher may have used her purring contralto voice on the JY Show, but the Guardian had no illusions about the claws.

The tigress image was one of which Mrs Thatcher approved. She used it herself and encouraged others to do so too. Webster particularly cites the tenth anniversary, 4 May 1989. Mrs Thatcher met the Press Association for an interview and photographs on the evening of the 3rd. 'The female of the species' and 'tigress' were both mentioned in her conversations. "Mrs Thatcher, grandmother, in the pictures, holding her sleeping grandson in her arms, was joined by a more atavistic figure from the jungle in the copy. The word tigress was used in headlines in all the popular and tabloid newspapers." (Webster 1990 : 170) The Times was a little more subtle and preferred 'The pride of Downing Street'. (Webster : *ibid*)

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.42)

Number of different names in this Table : 1	T	G	E	M
Star of the Summit number of times used	0	0	1	0
Total names per paper	0	0	1	0

There is a little partisan play on words here which lacks the impact of 'tigress', above. The Express commented on Mrs Thatcher's situation and performance at the summit with approval and some flattery. Though she was not yet the World's leading Stateswoman, her status was enhanced at Williamsburg not least because of President Reagan's admiring support.

Arnold records the Daily Telegraph (10 May 1983) advising Mrs Thatcher against going to Williamsburg. The Editorial opinion was that the trip would not enhance her authority but

"... 'it might imply disrespect for the humble British voter The politician asking for support should do so with humility, not expecting it as of right'." (Arnold 1984 : 28)

Early in the election campaign Mrs Thatcher had decided she would make a shortened visit to Williamsburg.

"... 'winning' or 'losing' were not issues at Williamsburg, which could be turned to ... (her) advantage without too much trouble ...". (Arnold 1984 : 29)

Mrs Thatcher received a message from President Reagan hoping she would be able to attend Williamsburg, and wishing her success in the election. From another source she learned that he did not wish her to be pressured into attending.

"Whatever its electoral implications for me, there was no doubt that the Williamsburg summit³ was of real international importance. President Reagan was determined to make a success of it." (Thatcher 1993 : 299)

As we shall see later, electoral implications apart, photographic opportunities abounded. Mrs Thatcher was always at the President's side. The handsome, restored Virginian town was a gift for atmosphere and locations.

There are no further entries in any category.

GENERAL ELECTION 1987

Fluctuating fortunes characterised the second term of office. As a provocative leader Mrs Thatcher was neither universally liked or admired, but she remained newsworthy. During the general election campaign some of the Editorials continued to be relatively restrained in their selection of descriptions and images. Most of the Falklands influence and the related images had gone, though aspects of the war surfaced during the election campaign. Many Editorials regretted the fact but feared it inevitable.

The majority of the descriptions appear in the first three categories, with markedly stronger criticism in the Personality and Character section. There are virtually no nicknames or other descriptions in the later categories.

³ G7 The Williamsburg Summit.
The more critical, and arguably more important, Economic Summit, G10, due on 6 June in Stuttgart two days before the election, was postponed by Chancellor Kohl.

1 MRS THATCHER'S NAME AND PROPER VARIATIONS

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.43)

Number of different names in this Table : 6	T	G	E	M
Mrs Thatcher number of times used	62	49	33	38
Mrs Margaret Thatcher	0	4	0	1
Margaret Thatcher	0	1	2	2
Maggie Thatcher	0	0	1	0
Maggie	0	1	5	1
Thatcher	0	2	3	1
Total names per paper	1	5	5	5

There are several points of difference here compared with Table 7.27 for 1983. The range of names has only increased by one - Maggie Thatcher - which has the briefest use by the Express.

As before there is a very large difference between the use of 'Mrs Thatcher' and the other names. Compared with 1983 the Times has more than doubled its use of this name; the Express has almost doubled, and the Mirror figure is identical. By contrast the Guardian's total is down by 20%, and the reduction is not compensated for in this section. The Times uses only the one name so often that it more than covers the absence of any other names in this group.

Two changes to note in the Express are the use of 'Thatcher' and 'Maggie' this time, both missing from its list in 1983. Although the figures are not particularly large they are greater than either the Guardian or the Mirror. In 1983 only the Guardian used 'Maggie' (once) and 'Thatcher' (three times).

SUNDAY PAPERS (Table 7.44)

Number of different names in this Table : 6	T	O	E	M
Mrs Thatcher number of times used	20	24	2	13
Margaret Thatcher	0	0	3	1
Maggie	0	0	0	1
Margaret Hilda Thatcher	0	0	1	0
Mrs Margaret Thatcher	0	1	1	0
Thatcher	9	2	0	0
Total names per paper	2	3	4	3

Like the Daily papers, the range of names is little different from 1983 (Table 7.27). There is brief use of the one additional name - Margaret Hilda Thatcher - by the Express; an unexpected find in the 1987 Editorial. The number of names used by each paper is also little changed, but the amount of use is different in some cases.

The Times concentrates on the same two names, 'Mrs Thatcher' and 'Thatcher' as in 1983. Again, the use of 'Thatcher' is not for particularly unfavourable purposes. Of note is the increased use of 'Mrs Thatcher' from 4 in 1983. This is the only time the Broadsheets have a comparable figure for the formal name. By this stage the Times' comment is not all favourable towards Mrs Thatcher. Almost like a school report, the feeling seemed to be "Must do better next time in all departments".

The Observer column is very similar to the previous election and the criticism was expressed in formal terms. Mrs Thatcher's win seemed "inevitable, but regrettable" - notwithstanding Neil Kinnock's best efforts.

There is minimal change in the Express totals which are again very low compared with the other two papers. 'Margaret Thatcher' is the first choice name with a slightly friendlier tone and one more mention than 'Mrs Thatcher'. The range of names is the same, with the addition mentioned earlier.

The Mirror's changes are also quite small. The use of 'Mrs Thatcher' declined by 18%, but there was brief use of 'Margaret Thatcher' in addition to the 1983 choice. The one point not changed is the Mirror's sole use of 'Maggie' - once - as before.

PERIODICALS (Table 7.45)

Number of different names in this Table : 2		S	N
Mrs Thatcher	number of times used	13	7
Thatcher		1	1
Total names per periodical		2	2

The choice of these two names is a repeat of 1983. The totals however are markedly lower, approximately 40% in the Spectator and 30% for New Statesman. The use of 'Thatcher' is also reduced in New Statesman - from four mentions to one. There seems to be a compensation for this in a later Table in a distinctive form of criticism.

As the Table stands the Spectator refers to Mrs Thatcher by name twice as often as New Statesman. In the next category we shall find this situation reversed.

2 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.46)

Number of different names in this Table : 2		T	G	E	M
Prime Minister	number of times used	16	8	5	5
leader of the conservatives		0	1	0	0
Total names per paper		1	2	1	1

As in Table 7.30 for 1983 we find the almost exclusive use of just one official title. The Guardian's total is barely leavened by the one other description in the Table.

Only the Mirror's use of 'Prime Minister' is slightly higher than previously, the other three are somewhat lower: 10%, 33% and 50% respectively. The Editorials made more use of, or felt the need to use, other names and descriptions as well as the proper name and official title, in shaping opinion and stated partisanship. The reason for this need can perhaps be judged by the nature and range of names in other sections for the Daily papers, particularly in Category 4.

SUNDAY PAPERS (Table 7.47)

Number of different names in this Table : 1	T	O	E	M
Prime Minister number of times used	0	3	3	2
Total names per paper	0	1	1	1

Once again it is a surprise to find no entry for 'Prime Minister' in a Conservative biased Sunday paper. (compared with Table 7.31) However, the Times made far greater use of 'Mrs Thatcher' and 'Thatcher' than either of the Tabloids - as might be expected - but it appears that the proper name was also used in preference to the political title. There is little other compensation for this omission in other categories.

PERIODICALS (Table 7.48)

Number of different names in this Table : 1	S	N
Prime Minister number of times used	1	8
Total names per periodical	1	1

We see here New Statesman's preference for 'Prime Minister' against 'Mrs Thatcher' (Table 7.32) commented on earlier. There is relatively little change in the amount of use of this title since 1983: one less for the Spectator, one more for New Statesman.

For praise or criticism the Spectator Editorial preferred the formal name; the personality and the politician were indivisible. New Statesman preferred a political emphasis slightly

more than the formal name, though not necessarily separating Mrs Thatcher from Prime Minister.

If the totals for the Periodicals in the first two categories are put together the results are almost the same.

3 NICKNAMES

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.49)

Number of different names in this Table : 1	T	G	E	M
Iron Lady number of times used	1	1	0	0
Total names per paper	1	1	0	0

This is in marked contrast to the same category of names in 1983 (Table 7.33). There is a return to the familiar if sterner inflexible image here, after the relative lightness and hint of humour in 1983. Although it is the briefest mention in the Broadsheets, this was also the case in 1979, but then there was the balance and leavening of 'Mrs T' in the Tabloids, a noted absence here. It is, perhaps, a reflection of change in Editorial perception at this stage of Mrs Thatcher's Premiership; a hardening of attitude toward the leader in one, and view of a forceful personality and world Statesperson in the other.

As before, there were no nicknames in the Sunday papers or the Periodicals.

4 PERSONALITY AND CHARACTER : VARIOUS

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.50)

DAILY PAPERS (TABLE 7.50)

	Favourable	P	F	Critical	P	F	Variable	P	F
POLITICAL	politician (her style of) Leadership strong leader	T/G/E/M	1/1/1/1	dictatorial	M	1	apostle of individualism Believer (in the free market economics)	G	1
		G	1	the Great Leader	G	1		G	1
		G	1	(nothing is her fault)	G	1			
				wrong sort of leader	G	1			
				enemy of pluralism	G	1			
				social disciplinarian	G	1			
	<u>Total descriptions : 3</u>			<u>Total descriptions : 5</u>			<u>Total descriptions : 2</u>		
PERSONAL	the lady	G	2	arrogant	M	2	victim	T	1
	the remarkable lady	G	1	blinkered	M	2	her toughness	T	1
	extraordinary woman	T	1	divisive	M	2	conventional woman	G	1
	real champion	T	1	patronising	M	2			
	not hard	T	1	nagging	M	1			
	not arrogant	T	1	never wrong	M	1			
	not uncaring	T	1	arrogance	G	1			
	strength	G	1	stubbornness	G	1			
	resolution	G	1	indifference (to others)	G	1			
				out of touch (with ordinary people)	G	1			
				insular	G	1			
				philistine	G	1			
		<u>Total descriptions : 9</u>			<u>Total descriptions : 12</u>			<u>Total descriptions : 3</u>	
<u>Total descriptions in this Table : 34 of which Political total : 10 Personal total : 24</u>									

The most obvious thing about this category is the increased number of descriptions here compared with 1983 (Table 7.34), a rise of over 50%. There are several other significant differences.

First: There is a great deal more in the Political section, particularly in the Critical column. This criticism is strong and specific about the leader and her style of politics; it comes mainly from the Guardian. Second: The Personal section is even larger than for 1979 (Table 7.22), when the Telegraphs plaudits were so prominent. This time, as in 1983 (Table 7.34) the Guardian's comments are more numerous than either the Times, Mirror or Express contributions. Unlike 1983, however, the weight of these comments is in criticism. Third: The input from the Times and the Mirror is also increased and divides, as expected, on partisan lines. Fourth: Comment from the Express is minimal. As was shown elsewhere, its Editorials mainly referred to Mrs Thatcher by name with relatively little other description.

After two terms in office, an eight year incumbency, the increased critical comment both political and personal was to be expected. Nor is it surprising to find most of the criticism coming from the Guardian and Mirror, although the Guardian's input is more selective and balanced, and therefore divided differently. Because of this there are some contrasting or contradictory terms in both sections.

Under the Political heading the Guardian provided its own contrasts. Prior to election day it "weighed-up" Mrs Thatcher so there were contrasts: 'enemy of pluralism'/apostle of individualism', 'social disciplinarian'/believer in free market economics'. In leadership terms: 'the strong leader' balances the 'wrong sort of leader'; the cynical comment on 'the Great Leader' contrasts with the acknowledged skill to lead. Anomalies in the Thatcher philosophy were indicated and reinforced with words used of Mrs Thatcher at earlier elections but in a different context, hence apostle, believer, disciplinarian, leader. Though it

does not show in the Table, the Editorial conceded that in spite of the critical contrasts not all Thatcherite values "... are unmitigatedly dire" and that Mrs Thatcher would be a hard act to follow having

"... (created) an appetite for leaders who lay their beliefs and prejudices on the line - and the traits that go with it ...".

Perhaps most significantly, given the year and political situation "... she's got a good few miles left in her yet" - even if theory suggested she should be a 'diminishing Tory asset'. (7 June 1987) Some of the beliefs, prejudices and traits metamorphose or are translated by writers, journalists and observers into the myriad images and descriptions which helped feed the media, many of which are recorded here.

The Mirror's criticism and perceived character fault is in line with other comments in the column, and also echoes the previous election. But the style is to promote the message in a different way for a different readership.

Descriptions in the Personal section are very "plain speaking". Many of the words in the critical column have a "punch" to them, whilst some of the favourable phrases form strong contrasts and contradictions. The Editorials were making their points with "straight talking" to the readers according to the house style. The Mirror, for example, with the bold blunt statements almost sounds like the pounding of a heavy gun - lethal when accurate and always damaging. One of the Guardian's articles called Mrs Thatcher "Big Bertha" (see previous chapter). The Mirror was using the cartoonist's ploy of disabling the overblown image so that laughter replaces fear, if not dislike.

The Guardian's power lies in the phraseology and also, to an extent, in the counterbalance of the favourable comment. The criticism was generally more descriptive than in the Mirror. The Times used "not ..." to contradict criticism elsewhere in the media and gained

a type of power with the repetition of the word - coupled with the paper's normal gravitas. Waterhouse considers that: "Adjectives should not be allowed in newspapers unless they have something to say ... (they) should not raise questions in the reader's mind ... (but) should answer them." (Waterhouse 1989 : 48)

Truth may well lie in an accurate adjective. If the reader is also a TV viewer, avid or occasional, a careless, inaccurate or melodramatic word may defeat the writer's, and paper's, intention when the visual image contradicts the verbal one. (Seymour-Ure 1991 : 201)

There was an unexpected find in the Table. 'Victim' is hardly the word which springs to mind concerning any aspect of this politician and personality. The Times argued that a third election win would have a "special sweetness" for Mrs Thatcher since

"... no Prime Minister this century has been the victim of such personal abuse and loathing from some of the most articulate and opinionated sections of society. Oxford's refusal of an honorary degree to her was the shabby symbol of that ill-feeling." (22 May 1987)

The point was developed from an analysis of the first week of the election campaign: The apparent shambles in the Conservative camp, with Mrs Thatcher "held in reserve", compared with the "superb packing" and presentation of Mr Kinnock for television. In a perverse kind of way it can perhaps also be argued that Mrs Thatcher was a victim of her own kind of success. The Guardian's point, noted earlier was that her personal and leadership qualities, a vote winner in 1983, should be a diminishing asset given the time span, and therefore a vote loser in 1987 - in theory.

Notions of political leadership are commented on and appear earlier, and throughout the discussion in this category. Since Table 7.50 also shows that the points made only by the Guardian contrast with and balance each other, no further reference will be made here.

The Personal section attracted more comment than the Political - twice as much in fact, with the largest input from the Guardian. The weight of comment is Critical, drawn equally from the Guardian and the Mirror. In the Favourable column the comment comes equally from the Guardian and the Times - a slightly unusual situation. If the Variable column is redistributed there would be no difference in outcome.

In the Political section the Favourable comments only just outweigh the Critical. The Variable comments would both have to go to the Critical column to alter the balance. Once again the Guardian input is the largest, more than all the rest put together. It almost equals the Telegraph total of 1979 but there is a better range and therefore a better distribution. There is also the influence of the Mirror and Times input, a factor missing in the earlier Table.

Overall the result is probably just favourable Politically, but certainly unfavourable Personally, assuming reassignment of the Variable columns.

Numerical totals (Table 7.50.1)

	POLITICAL				PERSONAL				TOTAL
	Names used per publication								
	+	-	±	SUB-TOTAL	+	-	±	SUB-TOTAL	
Times	1	0	0	1	5	0	2	7	8
Guardian	3	4	2	9	4	6	1	11	20
Express	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Mirror	1	1	0	2	0	6	0	6	8
Broadsheets	4	4	2	10	9	6	3	18	28
Tabloids	2	1	0	3	0	6	0	6	9
Labour	4	5	2	11	4	12	1	17	28
Conservative	2	0	0	2	5	0	2	7	9

As in earlier Tables, the Guardian totals tip the balance, yet are themselves reasonably divided between Political and Personal. The near absence of comment in the Express in this category is also apparent. The Personal totals just outweigh the Political ones, but as we saw from the main Table, the critical comments are particularly strong in the Labour press, and the Guardian alone focuses briefly on leadership.

SUNDAY PAPERS (Table 7.51)

Unlike 1983 there is relatively little input from any of the Sunday papers. As noted earlier they preferred using Mrs Thatcher's own name or political title and proper variations. In the Political section once again 'politician' is a simple statement of fact, though perhaps open to interpretation. There is no opinion or impression of leadership.

The Observer's 'Thatcher/Tebbitt hegemony' was related to the Conservative campaign, and not to anything approaching power-sharing leadership of the party. As we know, the relationship was already strained, since she was convinced he wanted her job. The Editorial was published 17 May when there was already friction between the dual bastions of Central Office and No 10, not generally known to outsiders. 'Black Thursday' was still on the

Character and Personality 1987

SUNDAY PAPERS (TABLE 7.51)

	Favourable	P	F	Critical	P	F	Variable	P	F
POLITICAL	politician <u>Total descriptions : 1</u>	T/E/M	1/1/1	Thatcher/Tebbitt hegemony <u>Total descriptions : 1</u>	0	1			
PERSONAL	the lady one courageous woman <u>Total descriptions : 2</u>	E E	1 1				tough lady <u>Total descriptions : 1</u>	T	1
<u>Total descriptions in this Table : 5 of which Political total : 2 Personal total : 3</u>									

horizon. The writer's opinion was that not only the Conservative campaign, but the general election had been "rolled into place with (even) more political craftsmanship and manipulation: only the weather ... was beyond the control of the Thatcher/Tebbitt hegemony."

The whole operation was seen "not as an election but as (her) coronation". Three weeks later, in the Observer, Robert Harris wrote about 'the old political trouper', and 'faded celebrities' and things going wrong (discussed in Chapter 6).

The Express approval in the Personal section seems unreserved, if not a ringing endorsement. The Times' comment is perhaps a shade equivocal. Reclassifying 'tough lady' would not alter the balance of this section.

Politically and personally the overall emphasis is favourable. Some criticism from the Mirror was anticipated - it appears elsewhere - so absence here aids the imbalance in the Table.

Note Due to the limited statistics appearing in Table 7.51, Leadership and Numerical totals are omitted for the Sunday papers.

PERIODICALS (Table 7.52)

This almost repeats Table 7.36 for 1983. This time, all but one description come from the Spectator. The main difference is the entries are from several Editorials, not one alone, with no specific views on leadership.

As the Table shows, the weight of comment is in the Personal, not Political, section. Arguably the one political criticism from the Spectator more than equals all the Personal points, since they may be implicit in the meaning. It was noted elsewhere that Mrs

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PERIODICALS (TABLE 7.52)

	Favourable	P	F	Critical	P	F	Variable	P	F
POLITICAL				TBW Factor <u>Total descriptions : 1</u>	S	1			
PERSONAL	competent clever knowledgeable <u>Total descriptions : 3</u>	S S S	1 1 1	sane but unbalanced narrow <u>Total descriptions : 2</u>	N S	2 1	cunning tougher radical <u>Total descriptions : 3</u>	S S S	1 1 1
<u>Total descriptions in this Table : 9 of which Political total : 1 Personal total : 8</u>									

Thatcher apparently knew nothing of this 'factor' before 1986, and was surprised and shocked by the discovery. 'Bloody' in this context of the phrase has an inexact meaning, although a nuisance value and a degree of exasperation is indicated, as much or as little as the user intends. This is an example of where the tone of voice and delivery would be a better guide to intent, rather than the written word. By 1987 it is not clear whether the 'TBW Factor' is the alternative to, merger, or extension of 'the Thatcher factor' and/or 'that woman'. The degree of uncertainty gives the phrase more power than perhaps it merits.

Among the Personal comments the Favourable and Variable descriptions nearly balance each other. Most of them have appeared before or are implied in other descriptions. 'Cunning' and 'clever' can be understood as 'shrewd'; the 'radical' may be found in the 'revolutionary image' or even the 'conviction politician' - a point raised elsewhere. The Critical comments have appeared before. As noted earlier, New Statesman carefully defined 'unbalanced' in the political context, whilst the spectator's 'narrow' as in outlook, or minded, biased or reactionary, is an element of several earlier images.

The Political impression is critical. If the Personal Variable descriptions were reallocated, it would need all three in the Critical column to give an overall critical impression.

Note With most statistics from the Spectator and only one entry from New Statesman and with no Leadership details, Numerical totals are omitted.

5 PERSONALITY AND CHARACTER : REGAL AND ARISTOCRATIC

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.53)

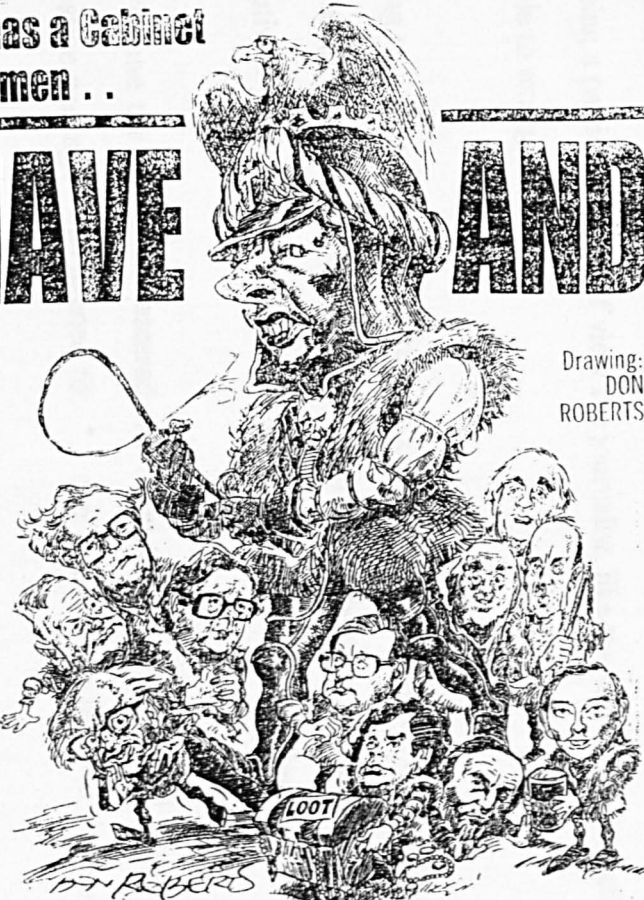
Number of different names in this Table : 1	T	G	E	M
Empress Thatcher number of times used	0	0	1	0
Total names per paper	0	0	1	0

Mrs Thatcher has a Cabinet of lucky little men . .

TO HAVE AND

By VICTOR KNIGHT
Political Editor

Drawing:
DON
ROBERTS



SINCE Mrs Thatcher became Prime Minister eight years ago she has fashioned the Tory Cabinet in her own hard faced image. She has surrounded herself with a "yes man" type and pushed out almost everyone who dared to contradict her. Dogmatic monetarism, hedged round with wealth and privilege, has swept away almost the last vestige of care and compassion among the Conservative leadership. Almost all the Cabinet ministers have affluent lifestyles that match their Right-wing policies, a way of living totally alien to the vast majority of people they claim to represent. They are like a cricket team that consistently fail to score runs — and then try to con the fans into thinking they are a winning side. Take a look at Magsy and her team, and you will see plenty of good reasons for voting Labour.

MARGARET THATCHER, 61, Prime Minister. Husband Denis has extensive business interests. They own a £500,000 dream house at Datchet, South East London.

In America Mrs Thatcher has been described as a spinster to her Cabinet "like a trainee waiting on her flight to perform their tasks." (London-based US journalist Malcolm Kilday said "she gets a bit too much pleasure out of administering the firm stance of discipline.")

Mrs Thatcher has said "I don't mind how much my ministers talk so long as they do what I say. I do not agree — agreement — the things I want to do." When she second an opinion on her hand last year she had private comment. As an inflexible she would probably have had to wait four years.

VISCOUNT WHITLAM, 61, Deputy Premier and leader of House of Commons. One of the Tory traditionalists — educated at Winchester and Cambridge — who succeeded in Thatcher's early leadership, he once commented: "It's been a very major advantage not to have to write a great deal about money."

MORRIS THIBIT, 56, Conservative Party chairman. Though he would rather he works for the monetary team with all the enthusiasm of a classic booster.

He met Mrs Thatcher who stand outside the town hall and throw roses eggs and the real answer joined if they were really hard up they would be using them.

MICHAEL LAMONT, 51, Chancellor of the Exchequer. A City 123 merchant, educated at Winchester, married, three children. He was known as "Smuggler" since he had been consistently predicted a big fall in unemployment, which never fell as credibly predicted. A man believing a brewer in January.

SIR GEOFFREY HOWE, 60, Foreign Secretary. Son of a British architect, educated at Winchester. Affluent.

barrier-turned politician, his every right named him the same grandson man. Denis Healey said being married by a dead sheep. LORD HAILBRUN, 78, Lord Chancellor. Once described as "the only man ever to go to Rome," which probably explains why he came £75,000 for the highest paid job in the cabinet.

LORD YOUNG, 60, Employment Secretary. Made a fortune in property and construction. As a peer he has never been elected to office. He has a ship called Kate's Progress, which could also describe his record on unemployment.

SIR JOHN GILL, 61, Secretary for Wales, Commerce, and Industry. Another actor secretary. Did Ewan and son of the "beetle" — and huge wealth of the "beetle". He once said: "The only thing that I don't like is to be there and don't tell them, my backbreaker did."

GEORGE THORNHILL, 55, Welfare Secretary. Had to a victory you said at Winchester and Oxford. He was a founder of the Youngist brewing firm. He was a founder of the Youngist brewing firm. He was a founder of the Youngist brewing firm. He was a founder of the Youngist brewing firm.

THE REAL FACE OF THE WOMAN WHO IS DESPERATE TO BE PRIME MINISTER FOR LIFE . .

Arrogant, Blinkered, Divisive, Patronising



The Express comment was intended not too seriously. As recorded elsewhere it is the regal characteristics, even pretensions, being emphasised with this description, rather than an impression of power. Yet this cannot be entirely overlooked, for power and influence are part of the grandeur. In Mrs Thatcher's description of English presidency she only envisaged power 'under the Throne'. Yet she relished power in any form; it was her vitamin - to quote Barbara Castle.

6 HISTORICAL

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.54)

Number of different names in this Table : 2	T	G	E	M
Cleopatra number of times used	0	1	0	0
Calamity Jane	0	0	0	1
Total names per paper	0	1	0	1

Like many other famous names used to shed light on Mrs Thatcher, not all the good or bad characteristics of these two women are appropriate or necessarily accurate. In strongly emphasising a particular point of view the journalist, like the cartoonist, sometimes deems it reasonable to exaggerate.

According to contemporary and other accounts Cleopatra was an extraordinarily beautiful and charming woman. She was also a woman of contrasts and contradictions, cunning and manipulative, but above all an imperious Queen and a Formidable Female.

On the 9 June the Guardian assessed the three parties' campaigns.⁴ The "slightly tatty Conservative package" was likened to: "... one of those big pictures that cost £40 million

⁴ It should perhaps be noted that the three party campaigns did not receive a good review. Under the heading "Verdict '87: the glitz factor" the Editorial commenced: "At the end it is a choice of balloons. Red balloons in Islington; blue balloons in Wembley; yellow balloons by the Thames in Richmond". (Guardian 9 June 1987)

and fail to get it back at the box office. Cleopatra meets Ishtar at Heaven's Gate." (9 June 1987) This is a startling combination of images, since Ishtar is the goddess of love and war according to Babylonian/Assyrian traditions, and Cleopatra was fully conversant with both the feeling and the force. The fact that for spectacle and glamour, where 'The Show' is the thing and Elizabeth Taylor is still associated with Cleopatra, only adds another dimension - unreality. Its all rather a tawdry image of an image, and as such seems a concealment of reality, though not necessarily a conspiracy to obliterate the truth. The Star does not stand alone, however, but is a willing co-operator, yet Mrs Thatcher felt "... something of an anti-climax (in) the twentieth century show" at Wembley. (Thatcher op cit) The words do not seem quite right for Cleopatra, regardless of whether the modesty is false or not; we know John Cole contended that media-bound leaders could never live up to Cleopatra's ageless infinite variety. (Cole op cit)

The polar opposite image is 'Calamity Jane', a celebrated scout and well-known wild west frontier character who rode for Pony-Express companies. Abandoned as a child, she assumed male clothes and carried guns in order to survive the tough life.⁵ A dead shot with both revolver and rifle, she guaranteed 'calamity' to anyone provoking her. She became the heroine of 'dime-novels' from about 1880. The term now indicates a dismal person full of dire warnings and foreboding, always burdened with trouble and anxious to share it. (Bold and Giddings 1987) This is a good example of a name or description with not only a double entendre, but possibly also a degree of ambiguity. It begs the rhetorical question of which image, and which occasion. There is nothing of the traditional 'glitz or glamour' about this image, even though romanticised as a 'dime heroine'. This was a robust formidable female, arguably another androgyne, and a match for any male in those hazardous times. Her power and fame rested on her survival skills and her ability to exploit them. In this she matches Cleopatra.

⁵ 'Calamity Jane' was born Martha Jane Burke in 1852.

7 LITERARY - no entries

8 BESTIARY

DAILY PAPERS (Table 7.55)

Number of different names in this Table : 1	T	G	E	M
the shrew number of times used	0	0	0	1
Total names per paper	0	0	0	1

Amidst other strong criticism this image at first seemed to lack power. As recorded earlier, however, this double image word implies a mixture of cunning and shrewdness, as well as the shrill and nagging domestic scold. One facet of this composite lacks compassion, another facet indicates the survivor's instincts in critical situations. Any of these characteristics are in line with other recorded Editorial and journalistic criticism in 1987, and granted also that the 'double' side of Mrs Thatcher's public image had diminished considerably by this stage. By contending that the years have not tamed 'the shrew', the Mirror Editorial gives the image more power, especially by implying it over-rides the impression of the throbbing compassionate voice, so much in evidence when microphones are close.

CONCLUSION

As befits the more sober approach of the Editorials in Broadsheets and serious Periodicals, the overall selection of images and descriptions were less extensive and flamboyant than in the previous chapter. Some of the Tabloids, after a relatively temperate start then developed similarly to the articles.

Apart from the style of writing, particularly good indicators of the Editorial approach were reflected in the range and type of verbal images of Category 4 - Personality and Character. Within the limited space of a publication, the range of names was sometimes surprising. The Daily Telegraph list for 1979, for example, was prolific compared with any other newspaper. By contrast, the two periodicals were conspicuously meagre.

Daily papers for 1979 indicate little critical imagery of the politician and person and much that was favourable. Mrs Thatcher was given the benefit of any doubt, but James Callaghan was still the man of the moment. By 1983, although the overall balance was favourable, the Critical images of the politician increased, and perhaps more significantly, the variable (\pm) personal images exceeded the favourable ones. In 1987 favourable and critical aspects almost balanced, but personal criticism outweighed favourable impressions.

The Conservative Sunday papers in 1979 were naturally supportive. The Mirror seemed to reserve judgement. Only the Observer was critical, though constructive. Criticism of the politician increased in 1983, as did the variable comments in spite of the Falklands, but the balance overall was just favourable. In 1987 criticism was expressed plainly and not so much through imagery. The favourable aspects of the politician and person were limited.

There appeared to be a degree of detachment in both Periodicals, noticeably in 1979. The Spectator's list was limited, but New Statesman made a very positive statement about Mrs Thatcher by mentioning her twice only, by formal name, during the campaign. Even in 1983 and 1987, when the Spectator's lists were a little longer and more diverse, New Statesman's selections, though increased, were still brief.

Much use was made of the formal name and political title, with 'Thatcher' used increasingly for critical purposes from 1983 onwards. Most of the remaining names and images concern Mrs Thatcher's personality and character. A few familiar nicknames appeared briefly, -

'Mrs T' and 'Iron Lady' - but only in the daily Broadsheets and Tabloids. Relatively little use was made of the Historical, Literary, Bestial or Pictorial categories, but the question arises whether the readership was familiar with all the references, and therefore all the implications. For example, how many of the Guardian's readers were familiar with Aimée Semple Macpherson, or the significance of her fervour. For those who knew and understood the comparison with Mrs Thatcher, it was an interesting point. Presumably those who wished to know would research, otherwise they might deduce something from the context. It seems reasonable to suppose that some readers would not have understood the allusion.

Some of the images were carefully shaped for Mrs Thatcher and her policies, such as 'VAT woman' (although as a result of a film this title was later adapted for another MP with a different image). Others included 'apostle of individualism' and 'social disciplinarian', where both personal and political factors combined. Others are indicative of 'that certain something' unique to the character: the 'TBW Factor' or 'not by nature a chairman'. Some images pointed the ambiguity of the character and political position: 'the man for the job'.

In the analysis of Category 4 descriptions it was noticeable that at the three elections there appeared to be little or nothing about leadership characteristics to put on a separate chart. Obviously such an important point was not overlooked by the writers. Notions of leadership, criticism or approval of the style, were generally expressed through the formal titles, or in a few cases appeared in another category. Where it was not specifically mentioned, arguably it was implicit in the few political and personal images used at each election - if one accepts that for Mrs Thatcher herself, politics and personality were indivisible.

The peculiarly personal nature of some of the descriptions is particularly noticeable. Obviously they were made about a female in a unique situation, but in several instances there is either no equivalent male comment, or it would be difficult to find something

comparable. Arguably the male alternative comment, in many cases, would not have been made had the Conservative leader been a man. Without further research and statistics, however, it cannot be said with certainty that Mrs Thatcher inspired or prompted more names and descriptions than, for example, Messrs, Callaghan, Foot and Kinnock during a general election campaign, when one of them was Prime Minister, or each of the others aspired to be.

If we look back again at the fulsome comments of the Daily Telegraph in 1979, some of them praise by patronising - "give the little woman a pat on the back". It is perhaps not overt condescension, but the intimation is there. This "accentuating the feminine" is much more noticeable in the lists of the previous chapter where, for obvious reasons, there is a much greater range of names. Because of the space factor the Editorial is usually succinct, so that unlimited comment on Mrs Thatcher's personality and character is not usual; the Telegraph spaciouly signalled approval. The Times did things rather differently.

Against all this it could be argued that the visual image of Mrs Thatcher in 1979 - the sometime homebody, the capable housewife and career woman, as well as the voice and hairstyle - projected with her willing support - was partly to blame. In a modern phrase, some of the descriptions used were in pre-politically correct language. The visual image and the components changed by 1983 and considerably more so by 1987, which caused a corresponding change in the nature and type of verbal descriptions. There was a precedent for analytical comments on a political leader's style of dressing: Harold Wilson's raincoat; Michael Foot's donkey jacket'; and the 1987 'new image' of Neil Kinnock, as well as Mrs Thatcher.

It was shown earlier that the benign comments of 1979, many reflecting female traits, gave way to the more critical comments of 1983 and to the reservations and antagonism of 1987. The patronising tone disappeared and male traits of leadership and image became more

prominent. A few of the feminine comments remained but they were lost in, or overwhelmed by, the androgynous uncompromising power woman images.

Mrs Thatcher's political convictions and leadership qualities did not always sit entirely comfortably within the traditional Conservative fold. She stirred admiration, anger and many other emotions in the Tory ranks, as well as in the Opposition, the media and amongst the voters, as the Tables show. Yet against this, some of her personal and political skills are acknowledged from both sides of the editorial divide, as we have seen. Some of her objectives were perceived as advantageous or beneficial, and were acknowledged as such. She was not wholly wrong and bad from the Labour view, or wholly right and good from the Conservative side.

The more balanced assessments tended to appear in the quality Editorials, rather than in the popular press. Even the traditionally strong Labour tabloid press was sometimes unable to ridicule aspects of her policies or personal characteristics without risking diminution of their own credibility. The criticism was then reinforced with a caricature or cartoon - in line with the more pictorial presentation of the paper.

CHAPTER 8

Cartoons

"A succinct symbol"¹

Introduction

It has been suggested that a cartoon is 'read' in very much the same way as prose, providing information for the viewer in a unique, sometimes idiosyncratic form. (Hewison 1977 : 15) The information presented this way, however, is a personal view not necessarily in line with the editorial bias of the newspaper or periodical. The cartoonist is privileged to comment like this. The very nature of his work, clothed with a degree of ambiguity on occasion, permits him a freedom of expression legally denied to other journalists (Seymour-Ure 1975 : 17) A touch of humour, or the pungency of the comment may be in the presentation or delineation of the image of a particular personality.

Some cartoonists are not very good artists, and their drawings may bear very little resemblance to the person or people depicted. In this case, particular features or characteristics may be given to the approximations to indicate a specific personality: these are David Low's "tabs of identity". Statesmen or politicians without distinguishing features may present a challenge to ingenuity, when one trait may be exaggerated to become his or her symbol. Many cartoonists are fine artists and draughtsmen, and their style of work has instantly recognisable likenesses, without these being portraits. Some other cartoonists may channel their skills into a deliberate and highly stylised representation, whereby a distortion still retains elements of a likeness without needing a 'tab of identity'.

¹ "Like a statistic, the cartoon can summarize a vast body of data in a succinct symbol". (Harrison 1981 : 69)

Graphically, cutting politicians down to size using irreverent design and ridicule may be considered a time-honoured practice, perhaps even a national sport with no close season. Political cartoonists remind those in authority not only of human frailty, but also of the ephemeral nature of political power; the voting public cannot be taken for granted. That political cartoonists have such freedom of expression is "... a litmus test for democracy". (Robinson 1981 : 6)

Several writers have equated mediaeval practices, or even black magic rituals with the type of caricature which strips a character bare. Geipel speaks of the effigy or straw man dummy "... used as a surrogate target for abuse ... in lieu of the feared or hated person".

The cartoonist, in his own particular style unmasks and manipulates, thus reducing the victim to a marionette. (Geipel 1972 : 22) Other writers comment "... destroy the dummy that stands in for the enemy (and) ... hang him in effigy". (Gembruch and Kris 1940 : 9) But just as some cartoons or caricatures may help exorcise the fear and hatred of a tyrant or dictator by removing the aura and mystique, so ludicrous imitations of a politician may sometimes generate more benign feelings toward the symbol and the public figure. The cartoonist may deviate from the editorial bias of the publication, the political cartoon then

"... may (also) be a safety valve undermining dogma and pomposity as much in their own newspapers as in the world outside". (Garland, *The Spectator* 19/26 December 1987)

Since the cartoonist is presenting a personal opinion, implied or stated in the drawing or caption, there is bound to be an element of bias. The counterbalance of a reasoned discussion or argument is missing. In making his point about the daily news or focusing attention on a particular person or event he uses a variety of techniques to help his presentation.

"(The cartoonist's art) is not to report a subject factually but to make an impact with the conjunction of ideas ... no cartoonist is going to make a living out of plain statements of fact." (Deedes; Daily Telegraph 18 July 1990)

Therefore, the pun, the cryptic comment, or no comment, exaggeration, distortion and simplification, the use of simile and metaphor are all available to help present an alternative opinion or different image. (Seymour-Ure 1983 : 3) Humour is a useful but not essential part of this process. If a cartoon provokes a reaction of some kind arguably it may be considered successful. (Harrison 1981 : 117) Many people have pointed out, however, that because this is a personal opinion in graphic form without discussion and argument, it is liable to be misunderstood even though the artist perhaps intended to be controversial. (Seymour-Ure 1975 : 13) Probably the most famous example is the Zec cartoon in the Daily Mirror during World War II showing a shipwrecked sailor clinging to wreckage, and a caption concerning the price of petrol.

A cartoon is a communication. One of its fundamental purposes is to inform; the observer may need to concentrate and think about it. A message may be seen and understood. "Humour is a serious matter to the cartoonists. It is meant to inspire thought". (Robinson 1981 : 8) The symbols perceived in the cartoon representing a person or people may be powerful enough to remain and be recalled with humour, interest or anger. The unique symbol may possibly colour future perception and opinion, which could have long term results. The tabloid press, with its increasingly pictorial contents, may have considerable influence on a large proportion of the population, since statistics indicate a greater readership of tabloid papers than the qualities. "A light or humorous medium need not have frivolous consequences". (Seymour-Ure 1984 : 1) Scarfe considers that although he is illustrating a personal opinion in his work, he has: "... no feeling that any cartoon has ever changed the course of events". (Scarfe 1982 : 13)

It is sometimes quite difficult to decide whether a drawing is a cartoon or caricature. As one writer says: "We all know one when we see one". (Lucie-Smith 1981 : 7) Another writer speaks of the "woolly ambiguity" in defining cartoons. (Geipel 1972 : 13) Some dictionary definitions suggest there is now relatively little difference, even that the words are synonymous. A cartoon is an illustration or drawing which appears in a variety of publications. It contains elements of distortion or exaggeration and ridicule, related to current events. The caricature is a grotesque likeness or incongruous imitation; a portrait exaggerated with ludicrous effect. A definition of the genre by a master is:

"A cartoon is an illustration of a political or social idea served up sometimes in caricatural draughtsmanship, sometimes not". (Low 1935 : 40)

Caricature used in a cartoon reinforces the statement being made by the artist through the medium of the drawing, by focusing attention on the personality rather than the idea. (Seymour-Ure 1983 : 10) Whether a drawing is a cartoon or caricature it has a message for the reader, dispensed with élan, not as plain fact. Whether all readers receive the same message, or understand it, is another matter altogether.

It will be clear from this discussion that no analysis of the image of Mrs Thatcher would be complete without including her treatment by cartoonists. The chapter is therefore divided into two parts. Statistics will be discussed first supported by histograms drawn up from analyses. These relate to Personal and Political cartoons, where 'cartoon' is an all embracing word. Later analyses show divisions into cartoon and caricature using definitions previously noted. The number and type of Images used at each general election will be considered, including the frequency of their use across all three elections. The second section will review the Images used and the type of message being disseminated, including how cartoons may resemble, or differ from, photographs.

Table 8.1 Analysis of General Election Cartoons

	1979				1983				1987			
	Total Election Cartoons	Total Showing Mrs Thatcher	Party/Political	Mrs Thatcher Personal	Total Election Cartoons	Total Showing Mrs Thatcher	Party/Political	Mrs Thatcher Personal	Total Election Cartoons	Total Showing Mrs Thatcher	Party/Political	Mrs Thatcher Personal
DAILY PAPERS												
THE TIMES *	20*	5	2	3	36	13	5	8	59	11	6	5
THE GUARDIAN	22	8	3	5	77	25	6	19	77	23	3	20
DAILY EXPRESS	31	4	1	3	53	8	3	5	37	9	2	7
DAILY MIRROR	32	7	2	5	39	15	4	11	24	16	3	13
SUNDAY PAPERS												
SUNDAY TIMES*	8*	2	1	1	9	4	1	3	10	6	3	3
OBSERVER	10	4	4	-	9	3	3	-	15	3	3	-
SUNDAY EXPRESS	13	2	1	1	17	3	-	3	17	3	-	3
SUNDAY MIRROR	7	5	1	4	23	3	-	3	19	7	3	4
PERIODICALS												
SPECTATOR	15	1	-	1	17	2	1	1	23	7	3	4
NEW STATESMAN	10	4	2	2	11	6	-	6	13	4	2	2
PUNCH	18	9	3	6	23	4	4	-	29	5	4	1
PRIVATE EYE	5	-	-	-	6	5	5	-	21	9	5	4

DEFINITIONS

Column 1 CARTOONS For statistical purposes CARTOONS include CARICATURES, LINE DRAWINGS and SKETCHES.

Column 2 TOTAL SHOWING MRS THATCHER Any cartoon or caricature in which Mrs Thatcher appears, either alone or with other people.

Column 3 PARTY POLITICAL Where Mrs Thatcher is one of a group, but everyone depicted is an essential part of the drawing.

Column 4 MRS THATCHER PERSONAL Where Mrs Thatcher is alone and the sole subject of the drawing.

* DAILY and SUNDAY TELEGRAPH in 1979

Analysis of General Election Cartoons (Table 8.1)

Because of the "woolly ambiguity" mentioned earlier, deciding in which category a drawing belongs presented several problems. Some decisions were very subjective.

Line drawings or 'an artist's impression' were extracted first and put in the cartoon category for this table and the histograms, but are discussed separately elsewhere. Harold Evans recommended these type of drawings as an interesting alternative to routine portraits of familiar faces, with: "... caricature for comment; or cooler, recognisable portraits with a dash of vinegar for ordinary news". (Evans 1978 : 297)

For the cartoons, and cartoon strips, a recognisable likeness and a 'political or social' idea guided some decisions. However, where it seemed that a drawing was 'a grotesque likeness' or 'a portrait exaggerated with ludicrous effect' then these were classed as caricature. Borderline or doubtful cases were counted as cartoons. Generally speaking, most of the daily or regular drawings done by a resident artist on a paper or periodical were cartoons. Many of the line drawings beside special editorials or articles were caricatures. A few artists with their own very individual style usually draw caricatures, so that these are more easily categorised.

Strip cartoons were counted as one entry per day, regardless of the number of frames.

Cartoons in Daily Papers (Table 8.2)

Since one of the functions of a tabloid newspaper is to entertain, the expectation was to find consistently higher cartoon totals in the Express and Mirror for each election period. As the Table shows, however, this was only true in 1979. Not only did the Tabloids totals

Table 8.2

Cartoons in Daily Papers

Analysis of CARTOONS to show the number in which Mrs Thatcher appears, both Party/Political and Personal, with their percentages of the Election totals. Statistics drawn from Table 8.1

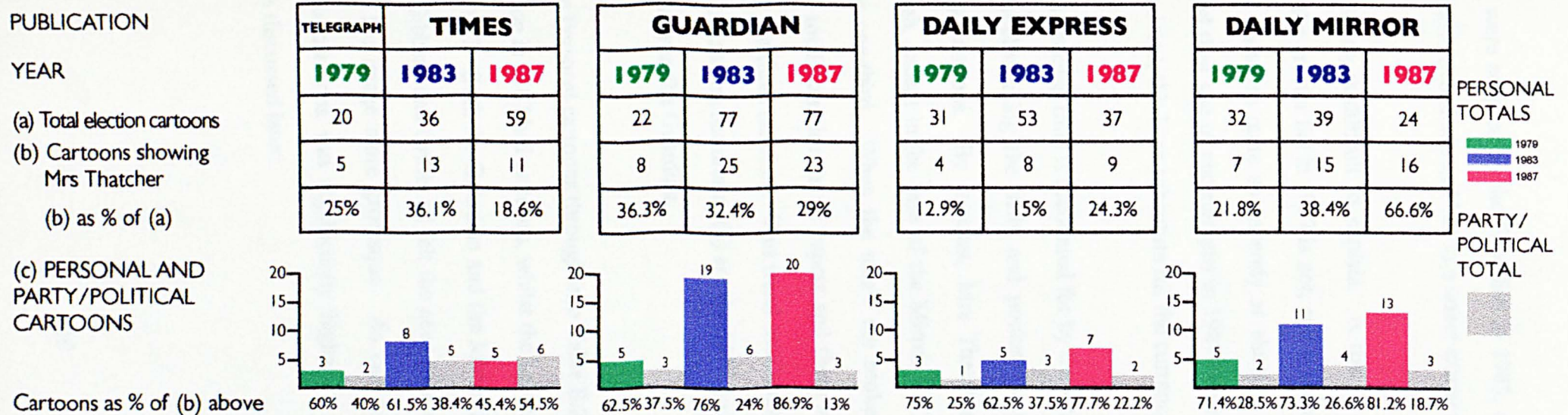
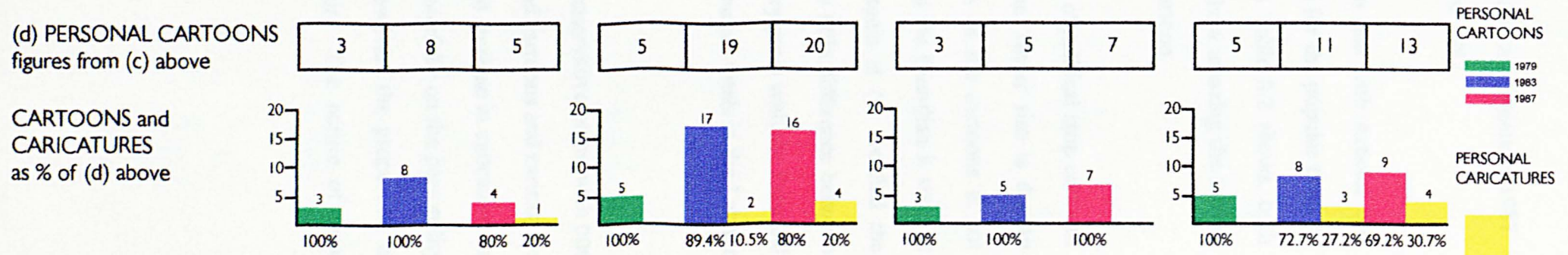


Table 8.2.1 Analysis of PERSONAL CARTOONS - colour coded above - to show PERSONAL CARTOONS and PERSONAL CARICATURES



fluctuate, they were eclipsed by the Guardian in 1983, and by both Broadsheets in 1987. The Times was also overshadowed but to a lesser extent in 1983 and 1987.

The Tabloids' swing is difficult to explain. A rise in 1983 is in line with Articles and Editorials, but the greater fall in 1987 is not, and it seems unusual for the popular press to curtail political cartoons quite so severely at election time. As Table 8.2 shows, both papers increased their use of photographs in 1987, but no matter how amazing the subject or situation depicted, this is no substitute for the currency of the cartoon.

The Guardian's amazing total is accounted for by the introduction of political strip cartoons after 1979, supplementing the daily and pocket cartoons. The Times' rise is due to increased daily cartoons. By contrast, Mrs Thatcher's portion of the cartoons is not particularly high, except in the case of the Mirror 1987; even in the Guardian it stays at approximately one-third. When the totals are broken down again at (c) we find the Party/Political totals stay low in all papers and there is relatively little difference between any of them at the three elections. This trend continues in the Tory press with the Personal totals. The outstanding features at (c) are the 1983 and 1987 Personal totals in the Labour press, particularly in the Guardian.

Following the Personal cartoons through into Table 8.2.1, the Conservative press, with one single exception in 1987 had cartoons, whilst the Labour press had cartoons and caricatures in 1983 and 1987. Both the Guardian and the Mirror had a small increase in caricatures in 1987. Bell, Gibbard and Griffin all felt the need to comment powerfully on the personality by rendering the image more grotesque. As can be seen, however, the proportion of caricatures to cartoons was significantly higher in the Mirror. The nature of these caricatures is discussed later.

Table 8.3

Cartoons in Sunday Papers

Analysis of CARTOONS to show the number in which Mrs Thatcher appears, both Party/Political and Personal, with their percentages of the Election totals. Statistics drawn from Table 8.1

PUBLICATION

SUNDAY TELEGRAPH	SUNDAY TIMES	
1979	1983	1987
8	9	10
2	4	6
25%	44.4%	60%

OBSERVER		
1979	1983	1987
10	9	15
4	3	3
40%	33.3%	20%

SUNDAY EXPRESS		
1979	1983	1987
13	17	17
2	3	3
15.3%	17.6%	17.6%

SUNDAY MIRROR		
1979	1983	1987
7	23	19
5	3	7
71.4%	13%	36.8%

YEAR

- (a) Total election cartoons
- (b) Cartoons showing Mrs Thatcher
- (b) as % of (a)

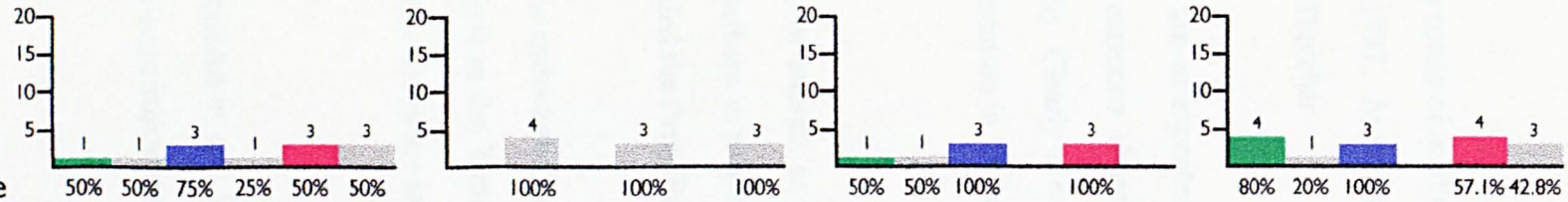
PERSONAL TOTALS



PARTY/POLITICAL TOTAL



(c) PERSONAL AND PARTY/POLITICAL CARTOONS



Cartoons as % of (b) above

Table 8.3.1

Analysis of PERSONAL CARTOONS - colour coded above - to show PERSONAL CARTOONS and PERSONAL CARICATURES

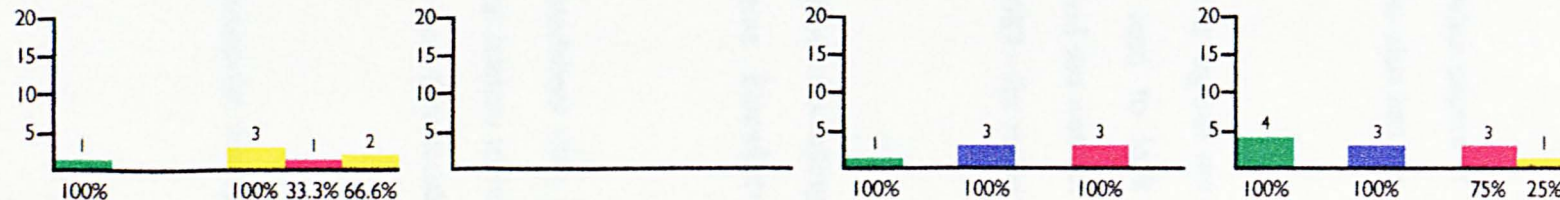
(d) PERSONAL CARTOONS figures from (c) above

1979	1983	1987
1	3	3
0	0	0
1	3	3
4	3	4

PERSONAL CARTOONS



CARTOONS and CARICATURES as % of (d) above



PERSONAL CARICATURES



Cartoons in Sunday papers (Table 8.3)

This is the only Table where the Express totals of anything exceed all the other papers at three elections - excepting the Mirror in 1987. At the same time the Express also has the lowest figures for cartoons showing Mrs Thatcher.

The Tabloid totals for election cartoons are as expected, though the Observer figures are rather higher. The percentages for cartoons showing Mrs Thatcher tend to look exaggerated because of the low figures (b). Clearly over each five week period she was not ignored, and received marginally more attention in the Mirror in 1979 and 1987 - for rather different reasons.

The Observer's Party/Politicals only are of interest as perhaps Trog's method of keeping Mrs Thatcher's image within limits, or perhaps in proportion to her colleagues. Elsewhere the Personal cartoons matched or exceeded the Party/Politicals.

In Table 8.3.1, the appearance of more caricatures in a Conservative Broadsheet than a Labour tabloid seems a little odd. Scarfe in the Times treated all political leaders to his particular incisiveness. Mrs Thatcher was not alone in appearing sharply, even ferociously beaked, or otherwise spikily featured.

No election has been particularly emphasised by any paper - that is, no cartoonist through Mrs Thatcher, has seen one election as more important.

Cartoons in Periodicals (Table 8.4)

Although the cartoon totals (a) increase at each election for each Periodical, Mrs Thatcher does not receive a great amount of attention on a regular basis; there are peaks and

Table 8.4

Cartoons in Periodicals

Analysis of CARTOONS to show the number in which Mrs Thatcher appears, both Party/Political and Personal, with their percentages of the Election totals. Statistics drawn from Table 8.1

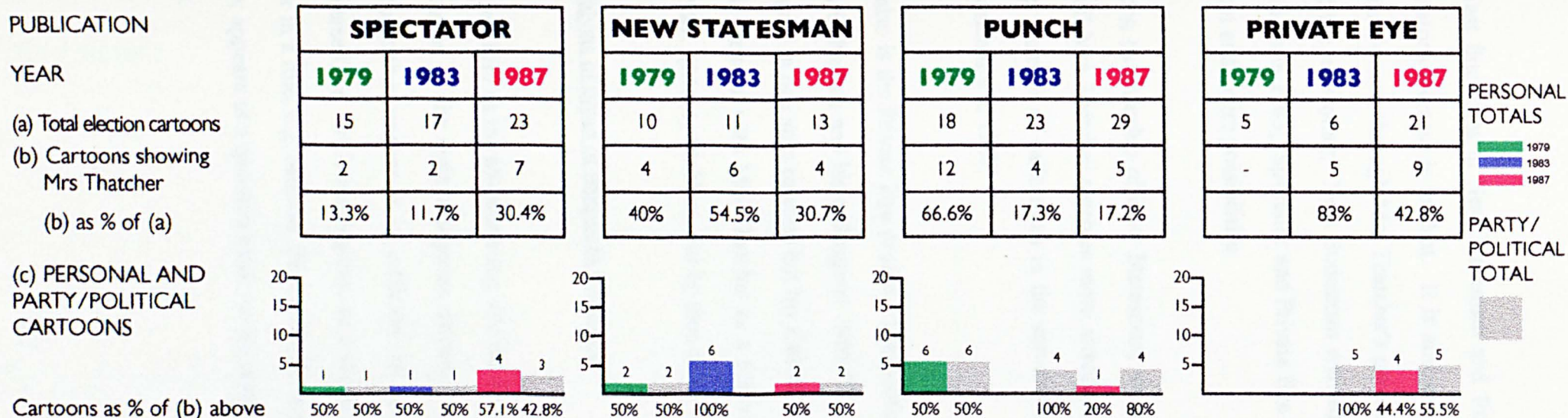
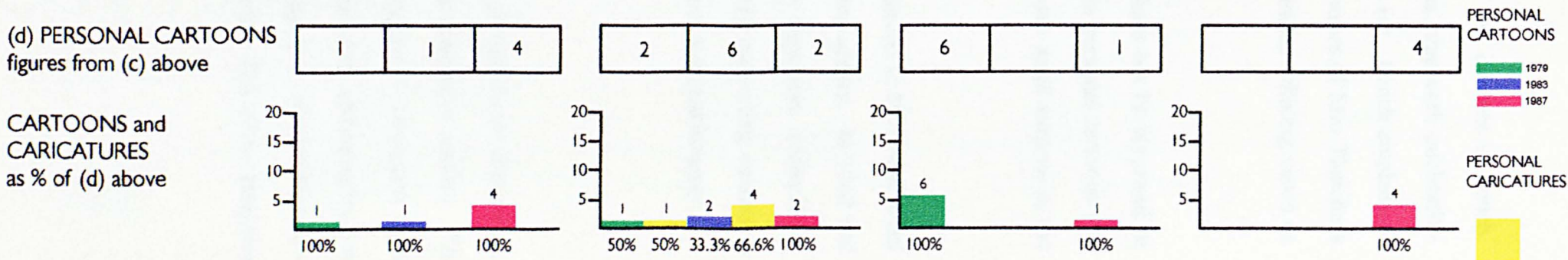


Table 8.4.1 Analysis of PERSONAL CARTOONS - colour coded above - to show PERSONAL CARTOONS and PERSONAL CARICATURES



troughs. Interest fluctuates in *New Statesman* and *Private Eye* and declines in *Punch*. Even the *Spectator's* increase is modest. It is noticeable, however, that each publication has stressed one election through Mrs Thatcher's personal images (c). *Punch* emphasised the female and the newcomer; *New Statesman* warned of the horrors of Mrs Thatcher's possible re-election in 1983; *Spectator* and *Private Eye* took somewhat differing views on her third attempt and future possibilities.

Given the strong partisanship of *New Statesman*, we should perhaps not be surprised to find that overall Mrs Thatcher receives more attention here in the personal cartoons (d), nor the greater number of caricatures in the sub-division. The one small surprise is the absence of a caricature in 1987.

Of note here also is the *Private Eye* profile. The political strip cartoon in 1979 was based around James Callaghan and his colleagues. Mrs Thatcher did not appear. In 1983 and 1987 she featured in one strip cartoon but her Cabinet was equally important. (John Kent) A second strip cartoon with Mrs Thatcher as a Führer figure with supporting characters appeared in 1987. (Monty Stubble), but by then there was also more personal imagery.

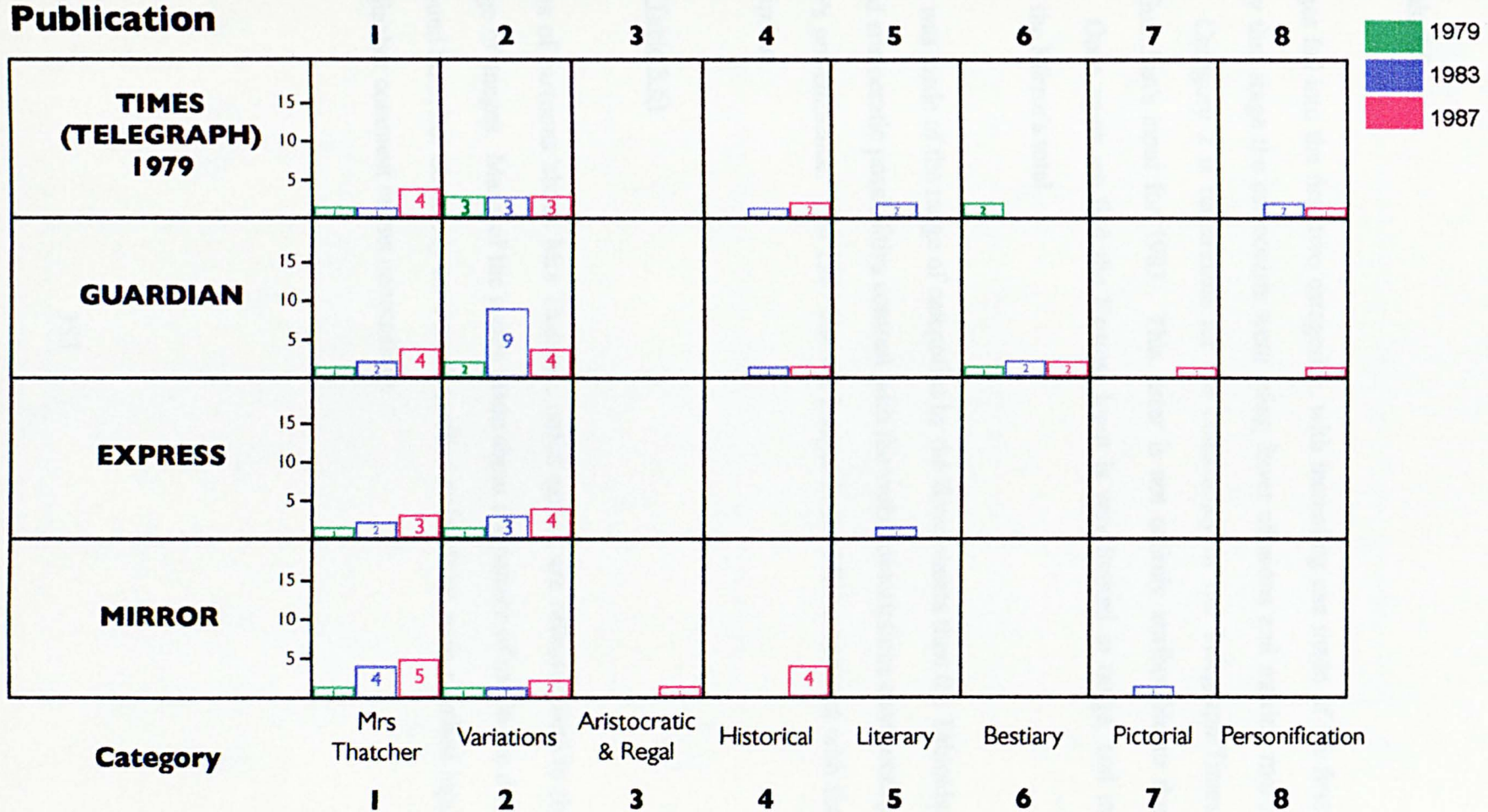
Numerical analysis of types of images in Cartoons

'Cartoon' is used here as the all-embracing title for various types of hand drawn depictions. A full explanation of the eight categories shown follows in the qualitative section. To complete quantitative matters it is sufficient to note that category 1 represents Mrs Thatcher as herself, i.e. she is not depicted as a character or stereotype; and category 2 is Mrs Thatcher in a role, e.g. Matron, the Iron Lady, a pilot. Category 8 - Personification - Mrs Thatcher appears as a question mark, or the conservative torch. The other categories are as before.

Table 8.5

Cartoons in Daily Papers

Numerical analysis of types of images used by Publication/Category/Year



352a

The figures in the boxes refer to the number of types of image with the category for the election, and not the number of times any particular image is used. E.g. the Mirror's 1987 total of 5 in Category 1 indicates five different depictions of Mrs Thatcher *as herself*.

Daily papers (Table 8.5)

Most of the images fall into the first two categories, with increasing use made of the first one by 1987. By that stage the cartoonists were using fewer allusions and making more direct reference. Category 2 is remarkable for the consistency of the Telegraph/Times totals, and the Guardian's input for 1983. This latter is not entirely attributable to the Falkland Factor. Once again we find the Express input is very limited in range, and in comparison with the Mirror's total.

Rather more use was made of the range of categories by the Broadsheets than the Tabloids. The scarcely used aristocratic possibilities contrast with the verbal descriptions commenting on Mrs Thatcher's pre-eminence. The 1987 historic images in the Mirror contrast with the one verbal description.

Sunday Papers (Table 8.6)

The low numbers of cartoons 'about' Mrs Thatcher, noted earlier, are reflected here in the very limited range of images. Many of the points made about the pattern of use in the daily papers can be found here, but obviously on a much smaller scale. With such a limited input from all papers further comment seems unnecessary.

Table 8.6

Cartoons in Sunday Papers

Numerical analysis of types of images used in cartoons by Publication/Category/Year

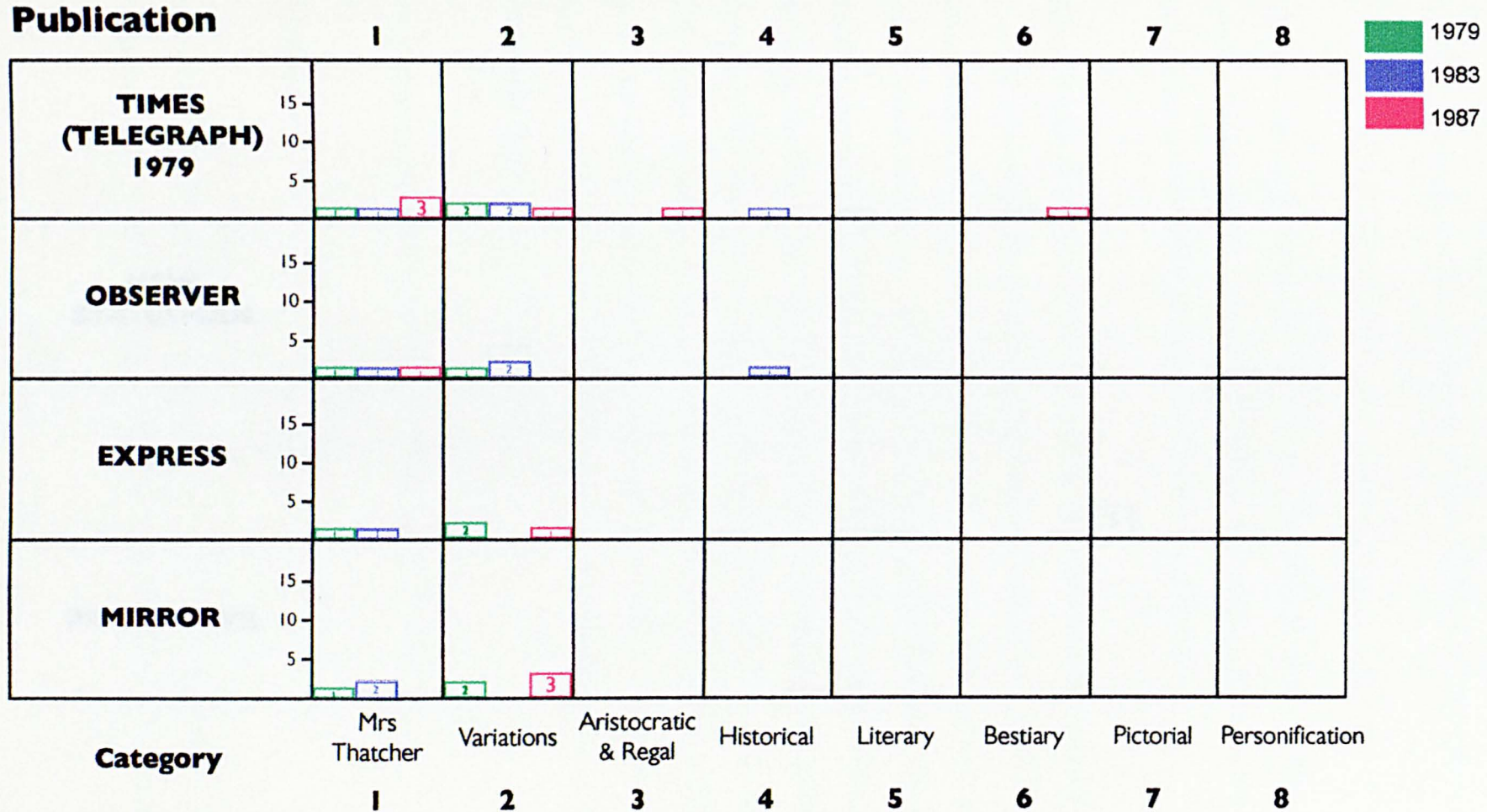
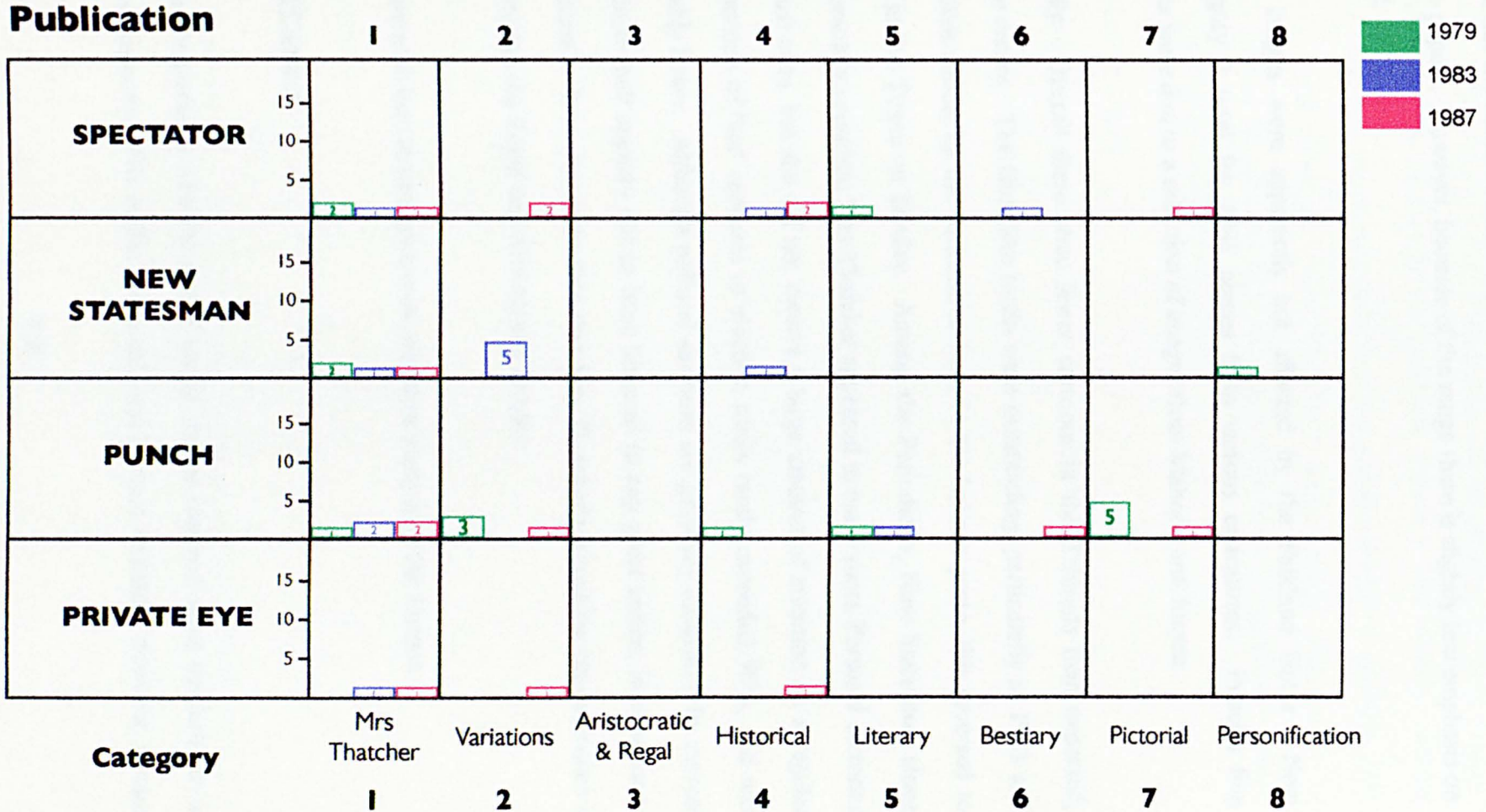


Table 8.7

Cartoons in Periodicals

Numerical analysis of types of images used in cartoons by Publication/Category/Year



Periodicals (Table 8.7)

Although there are not the numbers involved, the wider range here for most publications is more like the daily papers. However, because of the range there is slightly less emphasis on categories 1 and 2.

The Periodicals' images were apparently not affected by the Falkland factor. New Statesman's category 2 total for 1983 comes from various caricatures. Punch's five Pictorial variations were due to a selection of images from Mahood and Jensen.

To sum up briefly: Overall there were fewer cartoons in the Tabloids than expected, particularly in the dailies. The Guardian totals were outstanding, particularly in 1983 and 1987. In the dailies almost all the caricatures were in the Labour press, this reversed to being almost all in the Times on Sunday. Among the Periodicals, New Statesman alone carried them. Generally speaking, Mrs Thatcher appeared in many more Personal cartoons than Party/Political ones, but she did not receive a large amount of attention on a regular basis. The proportion of 'her' cartoons to election totals rarely exceeded 50%, and was usually considerably lower. Although political cartoons are generally influenced by current events, the Falkland spell appears not to have lingered to any great extent, in contrast to Articles and Editorials. It is also noticeable that Mrs Thatcher's increasing pre-eminence is not dealt with through the Regal and Aristocratic images.

From statistics we now turn to categorisation, and then analysis of the images.

Classification of Cartoons

To find possible comparisons with the earlier verbal images required some similarity in the categorisation of cartoons. The earlier plan could not be used unaltered however, because

of the obvious differences between visual and verbal symbols. Categories which could not be used include Government and political leadership, e.g. 'Prime Minister', also Nicknames, e.g. 'Mrs T'. Unless the point is made in the caption, or clearly indicated within the drawing, there could be difficulties in telling if the image was the 'Premier' or 'Tory Leader', 'Mrs T' or 'Ma Thatcher'. The Personality and character section is also missing. 'Caring woman' or 'abrasive female' do not readily transfer to recognisable images or symbols, even with worry lines or facial distortions. Mrs Thatcher's characteristics, and notions of leadership may be implied through the type of image depicted or a specifically named characterisation. There are no Unclassified images.

- 1 Mrs Thatcher as herself,
though depicted in a variety of ways.
- 2 Mrs Thatcher in various roles;
e.g. Matron, Iron Lady, jockey, pilot, housewife.
- 3 Aristocratic and Regal;
e.g. a Queen (not H.M. The Queen).
- 4 Historical
e.g. Statue of Liberty
- 5 Literary;
e.g. Snow White (The story came first).
- 6 Bestiary;
e.g. a duck
- 7 Pictorial;
e.g. a (James) Bond girl.
- 8 Personification;
e.g. the Conservative torch.

As before, these categories are mutually exclusive and no image has been placed in more than one.

GENERAL ELECTION 1979

Mrs Thatcher's images in 1979 are not necessarily new or revolutionary. She had been a politician for twenty years, and Opposition Leader for four of them. Cartoonists had already developed the symbols and tabs of identity. The regular readership of a publication would be familiar with this progression.

1 MRS THATCHER

Daily Papers (Table 8.8)

Number of different images in this Table : 1	T	G	E	M
Mrs Thatcher number of times used	3	5	4	3
Total images per publication	1	1	1	1

Although Mrs Thatcher appeared in a variety of situations, with various other people, and several with James Callaghan, she is represented in each cartoonists 'standard form' for her. Over the three elections there is little or no change in the image. This applies also to the Sunday papers and Periodicals.

Sunday Papers (Table 8.9)

Number of different images in this Table : 1	T	O	E	M
Mrs Thatcher number of times used	1	2	1	3
Total images per publication	1	1	1	1

Periodicals (Table 8.10)

Number of different images in this Table : 1	S	N	P	PE
Mrs Thatcher - cartoon number of times used	1	2	2	0
Mrs Thatcher - caricature	0	1	0	0
Total images per publication	1	2	1	0

The caricature is recognisable as Mrs Thatcher and not grossly distorted

2 MRS THATCHER - VARIATIONS

Daily Papers (Table 8.11)

Number of different images in this Table : 7	T	G	E	M
Boxer number of times used	1	0	0	0
Drill Sergeant	0	0	0	1
Hang-glider	0	1	0	0
Mountaineer	1	0	0	0
Shepherd	0	1	0	0
Standard bearer	0	0	1	0
Housewife	1	0	0	0
Total images per publication	3	2	1	1

We have some of the traditional election 'contest' images here: the boxer waits in the corner, the mountaineer progresses upwards, the shepherd tries to pen the sheep. Personal to Mrs Thatcher, the Housewife weighs up the advantages of the 'Then' and 'Now' shopping - a neat parody of an earlier photograph - and the Hang-glider, the newcomer, steps out into the unknown. The formidable female appears as the Drill Sergeant putting her combat dressed colleagues through their paces for the 'election - march', all hopping on the right leg with varying degrees of success. Waite shows Mrs Thatcher with a slight beaky nose, but nothing as decisive as Scarfe in 1983.

Sunday Papers (Table 8.12)

Number of different images in this Table : 7	T	O	E	M
Ambulance driver number of times used	0	0	1	0
Learner driver	0	0	0	1
Airline pilot	0	0	1	0
Water Skier	0	0	0	1
Policeman	0	1	0	0
Super Mag	1	0	0	0
Wonder Mag	1	0	0	0
Total images per publication	2	1	2	2

Further traditional images appear here: e.g. the ambulance driver comes to the rescue, the learner driver is in difficulties, the water skier tries to avoid the jaws of the (Labour) whale. The implied 'Maggie' image is the supermarket, super-efficient, super-everything woman.

Wonder Mag is perhaps the 'odd figure out' Jensen portrayed Mrs Thatcher as a buxom "Wonderwoman", akin to the shapely sex symbols in American films, TV and comic strips - a female 'Batman', the eternally vigilant eleventh-hour rescuer. The background is probably London with a hint of New York; and a King Kong figure rending buildings asunder. A mobster stereotype labelled 'D. Kline' is in the foreground. The Heroine is about to take off on a mission, a new adventure. This is the nearest to a cartoon strip to appear in 1979. It was strategically placed above an article by Peregrine Worsthorpe, "A crusader comes at last to No. 10".

The airline pilot is a successful Mrs Thatcher at the controls of the plane about to take off for a bumpy ride. The passengers, with familiar shadow Cabinet faces, are far from happy.

Periodicals (Table 8.13)

Number of different images in this Table : 3	S	N	P	PE
Housewife number of times used	0	0	1	0
Iron Lady	0	0	1	0
Superwife	0	0	1	0
Total images per publication	0	0	3	0

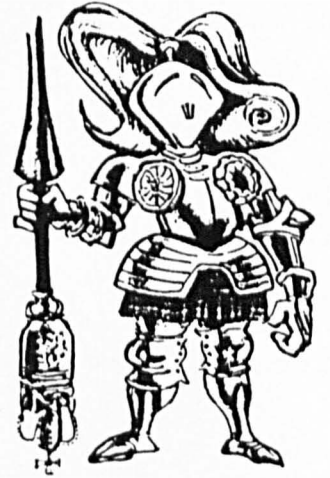
Mahood's Iron Lady, noted earlier in Chapter 3, holds the House of Commons Mace upside down, and her helmet plumes are a distinctive hairstyle; this is not the 'Iron in the soul' Lady. The middle class Housewife is defined by the style of drawing. She empties rubbish into the Prime Minister's garden, as he tips his bin over hers, each looking in a different direction.



A TOUCH OF THE LAUTRECS
While Lady sings the Blues—
over and over again.



ST. TRINIANS GYM-SLIP
Appeals to young and old alike.



THE IRON MAIDEN
A light-weight, unbreakable blue plastic armour.
Ideal for warding off slings and arrows of
outraged Labour opponents—or outraged Tories
if Conservatives lose the Election.



THE "MINELLI"
This semi-formal black suit should appeal to the
most hard-headed City Gent.

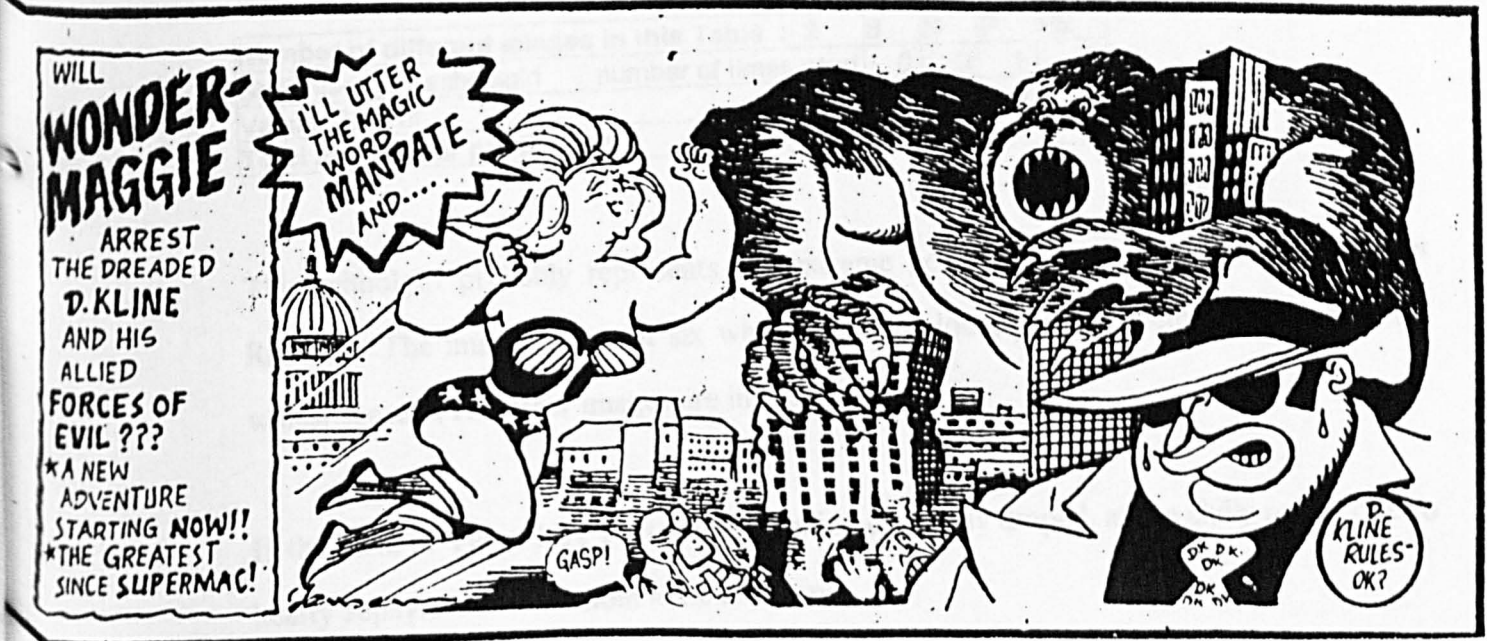


MAGGIE WEST
"Why don't cha c'mup'n vote for me sometime?"



THE TRUE-BLUE ANGEL
(The sexiest costume exploits the male libido.)

Jensen PUNCH, April 4 1979



WILL WONDER-MAGGIE
ARREST THE DREADED
D. KLINE
AND HIS ALLIED
FORCES OF EVIL ???
*A NEW ADVENTURE
STARTING NOW!!
*THE GREATEST
SINCE SUPERMAC!

Sunday Telegraph 6 May 1979

3 ARISTOCRATIC AND REGAL

No entries.

4 HISTORICAL

Periodicals (Table 8.14)

Number of different images in this Table : 1	S	N	P	PE
Statue of Liberty number of times used	0	0	1	0
Total images per publication	0	0	1	0

This image is not a symbolic shining beacon, Mrs Thatcher is at a fancy dress party with other political leaders, they mournfully observe various spectres such as Northern Ireland at the election feast.

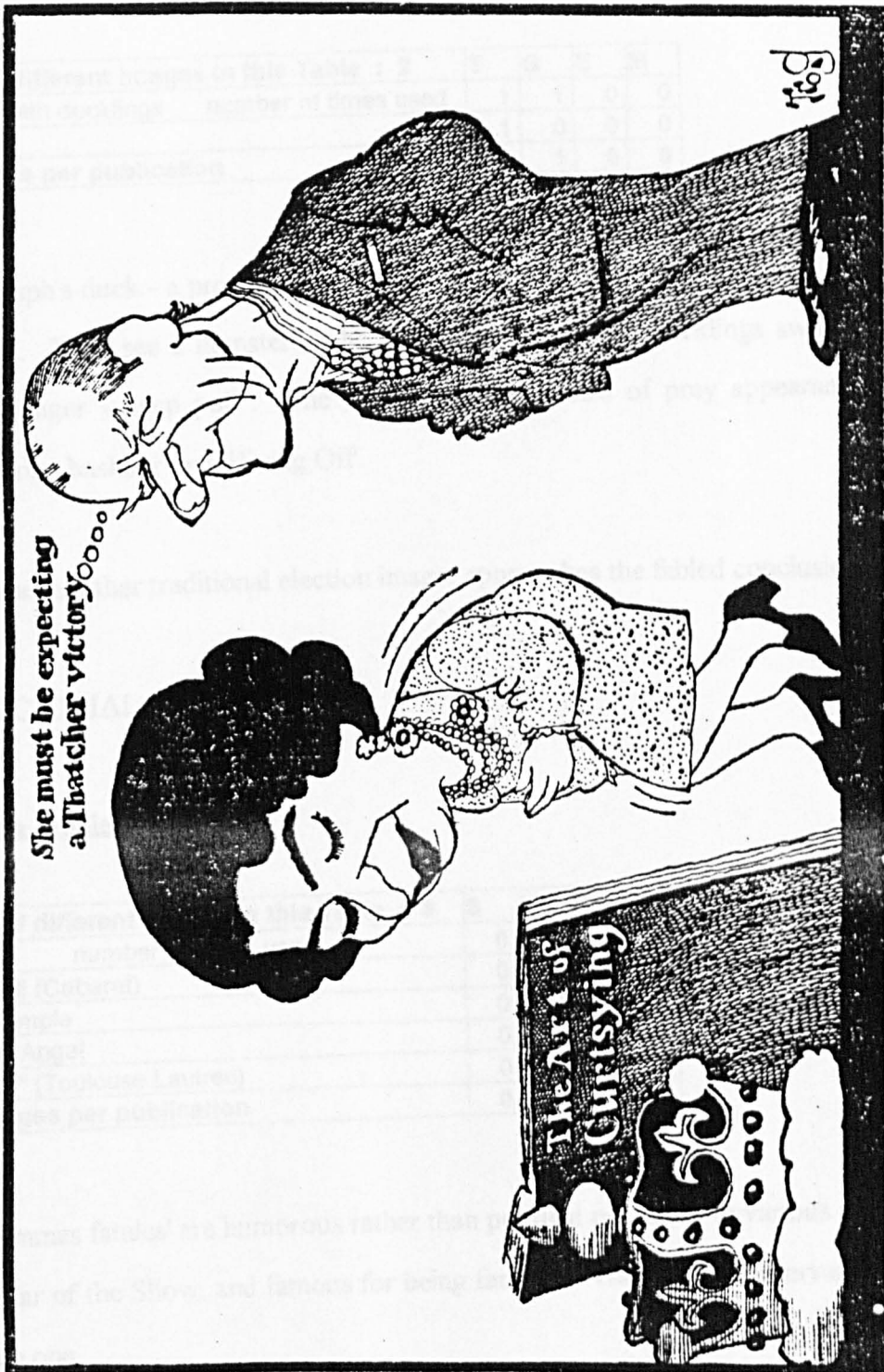
5 LITERARY

Periodicals (Table 8.15)

Number of different images in this Table : 2	S	N	P	PE
St Trinian-type schoolgirl number of times used	0	0	1	0
Venus (Birth of ...)	1	0	0	0
Total images per publication	1	0	1	0

This schoolgirl probably represents the extreme polar opposite to the young Margaret Roberts. The image is one of six which might be loosely called 'Femmes fatales' in the widest sense. (The other images are in Pictorial).

In the Birth of Venus Mrs Thatcher is standing discreetly draped, at the chilly mercy of two hearty zephyrs - one of whom is Len Murray.



She must be expecting
a Thatcher victory...

The Art of
Curtsyng

The Observer 29 April 1979

6 **BESTIARY**

Daily Papers (Table 8.16)

Number of different images in this Table : 2	T	G	E	M
Duck - one with ducklings number of times used	1	1	0	0
Tortoise	1	0	0	0
Total images per publication	2	1	0	0

The Telegraph's duck - a prosaic bird - swims on a pond, observed by James Callaghan and his Cabinet. They see a monster. The Guardian's duck with ducklings swim on a pond marked "Danger - deep poll". The ducklings have a bird of prey appearance, and are labelled 'Strike bashing' and 'Hiving Off'.

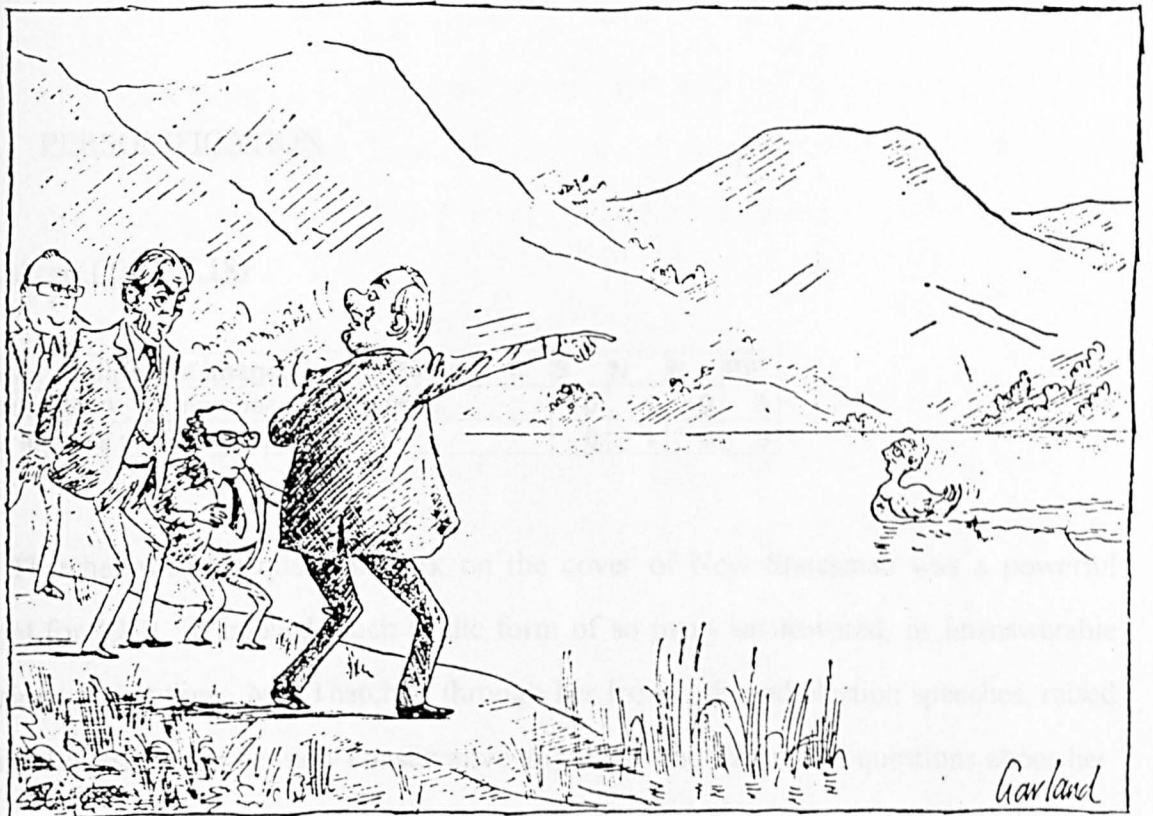
The tortoise, another traditional election image, approaches the fabled conclusion.

7 **PICTORIAL**

Periodicals (Table 8.17)

Number of different images in this Table : 5	S	N	P	PE
Mae West number of times used	0	0	1	0
Lisa Minelli (Cabaret)	0	0	1	0
Shirley Temple	0	0	1	0
True Blue Angel	0	0	1	0
"The Lady" (Toulouse Lautrec)	0	0	1	0
Total images per publication	0	0	5	0

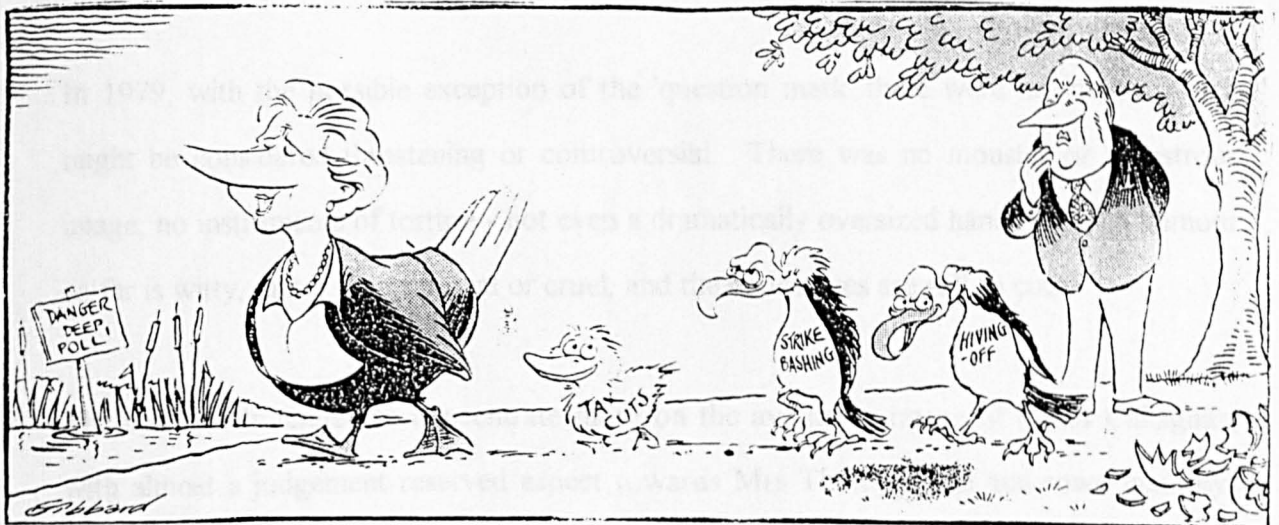
These 'femmes fatales' are humorous rather than political pointers - in various ways they are all the 'Star of the Show; and famous for being famous. There is a 'Conservative' comment with each one.



Garland

"Look! Look! A huge prehistoric monster coming to confront us and to destroy all our achievements!"

Daily Telegraph May 1979



Hubbard

The Guardian May 1979

8 PERSONIFICATION

Periodicals (Table 8.18)

Number of different images in this Table : 1		S	N	P	PE
Question Mark	number of times used	0	1	0	0
Total images per publication		0	1	0	0

Mrs Thatcher within a question mark on the cover of New Statesman was a powerful symbol for 1979. It implied much in the form of so many unanswered, or unanswerable questions at that time. Mrs Thatcher, through her Iron Lady and election speeches, raised manifold questions on her new conservative approach, and that raised questions about her. There was uncertainty voiced in the press about the politics and the personality and something called 'the Thatcher factor'. There were confusing images both visual and verbal - many noted already. As a leader she was an unknown quantity, and from a partisan viewpoint, her replacing James Callaghan seemed unwise at the very least. New Statesman's cover implied any question the observer cared to ask. Mrs Thatcher was not only the woman in question, she was perhaps also a questionable woman. Arguably, in one succinct symbol the cartoonist compensated for the lack of verbal comment noted earlier.

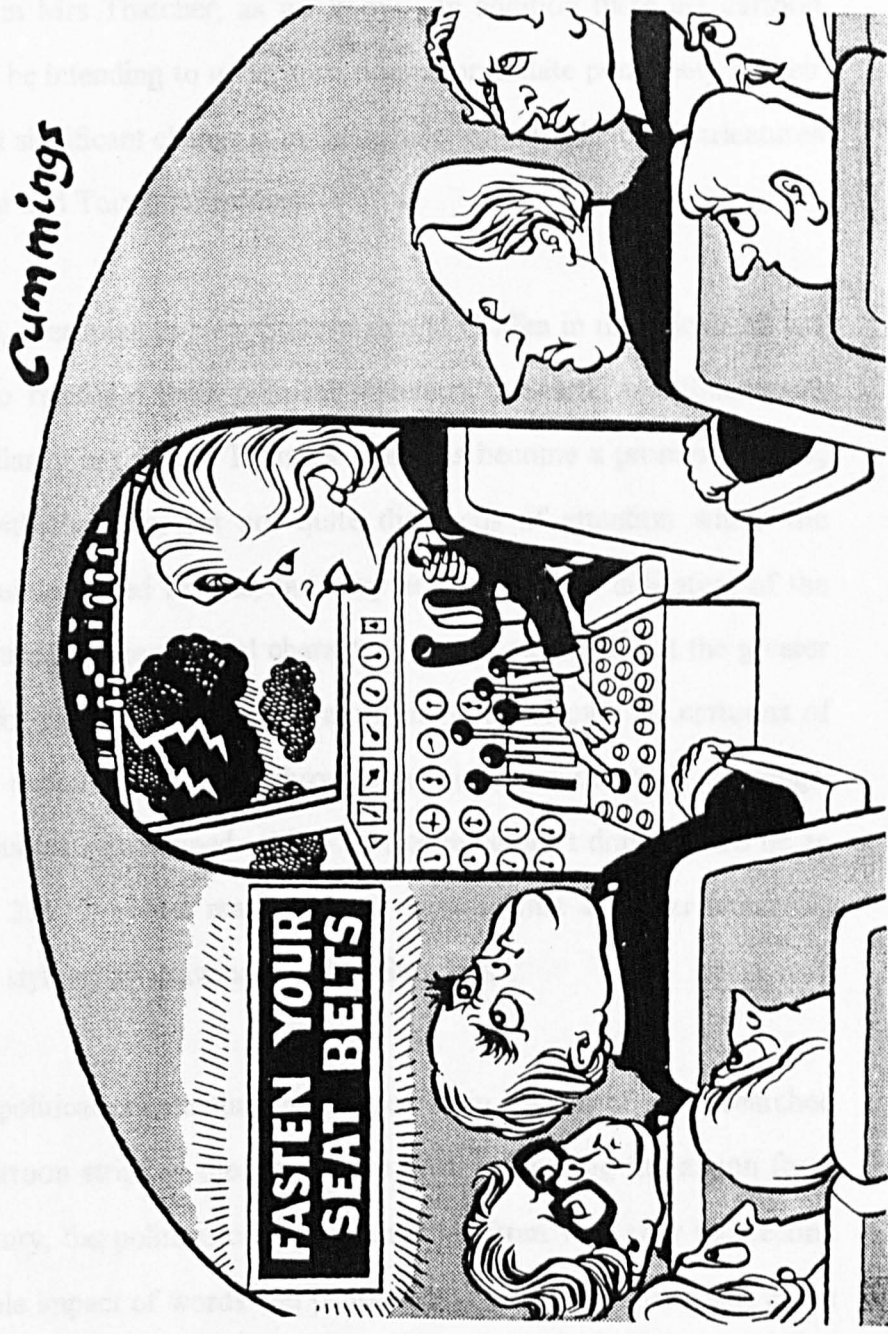
In 1979, with the possible exception of the 'question mark' there were no images which might be considered threatening or controversial. There was no monster or monstrous image, no instruments of torture - not even a dramatically oversized handbag. The humour so far is witty, rather than satirical or cruel, and the caricatures are still to come.

The cartoonists tended to concentrate more on the avuncular image of James Callaghan, with almost a judgement reserved aspect towards Mrs Thatcher, the 'unknown quantity'. There is no real hostility towards her in the various portrayals, except possibly in New Statesman. There are relatively few matches with verbal images, beyond the housewife

stereotype. Some images are more easily recognisable than others, and there are tabs of identity, such as the hair (but no longer the hats), the slightly pointed nose, and the toothy smile. The handbag does not achieve prominence; it is often missing in cartoons but rarely missing in photographs.

At this stage Mrs Thatcher is not a target for abuse, or a wax doll symbol for pinning. The Iron Lady has already triggered emotions and comment. Together with the housewife stereotype in cartoons and photographs, these remain the foremost of the images.

Cummings



Sunday Express, May 6, 1979

GENERAL ELECTION 1983

By 1983 there have been some marked changes in the types of images used. There have also been marked changes in Mrs Thatcher, as we know. In addition there are cartoon strips which do not seem to be intending to undermine dogma or deflate pomposity in their own publications. The most significant change is in the number of anti-Thatcher caricatures which appear in both Labour and Tory publications.

Scarfe in the Sunday Times, Steadman in New Statesman and Griffen in the Mirror all use the "grotesque likeness" to reinforce their political statement. Scarfe and Steadman's drawings have a slight similarity in that the Thatcher nose has become a prominent beak, quite out of proportion with the face, but not quite the focus of attention within the drawing. These are not vulture faced images, but they are nonetheless indicative of the artist's antipathy to the politics and the political character. Scarfe admitted that the greater his dislike of a politician, for political reasons, the more incisive and ugly his cartoons of that person become. He exorcises his fears through setting them down as drawings. (Scarfe 1982 : 7) Geipel quotes an unnamed critic: "If Scarfe couldn't draw ... he'd be an assassin". (Geipel 1972 : 23) It seems reasonable to suppose that a similar animosity drives Steadman, given the style of his drawings in New Statesman.

By 1983 another form of political commentary had appeared in several of the researched publications. Although cartoon strips in the press have been humouring the nation for a considerable time this century, the political cartoon strip dates from well after the second world war. It has the double impact of words and pictures, and more than one frame in the episodic development of a theme in greater detail. The reader/viewer gets more of the image, and some of the ten thousand words. It may constitute one episode of a compact illustrated continuous "story" or adventure, or it may be complete in itself, yet part of a whole as a theme and variations.

The political strips have much in common with the cartoon or caricature, and the same ambiguity in presentation allowing personal attack to the point of rudeness, by questioning integrity and motives. (Seymour-Ure 1975 : 17) The cartoonists may be seen as: "... functioning subversives waging war on the powerful, the exploiters and the privileged". (Robinson 1981 : 7)

Character may be revealed by ridicule, but not all the strips deal only in ridicule. there is often a barely concealed element of aggression which is part of a strong, biased personal opinion, with the daily or weekly space and time to develop.

Even though there are more words and frames overall, there is still only one side of the argument and only one point of view, even if several people "speak". Many more words can be attributed to a character so that he/she appears self-condemned. Alternatively, the victim speaks as the cartoonist desires, so that another person can deliver the coup de grâce. The strip can focus on one character or many, to represent a particular group or institution. For some cartoonists subversive humour is one powerful way, perhaps the only way, to express criticism of an icon or the establishment. (Davidson 1982 : 43)

Although the political strip cartoon is of the second half of the Twentieth Century, its basis "... and techniques are deeply rooted in earlier vernacular illustration" (Geipel 1972 : 134)

By 1983 several political strips were being published. In the Guardian these were: "IF" by Steve Bell, and "What the Dickens" by Carla Ostrer. "Maggie Rules OK" by John Kent appeared in Private Eye.

1 MRS THATCHER

Daily Papers (Table 8.19)

Number of different images in this Table : 4	T	G	E	M
Mrs Thatcher number of times used	5	9	3	8
Mrs Thatcher - line drawing (artist's impressions)	0	0	1	1
Mrs Thatcher - sketch from photograph	0	0	0	1
Mrs Thatcher - computer image - caricature	0	1	0	0
Total Images per publication	1	2	2	3

The artists impressions and the sketch are new styles since 1979 but are not cartoons. They are all recognisable likenesses of Mrs Thatcher - as opposed to each cartoonists 'standard', or 'traditional' image of Mrs Thatcher - and illustrate articles as opposed to commenting on them.

Using an image to reinforce an argument can be done in several ways. A double image by Griffin in the Mirror based on the Janus face² accompanied an Editorial which started on the front page, headlined 'Two Faces'. The cartoon and caricature of Mrs Thatcher were juxtaposed to illustrate the foolish and the ugly faces of Thatcherism, the Editorial topic; to add embellishment to contempt, both images had all the tabs of identity. These are exaggerated in the caricature, which is reminiscent of the fearful figurehead on an ancient warship, or perhaps something out of 'Jaws'. The reverse cartoon face has large smiling features, and large even teeth. It looks vaguely like the 'big smile' photographs of Mrs Thatcher at the time, yet is reminiscent, also, of the Princess Royal. The line drawing of Mrs Thatcher in the Mirror is a 'Trooping the Colour' topic, involving the Queen, and is discussed later.

² As two sides of one image, this was counted as one cartoon.

Two of the images in the Guardian were in strip cartoons. Carla Ostrer showed Mrs Thatcher as 'Herself'. She was also one of the few to include the handbag in the cartoon. Using Dickens' characters and Victorian values she examines and mocks the motives of the politicians and the modern election campaign. E.g. 27 May, a sharp featured Mrs Thatcher, handbag on the table beside her, faces a gaunt Michael Foot across a table in a TV studio, with a dour Robin Day between them. A Micawber type character comments to a boy about political tactics and messages, and admits to not knowing "what animal similarities and personal hygiene have to do with anything". The intriguing point about this particular cartoon, apart from the political comment is that Michael Foot's dog appears in a corner of a frame. Here both leaders are shown with a very personal symbol. Yet elsewhere only the dog became part of the cartoonists armoury. The handbag rarely appears.

There is a wealth of detail in Steve Bell's strip cartoon,³ and often a great many words. The work is caricature not cartoon, and criticises character and establishment in an aggressive way, possibly subversive, but with humour. For this election he used two images of Mrs Thatcher, one as Herself - the other appears later. The episodes occupied the equivalent of one week. His first criticism concerned the creation of the image. He portrayed it as a computerised exercise with a robot which got out of hand when the monstrous head on the screen takes over, Frankenstein style, finally destroying itself and the technology used to create it. The stages of creation and destruction of the image offer much scope for caricature, while the messages remain simple and moral. It is interesting to note that this image already has the manic eyes which Bell himself thought the clue to Mrs Thatcher's real character and her state of mind, and which he used again in 1987 and up to 1990 (private conversation).

³ Matthews and Mellini (1989) list Bell and Scarfe, with others, as among Mrs Thatcher's most violent detractors.

Sunday Papers (Table 8.20)

Number of different images in this Table : 2	T	O	E	M
Mrs Thatcher number of times used	0	1	3	2
Mrs Thatcher - identikit face	1	0	0	1
Total images per publication	1	1	1	2

The identikit face is another variation in style, but with no similarities in the end result between the Times and the Mirror.

Periodicals (Table 8.21)

Number of different images on this Table : 2	S	N	P	PE
Mrs Thatcher number of times used	1	2	2	5
Mrs Thatcher - sketch, face	0	0	1	0
Total images per publication	1	1	2	1

Kent's work really is a strip cartoon, and the polar opposite to Bell's work. The title "Maggie Rules OK" is the clue to the series, concerning style and supremacy Mrs Thatcher's way. The drawing style is simple and without elaborate detail; the eye is not distracted. Although Mrs Thatcher is the centre of attention the Cabinet ministers - as Chorus - are an essential part of each episode. Her forceful statements are made with the voice patterns showing in heavier print, reminiscent of her rallying speeches. Kent's graphic comment each time was an alternative version of a known, election event. E.g. Francis Pym's "landslide results" was featured on 3 June. The mocking humour is there in a deceptively simple way, that has a power of it's own.

2 VARIATIONS

Daily Papers (Table 8.22)

Number of different images in this Table : 15		T	G	E	M
Ambulance driver	number of times used	0	0	1	0
Athlete		0	1	0	0
Bailiff		0	1	0	0
Cheerleader		0	1	0	0
Gardener		0	0	1	0
Golfer		0	1	0	0
Mastermind contestant		1	0	0	0
Maypole dancer		0	1	0	0
Anatomy professor		1	0	0	0
Airline pilot		1	0	1	0
Pirate captain		0	1	0	0
Racing driver		0	1	0	0
Housewife		0	1	0	0
Nanny		0	0	0	2
Super Mag		0	1	0	0
Total images per publication		3	9	3	1

Several of these are the traditional election contest images again, but some were shaped to discomfort Michael Foot, and accentuate Mrs Thatcher's marketability and liveliness. The ambulance driver goes to his rescue, the athlete leaves all the other leaders standing, likewise the racing driver. The golfer takes a swing and shouts 4% (Opinion Poll lead). An alternative version of the election battle appeared in the Mirror. Gibbard's Sea Battle on galleons shows each party fighting amongst themselves. Mrs Thatcher makes three men walk the plank. Michael Foot's 'defence policy' cannon fires at the sky. And the Alliance rowing boat has the oarsmen pulling in opposite directions.

The Professor (after 'The Anatomy Lesson') with some relish it appears, has taken scissors to dissect the NHS cadaver, to the consternation of the Shadow Cab:net. Mrs Thatcher's image, although in historic dress with tall hat, has had facial features updated by Brookes. The heavy eyelids which give a distinctive half-hooded look were already apparent in

photographs, and he exaggerates them slightly. Against editorial bias, Brookes was frequently critical of Mrs Thatcher.

The housewife, Super Mag and Nanny have appeared before in verbal form, the first two also visually in 1979. The Mastermind contestant's special subject is "British Prime Ministers from 1979 to 1988".

Sunday Papers (Table 8.23)

Number of different images in this Table : 3	T	O	E	M
Matron number of times used	1	1	0	0
Poll Vault	1	0	0	0
Airline pilot	0	1	0	0
Total images per publication	2	2	0	0

Scarfe's Matron dispenses the medicine 'as before only more so' only days before the election (5 June). The Poll Vault, with its witty pun, also involves all the party leaders, and again Mrs Thatcher's athleticism is set against Michael Foot's disability. The ascerbic, unconventional spikiness of Mrs Thatcher's images gives them a certain power, and a certain humour too.

The Observer's Matron and pilot have a slightly complacent air about them, and a perky smile which offsets the small beaky nose. The pilot flies a tiny 'inflation beater' plane. Matron compliments a nurse for good work whilst Industry lies dead on a covered trolley.

There is a considerable contrast between the two Matrons. Trog's comfortable, dumpy figure for all it's complacency is no match for Scarfe's distorted work - implying a distorted character.

Periodicals (Table 8.24)

Number of different images in this Table : 4	S	N	P	PE
Admiral number of times used	0	1	0	0
Baby (Adoration of the Maggi)	0	1	0	0
(Doom laden) Hag	0	1	0	0
Witch	0	1	0	0
Total images per publication	0	4	0	0

Steadman's images are as unconventional as Scarfe's but their distinctiveness is in the degree of distortion. 'Mrs Thatcher' by Scarfe is more easily recognised than that by Steadman. "... people are (Scarfe's) subjects rather than events. He transforms appearances in a quasi-surrealistic way, using the new shapes as metaphors for character ... Steadman works as a moral and social commentator, rather than as a portraitist". (Lucie-Smith 1981 : 104) The Hag, with earrings and a necktie bow uses a torch to indicate the tunnel at the end of the light. A beak-faced, bouffant haired baby smiles toothily in the 'Adoration', the 'Virgin' wears a bowler hat, as do many of the admirers; the City is in the background. The Witch gloats and sparks a landslide, crushing the protesting masses. "He stands alone who cannot stand in line", is the comment.

3 ARISTOCRATIC AND REGAL

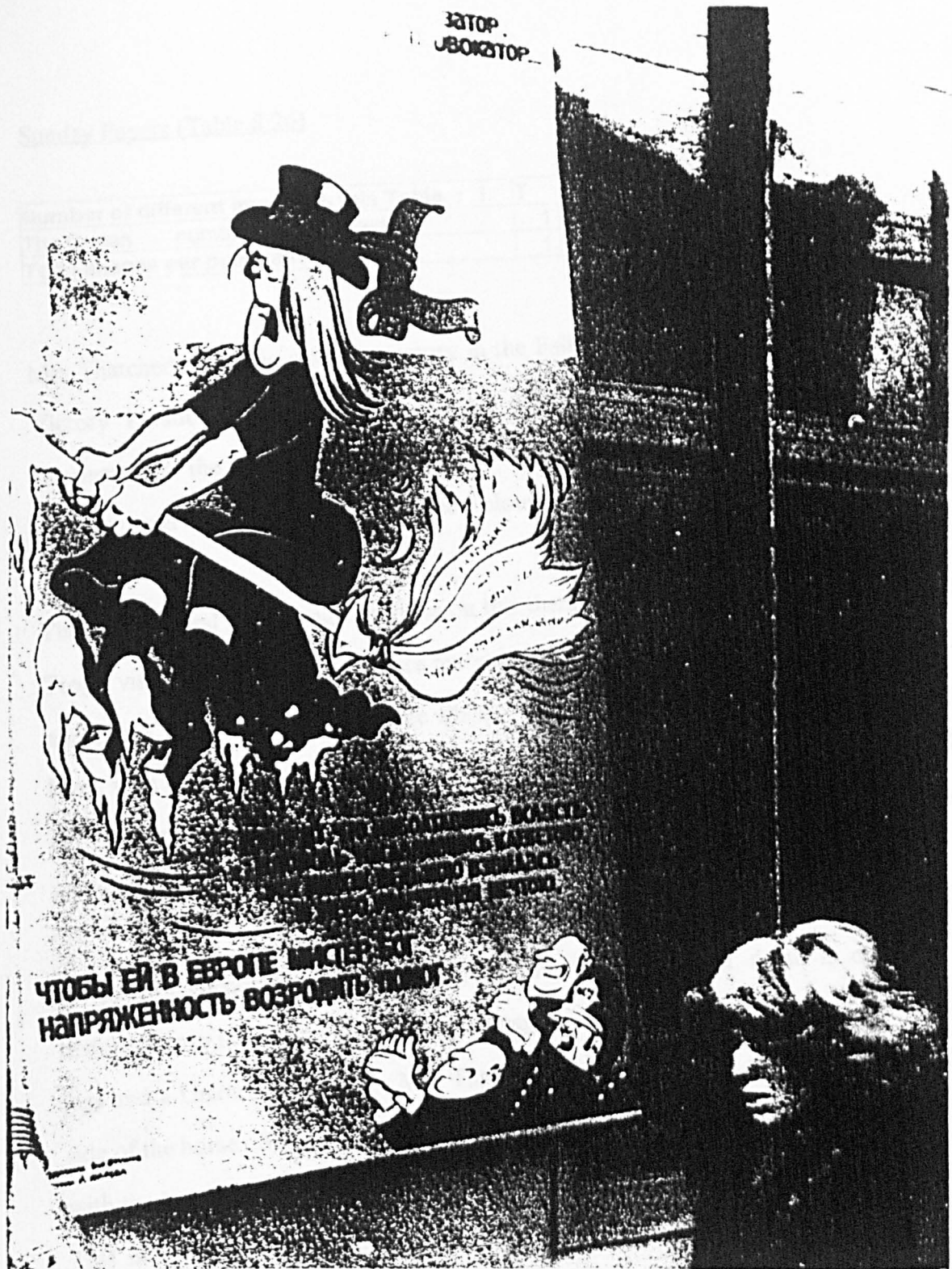
No entries

4 HISTORICAL

Daily Papers (Table 8.25)

Number of different images in this Table : 2	T	G	E	M
St Margaret of Assissi number of times used	1	0	0	0
St Margaret	0	1	0	0
Total images per publication	1	1	0	0

The saintly Margaret appeared in another chapter. Brookes gives a twist to his angry featured image by placing her outside No 10 feeding vultures and birds of prey.



The window of a children's library in central Moscow displaying a poster of Margaret Thatcher as a Cold-War witch, February 1976

From: The Divided House
 By: Melanie Phillips

"Say, what a mix of delights
 For pleasure she takes in slandering
 So that she can be Europe's "Mister God",
 She strains to revive mutual aid

(Trans: O'Connor)

Sunday Papers (Table 8.26)

Number of different images in this Table : 1	T	O	E	M
The Queen number of times used	1	1	0	0
Total images per publication	1	1	0	0

Mrs Thatcher's standing after the victory in the Falklands, and her taking the salute at the Victory Parade increased the iconisation, aided the aura of monarchy and brought 'charisma' into the descriptions. Perhaps it was not surprising to find the cartoonists using the very royal ceremony of Trooping the Colour, with Mrs Thatcher replacing the Queen.

There are several interesting variations on this theme. Probably the most famous cartoon is Trog's vision in the Observer, where his 'standard' Mrs Thatcher image replaces the Queen and Denis Thatcher replaces Prince Philip. It is a simple figure replacement in cartoon form, with an apparently naive question posed by an onlooker, whilst the cheering and flag waving continues unabated. Mrs Thatcher salutes with the correct hand, rides side-saddle, and wears a uniform.

In Scarfe's version she is uniformed, but almost every other detail is different, since distortion may include reverse or mirror images. The 'horse' has a missile body with equine legs and a Union Jack saddle. Mrs Thatcher sits sideways, not side-saddle on the wrong side of the horse. She salutes with the wrong hand. Her face is the chinless surrealist shape with the hugely beaked nose. A flag, emblazoned Power, flutters on a flagpole beside her. This is a complex caricature with several messages besides the condemnation of regal aspirations. CND action and defence policies concerning all missiles ('glory in slaughter') were topical issues. There is also an element of comparison here between a self-confessed, strong minded and high principled woman, and the equally fervent women of Greenham Common.

A subtle contrast is found in the Sunday Mirror, in an 'Artists' impression' by John Walsh. (Mentioned and recorded earlier in Category 1). The drawing is a copy of the full face traditional photograph of the Queen, saluting, with the guardsmen behind her. The drawing appears to be correct in all detail shown, including the salute, riding position and all the harness. There is no exaggeration and no humorous artistic licence, with one major exception; it is Mrs Thatcher's face and hairstyle, and she is smiling slightly. It is a recognisable likeness. The editorial beside the drawing is headed "Queen Maggie. Why her landslide isn't quite". The tone is magnanimous, and the writer notes "It is probably true that Mrs Thatcher is now the most powerful woman in this country's history". All three items appeared on Sunday 12 June, after the election victory. Punch anticipated the election result and used this theme on 1 June. This time the rider is the Queen, but the scene is Downing Street and Mrs Thatcher is in No 10, virtually out of sight.

Periodicals (Table 8.27)

Number of different images in this Table : 2	S	N	P	PE
The Widow of Windsor number of times used	1	0	0	0
A Victorian	0	1	0	0
Total images per publication	1	1	0	0

The Spectator used the theme of royal rider but Mrs Thatcher's face, with the Widow of Windsor reading the election results. Norman Tebbit appears as John Brown, and various Cabinet ministers are the dogs. Parliament is in the background. The Victorian image accompanied the Victorian values supplement discussed earlier in Chapter 6.



Sunday Times 12 June 1983



Observer 12 June 1983

Variations on a Theme

5 LITERARY

Daily Papers (Table 8.28)

Number of different images in this Table : 2	T	G	E	M
Snow White number of times used	1	0	0	0
Britannia	1	0	1	0
Total images per publication	2	0	1	0

This Snow White is almost a contradiction in terms. In the folk tale she is kindly, friendly and smiling, a friend to all. Brookes has leavened the criticism without softening the image. A severe and Headmistress-like Snow White directs the dwarf campaign team, with admonitions to work very hard.

A popular female image, apart from Mrs Thatcher, in 1983 (and part of 1982) was Britannia.⁴ Due to the Falklands issue and Mrs Thatcher's increasing regality, it has been suggested that

"... the first female Prime Minister has inspired caricaturists, both friendly and hostile, to assimilate her to the personified nation (with) the cartoonist Gerald Scarfe a lonely imagination in revolt ...". (Warner 1985 : 45)

This is an unusual, even ironic, history of this image. Britannia appeared on small coinage in 1672. Charles II's mistress was popularly supposed to have been the model. However, the engraver at the Royal Mint took his inspiration for the character from the figure on Roman coins, struck to celebrate the conquering of Britain. Initially, therefore, Britannia represented subjugation. From the eighteenth century onwards personification came to

⁴ The Sun (not researched) put Britannia, alone, on the front page • 9 June.

include patriotism through being used extensively in drama and literature. (Warner 1985 : 45)⁵ Towards the end of the nineteenth century the nature of the image had undergone some subtle changes,

"By the high Victorian era, Britannia had evolved into a matronly battle-axe. She personified Great Britain, and certain virtues such as Truth, Justice, Bravery, and the Empire. Like the mature Victoria, with whom she was often confused, she radiated decorum, respectability, and to our eyes, kitsch." (Matthews & Mellini 1988 : 17)

The authors concede that Mrs Thatcher revitalised the Britannia symbol. During this century real royal power has declined to a symbolic level, but at the same time, paradoxically, royal ceremonial and pageantry have increased tremendously. Royalty are no longer centre stage exercising political control and influence. All those "... rituals, icons, tributes (and) processions" which traditionally mark the powerful centre of society, "... shift to confer charisma on the figure who is". (Matthews & Mellini, *ibid*) In 1983 it was the Prime Minister.

Sunday Papers

No entry.

Periodicals (Table 8.29)

Number of different images in this Table : 1	S	N	P	PE
Britannia number of times used	0	0	1	0
Total images per publication	0	0	1	0

⁵ "Rule Britannia" by James Thomson, set to music by Thomas Arne, appeared in the finale to a masque specially commissioned by the Prince of Wales in 1740. Colonial postage stamps in the late 1850's and the christening of the Royal Yacht in 1893 broadcast the name, fame and attributes still further. (Warner 1985 : 46)

6 BESTIARY

Daily Papers (Table 8.30)

Number of different images in this Table : 2	T	G	E	M
Penguin number of times used	0	4	0	0
Hare	0	1	0	0
Total images per publication	0	2	0	0

The Falkland penguin is the second of Steve Bell's images offering further scope for caricature and comment. Vainglory, motivation and the Falkland factor are all questioned in the Penguins' London stage show. The serial form allowed a variety of issues to resurface. The "glorying in slaughter" charge appears in the tasteless or bad joke form of the penguin heroine's "big production number" (27 May). The Reagan/Thatcher friendship is mocked; the male lead penguin has a Reagan quiff and feeble line in show biz talk; the female lead has blonde hair, wears pearls and carries a handbag. (One of the few occasions it is seen). The whole thing is in the best of bad taste.

By comparison the Hare looks not only complacent but benign relaxing on the airport's moving pavement, whilst the tortoise (Foot) struggles with two suitcases and a manifesto. This is another example of the Labour leader coming off worst in a situation to Mrs Thatcher's benefit, without her doing anything in particular.

Sunday Papers

No further entries.

Periodicals (Table 8.31)

Number of different images in this Table : 1	S	N	P	PE
Hare number of times used	1	0	0	0
Total images per publication	1	0	0	0

7 PICTORIAL

Daily Papers (Table 8.32)

Number of different images in this Table : 1	T	G	E	M
(James) Bond girl number of times used	0	0	0	1
Total images per publication	0	0	0	1

This is one of the 'open to interpretation' cartoons, David Owen as 'Bond' holds a hypodermic, behind him are Shirley Williams and Mrs Thatcher, both in bikinis. Mrs Thatcher, with a toothy, fierce smile, holds a laser gun. The cartoon is in the style of a Bond film poster.

8 PERSONIFICATION

Daily Papers (Table 8.33)

Number of different images in this Table : 2	T	G	E	M
Conservative torch number of times used	1	0	0	0
a 'plane	1	0	0	0
Total images per publication	2	0	0	0

Leadership, pre-eminence and presidential style campaigns, meant that by 1983 Mrs Thatcher *was* the Conservative party, as well as it's representative. Arguably, her brand of Conservatism prevailed as Thatcherism, and her image regardless of the form it took, was the symbol, triumphant.



Ashley Ashwood

Financial Times May 1987

Steve Bell 1981



The plane was a neat parody of an earlier photograph showing the US space shuttle going to the Paris Airshow on top of a transport plane. Mrs Thatcher's plane face is not pleased. In the shuttle on her back are three injured Cabinet members, their features not entirely clear.

The increased number of images in 1983 were far more diverse than in 1979. In many cases there was still only one image used once in one or more publications. With the appearance of the cartoon strips some images had several days consecutive use, perhaps making them seem more powerful or persuasive.

There were many more critical images this time, some seemed vindictive, in both cartoon and caricature form, on both sides of the partisan divide though, not surprisingly, rather more in the Labour press. Hints of the image getting out of hand - or perhaps the personality subsuming the politician - were also apparent but did not predominate.

Mrs Thatcher's style of leadership, or Mrs Thatcher as Leader, was implicit in many of the topics, or the form in which Mrs Thatcher was presented. It was rarely the sole subject of comment. Undoubtedly she dominated people and events during the campaign, not only her own party and colleagues. Her pre-eminence may have made her an icon, but it isolated her, and left her vulnerable.

GENERAL ELECTION 1987

With some reservations one might echo Scarfe and say 'medicine as before only more so', when looking at the 1987 graphic comment. The range of images increased again, and many of them appeared more than once. Four images and one strip cartoon match items in 1983 and two were recalled from 1979. Some of the verbal descriptions in articles and editorials recorded and considered elsewhere, appeared in graphic form. Among them the Führer (Private Eye) and Evita (Spectator). Criticisms of Mrs Thatcher's attitudes and reactions at the morning press conferences, which angered and frustrated Cabinet colleagues and worried some advisers, were highlighted by Steve Bell. There are more Thatcher images in the strip cartoons than before. Specific themes from the previous election such as the Falkland Factor - now the Forked tongue factor (Guardian), and Trooping the Colour (Sunday Express) also appear. The regal theme continued with some variations. Mrs Thatcher again appeared as both male and female characters. Most notable since 1983 is the greatly increased hostility in the caricatures, and the censure of many cartoons.

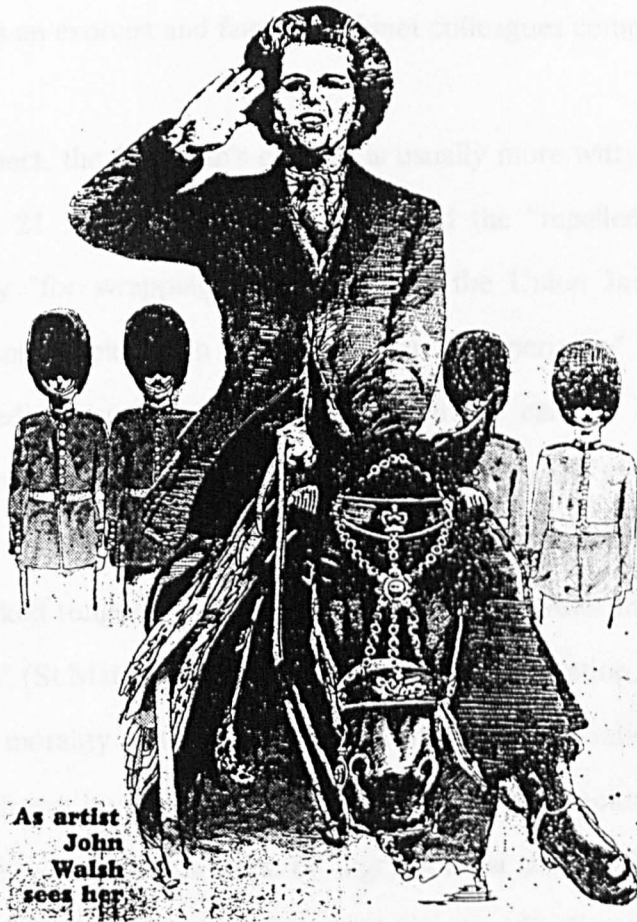
1 MRS THATCHER

Daily Papers (Table 8.34)

Number of different images in this Table : 4	T	G	E	M
Mrs Thatcher number of times used	3	8	3	7
Mrs Thatcher - line drawing	1	0	0	0
Mrs Thatcher - caricature	1	0	1	4
Mrs Thatcher - computer image	0	3	0	0
Total images per publication	3	2	2	2

Among the Guardian's topical graphic observations (29 May) was Mrs Thatcher expressing shock and horror at the panache and challenge of Labour's election campaign and the Kinnock PEB. Gibbard's inversion criticised Mrs Thatcher's presidential-style campaign,

Further variations



As artist
John
Walsh
sees her

Sunday Mirror 14 June 1987



TROOPING THE COLOUR

Sunday Express 14 June 1987

her hypocrisy and double standards. The true value of real Presidential endorsement is questioned as a vacuous faced Ronald Reagan leads the cheerleaders and marching band. Norman Tebbit as an exorcist and fainting Cabinet colleagues completes the scepticism.

As one would expect, the Guardian's censure is usually more witty and subtle than that of the tabloids. On 21 May the Editorial considered the "repellent characteristic" of the conservative party "for wrapping their politics in the Union Jack", together with Mrs Thatcher's "personal exploitation of the Falklands experience". Gibbard places Mrs Thatcher on a pedestal waving a flag in a two frame cartoon - then and now, or an alternative Janiform version. The Falkland factor becomes the Forked tongue factor. An icon, as statue or symbol, is usually placed so that literally and figuratively people look up to it. But the forked tongue implies hypocrisy, therefore rather than icon, this could be a "whited sepulchre" (St Matthew 23 : 27). If that is the implication, it is a neat barb bearing in mind the stern morality of the Methodist upbringing. It is noticeable that in the Times (1987) cartoons drawn by either Richard Wilson or Peter Brookes, Mrs Thatcher, in any guise, rarely smiles. She appears stern, or angry in most situations.⁶ The cartoonists have differing styles, and are in marked contrast to Cummings, Griffin or Gibbard. Wilson draws a near likeness - an artists impression - Brookes exaggerates with a sharply pointed nose and manic eye. Both seem to imply a criticism of, or comment directly on, Mrs Thatcher's confrontational style. The artist's impression of "Nervous Thursday" mentioned earlier, shows everyone in the drawing stressed or angry. We cannot know for certain who did the shouting or threw a tantrum. Long after the event the individuals admitted only angry words, and tension running high.

After the 'bite' of the critical images elsewhere the usually cheerful Cummings face appeared a shade bland, although the comments were pithy and germane to the election. They made an impression but seemed to lack impact. The 'mumsy' figure with the ballot

⁶ Mrs Thatcher did not smile in Brookes' 1983 cartoons either. The exception was "The Anatomy Lesson" mentioned earlier when she trimmed the NHS cadavar with scissors.

box was on the front page beside an Editorial on election day, with the headline: 'If you really do care. Vote for Maggie'. It all has a friendly look and a friendly tone; for regular readers it was probably the tone and style they expected. (11 June. Daily Express)

The Mirror's magnanimous Editorial on 13 June was accompanied by Mrs Thatcher as Herself, though not the power dressed executive of the photographs. Griffins weary, matronly dowd holds a divided Britain, the subject of the Editorial. Divided kingdom apart, the image was not so far removed from factors acknowledged at Central Office, referred to earlier, regarding Mrs Thatcher's personal state during the last week of the campaign.

Caricature can sometimes be misconstrued, or misfire. The Mirror's most horrific image based on 'Phantom of the Opera' appeared on 27 May, but the caption seemed to be an anticlimax. The rotting and grotesque features of a female figure exposed when a Thatcher mask is removed by a horror stricken young girl, warranted something more devastating than Andrew Lloyd Webber was now composing a Tory campaign theme. A lurking porcine featured person, possibly the composer holds a score labelled "Maggie of the Opera". Drawing on the theme, the main point apparently concerns the image of the 'real' Mrs Thatcher when the unmasking reveals her true and beastly nature. To have a caption concerned with a theme tune seemed nearer bathos than subtlety. It could be argued that a greater fear exists due to the unknown nature of what the mask conceals. If Griffin is saying that reality exceeds the worst fears, then the caption remains a letdown. Nonetheless, this is a horrid image of manic eyed corruption.

Ever effective caricature was Bell's repeat 'activation of the image' where subversive and sophisticated humour involving Mrs Thatcher ran to eight days. He added new variations and end result, showing how to "... inflate the thoughtless phrase and give it a specious life of it's own". (Gombrich 1985 : 142) The famous slip-of-the-tongue (to go on and on) featured in, nearly dominated, a three day story. Each part of the talking head fails to

respond correctly when activated. The voice repeats interminably "... orn and orn and orn ..."; the fixed grin smile remains throughout the chaos. The manic-eyed robot creation, with cracks and rivets showing, on the point of exploding, is finally stabilised by the Max Factor Shock Force and flown out of media range to go 'walkabout in the Pennines'. The final comment on the Thatcher image has a ring of wishful thinking about it, and is remarkably restrained considering the ferocity of the drawings. Arguably in this context the head is representative of the whole body, similarly the Leader and the Party, so that disintegration of one with the need for camouflage indicates a similar problem and necessity in the other. Bell's final stab in the last two frames is the producer calling for a replacement image of some kind - "Cecil" or "Gummer" even "Lord Stockton".⁷

Only three cartoonists referred to the flying visit to the Venice Summit. The 'one cornetto' plus the gondola theme appeared in both the Mirror and the Guardian. (8 June) While Mrs Thatcher relaxed complacently with the cornet marked 'Election Victory' a male hand and arm from another gondola reached for it. (Griffin) Gibbard's gondola passed under a bridge ('Weekend Polls') with three party leaders stretching in vain for the cornet marked 'Polls Lead'. President Reagan is the amiable gondolier. Bell's view is different. (10 June). "The World's Premier International Statesperson" struts the stage. Mrs Thatcher wears a very broadshouldered suit and a hat with a missile on it. She leads a patriotic Tory bulldog which is much admired by other summit leaders, including President Reagan. With complacent modesty she acknowledges their approval. Bell comments on the character through the arrogance and false modesty, the pun on power dressing and the Tory symbolism. He also mocks with the title - it has several sibilants in it. Hissing the villain is an ancient practice.

⁷ The Earl of Stockton died in 1986.

Sunday Papers (Table 8.35)

Number of different images in this Table : 3	T	O	E	M
Mrs Thatcher number of times used	1	3	1	1
Mrs Thatcher - line drawing	1	0	0	0
Mrs Thatcher - caricature	2	0	0	0
Total images per publication	3	1	1	1

The artist's impression is of Mrs Thatcher at the Despatch Box, finger raised, making a point. It accompanied an article on stopping the Polaris project. The stance is familiar; Mrs Thatcher is not just making a point, she is preaching.

The theme of Trooping the Colour reappeared, coupled with the "Scottish" problem - declining support for the Tories. For many Sects, regardless of political commitment, the distinctly southern, suburban woman did not convince them that she really knew or cared about Scotland's problems. She was anathema to these northern voters. (Sunday Times 14 June, also Sunday Mirror). Cummings shows Mrs Thatcher in male dress, riding astride, taking the salute. A large guardsman labelled 'England' smiles and salutes; a smaller kilted guardsman scowls and thumbs his nose. Though lacking 'clout' due to the whimsical face and 'mumsy' overtones (regardless of actual image) nonetheless there is a strong comment here. (Sunday Express 14 June)

Periodicals (Table 8.36)

Number of different images in this Table : 1	S	N	P	PE
Mrs Thatcher number of times used	4	4	2	5
Total images per publication	1	1	1	1

"Maggie Rules" continued in Private Eye, with John Kent's astute observations on Mrs Thatcher's maintaining her leadership and keeping everyone else in their place. The style of the cartoon remained simple, without distortion of the image or elaborate detail to the storyline. As others did, he used the "going on and on" faux pas, giving it an amusing slant.

New Statesman put Mrs Thatcher on the front cover. She appeared aged and weary waving a Union Jack in front of a run-down city, and the reminder of her 1979 words of St Francis. Her blue rosette has 'Vote for Me' on it, but the headline says 'No, Prime Minister' - adapting a familiar phrase from a then current TV programme, apparently one of her favourites.

2 VARIATIONS

Daily Papers (Table 8.37)

Number of different images in this Table : 10	T	G	E	M
Band Leader number of times used	0	1	0	0
Bride	1	0	0	0
Captain - of a gunboat	0	0	1	0
Captain - of half a ship	0	1	0	0
Conjurer	1	0	0	0
Fisherman	0	1	0	0
Housebuilder - inexpert	0	0	0	1
Jockey	0	0	1	0
Zoo-keeper	0	0	1	0
Housewife	1	0	1	0
Total images per publication	3	3	4	1

'The bride' in the Times, was another of the angry or grim faces commented on earlier. Mrs Thatcher and Neil Kinnock were the brides, with the Alliance leaders as the grooms in the marriage. (5 June) A variation of this theme also appeared on the front cover of the Economist.⁸ By contrast, on 13 June the Conjurer smiles as she pulls a 101 majority card from the top hat whilst other leaders collapse into theirs.

Leadership matters appear in several of the images. The quality of leadership is not defined - there are hints and nudges. The reader/observer can read what he/she wishes into some of them. Mrs Thatcher leads a band, but bangs the drum on her own behalf as a World

⁸ New Statesman also used it as a change of ballroom partners (8 May) - outside the research date.

Statesperson. (The Times has a variation on this title in another category). The gunboat Captain shoots down the Labour manifesto, the Captain of half a ship labelled 'South' is fully laden, sailing away from the other half, labelled 'North'. Mrs Thatcher and her Cabinet try without success to build a house, but its a botched job. The zoo-keeper has a giant gorilla representing the Unions and Hard Left locked in a cage - Neil Kinnock, with a key, lingers hopefully. The Fisherman tries to catch the floating voter.

Sunday papers (Table 8.38)

Number of different images in this Table : 5	T	O	E	M
Elderly decrepit patient number of times used	0	0	0	1
Jockey	0	0	0	1
Matron	1	0	0	0
Housewife	0	0	1	1
Iron Lady	0	0	0	1
Total images per publication	1	0	1	4

At the start of the campaign Scarfe caricatured the four leaders with equal acerbity, and then discarded them one at a time. With Mrs Thatcher as Matron, in the familiar surreal image of 1983, the tremendous beak appears longer than before, but is actually slightly slimmer which gives a more incisive appearance. Neil Kinnock and David Owen are the doctors, but David Steele is missing. On this occasion the panic stricken patient is Britannia, asking for another opinion.

In a variation on the 'going on and on' theme with another hospital location, the elderly decrepit patient thinks she is still Prime Minister. Without necessarily saying so, the cartoon hospital scene in a Labour paper usually also links at NHS matters, but did not seem to do so here, except there was no indication of this patient being in a private ward.

A variation of the Iron Lady accompanied a Mirror editorial 'To Have and Not to Have'. The large Thatcher figure is surrounded by eleven midget Cabinet colleagues. The smiling giant in armour has the highly decorated helmet worn by mediaeval warriors, although the

style is more Teutonic than English - coronet, eagle, two-cord rouleau and an emblem, could imply royalty, not just a leader. The mailed hands hold a whip, and the figure strides out vigorously. The image is almost a confusion of messages: delusions of royalty or power; the surrogate male; the androgyne; Attila the Hun/Hen; an alternative Warrior Queen (not Boadicea), and the double entendre of the Iron Maiden. By carrying a whip the sadistic nature of the Iron Maiden is implied, as well as the practice of keeping others in their place. She stands much more than head and shoulders above common man or even Cabinet colleagues, and literally does have the whip (in) hand. The image smiles, but as we know, this is open to interpretation. Such images may be considered

"an inversion of the normal conventions of sado-masochism where mastery and dominance are masculine and punishment and humiliation meted out by men."
(Webster 1990 : 80)

Where a woman holds the whip suggests a sub-genre of pornography (Webster). Although the image is intentionally critical, nonetheless there is a certain exuberance about it.

The Daily and Sunday Mirror both use this technique of the illustrated Editorial several times in 1983 and 1987. The figure, whether male or female, is larger than life in every sense, not just as the cartoon feature, so that the criticism implied is also greater than the words alone.

Periodicals (Table 8.39)

Number of different images in this Table : 3	S	N	P	PE
Punter at the racetrack number of times used	0	0	1	0
Swimmer jumping in	1	0	0	0
Flower seller	1	0	0	0
Total images per publication	2	0	1	0

These three images were variations on themes. The Punter was betting on herself to win by a considerable distance. The accompanying article suggested that Mrs Thatcher's one visit to the races had not been a success or a pleasure.

Garland's swimmer on the cover of the Spectator was a comment on the apparent indecision over the election date. The swimmer is first poised to dive in elegantly; she dithers, and finally jumps in, holding her nose. The other three leaders fall in after her. Mrs Thatcher's image is his usual style of the middle aged, unsmiling housewife with a problem.

Another Spectator cover showed all the leaders as flower sellers. The stalls and flowers were appropriately coded. No one looked happy.

3 REGAL AND ARISTOCRATIC

Daily Papers (Table 8.40)

Number of different images in this Table : 1	T	G	E	M
A Queen number of times used	0	0	0	1
Total images per publication	0	0	0	1

This was another larger than life illustration for an Editorial. (Arrogant. Blinkered. Divisive. Patronising). The absurd figure, regally dressed, plus mantle and crown, holds the orb in a claw-like hand, whilst the other points peremptorily. There is a trace of Dame Edith Evans (Lady Bracknell) and the Queen in Alice in Wonderland ("Off with his head"). The royal image is mocked, and by extension royal attitudes and statements.

Sunday Papers (Table 8.41)

Number of different images in this Table : 1	T	O	E	M
Queen Margaret III number of times used	1	0	0	0
Total images per publication	1	0	0	0

This is Matron, translated to 'M III R' quoting her reasons for using private health care. The beak is of noble proportions. David Owen is firmly wedged into an SDP dustbin and prominent in the foreground giving the impression of also being crammed into the frame. But the eye is drawn to the Thatcher figure, regal and crowned, passing by at a distance, apparently without stopping. Arguably there are overtones here of the Samaritan who, this time, does not stop. In spite of Mrs Thatcher's election victory, Scarfe has the last laugh. M III R smacks of vainglory. (14 June)

4 HISTORICAL

Daily Papers (Table 8.42)

Number of different images in this Table : 7	T	G	E	M
Bonaparte number of times used	0	0	0	1
Queen Victoria	0	0	0	1
St Francis	0	0	0	1
A Victorian	1	0	0	0
Sir Francis Drake	0	1	0	0
A tricoteuse	1	0	0	0
Mediaeval 'lurker'	0	0	0	1
Total images per publication	2	1	0	4

From behind the figure of Bonaparte on horseback, small figures of the Cabinet contemplate their leadership hopes. Delusions of grandeur and false Victorian values are weighed up beside an aged Queen Victoria and equally aged Norman Tebbit.

Of the topical events peripheral to the election, the busy tricoteuse sat beside a waiting guillotine, Scottish Rates were in the basket. Sir Francis Drake played bowls on the cliff top as a fire boat labelled 'VETO' sailed towards the Brussels Armada. Both items were soon to cause Mrs Thatcher further great problems. One, arguably, eventually led to part of the events which brought her downfall.

BATTLE FOR BRITAIN

BY MONTY STUBBLE



Private Eye 29 May 1987

MAGGIE RULES OK

BY JOHN KENT



Private Eye 29 May 1987

The thought of Mrs Thatcher as a 'lurker' is diverting. The image appeared on Lord Olivier's birthday (19 May) neatly coupled with a small tribute. The caption had a witty and interesting misquotation. "'Now is the summer of our discontent made chilly winter by politicians bent". William Shakespeare (Lab. Stratford 1564-1616)" Behind the traditional figure of Richard III (Olivier) several familiar faces peer out from the shelter of large pillars.

Periodicals (Table 8.43)

Number of different images in this Table : 3	S	N	P	PE
The Führer number of times used	0	0	0	5
Evita	1	0	0	0
St Joan	1	0	0	0
Total images per publication	2	0	0	1

The strip cartoon 'Battle for Britain' is in marked contrast to 'Maggie Rules', both in Private Eye. The punning title and military overtones for the 'tyranness Dictator' depicted are appropriate. The drawings and storyline are complex. Much of it is very witty, both visually and verbally, but the reader needs a knowledge of politics and current affairs. The image of Mrs Thatcher as the Führer owes much to the, then, current Spitting Image puppet in the male outfit. Her military uniform is similar to Hitler's, but the facial features are hers; the harsh character has a pinched and angry face. In each strip there may be eight or more 'speaking' characters, allowing inter-related conversations and several storylines. The strip more often resembles graphic stories or comic books than other comic strips. E.g. on 29 May: Mrs Thatcher, Neil Kinnock, Eric Heffer and other Cabinet members or henchmen appeared, the Alliance leaders were intercom voices. Topics mentioned included Neil Kinnock's near voice loss, the smear campaign against David Steele, the Harvey Proctor and Keith Best cases, and the return of Cecil Parkinson. Above all this swirled the Führer's election plans and other schemes. The narration resembles a comedy script of

short, clipped 'one-liners' and quick repartee. With the wealth of graphic detail as well as the words, every frame is "busy". The parting shot is the 'going on and on' theme.

"The Power of England's Evita" (Alexandra Artley : 6 June) was translated by Garland into the crusader theme. Mrs Thatcher, a mature star playing Evita, (the middle aged housewife look again) sees only St Joan in her mirror. Both look very worried. This is an unusual combination of three characters and of women with power, past and present. Implicit is the complex process by which women may achieve power and retain it. As we know, Mrs Thatcher's progress had been likened to St Joan's, particularly reinforced with her 1987 campaign use of warlike metaphor and patriotic language. The Evita image of Mother to the people and a strong guiding hand was not unlike Mrs Thatcher's concept of her role, or the journalist's interpretation of discipline required by Nanny or the Headmistress.

5 LITERARY

No entries.

6 BESTIARY

Daily Papers (Table 8.44)

Number of different images in this Table : 2	T	G	E	M
Tyrannosaurus Thatch number of times used	0	1	0	0
Dinosaur	0	3	0	0
Total images per publication	0	2	0	0

Bell's bestiary images provoke much thought and imply a great deal. "The Last Days of the Dinosaurs" anticipates the end of an era, with the passing of an antediluvian unwieldy Body with destructive habits. An anti-social monster in fact. When the graphics show familiar faces in various dinosaur bodies seated in a row behind a rock table, with a large female in

the centre, the significance would be difficult to ignore. The audience is also made up of assorted animals. Part of the cartoonist's function is to distort and exaggerate image and behaviour, and in doing so he may expose a truth. (Seymour-Ure 1984 : 8)

The Tyrannosaurus was a carnivorous lizard-like dinosaur. When depicted at home with a mate, both are shown to be selfish, clumsy and destructive, and partial to a 'strong reviver' drink. The images are humorous and comic, but they serve to reinforce an opinion as the reader interprets the representation. (Seymour-Ure 1984 : 16) It seems fortuitous that the words tyrannous, tyranny and tyrant - or tyranness - all have a similarity in look, sound and spelling, for punning political weight.

There was a sense of déjà vu when looking at the dinosaur face of Mrs Thatcher, not because it was familiar from Bell's earlier work but for the curious resemblance to Griffin's front page double-faced cartoon in 1983. (Daily Mirror 7 June) The similarities were in the manic eyes, prominent incisor teeth and the killer whale face shape. It seemed unusual to find this instance of similar vision between two cartoonists depicting Mrs Thatcher as a monster, and obviously quite different from the equally critical 'scalpel jobs' of Scarfe and Steadman.

Sunday Papers (Table 8.45)

Number of different images in this Table : 1	T	O	E	M
Parrot number of times used	0	1	0	0
Total Images per publication	0	1	0	0

Scarfe's first cartoon for the election implies various comparisons. The four political leaders are poll parrots with beaks of varying prominence. The Thatcher bird is the largest and liveliest, but with a parrot's bill, not the usual stiletto shape. The other three have various worried or malevolent expressions, and descend in size. They all have a dish of

corn, and are chattering bird talk. The caption questions the trustworthiness of the polls.
(24 May)

Periodicals (Table 8.46)

Number of different images in this Table : 1	S	N	P	PE
Jumping cow number of times used	0	0	1	0
Total images per publication	0	0	1	0

An unusual and rather jolly cartoon appeared in Punch on 10 June. Based on a nursery rhyme, Mrs Thatcher was a cheerful cow jumping over the moon. Neil Kinnock was the fiddler cat; David Owen and David Steele ran away as the dish and spoon. Use of a bestiary image allows the cartoonist to attribute additional, not always flattering characteristics to a personality. On this occasion it was probably done for humorous effect, rather than for prejudicial purposes. Presenting Mrs Thatcher as a cartoon cow does not have the same implication as seeing the phrase in a report of a speech or confrontation - leaving aside any legal aspects.

7 PICTORIAL

Daily Papers (Table 8.47)

Number of different images in this Table : 1	T	G	E	M
The Star (of the Show) number of times used	0	1	0	0
Total images per publication	0	1	0	0

Artifice, showmanship and campaign tactics appear to underpin this cartoon. The outraged and not particularly glamorous star of the one woman show 'The Walk Over'; stands at the Stage door. She comments unfavourably on the other three leaders entertaining the queue, who appear to be an appreciative audience. Norman Tebbit glares from the Theatre Entrance.

Periodicals (Table 8.48)

Number of different images in this Table : 2	S	N	P	PE
The Star (of the Show) number of times used	1	0	0	0
Lady Frankenstein	0	0	1	0
Total images per publication	1	0	1	0

This Star contrasts markedly with the one above, and is on the cover, in colour. Wearing a glamorous evening gown, the bejewelled star in the spotlight acknowledges the applause. The stance is very typical of a female singing star. This positive image by Trog exudes confidence, the opposite to the swimmer by Garland - quite apart from the costume differences - who dithered.

Mahood's Lady Frankenstein was a cheerfully buxom character giving a blood transfusion to a not too monstrous creation labelled 'Thatcherism'. This was definitely not a Nanny or Matron figure. A selection of politicians from all persuasions were depicted as various horror characters.

8 PERSONIFICATION

Daily Papers (Table 8.49)

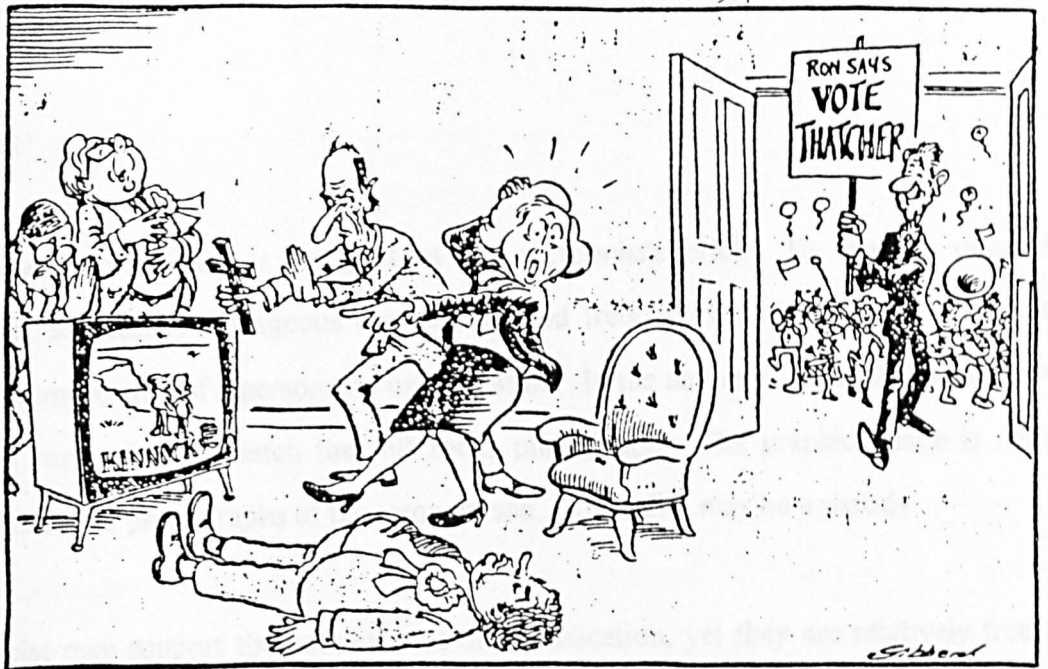
Number of different images in this Table : 2	T	G	E	M
Tory Torch number of times used	1	1	0	0
World Statesperson	1	0	0	0
Total images per publication	2	1	0	0

The Tory symbol personified was not new, previously appearing in 1983. 'The World Statesperson' appeared, so titled, beside an article concerning her abrasiveness abroad. The grim face is neatly circled by a hairstyle which has become a world globe. This abrasiveness was not kept for Cabinet colleagues alone, or even Civil Servants. Russian leaders and their affairs bore the brunt as we know and they responded by defining what

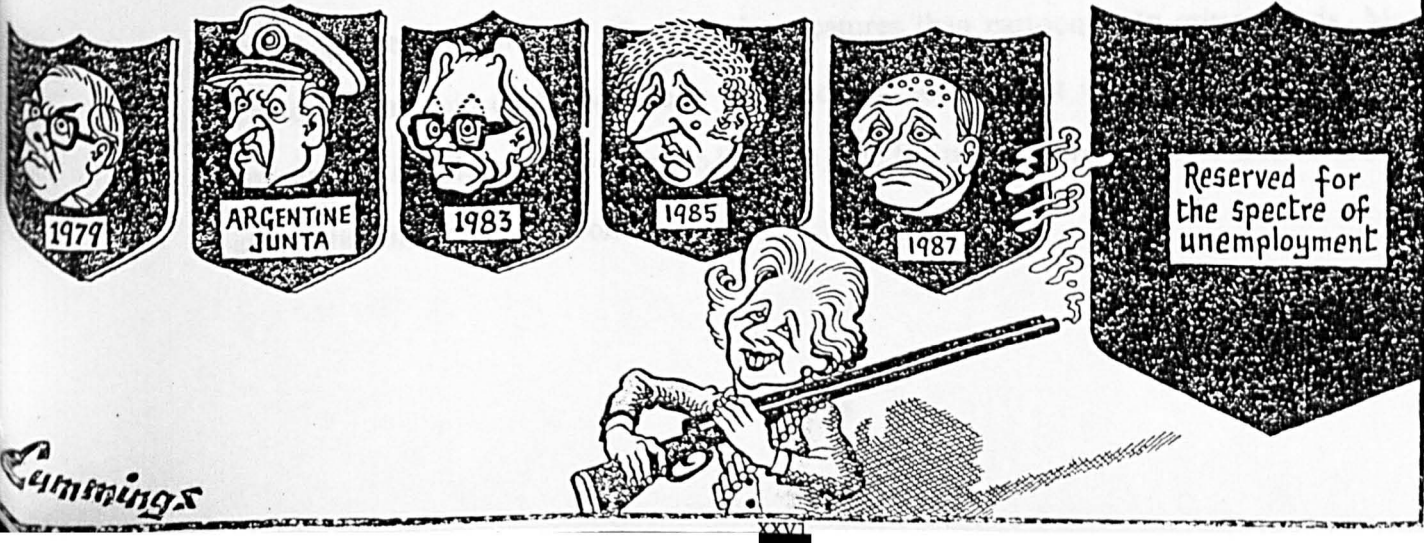
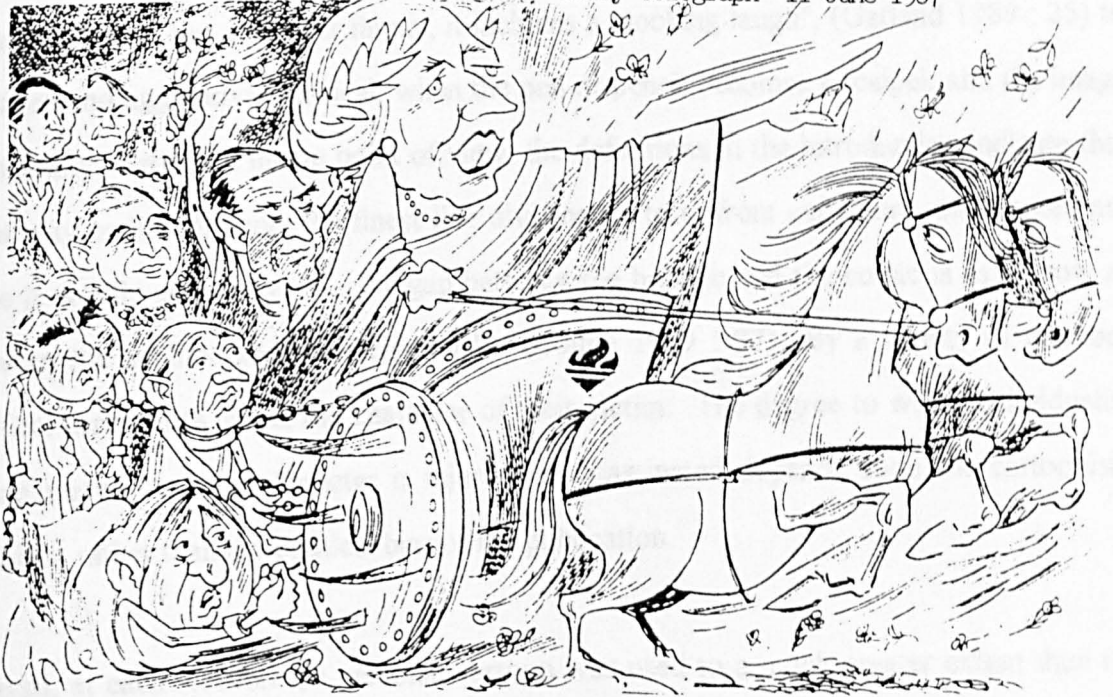
became her favourite image. In spite of the abrasiveness, François Mitterand coupled her name with Marilyn Monroe - and Caligula - as noted earlier.

As the photographs of the 1987 campaign showed, one of the significant changes in the Thatcher image was the updating of the wardrobe. The 'power-dressed Executive' was highly newsworthy in many sections of the press. As noted in the previous chapter, almost all the publications reviewed gave some space to the new persona. The significance of this sharper image and the message it conveyed cannot have escaped attention, yet most of the cartoonists appear to ignore it. One exception was the line drawing by Sian Frances depicting the "Nervous Thursday" (4 June) meeting at Conservative Central Office. Mrs Thatcher is shown in an outfit very similar to one which appeared in photographs only a few days earlier. Bell's Venice summit cartoon strip was another exception when power dressing was part of the visual pun.

A comparison of Mrs Thatcher in cartoons from the three elections seems to show relatively little change in the drawings. In 1983 and 1987 John Kent, for example, draws her in the same frilled neckline and pearls, with the smooth slightly bouffant hairstyle. In 1987 Garland, Gibbard, Griffin and Cummings all use variations of the 1983 "uniform" suit with the fussy neckline bow. It might be supposed that Mrs Thatcher's 'sartorial shorthand' would appeal to cartoonists, since they comment in graphic shorthand, but they seem to prefer the more familiar tabs of identity. Possibly Mrs Thatcher's shorthand ("... stuff the little woman image" or "... invincible") was countered with 'plus ça change'. Again, because the cartoonists' armoury is so extensive they do not necessarily need to comment on her change of Image. The subtle and the unexpected representation of the day's news is, after all, part of the cartoonists power.



"Heavens above! That we should've lived to witness a Presidential-style campaign in this country!"



Conclusion

A plain statement of fact is not part of the cartoonist's brief. By making unusual, unexpected, sometimes outrageous connections and frequent verbal ones, the cartoonist presents an impression of a personality or a situation. In the nature of the craft there can be nothing in cartooning to match the soft focus photograph. The graphic image is never intended to match photographs of the same person, although it may be a parody.

A cartoonist may support the political bias of a publication, yet they are relatively free to express an unconventional opinion as an alternative and biased point of view. The views may range from mocking but relatively uncritical when the image is fairly benign "... good natured in intent, but, however faintly, it includes a mocking laugh", (Garland 1989 : 25) to outraged and aggressively critical, when the pen or pencil becomes a scalpel, and the image a deformity. From the image point of view, the definitions in the introduction indicate that there may be literally only the finest line dividing cartoon from caricature, and sometimes there is woolly ambiguity. "... the gap between the horrific and the comic is as narrow as between the sublime and the ridiculous". (Coupe 1969 : 87) By a variety of methods political cartoonists reveal the character of their victim. The degree to which individuality is sublimated, and the character is injured or assassinated depends upon the cartoonist's decision, rather than the political bias of the publication.

Overall, at each election the personal cartoon was used to a much greater extent than the personal caricature, although two publications, the Sunday Times and New Statesman each had a greater overall total of personal caricatures than cartoons. In other words, Mrs Thatcher was held up to ridicule in a political or social event more frequently than she appeared in a burlesque or grotesque likeness - the focus was more on Mrs Thatcher and an idea rather than on her personality alone.

Some images are traditional in election cartoons and caricatures, regardless of who is Prime Minister or a party leader. The contestants are shown in competitive activities - boxing, mountaineering, or winning races as a sprinter, jockey or hare; battles on land, sea or in the air; leadership situations; a band, rally or march or captains in battles. And there are also numerous methods of catching the floating voter. Mrs Thatcher was shown in many of these situations, occasionally in male form, and most of them are given details which make them appropriate for her at a particular moment. In 1983, for example, not only was she ahead in the opinion polls, reflected in some of the images, but her vigour was set against Michael Foot's disability; her perceived political strength was set against his perceived poor political image. In 1979 she had been the tortoise to Mr Callaghan's hare. By 1983 she had become the hare, but against a handicapped opponent.

There were many other depiction's especially associated with Mrs Thatcher as the Prime Minister, but not necessarily because she was a woman. Some have been mentioned already, others include the Iron Lady/Maiden, The Queen or a Queen, Saint Margaret, Nanny and the Headmistress.

Some of the images found at each election could be placed in the four special categories; Historical, Literary, Bestiary and Pictorial. In 1979 there are relatively few images in these sections, and the Pictorial group is unduly weighted because of the six femmes fatales in Punch. There was nothing particularly critical in any of the images. In the Bestiary section it was the ducklings who were likely to prove troublesome; the tortoise, a traditional election image, was in the leadership race. In the Pictorial section, Venus as the new arrival had a chilly reception from the (Union) zephyrs. As noted earlier in the chapter, in 1979 the cartoonists concentrated more of their comments on James Callaghan and his avuncular image than on Mrs Thatcher. They were not especially critical of her, but there was some perceptive comment of how she might turn out. It could perhaps be argued that because there is nothing strongly critical in the cartoons there is an underlying criticism by the

cartoonists of the "suburban housewife" attempting to achieve Premiership. That is, Leadership of a party in Opposition is one thing, Leadership of a Nation is something rather different. Alternatively, perhaps it could be said that they did not strongly criticise because there was nothing positive enough to attack, and so they promoted, if not a negative image, then something nearly bland and uninspiring. In either case though, if they thought she was a mediocrity they might still have mocked her presumption. Some of them did gently ridicule the Housewife. In 1979, although the Housewife was one of the better known images, the Iron Maiden/Lady and Boadicea sobriquets were known (since the mid-1970's) and used occasionally by the media, so that she could not really be presented as a pliant, or even flexible character. Although Mrs Thatcher was not new to the political scene in 1979, there appeared to be a degree of similarity among several of the images of Herself, almost as though cartoonists were waiting to develop subtle and different representations if she became Prime Minister. It must be acknowledged, however, that, for example, Waite (Daily Mail) cannot be confused with Cummings (Express) nor Gibbard (Guardian) with either of them.

By 1983 there were some significant changes in Mrs Thatcher's image. In the intervening years her popularity as a leader had declined sharply, then risen phoenix-like with the Falklands War. The relatively innocuous image had gone and more criticism is apparent. This is partly attributable to the strip cartoons, and the work of Scarfe and Steadman. The criticism appears in several publications of differing political bias, thus reaching different markets. However, after four years all cartoonists had had the opportunity to observe and hone their comments, developing the style and wide range of images of the Prime Minister. Traditional election images appeared, many of them enlarging on the competitor aspect. As well as comparisons of party leaders, there were also images showing the physical strength and campaign methods of the 'modern' incumbent of No 10 versus the physical weakness of the main contender and the 'old style' challenge. Among the rest of the images there were royal aspirations and patriotism on the one hand, and some critical comment on the other at a time when opinion polls indicated almost certain victory for Mrs Thatcher at the election.

At this stage, however, with the exception of Steve Bell's Falkland penguin storyline, the cartoonists did not seem too critical of the personalised patriotism..

The polarity of these approaches is well illustrated in the four special categories for 1983; it is also worth noting the range of publications. In the Bestiary section two hares and a (Falkland) penguin, i.e. three images, whilst being an increase of one on the previous election in this category, do not really constitute anything too serious. The hares are traditional, so that the Penguin alone typifies what the cartoonist considered vainglory and lack of judgement. Although obviously critical, the penguin image is ludicrous and humorous, but it is not threatening. As regular readers would have already known, the bird was also an interfering busybody. There was therefore a double edge to the humour and criticism.

By contrast, in the Literary section Britannia appears three times. Implicit in this patriotic image are three strands: Mrs Thatcher personally, the Falklands, and the Conservative party. (Discussed in the Articles Chapter). It is significant that the image appeared in a humorous context in the Times, the Daily Express and Punch, but did not appear in, for example, the Guardian, the Daily Mirror or New Statesman. The Britannia image is anathema to some people who consider that Mrs Thatcher and the Conservative Party hijacked "patriotism" in 1982. Verbal criticism of Mrs Thatcher's brand of patriotism in 1983 "... wrapping herself in the Union Jack" as Denis Healey described it, came from some Labour politicians, and other writers and commentators (noted earlier). Some of this criticism surfaced again in 1987 when the Guardian complained of the Conservatives appropriation of this virtue and Mrs Thatcher personalising it. Gibbard's observation was expressed in the Forked tongue Factor. Warner argues that through the Thatcher-Britannia trope her party and the nation's identity became "inextricably entwined" so that dissent from her views was unpatriotic. Thus "... (she) has achieved a notable propaganda success, however fallacious that popular impression may be". (Warner 1985 : 41) By using the image, humorously or otherwise, the cartoonists perpetuate and reinforce the trope.

The Historical section mainly comprises Saints and Queens, which is food for thought. Two of the Queens are in variations of Trooping the Colour and not quite what they seem, the third is the Widow of Windsor reading the election results. St Margaret appears in two guises. In all the images there are critical undertones to the regality and the saintliness, but wit and humour too. In each case the symbol is flawed. Mrs Thatcher is criticised for perceived pretension, and aspiring to impossible things. Deflation of these aspirations means she remains a mere mortal.

The Pictorial section makes use of images from Old Masters and modern cinema to point out fault and weakness. Character, philosophy and the '-ism' are indicated to some extent in each one. There are Messianic overtones as the City "adores the Maggi"; a saccharin fairy tale is reversed when Snow White sternly enforces the work ethic. There is brisk insensitivity indicated when the Anatomy Professor, with manic smile, wields the scissors. It could be a gruesome variation on 'carving the joint'. Some might suggest also the invisible presence of TINA. The Daily Mirror's '007 girl' image has a twist to it. This is no glamour girl, but a scantily clad macho female, a variation on strength, power and non-femininity.

The varied images of 1983 seem to indicate that notwithstanding the Prime Minister's increased popularity due to the Falklands factor, the weight of cartoonists' opinions tended to be critical rather than favourable.

In 1987 the list of images is considerably longer and more varied. It almost appears as a searching for 'le mot juste' or a succinct symbol. As we saw, there are many more images which are variously critical of Mrs Thatcher personally than are comments on situations, critical or otherwise.

The bestiary section has increased by one image, but these are all new images, three of them very critical, the fourth one has a mocking laugh to it. Punch's nursery rhyme cartoon pokes fun at all four leaders. This is the only bovine representation of Mrs Thatcher, albeit a very jolly one, throughout all the researched material. It is arguably not one to give offence. Scarfe's bird, and Bell's destructive dinosaurs are quite the opposite. The intention is not to be polite, but to express a sense of indignation at the effects of one powerful woman's philosophy and political activities, and the outcome. How successful this is depends to some extent on the observer's relevant previous knowledge, and how the cartoon is 'read'. It has been suggested that "... real moral disgust hardly ever comes across in twentieth century British caricature, even in the much vaunted work of David Low and Gerald Scarfe ...". (Bindman 1985)

The libel laws of this country also ensure that no cartoonist can ever give full rein to anger or moral disgust in his work. Conversely, Low's work provoked many people to anger - politicians, professionals and private people. "Hitler had David Low short-listed for liquidation". (Geipel 1972 : 25) Scarfe considers that the strength of his feelings are reflected in his work. This same comment could be true of many cartoonists, Steadman and Bell among them. Fuller speaks of the "... surgical atrocities" of Scarfe and Steadman. (Fuller 1985 : 395) To be effective the cartoonist resorts to a variety of methods, including subversion, to get his message across. Even if they are biological approximations, Bell's dinosaurs are not 'nice' images, and therefore they have 'bad' political habits which approximate to some politicians' known habits. As the earlier discussion showed, one beast (Tyrannosaurus) was fortuitously named.

The Queen in the Literary section and the Queens in the Historical section really only differ because of the artists' style of work. Arrogance, tunnel vision and delusions of grandeur are implied in all three. The extravagant detail of the Daily Mirror's image is in line with the Editorial it accompanies; Scarfe's M III R is the surreal and distant election victor

gloating at the result as well as over an opponent. Besides the Queens, several of the other images in this lengthy Historical category also symbolise the observed "power and the glory" attitude. The patriotism theme returns in the matronly double images of Evita and St Joan, who look harassed at the responsibility. Since the scene is the star's dressing room, no doubt the show must go on.

Probably the most interesting image in this section is the Führer (Private Eye) where power, glory and patriotism have a horrid and hollow ring. As people found earlier this century, laughing at Hitler and his atrocious regime did not alter the situation, but helped to make it more bearable. Cartoon and caricature produced a surrogate target for abuse, (Geipel, op cit) whereby mocking the ogre or jeering the tyrant brought overpowering fear down to a manageable level. A monstrous dictator was shown to be human and fallible. By equating Mrs Thatcher and her election campaign with the Führer and his regime was over-exaggeration, but it did point to what was seen as autocratic behaviour, dictatorial attitudes and some perhaps less acceptable facets of a presidential style campaign. All of these points were argued by journalists and writers in other publications, with and without line drawings or caricatures. As the Führer Mrs Thatcher is again shown as a surrogate male and the best man for the job, a contradictory character in fact, as she was frequently shown to be elsewhere in the press. One argument is that this time it was not fear to be exorcised, but strong dislike, even hatred; alternatively, it was done entirely for dislike, even hatred. Possibly, it was done entirely for satirical effect. In the cartoon strip, satire is verbal and graphic, perhaps this one is not on a par with Bell, but it is effective nonetheless.

"Satire is a two-faced, double headed Janus of an art form, composed of both wit and hatred; deliberately designed to amuse and to wound, to entertain and to destroy." (Morris 1990 : broadcast)

GRIFFIN'S EYE

DAILY MIRROR,

May 27, 1987



NEWS ITEM: Andrew Lloyd Webber has written the Tory party campaign theme.

The drawn image showed Mrs Thatcher in Hitler style uniform and looking somewhat like her namesake puppet in the Spitting Image programme. It was perhaps not too surprising to find this similarity in 1987 material.

In the Pictorial section the images are drawn from Cinema, Theatre and Television. The Spitting Image puppet was used by four publications - twice by the Sunday Times. In 1987 the puppet being used in the programme was the third model. It had a hard, aged face shape, "spoke" with a harsh authoritative voice, and was dressed in a suit and tie - a macho image. It was in sharp contrast to the 1984 puppet with its calm smooth face, soothing "voice" and feminine dress. According to Melvyn Bragg the puppet images were adapted through the years to match changes in Mrs Thatcher's image, personal style and leadership. In fact they anticipated changes; "... the 1987 model showed her as a bully and people came to believe it. (Bragg 1990 : broadcast) The treatment of "colleagues" on the programme mirrored known public life, and it was assumed also, behind-the-scenes political life. The Thatcher character became larger than life, and familiar, and invaluable as a caricatured 'borrowed' image. Thus, as a puppet and therefore as a caricature the image was: "... a free indulgence of exaggerations and prejudice, an irreverent questioning of motives". (Robinson 1980 : 7) Challenging known authority, debunking power and influence, the caricature was part of the litmus test, and like the Thatcher-Britannia trope it was reinforcement of an image. In this same section as Spitting Image, extreme opposites representing the masked truth theme is the horrendous caricature "Maggie of the Opera". The Spitting Images and the Opera image are very critical and cruel; the former have a leavening of wit, whereas the latter has none. The lightest touch of all, and a further contrast, was a jolly and buxom Lady Frankenstein, a contradiction in terms like many aspects of Mrs Thatcher.

Many of the special category images are undoubtedly very critical of Mrs Thatcher. What is most noticeable, however, is the change in the nature of the images, particularly in these



categories across the three elections. Not surprisingly the most critical images of all appeared in 1987 in a range of publications which reached a wide selection of the public: *Dinosaurs* (Guardian), *Führer* (Private Eye), *Maggie of the Opera* (Daily Mirror), *Spitting Image* (Sunday Times/Times/Daily Express/ Daily Mirror).

It has been suggested that if a satirist (in the widest sense) views the political scene with humour, detachment and some passion, it prevents the production of crude polemic. (Hodgart 1969 : 33) Because of the nature of some images in 1983 and 1987 one might question the motive and the polemic. Is it only peeling away the layers to reveal the truth, or commenting with wit on a political situation, or is there ambivalence and misogyny? How men "see" women is "... elaborated and disguised by a variety of myths. (Hodgart 1969 : 80) The woman in power is therefore doubly at the mercy of the male political cartoonist.⁹ Since Scarfe and Steadman take scalpels to many of their victims, it would be difficult to say with certainty how far the bias goes. It seems likely the antipathy has sexual connotations. Griffin is also possibly guilty sometimes. The Opera grotesque with its apparently non sequitur comment might suggest this. Other possibilities arise with *Spitting Image* likenesses and the *Führer*. Because of the freedom cartoonists enjoy it is difficult to judge if, or when, the slip is deliberate and done for cartooning purposes.

"The need to avoid outraging the reader's conscience can conflict with the value that approves controversy Controversy is an aspect of liveliness and other values associated with a stimulating paper". (Seymour-Ure 1975 : 19)

In 1987 the TBW factor could have influenced the choice of image and the cartoon comment. In written discussions of the Prime Minister as a woman, Rose considers it difficult to avoid "... a slide into misogyny". (Rose 1988) Earlier it was noted how difficult it was to call attention to Mrs Thatcher's defects without reminding people of her virtues.

⁹ In researched work there was only one female cartoonist, Carla Ostrer (Guardian, 1983). There are very few women cartoonists anyway.

The power of the cartoon, and the major drawback, is that it presents only one, biased, point of view.

One of the fundamental differences between photographs and cartoons arises from the choice of image. The cartoonist makes his own choice, but the photographers frequently have no choice during election campaigns, unless they are fortunate enough to catch an unrehearsed or unplanned incident. The transformation from the Nation's Housewife to the power-dressed Executive and the related cosmetic changes were controlled by Mrs Thatcher and her advisers. It was her choice of image. Some of the photographs may not have been as she wished, but a great many were, often because of the publication in which they appeared. The image in the cartoon and the method of presentation is chosen by someone else. The publication's bias rarely counts, and Mrs Thatcher has no influence and no control over the process. There seems to be an element of power broking by each side.

In the photographs chapter the discussion will show that Mrs Thatcher's great change to power-dressing, an antidote to the Housewife cliché, excited much photographic and journalistic comment. The cartoonists apparently ignored it, preferring alternative images; this is one way of deflating an ego. It seems ironic that the statistics show the Housewife to be the one image common to all three elections. The image, after all was Mrs Thatcher's own choice both visually and verbally in 1979; it was her choice to dispose of it by 1987. Yet the cartoonists retained it, and the images of non-power dressing are part of an effective levelling down. The alternative method is to overdress one of the already ludicrous images, for example the Daily Mirror's Queen or the Sunday Mirror's Iron Maiden, both 1987. Power dressing is not ignored however, but it appears for a different reason. The Nanny, Matron or Headmistress images are powerful images in their own right. Buttoned firmly into a discreet, if dowdy, suit or uniform, the symbol implies so much.

The handbag is another Thatcher symbol: "She always carried a smart leather handbag, and it became famous - almost the symbol of her authority." (Ridley 1991 : 35)¹⁰ In photographs she is rarely without it yet very few cartoonists ever include it. Carla Ostrer was one exception in 1983, although John Kent included it occasionally. Rather like the lack of comment on the executive dressing, it is interesting that a most potent symbol, which gave rise to an aggressive new verb, was mostly ignored.¹¹ Once again it is the cartoonists' tabs of identity chosen, not Mrs Thatcher's, and their symbols. Scarfe's beak nose on the character is a good example. No matter what the chosen image, there are several meanings, implicit in that protuberance, to add dimensions to the caricature. It is part of Scarfe's acerbic bias that he chooses to exaggerate this feature, since Mrs Thatcher's nose though pointed is not particularly prominent, unlike Mr Heath's, for example. "... caricature emphasises an aspect of the truth at the deliberate expense of other aspects." (Fuller 1985 : 394) Cartoonists can use an infinite variety of methods as conduits for messages.

The cartoons and caricatures increased across the three elections partly as a reaction to Mrs Thatcher herself. As Prime Minister she was bound to be newsworthy, receiving increased attention as her sphere of influence extended. At the same time the critical observations multiplied; not everyone approved of the widening influence. The more the news increased the more images were needed. The more severe the criticism became the more the nature of the images changed to accommodate it. "Cartoons appeal to emotion not to reason." (Seymour-Ure 1984 : 11) The motives of the cartoonist in his choice of images may be questionable, but equally the reader is free to interpret those images in the light of his/her own experience and knowledge. (Seymour-Ure 1984 : 14, 17). Misunderstanding

10 He records the delayed start of a Cabinet meeting when the handbag was present but Mrs Thatcher "most unusually" was late. "Why don't we start?" I said "The handbag is here". (Ridley 1991:35)

11 The symbol was still used effectively when Mrs Thatcher had left office. On 1 July 1992 Garland (Daily Telegraph) shows John Major batting at the crease, and a handbag shedding it's contents, probably going for six.

and misinterpretation may arise; it is possible to read in to cartoons much more than was intended.

Cartoon messages reveal degrees of truth, whereas photographs may become an accessory to untruth. The cartoon is the antidote to the anodyne photo opportunity picture. Many cartoonists are very persuasive when their work is critical and disapproving. They are essential as an effective opposition to government. (Garland 1989 : 26) Graphic criticism of those with power and authority may help prevent excessive complacency, reminding them of human frailties and the ephemeral nature of political power.

Chapter 9

Photographs

"Witness to actuality" (Hall 1981 : 241)

Photographs fulfil a multitude of functions in newspapers and periodicals. As an alternative form of comment and observation they are a succinct way of presenting news.¹ As part of the design they help to break up the solid columnar or page format, which looks more inviting and is more stimulating. In some circumstances information or a feature may consist of photographs suitably captioned, with little or no further verbal matter. Equally, a news story may be enhanced by the accompanying photograph. The front page of any newspaper is designed to attract attention - particularly the tabloids. A photograph chosen for this position has a particular message to communicate, and the size of the picture may be an indication of the importance of this message. This is not to say that an equally large picture on an inner page is less important. The news value may be different, or the accompanying feature may be deemed worthy of a centre spread. Alternatively, the "impact" or "revelation" factor may justify the inner page placement.

In spite of the pervasive influence of television, the still photograph has a particular relevance. The public demand for news creates a need "... for an image the mind can hold". (Evans 1978 : 4) The photograph has a value all its own which is not in competition with television.

"By ... isolating a minute of time (it) has an affinity with the way we remember ... it is a trigger image of all the emotions aroused by the subject". (Evans 1978 : 5)

¹ A good discussion of the importance of pictures in the press appears in "Pictures on a Page" by Harold Evans. A complementary review is given by Wilson Hicks in "The Literature of Photography".

The effect of a still photograph can, however, be spoiled by a careless or inappropriate headline, or even one wrong word.² The verbal image created in an accompanying article may not match the visual image chosen to illustrate it. Conversely, it can be said there is no possibility of satisfying the uniquely personal views of an entire readership.

"Photography represents a truncated version of a cultural code we're all familiar with". (Hall 1981 : 227)

We use this code to read the imagery, but our 'social conditioning' means the interpretations will differ considerably. (Hall *ibid*) One sees what one wants to see, and yesterday's view does not necessarily match today's.

The original photograph and the published one may be chasms apart, due to gatekeepers, bias and printing techniques. There may be greater impact because a picture is severely cropped to exclude extraneous detail, but in some circumstances the value of the result may be questionable. "The camera cannot lie, but it can be an accessory to untruth". (Evans 1978 : ii) During production the same unseen influences may juxtapose images to provoke derision, or give disproportionate significance to smaller details. Similar photographs may be given a different inflection by different papers, according to the news 'angle' and publication bias. (Hall 1981 : 229)

When the pictures with a story are all very similar in size and content, the repetition serves to reinforce and reiterate a specific fact. (White 1982 : 127) The newspaper or periodical may use this device, not so much to disseminate information, more to pursue a particular topic and achieve a desired goal. Arguably excessive repetition may defeat the object of the exercise.

² Evans cites a front page photograph of 1953 taken at the funeral of King George VI, showing the three Queens standing together outside the Abbey. In the early editions the word "praying" was used, which was obviously wrong. Later editions correctly said "mourning".

"Photojournalism can slide into propaganda. The give-away is the frequent use of an unflattering picture taken at one time". (Evans 1978 : 11)

Nevertheless, without some form of illustration, newspapers and periodicals could be dull, uninviting and heavy reading. Photographs are part of the bias and propaganda of any daily publication, or news journal, and are chosen accordingly. Although they add new dimensions of meaning, the text still remains the most important part. (Hall 1981 : 226)

Like the cartoons, the photographs also provide a record of Mrs Thatcher's progress as Conservative leader and Prime Minister. There is greater detail because of the larger number of photographs. The analysis is different because of the nature of the pictures. The chapter is divided into three. Statistics will be considered first, supported by histograms drawn up from various analyses, with comparisons made between personal and party/political photographs of Mrs Thatcher, particularly those showing her smiling. The second section will categorise the photographs, and review each section. The third part will consider the significance of the visual images used at the three elections, and the changes which became apparent between 1975 and 1987.

Statistics

For the purposes of analysis, the photographs are divided into two categories: personal and party/political. The personal ones show Mrs Thatcher alone. This might be a publicity shot, a portrait, a cropped picture, even items from the family album. The party/political photographs include other people who may be politicians, security men, members of the public, or interviewers.

These two categories are divided again into 'smiling' and 'non-smiling' pictures. This presented some difficulties. Printing processes and paper quality leave some older press

Table 9.1 Analysis of General Election Photographs

	1979						1983						1987					
	Total Election Photographs	Total Showing Mrs Thatcher	Party/Political	P/P Smiling	Mrs Thatcher Personal	Personal Smiling	Total Election Photographs	Total Showing Mrs Thatcher	Party/Political	P/P Smiling	Mrs Thatcher Personal	Personal Smiling	Total Election Photographs	Total Showing Mrs Thatcher	Party/Political	P/P Smiling	Mrs Thatcher Personal	Personal Smiling
DAILY PAPERS																		
THE TIMES *	56*	16	3	1	13	11	219	18	2	2	16	14	132	21	3	2	18	13
THE GUARDIAN	150	22	3	3	19	10	195	23	2	-	21	14	227	28	3	-	25	10
DAILY EXPRESS	71	25	1	-	24	14	130	36	2	-	34	25	166	39	7	3	32	19
DAILY MIRROR	65	19	1	-	18	12	70	13	-	-	13	8	98	33	1	-	32	7
SUNDAY PAPERS																		
SUNDAY TIMES*	34*	3	-	-	3	-	36	7	1	-	6	-	75	13	-	-	13	7
OBSERVER	77	17	3	2	14	12	46	5	2	-	3	2	56	7	4	2	3	3
SUNDAY EXPRESS	5	3	1	1	2	2	26	6	-	-	6	1	19	5	-	-	5	2
SUNDAY MIRROR	41	6	-	-	6	-	32	6	-	-	6	3	16	2	-	-	2	-
PERIODICALS																		
SPECTATOR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NEW STATESMAN	7	1	-	-	1	1	4	2	-	-	2	-	9	3	1	1	2	-
PUNCH	6	-	-	-	-	-	8	3	-	-	3	2	3	-	-	-	-	-
PRIVATE EYE	12	2	-	-	2	1	13	1	1	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-

PARTY/POLITICAL photographs in this context means Mrs Thatcher is one of a group - generally politicians, otherwise an electioneering event. In a very few cases there are family group photographs.

MRS THATCHER PERSONAL means that she is alone in the picture. In many cases the photograph is "cropped", and there is no indication of the original source or purpose of the picture.

P/P SMILING and PERSONAL SMILING are drawn from the previous column, indicating a positive feature.

* DAILY and SUNDAY TELEGRAPH in 1979

photographs indistinct; camera angles or the 'isolated moment' leave some doubt about smiling or non-smiling expressions. A smiling photograph shows a person in a positive way, and gives some indication of approval when there is a choice of many possible pictures taken at an event or location, and a variety of facial expressions. Put another way, no publication with an antipathy for a public person would choose to portray them frequently in an attractive or pleasant light, particularly if they are smiling.

The vexed question arises, however, of what constitutes a smile. In its simplest form, the slight drawing up of the corners of the mouth may express amusement or pleasure, happiness or joy. The same facial expression can, in certain circumstances, also express contempt or derision. This obviously allows considerable scope when deciding on the nature of a facial expression. Some writers contend that Mrs Thatcher's smile is 'only' a mechanical move of the mouth, and that the rest of the facial muscles remain immobile. They consider that a true smile should reach the eyes. The 'chilled daffodil' description from an American source was noted in an earlier chapter. Fortunately, most photographs presented no problem, and most decisions were based on mouth shape. Where there was any doubt about the facial expression a non-smiling picture was recorded.

Photographs in Daily Papers (Table 9.2)

With the exception of the Telegraph/Times, all the other dailies showed an overall rise across the three elections. Against this trend the Times figures show a sharp decline between 1983 and 1987. The steepest increase is in the Express where the 1979 figure is virtually doubled by 1983. This makes a particularly interesting contrast with some of the limited or slim statistics noted in earlier chapters for this partisan paper.

Although Mrs Thatcher's total photographs increase at each election, section (b), her percentage of the total fluctuates in several cases. These particular statistics would appear to conflict with figures given by Harrop (Butler and Kavanagh 1988 : 169) for 1983 and

Table 9.2

Photographs in Daily Papers

Analysis of photographs to show the number in which Mrs Thatcher appears, both Party/Political and Personal, with their percentages of the Election total; Personal and Party/Political photographs showing proportion of "smiling" ones.
 Statistics from Table 9.1

PUBLICATION

YEAR

(a) Total election photographs

(b) Photographs showing Mrs Thatcher

(b) as % of (a)

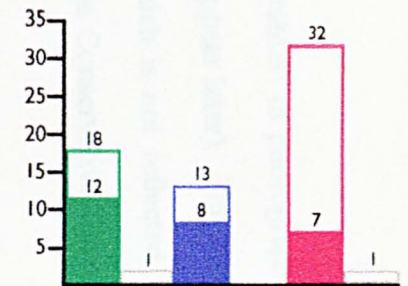
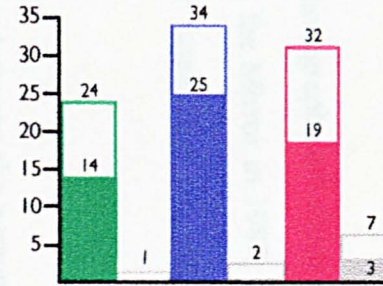
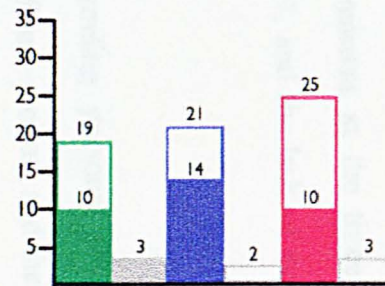
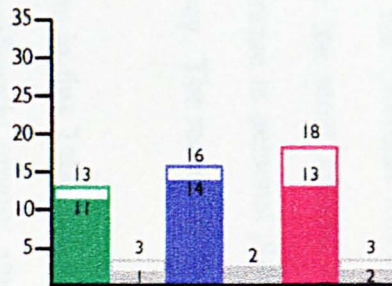
TELEGRAPH	TIMES	
1979	1983	1987
56	219	132
16	18	21
28.5%	8.2%	15.9%

GUARDIAN		
1979	1983	1987
150	195	227
22	23	28
14.6%	11.7%	12.3%

DAILY EXPRESS		
1979	1983	1987
71	130	166
25	36	39
35.2%	27.6%	23.4%

DAILY MIRROR		
1979	1983	1987
65	70	98
19	13	33
29.2%	18.5%	33.6%

Mrs Thatcher Photographs-
 (b) above divided to show:-
 (c) PERSONAL PHOTOGRAPHS - Colour Coded and PARTY/POLITICAL PHOTOGRAPHS - Grey
 (d) Shaded areas to indicate proportion of "smiling" photographs



(e) (c) as % of (b)

81.2%	88.8%	85.7%
18.7%	11.1%	14.2%

86.3%	91.3%	89.2%
13.6%	8.6%	10.7%

96%	94.4%	82%
4%	5.5%	17.9%

94.7%	100%	96.9%
5.2%		3%

(f) (d) as % of (c)

84.6%	87.5%	72.2%
33%	100%	66.6%

52.6%	66.6%	40%
100%		

58.3	73.5%	59.3%
		42.8%

66.6%	61.5%	21.8%

PERSONAL PHOTOGRAPHS
 1979 (Green)
 1983 (Blue)
 1987 (Red)

PARTY/POLITICAL PHOTOGRAPHS - all elections (Grey)

SHADING SHOWS PROPORTION OF "SMILING" PHOTOGRAPHS

8607

1987, which show Mrs Thatcher topping "league tables" of photographs at those elections, and her increased total for 1987. (These tables appear later). This difference is accounted for by the balance of papers analysed here, which is not reflected in the full range of publications included in Harrop's figures where the Conservative biased press predominate, as in Fleet Street.

In section (c) the Express figures for personal photographs are considerably larger than in any other daily paper, with a partial match with the Mirror in 1987. Against this are the fluctuating totals in the Tabloids with smaller totals, but the steady increases in the Broadsheets.

There is a considerable difference in all the papers between the personal and party/political totals. The latter figures are remarkably consistent at the three elections; the two exceptions are the increase in the Express 1987, and the lack of even one party/political photograph in the Mirror 1983.

Not surprisingly the best percentages for smiling personal photographs are in the Conservative press, particularly the Telegraph/Times section, and the Express also, though with some fluctuations. In the Labour press, the Guardian totals also fluctuate and are lower than the Express figures, but probably the most marked feature in the Mirror's decline in smiles to 1987 against the large increase in personal photographs. The Mirror was personalising the criticism in a particular way. The reason for this is discussed later.

With a couple of exceptions, the overall results in this Table are much as expected. Mrs Thatcher, the person or personality had a significantly greater amount of attention than anyone else, as part of the personalised, presidential style campaign, the message of the image was supported, sometimes willingly, by the press.

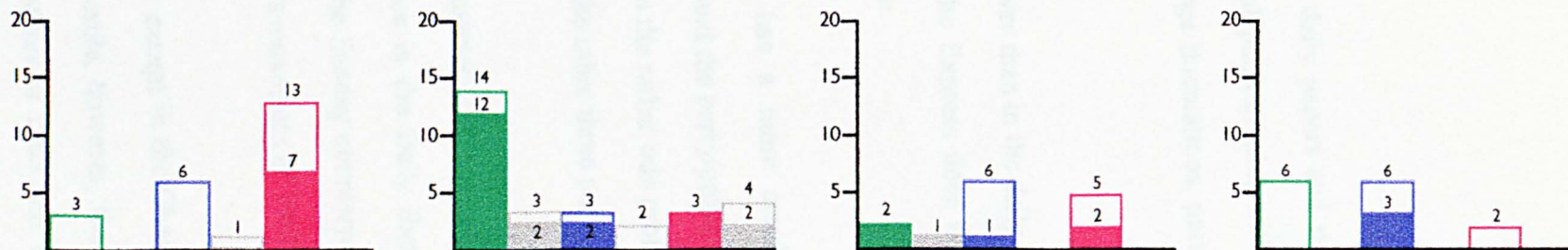
Table 9.3

Photographs in Sunday Papers

Analysis of photographs to show the number in which Mrs Thatcher appears, both Party/Political and Personal, with their percentages of the Election total; Personal and Party/Political photographs showing proportion of "smiling" ones.
 Statistics from Table 9.1

PUBLICATION	SUNDAY TELEGRAPH			SUNDAY TIMES			OBSERVER			SUNDAY EXPRESS			SUNDAY MIRROR		
	1979	1983	1987	1979	1983	1987	1979	1983	1987	1979	1983	1987	1979	1983	1987
(a) Total election photographs	34	36	75	77	46	56	5	26	19	41	32	16			
(b) Photographs showing Mrs Thatcher	3	7	13	17	5	7	3	6	5	6	6	2			
(b) as % of (a)	8.8%	19.4%	17.3%	22%	10.8%	12.5%	60%	23%	26.3%	14.6%	18.7%	12.5%			

Mrs Thatcher Photographs- (b) above divided to show:
 (c) PERSONAL PHOTOGRAPHS - Colour Coded and PARTY/POLITICAL PHOTOGRAPHS - Grey (d) Shaded areas to indicate proportion of "smiling" photographs



(e) (c) as % of (b)	100%	85.7% 14.2%	100%	82.3% 17.6%	60% 40%	42.8% 57.1%	66.6% 33.3%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(f) (d) as % of (c)			53.8%	85.7% 66.6%	66.6%	100% 50%	100% 100%	16.6%	40%		50%			

PERSONAL PHOTOGRAPHS: 1979 (Green), 1983 (Blue), 1987 (Pink)
 PARTY/POLITICAL PHOTOGRAPHS - all elections (Grey)
 SHADING SHOWS PROPORTION OF "SMILING" PHOTOGRAPHS

410a

Photographs in Sunday Papers (Table 9.3)

The profiles here look rather strange after the daily papers and the results seem a little unusual. There are no overall increases in total photographs, with the exception of the Telegraph/Times, (like the dailies) but quite large fluctuations, particularly in the Labour press.

Mrs Thatcher's totals, section (b), are rather lower than in the daily press - in proportion to the smaller time/space available. This time the Express does not stand out. It is the Broadsheet statistics which tend to call attention.

In section (c), again the Telegraph/Times has a more consistent rise in personal photographs, but is rather short on the smiles and the party/politicals. The Observer totals are very interesting by comparison. Apart from the rather odd profile and the very large fall after 1979, there are more smiles here than in the other three papers together.

The limited totals in the Tabloids might be expected, but points from the daily profiles are not repeated here. After the notable increase in the Daily Express statistics it seemed possible there would be a similar pattern in the Sunday counterpart, but it did not appear. Equally there is no repeat of the Daily Mirror's movement of 1987.

The party/political totals are virtually absent except in the Observer, which seems a little odd in a 'triumphant' year. It is very noticeable, however, that Mrs Thatcher's personal photographs do not vastly outnumber the others in 1983 and 1987, contrasting strongly with 1979 statistics. Arguably 'the image' was kept within bounds and not allowed to dominate. The Editorial stated an 'even handed approach' to the four political leaders, but Scarfe, as we know, had his own approach to this matter.

Table 9.4

Photographs in Periodicals

Analysis of photographs to show the number in which Mrs Thatcher appears, both Party/Political and Personal, with their percentages of the Election total; Personal and Party/Political photographs showing proportion of "smiling" ones. Statistics from Table 9.1

PUBLICATION

YEAR

(a) Total election photographs

(b) Photographs showing Mrs Thatcher

(b) as % of (a)

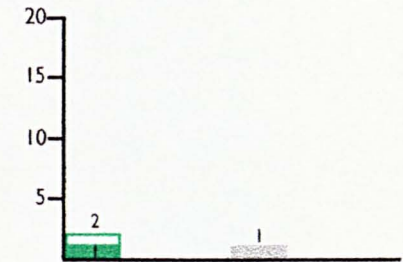
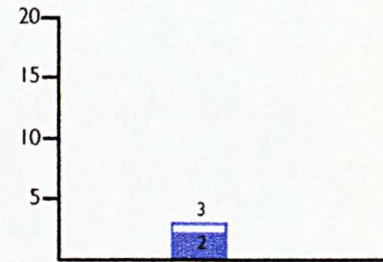
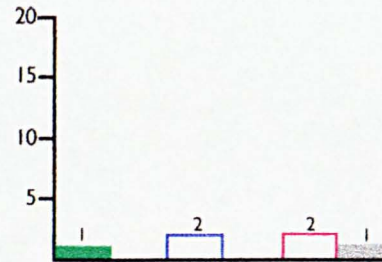
SPECTATOR		
1979	1983	1987
-	-	-
-	-	-
-	-	-

NEW STATESMAN		
1979	1983	1987
7	4	9
1	2	3
14.2%	50%	33.3%

PUNCH		
1979	1983	1987
6	8	3
-	3	-
-	37.5%	-

PRIVATE EYE		
1979	1983	1987
12	13	9
2	1	-
16.6%	7.6%	-

Mrs Thatcher Photographs- (b) above divided to show:-
 (c) PERSONAL PHOTOGRAPHS - Colour Coded and PARTY/POLITICAL PHOTOGRAPHS - Grey
 (d) Shaded areas to indicate proportion of "smiling" photographs



(e) (c) as % of (b)

-	-	-
---	---	---

100%	100%	66.6%	33.3%
------	------	-------	-------

	100%	
--	------	--

100%	100%	
------	------	--

(f) (d) as % of (c)

-	-	-
---	---	---

100%		100%
------	--	------

	66.6%	
--	-------	--

50%		
-----	--	--

PERSONAL PHOTOGRAPHS
 1979 (Green)
 1983 (Blue)
 1987 (Red)

PARTY/POLITICAL PHOTOGRAPHS - all elections

SHADING SHOWS PROPORTION OF "SMILING" PHOTOGRAPHS

Overall this is a surprising Table, more for what is absent than what appears. Of particular note is the Observer profile, and the personal and smiling photographs of Mrs Thatcher in 1979, when the paper fully supported James Callaghan's attempt to retain his office.

Photographs in Periodicals (Table 9.4)

Of the four periodicals, the Spectator alone had no photographs, but used cartoons or line drawings for illustrative purposes. Among the other three, Private Eye used more photographs including a suitably embellished ones on the front covers.

New Statesman's totals look as though they have been limited, perhaps to echo the bias. As we know, Mrs Thatcher was scarcely mentioned in 1979, so that one smiling though not particularly flattering photograph seems almost generous. Three photographs in 1987 served mainly for critical purposes - it personalised the criticism - 'this is the person at fault'.

Punch photographs in 1983 also personalised the comment but in the opposite way to New Statesman. The one smiling picture is not a serious, angry or formidable female, but just Mrs Thatcher waving and a smile that seems to reach the eyes.

The Private Eye cover photographs are chosen for a specific purpose - sometimes with malice aforethought. Those showing Mrs Thatcher are not critical or unkind per se, but have a house style satirical comment appended. The 1983 picture, which actually dates from 1979, illustrates particularly well the rather "mumsy" inelegant style of dressing Mrs Thatcher used when she first became Prime Minister. Arguably it fits the suburban middle-class housewife image noted in an earlier chapter.

The style of these periodicals favours the word and verbal image more than the visual image, with the proviso that the two satirical publications had a wealth of cartoon and caricature to supplement their alternative comments.

We turn now from numbers of photographs to the reasons for the photographs being taken, what is recorded and indirectly why the result might be newsworthy.

At this point it is perhaps worth noting statistics quoted by Martin Harrop for the 1983 and 1987 general elections.³

Photographs of leading party politicians in national dailies

Politician	<u>14 May - 9 June 1983</u>	<u>18 May - 11 June 1987</u>
Conservative	335 (36% of total)	509 (39% of total)
Margaret Thatcher	125 (37% of Conservative)	196 (39% of Conservative)
Labour	324 (35% of total)	525 (40% of total)
Michael Foot	17 (5% of Labour)	Neil Kinnock 175 (33% of Labour)

We can note Mrs Thatcher's increased percentage in the above statistics, and also make some additional comparisons with statistics used earlier in the Chapter (Table 9.1). Because of the differences in date spans between Harrop's figures and those quoted below, the comparisons are for interest only and no firm conclusions can be drawn.

³ Harrop 1988 : 169 Details extracted from Harrop's Table 8.2. Figures for 1979, Sunday papers and Periodicals not available.

	1983	1987
Mrs Thatcher's total	125	196
(Harrop)	(for 23 days)	(for 22 days)
Times (for 25 days)	18 (14.4%)	21 (10.7%)
Guardian (for 25 days)	23 (18.4%)	28 (14.2%)
Express (for 25 days)	36 (28.8%)	39 (19.8%)
Mirror (for 25 days)	13 (10.4%)	33 (16.8%)
	(Total 90)	(Total 121)

Publication's figures from Table 9.1 are the total number of photographs in which Mrs Thatcher appears, and as percentage of Harrop's figures shown in brackets.

Photographs in the News

The discussion so far has covered the basic divisions of smiling and non-smiling, personal and party/political photographs in which Mrs Thatcher appears. As visual messages the other important factors are the reason for the photograph being taken, what is the scene, or, quite simply what is Mrs Thatcher doing, and how is she portrayed?

Some photographs are severely cropped and with only a limited caption, the original context is lost. With some uncropped pictures the caption is no help; "the ambiguities of the photo are not necessarily resolved by the caption". (Hall 1981 : 242) We know also that some occasions or events have no news value and achieve a degree of importance only because photographers are present - Boorstin's pseudo event and photo-opportunity, referred to elsewhere.

Mrs Thatcher's campaign organisers planned events as "meet the people" exercises, for her to see and be seen. With journalists and photographers present, the value and vote achievement or consolidation of some of these visits was doubtful, and many became the

"dressing up" events noted earlier. Open air speeches or all ticket rallies provided further opportunities for visual messages - and the essential sound bite. The podium can make for iconic isolation and, if caught mid-word, the image has an ugly mouth shape or grim expression. One picture from an interview, televised or otherwise, may have the same effect. The need for security undoubtedly inhibited some occasions or guided the choice of location visited, often isolating Mrs Thatcher in some way.

Events such as the morning press conference with the sole purpose of making and controlling the news by setting the day's agenda, was specifically for the media. Almost inevitably the Conservative one became a performance; Mrs Thatcher starred and some Cabinet members appeared in speaking parts, although there were drawbacks to this, as Francis Pym found.

Photographers 'linger hopefully' at strategic locations during election campaigns, so comings and goings at Downing Street or Finchley, or anywhere Mrs Thatcher might be found, could always possibly be a special moment. The truly spontaneous word or action was relatively rare in these presidential-style campaigns, when nothing could be left to chance, but just occasionally there was a moment in time, caught by a photographer, when something unexpectedly newsworthy occurred.

With an extensive range of possibilities it was important to prevent the categories becoming too complex or too many. The range has therefore been limited to four, outlined as follows:

Photo-opportunity

A record of a location visited, an event or situation which probably would not have taken place but for the presence of photographers. The result was, for example, Mrs Thatcher: holding a calf, or sitting by it; or standing in a field with binoculars to her eyes; or

"shopping" - maintaining the housewife image behind the busy Prime Minister - with an escort or entourage of 60, recorded earlier. Included also are the limited number of posed publicity shots of 'Mr and Mrs Thatcher' or 'The Thatcher family at home'.

Visit or Event

Mrs Thatcher in a named location - new housing estate, hospital, shopping mall, school, industrial unit, town centre - as part of the day's campaign, and greeting people or giving short set-piece speeches. Photographs included the travel arrangements by campaign bus or 'plane, but rarely rail travel which Mrs Thatcher is said not to enjoy. Factory visits include the 'dressing up' variety. The problem here is that sometimes these tend towards the photo opportunity. The Summit conferences of Williamsburg 1983 and Venice 1987 are included here, although Opposition Leaders argued that the brevity of the visit made them no more than photo opportunities.

Press conference

Photographs of this daily event usually included one or more Cabinet members, but unless something very specific disturbed the schedule, there is little to differentiate the days. The atmosphere can be judged by the expressions, even if the caption is not helpful. The launch of the Manifesto is recorded in this section, but the sound, lights and music are for the journalist's verbal imagery. The behind-the-scenes manipulation of the show are rarely exposed, although in 1987 the Labour party Manifesto launch merited such a photograph.

Minimal context

This category is for all the pictures where visual and verbal detail is limited or missing. For example: the cropped photographs showing a facial expression only, Mrs Thatcher getting

out of a car; greeting someone not in view (event?); or waving (to whom?); or arriving (where?).

Placed beside an article on the economy, defence, the NHS, new commitments or legislation, the photograph needs to show some sort of relationship, or relevance. A full face shot of Mrs Thatcher with a worried expression or frown can imply much, whatever the publication's bias, but it adds nothing to the import of the message. Other pictures in this category include the portrait types issued by Central Office, family album snaps with no detail, or poster images.

Generally speaking, the captions tended to be more informative in the broadsheets, both daily and Sunday, than in the tabloids, though not necessarily longer. Obviously there were exceptions to this. New Statesman more nearly matched the broadsheets, but the satirical periodicals labelling was a little more idiosyncratic.

Daily Papers (Table 9.5)

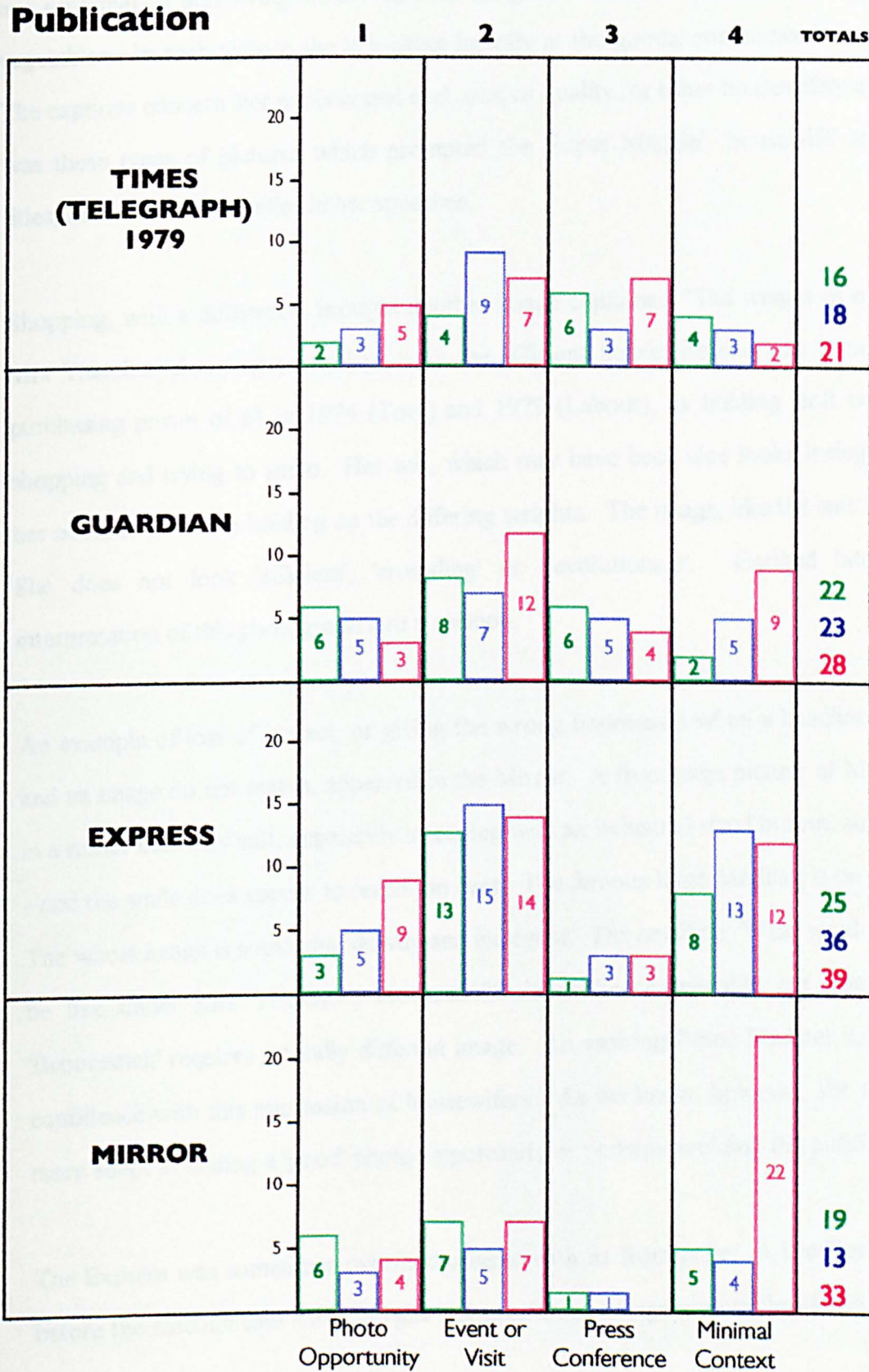
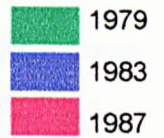
Photo-opportunities

In 1979 Labour papers made twice as much use of these types of photographs as the Tory press. Several of the pictures made full page front covers of the tabloids, whereas the broadsheets tended to use the inner pages. Topics included calf-cuddling, a walkabout, sweeping up and shopping.

The calf pictures were thought by some commentators to herald a change in the style of campaigning. All four papers used at least one picture, prompting Arcadian and similar descriptions. Denis Thatcher curtailed the event, concerned in case the little creature died of shock. It is interesting to speculate on the farmer's claim had such an unfortunate thing happened. A Punch cartoon showed a lamb dreaming of the inflated price of it's joints.

Table 9.5 Mrs Thatcher's photographs in Daily Papers

Analysis of content. Election totals from Table 9.2



Of the shopping forays, several appeared in each paper, Mrs Thatcher was variously shown in a supermarket borrowing money from her daughter, elsewhere "buying" meat, or fruit or vegetables. In each picture she is looking intently at the goods, sometimes being advised. The captions concern 'her experienced eye', cost or quality, or other housewifely axioms. It was these types of pictures which prompted the 'Super Maggie', 'housewife' and similar titles, as well as the homilies in her speeches.

Shopping, with a difference, brought another image captioned "The weight of evidence ... Mrs Thatcher shopping yesterday". As the efficient housewife she was comparing the purchasing power of £1 in 1974 (Tory) and 1979 (Labour), by holding aloft two bags of shopping and trying to smile. Her suit, which may have been nice looks inelegant due to her obvious efforts in holding up the differing weights. The image, like the suit is rumpled. She does not look 'efficient', 'crusading' or 'revolutionary'. Garland later put his interpretation of this photograph into a cartoon.

An example of loss of impact, or giving the wrong impression when a headline or caption and an image do not match, appeared in the Mirror. A front page picture of Mrs Thatcher in a rather matronly suit, apparently sweeping with an industrial sized broom, smiles happily - and the smile does appear to reach the eyes. The famous large handbag is on the ground. The whole image is somewhat dowdy and inelegant. The headline: 'What would YOUR life be like under Mrs Thatcher's broomstick?' is neither compatible nor complementary. 'Broomstick' requires a totally different image. An aspiring Prime Minister hardly inspires confidence with this impression of housewifery. As we know, however, she soon became more adept at finding a 'good' photo-opportunity or perhaps avoiding the pitfalls.

The Express was sometimes over-enthusiastic with its front page. A headline immediately before the election said 'Give the girl a chance' over a large picture, head only, of a widely



The weight of evidence... Mrs Thatcher shopping yesterday

Daily Express 25 April 1979



Daily Telegraph, April 26, 1979

smiling Mrs Thatcher - clearly taken before the cosmetic dental work. The anachronistic 'girl' may grate in this context, although the intent and message to the voters is clear.

The 1983 photographs seemed a little more subdued, and fewer of them appeared on front pages. This time the Guardian and Express had the larger number. Surprisingly the Mirror halved it's previous total, but increased other types instead.

At this election 'shopping' was repeated in all the papers, and the calf picture reappeared in the Guardian. Mr and Mrs Thatcher ate a fish and chip lunch in Harry Ramsden's restaurant, but the regular lunch time trade was inconvenienced and many clients were not pleased. Mrs Thatcher continued to 'pause for thought', or for the photographers, in assorted locations. She also posed beside a cow.

Probably the most startling image appeared on the Mirror's front page early in the campaign. An honest and apparently spontaneous photograph which 'isolated a moment of time', showed the Prime Minister with a handful of silage, which she had just picked up, during a farm visit in Cornwall. She is dishevelled and her expression is one of total revulsion. The headline "Thatcher's Black Day" concerns unemployment figures discussed in the article beside the photograph.

By 1987 the Express was making much more use of these photographs than the other papers, even though the Times also had a small increase. By this stage relatively few of the pictures were on front pages. New topics included bricklaying and testing a breathalyser, but shopping had almost disappeared. Mrs Thatcher's style of dressing change accounted for some of the Express's increased total; these were poses unrelated to feature articles about the new 'power dressing'.

Once again the Mirror had something special in this category. As noted earlier, occasionally a newspaper admits press complicity in these photo-opportunities and exposes

the mechanics of the situation. This appeared in a centre spread about Mrs Thatcher's 'day in the country', discussed elsewhere. With binoculars to her eyes she was looking not at 'the birds' or 'the countryside' but at the photographers who were ranged on and around a farm cart. Three papers carried one photograph. No two captions matched, although there were some points of similarity. After pausing for this non-event, Mrs Thatcher continued the day with two 'proper' visits in the region. Stopping in the countryside was planned as a short break from the pressures of campaigning.

Visit or Event

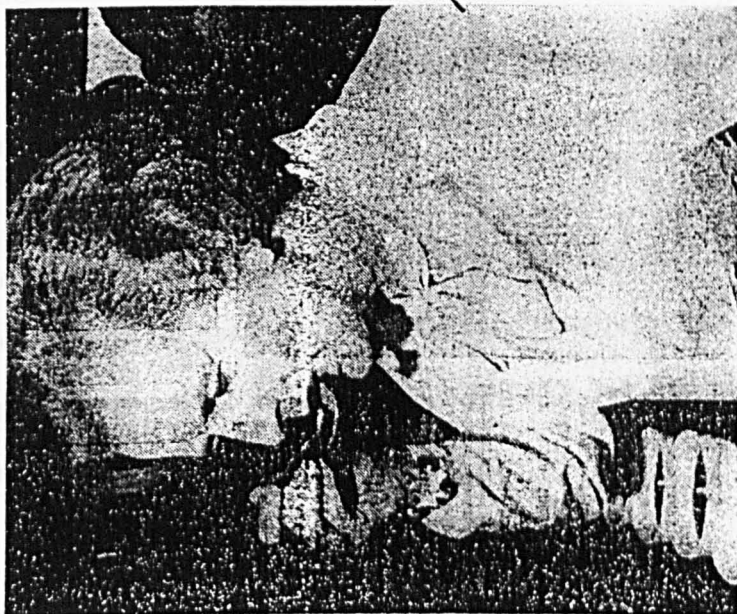
It was noted earlier that Mrs Thatcher did not come across as a particularly sympathetic person in 1979, even if sincere. The events and visits arranged for her campaign were planned partly to counteract Labour and media pressure on her - as an 'outsider', a woman and a challenger - and partly to soften the harsh impression. The "telegenic backgrounds (provided) novel pictures for the cameras in settings designed to enhance (her) image". (Scammell 1995 : 80) Yet the serious intent to 'meet the people' and 'spread the message' still had the element of 'pseudo-' about it because of the arrangements surrounding such visits - the carefully selected and protected locations - and the 'photo-opportunities' particularly where 'dressing up' was required. The Telegraph gave very limited space to these photographs, the other three used many more of them, especially the Express.

Mrs Thatcher stitched pockets and selected items, watched machinery and tasted tea (wearing a white coat). The latter event had several photographs in the Guardian and Express to show her range of expressions. The Telegraph and Mirror settled for one each.

Interviews with 'sympathetic' journalists and appearances on the Jimmy Young Show provided a variety of pictures. Mrs Thatcher wearing headphones became popular, with the headset carefully placed over the coiffure. Several of the interview photographs reappeared, cropped, minus any detail, during the campaign, for illustrative purposes.



Daily Express April 1979



BREWING UP: Mrs. Thatcher samples a selection of brews during a visit to a Newcastle-upon-Tyne tea factory yesterday.

Daily Mirror April 1979

The first of the Wembley rallies was well recorded in three papers, but aroused little comment in the Telegraph. The starring role, the glitter, the presentation were all in the words and partly visible in the pictures, as well as the personalities who endorsed Mrs Thatcher. "Star appeal and Mrs Thatcher ...", "a great love-in for Mrs Thatcher" (Express); "Singing the Blues ...", "an almost hysterical presidential-style rally" (Mirror). Although it was spectacular and everyone sang "Halloo Maggie" (Guardian), as Mrs Thatcher recorded, the event was no match for the same productions in 1983 and 1987. Such public endorsement by "the Stars" was also a new phenomenon. Previously it had always been felt that protection of their status required some of their personal opinions to remain unknown. It was only slowly appreciated that many American film stars openly supported Presidential candidates and whose careers did not suffer as a result, that the trend caught on in Britain, encouraged by the men in Mrs Thatcher's campaign team who had seen the behind-the-scenes working of the American system.

In 1983 the Express used even more events and visits and the Times doubled the Telegraph's previous total. There was a slight decline in the Labour press.

For the visits, new technology was the theme, but inevitably some light relief appeared when Mrs Thatcher - dressed up - sorted nuts and marzipan and sweets. More of the travel aspects appeared this time, particularly the campaign bus, and also the increased need for security men. Both these factors served to isolate Mrs Thatcher, even though a crowd could be seen at a distance or in the background.

Probably the most important political impressions of 1983, enhancing Mrs Thatcher's image and status, were the Williamsburg photographs. These were the pictures against which Michael Foot and other politicians had no match or defence during the election campaign.

After her arrival she drove in an open carriage with the President; they paused together on the church steps after Sunday morning service; they had private discussions in a garden. Not only was Mrs Thatcher amid pageantry and splendour, she was also centre stage - in world terms - with a friend and admirer. Some cynics called it the Ronnie and Maggie Show; with a movie "good guy" and old style courtesy, she was guaranteed a central position in photographs and attention. She did not have to push for a front, central place in the regulation photograph as she sometimes had to in the men's club of European Leaders.

It has been suggested that part of the rapport between the President and Prime Minister was not only that each had strong beliefs which personalised their politics but that certain similarities in background and experience sealed the relationship. Though different in temperament and application "(their) intellectual formation ... did bear a striking resemblance" based on their childhood experience and parental teaching. (Young 1990 : 254) "I knew I was talking to someone who instinctively felt and thought as I did; not just about politics but about a philosophy of government, a view of human nature ..." (Thatcher 1993 : 157) Neither had

"sentimental or guilty feelings about underdogs ... Their upbringing encouraged them to think that others can look after themselves too, and that if they get into difficulties or remain underlings the fault lies in themselves ... (Henderson 1994:74)

These photographs do seem to show two people with a good relationship, comfortable in each other's company. The smiles are wide and appear genuine and for pleasure. This is not Mrs Thatcher's chilly grimace, a gesture for the photographer. The veracity of these images would have been reinforced and supplemented by TV news footage.

By 1987 both the Guardian and Express had virtually double the number of photographs of the Times and Mirror in this section. It is noticeable that many of the 'dressing up' visits to industry now required hard hats - driving a JCB, and at a building site, for example. There

were still the more 'fun' visits to a cake factory, a school, and a brewery where Denis Thatcher did the sampling.

The hasty, limited visit to the Summit brought 'Maggie and Ronnie' photographs again. This time, however, Mrs Thatcher was briefly centre stage on her own account as the senior World Stateswoman, and her friend was there to share it.

Mrs Thatcher's change to executive power dressing was recorded during visits, but also warranted articles about its subtle messages. It is probably at this point one can see more clearly the strong, determined, aggressive person she had become. This is not to suggest an overnight change. Some aggression and forcefulness was apparent in 1983 but then, even with the triumphalism of the Falklands still apparent, the mixture of styles in dressing somehow distracted, and Mrs Thatcher never quite looked an 'Iron Lady'. The new style of dressing enhanced an image that already existed.

Once again the Wembley rally was bigger than ever and more spectacular. Photographs can capture certain dramatic moments but not the dry ice and razzmatazz. Accompanying articles noted that in spite of the showbusiness aspect there was also a political speech - with the odd reference to Mum's army. "This Government runs the finances of the nation soundly, like any good housekeeper". (Express) "She appeared dressed in deepest blue to chants of 'ten more years'. Thatcher rallies her Mum's Army". (Guardian) "A star is born on waves of pantomime humour ... The hysteria approaches that of the Second Coming as she arrives on stage". (Times) The Mirror did not comment or print a picture.

One final point for this section concerns the traditional victor's photograph on the steps of Number 10. The somewhat ungainly stance and enthusiastic wave of 1979 gave way to something more regal and elegant in 1987. A certain informality crept in with waves from windows to the photographers and waiting crowds. The soundbites also changed from pious hopes to confident predictions.

Press Conference

The Broadsheets made considerably more use of these photographs than the Tabloids. At each election there were several pictures of the Manifesto launch, as well as some of the daily press conference. In 1979, for example, all six of the Telegraph's pictures were of the launch. The Guardian had four of the launch and two press conferences.

At the launch the main changes from election to election were in Mrs Thatcher herself, colleagues, reactions and the thickness of the document. At the press conferences, Mrs Thatcher's animation generally contrasted sharply with colleagues expressions. A variation was the 'shielding the eyes' shot as those on the platform looked out to the back row or moved the questioning around. By 1987 the launch attracted one photograph and the press conference three or more.

The Tabloids carried relatively few photographs of either the manifesto launch or the conference. The Express for example showed the launch only in 1979, but added the conferences in 1983 and 1987. The Mirror had the minimum contribution of one launch in 1979 and 1983, but nothing in 1987. This is not to say these Tabloids ignored the events, simply that the comments were verbal and analytical, not visual.

It was interesting to find some similar criticism reappearing at each Conservative manifesto launch, not concerned with content but the quality of the environment. A small stuffy room, and overheating were just two points journalists grumbled about. The Guardian journalists in 1987 thought the image makers of both the Labour and Conservative parties had taken leave of their senses with their manifesto launches being less than effective. Another Guardian journalist, in one of the special witty articles wrote: "The Field Marshall jollies along her Junta" and also mentioned the bizarre ritual of the sea of Japanese cameras



The first assault on Europe: France's Giscard d'Estaing (*second left in front*) and Germany's Helmut Schmidt (*behind his left shoulder*) eye their new friend in Dublin, November 1979.

"One of Us"

Hugo Young 1990

rising up at her entry ensuring her five minute disappearance. On the same day Steve Bell's "talking head" went berserk and self destructed.

Minimal Context

Overall the Express used this Category more than the other dailies, and not surprisingly the photographs of Mrs Thatcher were mostly attractive. By contrast, the Times made least use, but again the photographs were favourable. The one thing they all have in common is the lack of detail in the picture and in the caption. Also, some of the 1979 photographs are not particularly good quality, but this may be due either to the printing techniques, or to photographic skills.

In 1979 Gordon Reece advised Mrs Thatcher on the "soft and misty" look and several of these appeared in the Mirror and Express. Some looked coy, some looked like the Agony Aunt, and a caption which said 'Mrs Thatcher yesterday' or '... takes a break' was hardly news. It is difficult now to equate these images with a challenger for Premiership, but this was the 'human face' to counteract any hardness, advocated to win voters, particularly in the C1 and C2 brackets. There was also the novelty factor of the "first woman ..."

These pictures with limited detail were various sizes, some barely passport size. With little or no caption no relationship is established between the visual and verbal parts. The picture is no more than an unattached illustration, a momentary diversion. The Mirror often had a much larger photograph of James Callaghan nearby, for example, when the front page headline read 'Polls cut Thatcher lead'. The Express did a similar thing, but reversed the photograph sizes, under a positive headline.

The Broadsheet photographs looked more like 'event' items which had been trimmed, and a few which may have been from interviews. There was nothing particularly striking about them, although they were not the 'misty' variety.

The 1983 photographs were much more distinctive. The style of photography changed, printing techniques were vastly improved, and Mrs Thatcher has shed 'the 1979 look'. The dental work is complete, the hairstyle has changed, and as noted elsewhere she really does look younger and livelier. There are more unusual shots, but again without the significant detail. The Guardian has one where Mrs Thatcher is obviously in a pulpit; the caption is "Another lesson from Mrs Thatcher?" An Express example shows a serious Mrs Thatcher, one hand raised; "Mrs Thatcher makes a point". The Express also has several small photographs of Mrs Thatcher apparently talking to someone, placed beside an article by George Gale, but whether this is all part of the interview is not made clear. The Times showed Mrs Thatcher surrounded by security men at an unspecified location. The Mirror used a passport size, full face, serious expression picture beside an editorial where Mrs Thatcher is only mentioned briefly.

The most striking feature of this category is the Mirror's very large total for 1987, noted in earlier statistics. It is quite at odds with Mirror statistics for 1979 and 1983, or those for any other paper. The huge increase was due to the use of many small photographs - less than passport size - in articles concerning Mrs Thatcher politically.⁴ The severely cropped pictures showed her full, three-quarter or side face. The expressions are all severe, non-smiling, some look worried. The captions, when used, were of the briefest kind: "Thatcher : Uncaring". Several of the pictures appeared more than once, and each article had several of these small pictures, generally at the beginning of a section, or a new theme. The pictures therefore served more than one purpose. Not only did they break up the columnar format (with other relevant photographs illustrating the theme), they also

"support the function of witnessing: this is the person we are talking about, she really exists". (Hall 1981 : 241)

⁴ The Mirror ran a series of articles concerned with the breakdown of Caring Services, the NHS, lack of housing and unemployment, all related to Conservative policies, Thatcherism, and Mrs Thatcher's statements or manifesto commitments.

But as noted earlier, Evans suggests this could also be considered a form of propaganda. The Mirror is the only paper to use this particular technique. The Guardian, for example, printed a considerable number of favourable, smiling photographs of Mrs Thatcher in 1987, as statistics showed.

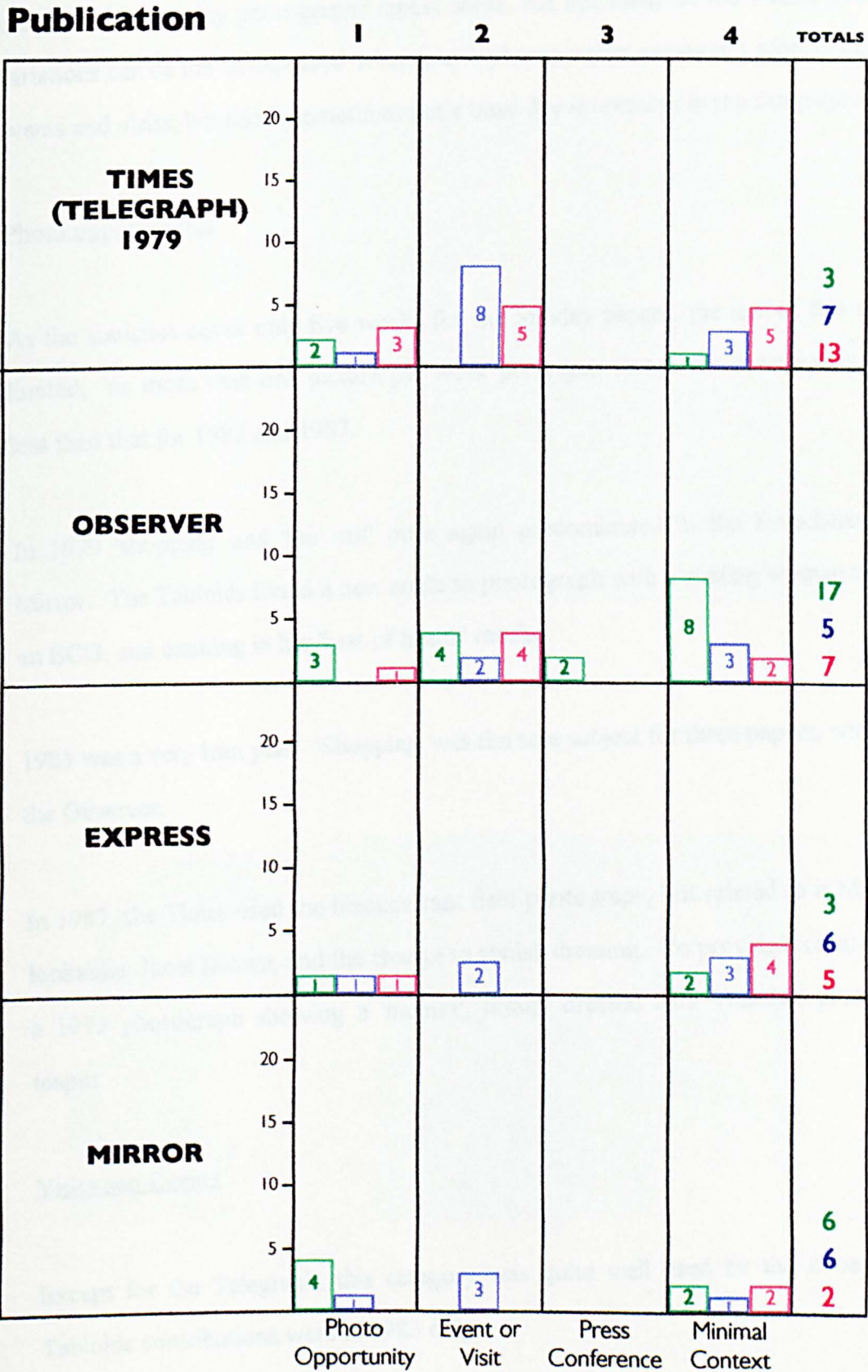
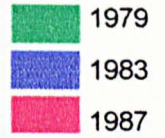
Overall we can see from Table 9.5 that the Broadsheet photographs were rather more evenly spread across the categories - fluctuations accepted - than in the Tabloids. Also, the Broadsheets did not particularly 'peak' in any one year. The Tabloids made relatively little use of press conference photographs, particularly the Mirror. The Express made more use of events and visits, and the minimal context pictures. The Mirror made use of the photo opportunities, events and visits, though the levels were not high. The paper 'peaked' in 1987 with the minimal content pictures, displaying strong political bias.

The Broadsheets divided on partisan lines in their verbal presentation of Mrs Thatcher. However, it cannot be said that Guardian photographs were particularly negative or critical, most were as pleasant as those in the Times. In many cases, even in 1987, it would be difficult to identify photographs, taken out of context, as from a Conservative or Labour paper. It was usually the adjacent article which provided the link. Captions in these papers, except in category 4, tended to be more informative than in the Tabloids.

The Tabloids also divided on partisan lines for verbal images. The Express pictures were favourable at all elections, as expected, and the numbers increased. It was noted that the Mirror was apparently not ungenerous with the style of photograph used in 1979, except that a coy simper was probably not what Labour voters expected in a potential Prime Minister. By 1987 however, the Mirror had greatly increased the non-smiling photographs presenting strong negative images.

Table 9.6 Mrs Thatcher's photographs in Sunday Papers

Analysis of content. Election totals from Table 9.3



Sunday Papers (Table 9.6)

Inevitably the Sunday photographs repeat some, but not many of the week's events. The variations can be the 'unexpected' when a lone photographer manages a scoop - or Saturday events and visits, but this is sometimes not a busy day or evening in the campaign.

Photo opportunities

As the statistics cover only five weeks for the Sunday papers, the use of this category is limited; no more than one picture per week per paper across the campaign in 1979, and less than that for 1983 and 1987.

In 1979 'shopping' and 'the calf' once again predominated in the Broadsheets and the Mirror. The Tabloids found a new angle to photograph with a smiling woman wired up for an ECG, and exulting in her 'best of health' result.

1983 was a very lean year. 'Shopping' was the sole subject for three papers, with nothing in the Observer.

In 1987, the Times used the blackcurrant field photograph, but related to it Mrs Thatcher's lookalike, Janet Brown, and the change to stylish dressing. To provide a contrast there was a 1973 photograph showing a 'mumsy', fussily dressed Mrs Thatcher presiding over a teapot.

Visits and Events

Except for the Telegraph, this category was quite well used by the Broadsheets. The Tabloids contributions were in 1983 only.

SUNDAY

Maggie's
Wembley
triumph



Star appeal... from left: Maria Aitken, Mollie Weir, Liz Fraser, Tricia Murray, Mrs Thatcher, Vince Hill and Lulu



In 1979 the Observer had one of the more unusual photographs of Mrs Thatcher walking and talking with children. It contrasts with the usual variety of school visit record.

The Williamsburg photographs were well used in all four papers in 1983. Captions included: "Howdy pardner" (Mirror); 'Together in friendship' (Express); 'The President greets a radiant Mrs Thatcher' (Times) 'Happy landing. Mrs Thatcher greeted by President Reagan' (Observer). The Mirror noted; "Maggie and Ronnie get an act together ... Her arrival in the old colonial town could hardly have been more stage managed".

Other visits included: a Youth Club where Mrs Thatcher was photographed at the snooker table, and she "K.O'd Conteh" by smiling at him; a DIY Centre where she "paused to talk to shoppers".. After the election, she also appeared at the Trooping the Colour ceremony - but definitely as an onlooker.

In 1987, both Broadsheets recorded 'hard hat' visits, like the daily papers, and a Hounslow factory visit where Mrs Thatcher was presented with a very large stuffed panda. a play on the words panda/pander appeared in nearby articles. The Times showed the security angle during a visit to Alton Towers; "Mrs Thatcher, as fortified by security men as any American President, glides pensively through the crowds ...".

The Venice conference came after the weekend, but before the election, so there were no photographs. There were articles in all the papers about the forthcoming event, but these were illustrated by minimal content photographs.

Press Conference

Not surprisingly these daily events were given no coverage by three Sunday papers. The one exception was the Manifesto launch of 1979, in the Observer. The photographs look very similar to those in the daily press.

Minimal context

In spite of fluctuations, the four papers used this section more consistently than sections 1 and 2. The Observer 'peaked' in 1979, as we know from earlier statistics, but not to the extent of the Daily Mirror in 1987. As in the Mirror the pictures were used to draw attention to Mrs Thatcher at specific points. The essential difference was that Observer's photographs were all smiling ones - this was, after all 1979. Noticeably, however, the Observer figures declined in 1983 and 1987.

Although some of the pictures were not too clear in the other papers there were no coy or simpering expressions. There is a more positive image of Mrs Thatcher smiling - and sometimes waving. As before, other visual and verbal detail is missing.

The 1983 and 1987 photographs show the same changes as those noted in the daily press. A more positive image is emerging in 1983, there are still smiles, rather than frowns or grimaces. But even in 1987 there are not the harsh features which, for example, the daily Mirror showed. The Sunday Mirror was certainly critical, but the personal photographic record is not the same.

The Observer had one large photograph of Mrs Thatcher mopping her face, assisted by her husband. It seems to be after a speech, but there are no other clues from the background - and the caption "A helping hanky" also notes Central Office no longer talking of a fourth

term, but of her tiredness. The picture accompanies Robert Harris's article on Black Thursday and rogue polls.

A criticism by James Callaghan of Mrs Thatcher's imminent dash to Venice forms a front page of the Mirror - but it is almost overshadowed by the photograph of her in a striking hat. As we found earlier, this particular image had come from photographs of Mr and Mrs Thatcher prior to an overseas tour. The use of such an image leaves the readers to draw their own conclusions on the necessity or value of the trip at such a critical moment in the campaign, and Mrs Thatcher's confidence in making it. Elsewhere in the paper there were comments about photo-opportunities, and her lack of care and concern for a divided country.

For obvious reasons the photographs in the Sunday press tended not to be so evenly spread as in the daily press, not least because there were fewer of them. There are also limited possibilities for different or new images, to retain public interest.

The least used category was the Press conference. The sole brief entry was in the 1979 Observer. The photo-opportunity was not over used, but received rather more use in the Telegraph/Times than elsewhere. Several photographs similar to the daily papers appeared, but there were a few new images to make a contrast and show a different approach.

The Visits and Events category was well used by the Broadsheets, but only had 1983 entries from the Tabloids. Like the dailies, much was made of the Williamsburg visit, but the Venice summit could not be covered.

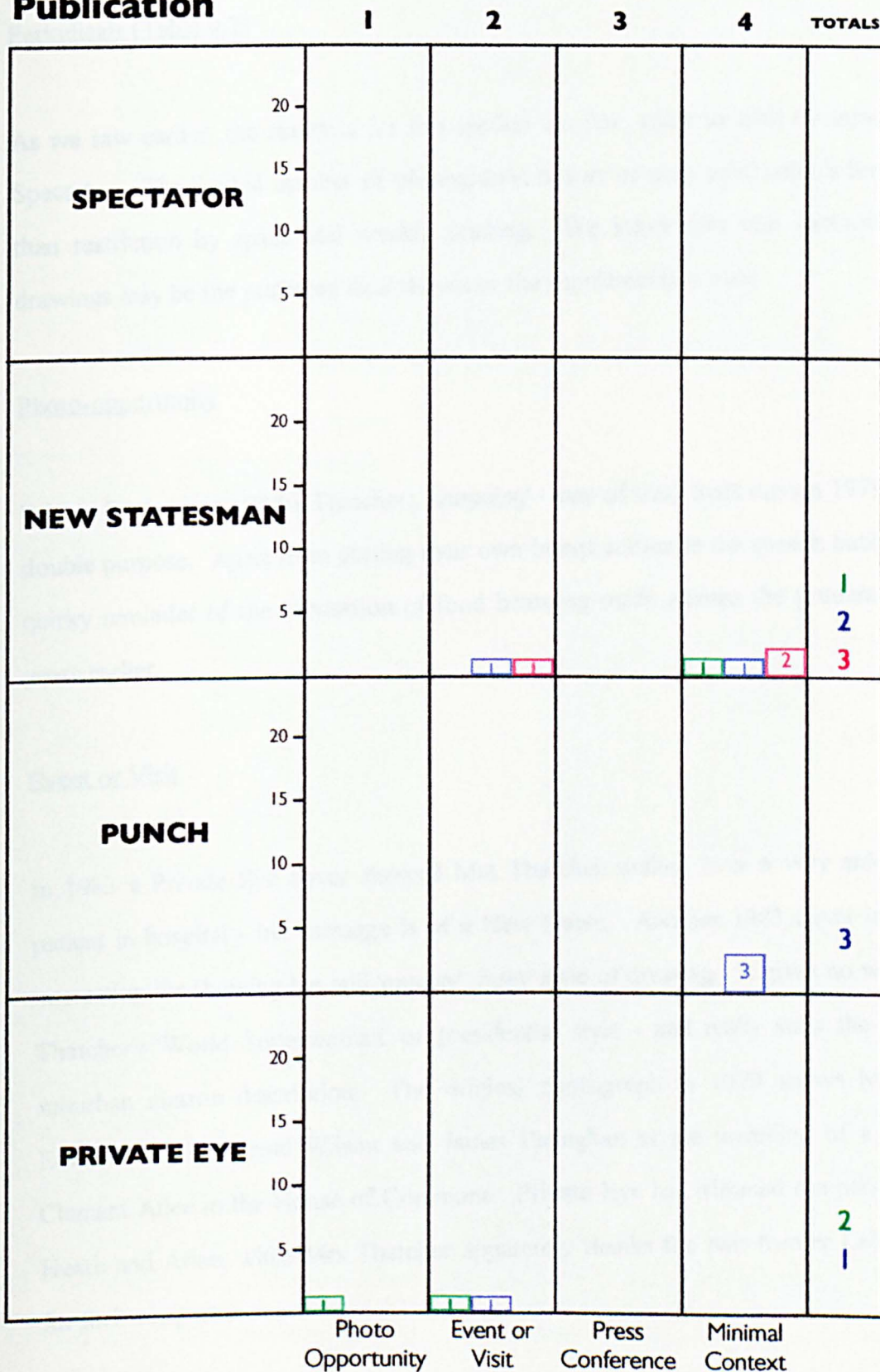
The minimal context category was used more than other sections by all papers, albeit with variations. Across the three elections the conservative totals increased a little, the Labour one's declined or remained low. The Observer's high total of 1979 did not reflect adversely

Table 9.7 Mrs Thatcher's photographs in Periodicals

Analysis of content. Election totals from Table 9.4



Publication



on Mrs Thatcher since she was shown in a positive way. Criticism of Mrs Thatcher in 1987 in the Observer and Mirror was in a different form from the Daily Mirror's technique.

Periodicals (Table 9.7)

As we saw earlier, the statistics for this section are few, more so with no input from the Spectator. The limited number of photographs is part of each publication's format rather than restriction by space and weekly printing. We know also that cartoons and line drawings may be the preferred illustrations or the supplementary ones.

Photo-opportunity

Private Eye's view of 'Mrs Thatcher; shopping' - one of their front covers 1979 - served a double purpose. Apart from putting their own interpretation in the speech bubble, it was a quirky reminder of the accusation of food hoarding made against the prudent housewife, years earlier.

Event or Visit

In 1983 a Private Eye cover showed Mrs Thatcher smiling over a very elderly sleeping patient in hospital - her message is of a New Dawn. Another 1983 cover is particularly interesting for showing her still 'mumsy', fussy style of dressing. It gives no weight to Mrs Thatcher's 'World Stateswoman' or presidential style - and really suits the middle class suburban matron description. The original photograph in 1979 shows Mrs Thatcher, Edward Heath, Harold Wilson and James Callaghan at the unveiling of a memorial to Clement Atlee in the House of Commons. Private Eye has trimmed the photo to exclude Heath and Atlee, while Mrs Thatcher apparently thanks the two former Labour Premiers for their support.



Early morning... clutching a rose at Heathrow Airport

DAILY EXPRESS May 31 1983



Back to work at Smith Square



FINCHILEY: What's she scented? Not a Labour voter, surely!

Daily Mirror 6 June 1983



Daily Express
8 June 1983



FRIENDSHIP: Smiles from Reagan and Mrs Thatcher

Daily Mirror 30 May 1983

There were no Press conference or Manifesto launch photographs in any publication.

Minimal context

This is the most used category, with an entry for each election from New Statesman. Most of these photographs are the cropped, passport or smaller size, severe faced Mrs Thatcher, set in beside the leading article or the editorial. The most striking picture, noted earlier was the photomontage of a royal Victorian Mrs Thatcher which illustrated the Victorian Values supplement in 1983. Also noted was the Georgian aspect of these values. The image and her severe, almost basilisk stare, brought together so many of the criticisms beginning to be voiced at that time - the pre-eminence, the regality, the aggressiveness. The picture served as a many faceted censure.

The Punch pictures for 1983 were quite different. Mrs Thatcher was shown alone, smiling and in one a small crown had been drawn in. In another she stands near Yuri Andropov. There are no dates or details given and again these are illustrations alone. In the same publication as the Russian leader's picture, Simon Hoggart notes that Mrs Thatcher suffers P.M's syndrome, "... a belief that if you surround yourself with popular heroes you will, somehow, become in touch with the people". The Wembley rally was a fortnight later. This syndrome is obviously related to Boorstin's indicators.

From the limited entries in this Table we find that Private Eye used several cover photographs for their satirical comment on Mrs Thatcher - much is left to the eye and intellect of the beholder. Punch preferred the anonymous illustration technique with positive overtones; Mrs Thatcher smiled. New Statesman made most use of the minimal context section, rather like the Daily Mirror 1987, but compounded much censure in one photomontage. Visual critical imagery also appeared in other forms in these publications, the photographs did not stand alone.

To complete Quantitative matters we can sum up briefly at this stage. In the daily papers Mrs Thatcher's percentage of total photographs at each election was higher in the Tabloids than the Broadsheets, as one would expect. However, her personal photographs totally outnumbered party political ones in all the dailies. In most cases the 'smiling' figures were 50% or more of her total, except in the Labour press of 1987. Where the Daily Express totals in other chapters were lower than expected, here there were the highest at each election. Mrs Thatcher's totals in the Broadsheets increased slightly across the elections, the Daily Mirror figures fell, then rose massively for 1987.

The situation was rather different with the Sunday papers. Particularly noticeable were the very limited smiles in three papers. The Observer had almost all 'smiles' in a high total for 1979, and although the figures fell markedly, the proportion of 'smiles' remained high. Mrs Thatcher's percentages of the total election photographs were considerably lower than in the dailies - mostly below 20% - though not in the Express. But even here 26% was the highest, and overall the Sunday profile was not like the Daily one.

Photographs and 'smiles' were also very limited in the Periodicals. Even the election totals are limited. The lack of photographs is partly due to format, and the use of other graphic images, particularly in the satirical publications.

As we know, the use of photographs in publications is illustration for specific purposes - sometimes format, sometimes political. The Broadsheets used a range of photographs in the four chosen categories, with a range of topics in photo-opportunities, events and visits. The Tabloids made little use of press conference material, but otherwise also spread their photographs. The Daily Mirror used the minimal context photographs for particularly critical purposes in 1987.

The limited number of photographs in the Sunday press reduced the possibility of using all four categories. For obvious reasons press conference material was almost entirely missing. All the papers made relatively more use of the minimal context photographs - though not like the Daily Mirror - than the other categories.

There were very limited possibilities for the Periodicals. Private Eye preferred photo-opportunities and events for the front cover. New Statesman and Punch preferred minimal context, but for different reasons.

We turn now to Qualitative matters, and consider some of the personal details in the photographs as they apply to Mrs Thatcher, and some of the image changes.

The Image in the Photograph

The Image in the photograph, whether contrived or spontaneous, has a message of some kind for observers. Mrs Thatcher appreciated that fact by February 1975 when she became Conservative leader, and posed for photographers at Central Office.

"... she grouped the horde of photographers in front of her in a large semi-circle. With a radiant smile she revolved slowly from right to left to ensure that each photographer could take a perfect full-frontal picture". (Cockerell, Hennessy and Walker 1984 : 191)

A photograph of Mrs Thatcher with this phalanx of photographers appears in Hugo Young's "One of Us". The picture is captioned "Transfigured by cameras ...". (Young 1990 : 128/129) With the exception of a few minor details the photograph could have been taken at any of the next three general elections. It has characteristics in common with many subsequent pictures: Mrs Thatcher, the centre of male attention, immaculately dressed and

coiffeured in control of the situation and apparently unperturbed. Writing later of this event Cockerell notes: "(she) faced rows of television and press cameras with total composure". (Cockerell 1988 : 219) It could be argued that decisiveness in a new role is vital, therefore the need to communicate conditioned Mrs Thatcher's behaviour, since establishing her image was essential for her reputation with party colleagues. (Seymour-Ure 1987 : 3) Gordon Reece maintained that although he gave her advice, Mrs Thatcher was responsible for her own image. As many writers have recorded, although there were other women MP's at Westminster there has never been a role model for Mrs Thatcher. Other women leaders belonged to other cultures. Using still photographs from the Conservative leadership election and from three successive general election campaigns as bench marks, the development of the 'Thatcher image' is striking. With an approximate four year interval between each event, not only are the most obvious personal changes recorded, but also the significance of those changes becomes more apparent. Some of them are "trigger images" - those the mind can hold. It is not really a case that over a period of twelve years Mrs Thatcher changed out of all recognition, rather that, to quote the advertising system, a new improved model was developed regularly.

Significant changes in Mrs Thatcher's image began in 1975 with the disappearance of the striking hats. Indeed, The Hat, had become her trademark, although hat, gloves and handbag were essential for any woman of any class wishing to be seen as "correctly" or "properly dressed for going out".⁵ It was part of the social mores of the era in which she grew up.

The austere background and upbringing ensured that Margaret Roberts was always dressed 'with propriety' or 'decorum'. John Mortimer, amongst many others, has noted what might be called an inverse snob factor, whereby the lower people are on the social scale the more

⁵ It might be argued that this did not really apply to working class women. Photographs of shopping queues during the 1940's, or shopping with more freedom in the 1950's, show a surprising range of head coverings worn by a selection of the population.

JOHN VOOS



Currant affairs: Margaret Thatcher, waist deep in a black-currant field, takes the long view of a conservation reservoir at Appleford Farm, Rivenhall, Essex, during her campaigning yesterday.

The Independent May 1987

obsessed they become about appearance and accent when they seek and achieve upward mobility. For Mrs Thatcher the still photograph recorded the progress of the image, as television and radio recorded the voice and accent. The 'Tory lady in a hat' image therefore has its roots in class consciousness and upward mobility. (Webster 1990 : 43) The hats and the hairstyle were all part of the need to be accepted as a 'Tory lady' both at grass roots level and by those in the party hierarchy. It was a necessary part of the new image for someone with her background and education. (York 1980 : 88) Without establishing this particular image Mrs Thatcher might never have been taken seriously by any of the Selection Committees she faced when seeking a constituency. Ironically, this image had to be set aside once she became party leader, because until then no 'Tory lady' had achieved that position. (York 1980 : 89) An entirely different image had to be developed which gave a new signal and a new message, compatible with her new role. This might have created further problems; should she look for a role model or trust her own judgement in presenting herself? She trusted her own judgement, but took advice on presentation for the media and the campaigns. The regal role developed later.

Hats did not entirely disappear from Mrs Thatcher's wardrobe. Photographs of her wearing hats for official functions and state occasions still appeared, some provoked comment - some did not. One distinctive hat worn in 1983 at the Trooping of the Colour reappeared in 1987 in the cover photograph for 7 June. (Sunday Mirror) In the 1983 picture Mrs Thatcher is smiling happily and acknowledging congratulations for her second election win. 'Royal Salute' was the headline (on page 2), and 'standing ovation' in the caption. The 1987 photograph, referred to elsewhere, had a banner headline 'Why?' and queried the value of her flying trip to Venice.

Photographs of Mrs Thatcher's 'meet the people' excursions show a variety of headcoverings all suited to the situation and the image being presented at the particular location. Country visits often require a scarf; driving a JCB or similar requires a hard hat; the production line calls forth various protective caps. They are all part of the 'image for

the moment', some are necessary for safety or hygiene reasons, and yet there is still the echo of being 'correctly dressed' although as we know, journalists wrote of 'dressing-up' events.

With the removal of the hat from the Thatcher image, the hair style came under critical attention. In May 1976 Mrs Thatcher changed her hair style and caused no small amount of interest. Some of the press suggested it was the first major decision she had made since taking office as Tory leader. (York 1980 : 87) It would probably be nearer the truth to say that with increased television appearances, and more photographs published, Mrs Thatcher herself could see that a fresh and more contemporary style was needed. Creating a new image, was part of establishing herself in the prominent position she had somewhat unexpectedly achieved.

"The old hairstyle would have suited a rather kitsch rococo shepherdess ... it expressed ... the quintessential nature of Tory womanhood. It was hard and set and classy and old-fashioned and ceremonial. In its rigid 'femininity' it was a sort of hat substitute." (York 1980 : 87)

Like the hat, and for exactly the same reasons, the hairstyle had to go. Yet all the while there were still the confusing messages from the visual image. It is surprising to find that two nicknames which later became so familiar were first recorded at the times of the two personal changes mentioned : Boadicea in 1975 and the Iron Lady in 1976. The names were provoked by verbal images projected by Mrs Thatcher herself and not the visual image of any photograph. As can often be seen later, the visual and verbal images did not match.

Although the new hair style was "more active looking" and a vast improvement, Peter York suggests it was hardly up-to-date.

"What Mrs Thatcher has taken up is a hairstyle of the early 1960's, instead of one better suited to a star of Gainsborough films. This hairstyle is one favoured by smart middle-aged ladies of a powerful kind ... it has power and authority without the deadly Tory overtones. It expresses the real Mrs Thatcher very much better than the original." (York 1980 : 90)

As the style changed so the colour was 'adjusted'. By 1983 the Daily Express (23 May) commented on the softer style and the gentle gold colouring which flattered the facial bone structure and excellent skin. What was increasingly noticeable by 1987, and even more defined by mid-1990, was the stiff and bouffant hairstyle which returned. This is no revival of the 'hat substitute', it is, yet again,

"... a move from one consciously created look to another (which) has a powerful symbolism." (York 1980 : 87)

The style resembles an aureole, and some might call it a crowning move.

As noted earlier, commentators, journalists and photographers sometimes not too subtly, recorded the increasingly royal attitudes and statements after the Falklands: the pale gold coronel fitted the image - and it was worn daily. If any kind of cult existed in the mid to late 1980's, then the icon was well crowned. (Webster 1990 : 72, 114) The rigid inflexibility of the style was also likened to her personal attitudes to many political matters. By August 1990 published advice said a change of hair style was urgently needed, since the lacquered shape made her look like Dame Edna. (Maddox, Daily Telegraph, 15 August 1990) "Bouffant equals hair spray equals rigidity and insensitivity to the environment". (Maddox *ibid*) It seems a strange return to the 1960's from early 1990 by a powerful world stateswoman.



Mrs Thatcher's Revolution
Peter Jenkins 1988

By a strange irony, Mrs Thatcher was being advised on her wardrobe for the 1979 general election by a Tory lady, Lady Guinevere Tilney. A "... selection of appropriate items from her wardrobe was being proffered. (Wintour and Rogers, *New Statesman*, 27 April 1979) Gordon Reece already advised her yet the photographs are not very inspiring. He recommended a tunic style with a blouse. Nothing could be more reminiscent of school uniform, or the old traditional gym slips. Tunic dresses were in fashion in 1979. Some were more elegantly designed than others. Mrs Thatcher looks mature and matronly, and 'Mumsy'. She looks like the image she was broadcasting for herself - the competent housewife and homemaker. The press verbal images of 'passionate politician' or 'fervent crusader' are not matched, for example by the front page photograph of her wielding an outsize broom.

Mrs Thatcher also liked dressing in suits, the feminine version of the male business suit. With them she wore blouses with frills, or bows or both, as well as the double string of pearls, her earrings and lapel brooch. According to the *Semiology of Dress*, or non-verbal communication, this 'clutter' with a 'uniform' sends confused signals to the observer, and negates any aspiration to power. For a woman determined on a powerful position in a predominantly male bastion, Mrs Thatcher was projecting the wrong image; it lacked impact and conviction. However, by 1983 the image had been dramatically updated. Success had given her power and confidence, and she apparently "adored" the job. The 1983 photographs show a slimmer and very different looking person in more flattering and youthful looking clothes, although sometimes the fussy dressing style returns. The smile is enhanced by the cosmetic dental work. A *Daily Express* article (23 May) entitled 'Four years on and looking ten years younger' is part of a centre page feature, with two accompanying photographs to reinforce the argument. (Jackie Modlinger)

An alternative opinion in the *Guardian* (2 June) suggested that with expert guidance Mrs Thatcher consciously used the *Semiology of dress*.

"Her statement comes across loud, clear and unconfused. She wears a slightly feminised version of the male authority uniform, the well tailored suit ..." (Brenda Polan)

The Guardian (8 June) returned to the topic again, this time illustrated with a satirical line drawing of a frivolously dressed Mrs Thatcher facing an appropriately dressed CND 'sister' and a feminist. Perhaps it could be argued that stereotypes exist to be shattered.

"The Prime Minister no longer wheels out her femininity to win hearts and minds. She relies instead on an image of steely resolution. Yet there remains something bizarre about the apparently impregnable armour of this charismatic mediocrity".
(Melanie Phillips)

It can be safely assumed that the Tory Lady adviser of 1979 was no longer in attendance.

Even in 1983 there seems to have been some doubt about 'the fluffy or the toughie' image predominating, and it was further confused by the "soft, misty and 'truly sincere' look" which Gordon Reece encouraged, together with the husky, lower toned voice. Some photographs still show rather odd poses with the hands clasped just under the chin, and a winsome almost coy smile - like the old traditional pose of female soloists at a recital, only the lace handkerchief is missing. The images often look like Janet Brown impersonating Mrs Thatcher; even more ironical, they can look like Mrs Thatcher parodying herself. On the other hand it could be argued that the moment the shutter clicked it isolated 'only' one moment and one expression that was unguarded - possibly the spontaneous moment the photographers pray for.

A major change came with Mrs Thatcher's 1987 "power dressing" which attracted much attention in the quality and the tabloid press, and even in the periodicals. In some

publications it was not so much what was said, but that such a comment was made at all as part of a serious political article, and had a photograph to support the point.

"... nothing appears to have changed so much as Margaret Thatcher herself ... it has been the exercise of power which has most transformed her: in news footage of 1979 she has an air of diffidence and dowdiness which has now quite disappeared".
(Sarah Benton: *New Statesman*: 29 May 1987)

A few days later even the *Economist* recorded:⁶

"... (she) has proved the most feminine and least feminist politician. Always immaculately turned out, whatever the pressures at home or abroad ..."

There was an accompanying photograph showing Mrs Thatcher driving the family saloon, with her husband as passenger.

The quality press devoted quarter-page articles with photographs to the topic of election dressing, not only Mrs Thatcher's style but the other leaders as well. Under the title "Leaders true to you in their fashion", the Fashion Editor of the *Times* assessed the role of fashion in electioneering (8 June 1987). The full length photograph of a smiling Mrs Thatcher twice the size of the 'conservatively dressed' Mr Kinnock. The caption to Mrs Thatcher's picture: "Power dressing: Mrs Thatcher looking the part in one of her new classic Chanel-style suits". The key phrase is 'looking the part'. The accompanying article reports that:

⁶ "A Woman with a Mission". A profile. *The Economist* 6 June 1987.
NB Although this publication is not included in researched material it seemed a valuable point of reference for comparative purposes.

"The transformation visible in Mrs Thatcher's campaign wardrobe has been meticulously planned ... bows and ruffles are banished ... feminine dresses are in mothballs. Dressed like a stylish female executive Mrs Thatcher is out to show she means business ... (her) sharpened-up silhouette conveys a sharper political stance".
(Liz Smith)

The Times had another illustrated article on 25 May 1987 called "Dressing up your Image", concerned with creating 'today's ideal woman'. They did an "all change" in photographs showing Mrs Thatcher dressed as Harriet Harman, Shirley Williams as Mrs Thatcher and Harriet Harman as Shirley Williams. (Sally Dugan) It has to be said that the smiling faces were at odds with the changed styles, and had the readers not been told of the exchange, one could have said with certainty that 'something' was not right. The image of each woman was not what one had come to expect.

The Sunday Times (7 June 1987) had a similar type of article headed "Power dressing" which considered Mrs Thatcher's U-turn in her style of dressing, all thanks to Aquascutum and its director Marianne Abrahams. The photographs show a selection of Thatcher outfits. From 1973: "... the overall impression being a prize example of Fortress Thatcher ..."; in 1983: "Mumsy: back in power"; compared with 1987: "... campaigning in East Anglia in an Aquascutum (Chanel style) suit". The article also considered that confidence was the key to the new Thatcher image; the original "frumpishness" resulted from personal concern over the kind of image a female leader should project. (Maggie Drummond) It is the problem of the role model commented on earlier. Regal attitudes are one matter but regal dressing was not to be imitated. The power of the Queen, or the Queen Mother does not need to be in their statement of dress, it lies elsewhere. Mrs Thatcher cannot afford to appear changeless.

Thatcher's way of putting on the style

By Ian Ball in New York
A SIDE of Mrs Thatcher few probably suspect — her delight at being named in the International Best Dressed List, her intense interest in wardrobe matters and what she calls "my personal style"—emerged yesterday from a letter she wrote to the organiser of the list.



Mrs Thatcher in a collarless, V-necked, pin-striped navy suit, at Brighton yesterday

Daily Telegraph 13 October 1988



Mrs Thatcher — aphrodisiac of the unattainable

"The new Thatcher look is not particularly feminine - it is essentially strong, bold and purposeful, and stuff the little-woman image". (Brenda Polan)

The Guardian, 30 May 1987, had a photograph of the new style, new silhouette, and one of the Chanel suits, captioned: "Mrs Thatcher - aphrodisiac of the unattainable". The accompanying one-eighth page article suggested that this image of "... quite terrifying and intimidating chic ... is sharp-edged, totally refined and purposeful". This is the image of power dressing, and bears no resemblance to royalty. This, arguably, is the Iron Lady image finally achieved. The same article seemed to have the gravest doubts about whether some captains of industry ...

"... in their cinch wasted chalk-stripe three pieces (could) ever relate to Mr Kinnock, a person who would wear a brown suit in town".

The Guardian apparently had no doubts on the importance of the leaders' images expressed through mode of dress. It was most interesting to find this thought across the range of papers and periodicals researched, rather than in the tabloids only, as might have been expected.

Probably the most potent symbol of all was the handbag. The shape and size rarely changed throughout the 'political' years, and was only exchanged for a smaller, more delicate version for evening dress events. Mrs Thatcher, like the Queen, always carried a handbag. It is doubtful whether Her Majesty's ever held more than her glasses and a handkerchief; the Lady in Waiting kept the essentials. Mrs Thatcher's developed a symbolism all it's own and certainly contained a good deal, like the briefing papers from an unknown source, written in green ink - mentioned earlier - used as a method of Cabinet control.

The modern handbag developed from the delicate reticule of the late eighteenth century - then labelled 'a ridicule' by cynics - via the Victorian carpet bag of venerable proportions. A Nanny symbol, it was guaranteed to contain a sovereign remedy for everything tiresome. Later influences came with women's emancipation, social usage and developments in technology. (Foster 1982 : 79) Capacious handbags were particularly in vogue in the 1950's at the time when Mrs Thatcher sought to establish herself politically, and they remained 'in style' for the older woman during the 1960's against youthful market trends. (Foster *ibid*)

Mrs Thatcher's handbag goaded colleagues, the media and foreign leaders into inappropriate comment. Her statements about, and treatment of many generated a new verb - to handbag - meaning variously to flatten, dispose of, or otherwise annihilate any opponents or their perceived obstructiveness.⁷ The handbag was her secret weapon and a peculiarly personal symbol, almost a badge of office. It replaced the male briefcase - for an executive woman, serving as a portable identity and repair kit. (Lurie 1981 : 243)

Nicholas Ridley's handbag statement, noted earlier, was rather like a verbal cartoon - the serious comment in a humorous form. Most important of all, Mrs Thatcher's handbag was intimidating and a recognised symbol of power. As a shield and barrier it isolated her and kept people at a respectful distance from the icon.

CONCLUSION

The photograph gives credence to the occasion portrayed and provides the readership with instantly assimilated information. It can also personalise the politics and the message. Through showing one isolated moment it may mislead, misinform or perpetuate untruth.

⁷ For berating purposes and sometimes curmudgeonly behaviour, perhaps the nearest parallel is Gile's "Grandma".

Photographs in news publications may illustrate or supplement the text, and may even supplant the text in some cases. Similar photographs may be used differently in various newspapers due to editorial bias. The presidential-style campaigns were built around the media to an extent never seen before. As a result, the visual aspects achieved greater prominence and importance. In the press, arguably the pictorial has gained at the expense of the written word, particularly in the tabloids. (Burch 1986 : 66)

The statistics indicate that the individual image, often smiling, triumphed over the corporate and collective image. On occasion, in some publications, the unsmiling image achieved an importance of its own. The smile, or lack of it, is only part of the image, and the significant message to be disseminated. The value of accurate communications through non-verbal self presentation should not be underestimated. If the image gives confusing signals then the message may be misunderstood, and it may not inspire confidence, compensatory verbal support might be necessary. Mrs Thatcher herself confused the issue for many years with her disparate visual and verbal statements. In 1987 the situation changed, and the value of her power dressing was newsworthy on its own account, and remained so. Even in mid-1990 the Daily Telegraph considered that: "Nothing marks the Prime Minister's grasp of political reality more than her sense that clothes make a statement". (Brenda Maddox: 15 August 1990)

The photographs show clearly that Mrs Thatcher's visual image changed significantly between 1975 and 1987. One of the major stimulants for this change of image was the increasingly prominent part played by television, not only at general election times, but as a regular conduit for both the visual and verbal political message. Gordon Reece's experience was vital to deal with this development, once he became Mrs Thatcher's adviser. Developments in the media created not only the need for more news, but the news itself. Keeping the image in the public eye matched the public need for an image the mind could hold. As a party leader and then Prime Minister she was keen to maintain this prominence, if not always successfully.

Different newspapers presented the image in different ways, dependent upon their bias. However, not only was Mrs Thatcher newsworthy, her style of dressing and therefore the implicit message was also increasingly newsworthy. The Tory Lady in a Hat ultimately gave way to the power dressed Executive with the message of invincibility - until November 1990. Between those two points, however, there had been some confused and confusing messages, when the 'sartorial shorthand' was indecipherable.

The political value of 'good' visual presentation of a personality was recorded in American Presidential elections from the 1960's onwards, and later became a feature of the British election campaigns. (McGinnis 1969; Jamieson 1984; Brown 1988) By taking scrupulous care of her personal appearance, Mrs Thatcher was being far more than a well turned out woman. "... she seeks to command partly by appearing to be in command". (King 1989 : 128) Being very conscious of the impression she wished to make Mrs Thatcher controlled details not only of personal appearance, but her actions as well. Over the years, as the image was developed, redefined and polished, no part of the whole was overlooked. Anthony King argues that attending to detail, whether personal, in public life or as Prime Minister, was an essential element in the exercise of self-control and had nothing to do with vanity. It was the Iron Lady being herself. "... if one is to control others, one must first exercise self-control". (King 1989 : 128) But this self-control was labelled 'coldness' or 'aloofness' or 'a distant manner' by some politicians and journalists. "Nor, it should be added is Thatcher's concern with 'presentation of self' particularly feminine. Macmillan, to take only one example, conducted himself in almost exactly the same way ...". (King 1989 : 128)

Mrs Thatcher was responsible for her own image, and without an obvious role model she was at liberty to heed or ignore advisers and friends. It is difficult to imagine her adopting, or being concealed by an image with which she could not identify, or with one having

characteristics of which she did not approve. Barbara Castle recorded in her diary (5 February 1975)

"(Mrs Thatcher) has lent herself with grace and charm to every piece of photographer's gimmickry, but don't we all when the prize is big enough?" (Castle 1980 : 303)

This begs the interesting speculation of who does the exploiting when a 'personality' co-operates with the media. Manipulation of the image is a two-way process, with the camera as an accessory.

Jenny Craik argues that Mrs Thatcher, aided by the 'transformative nature' of television, helped to foster a schizoid image, albeit unintentionally, by defining herself as:

"... the Iron Lady, the Instinctive Woman, and the Homemaker. The apparent incompatibility of these three roles has been consistently challenged by the success of television performances and leadership style of combining strident rhetoric with an increasingly 'fluffy' image." (Craik 1987 : 82)

Although the argument particularly concerns the effect of television on the Thatcher image, the points may equally apply to the images and reports in the press. Journalists and TV crews are frequently at the same location. As noted earlier, during the elections of 1979 and 1983 the visual and verbal images very often did not match.

By 1987, however, the situation had changed. The power enhanced Executive image much more nearly matched the verbal images, and the personal rhetoric. The 'fluffy' image had gone and the press, both quality and tabloid, gave critical approval of the 'new look Thatcher'. As the image became more positive it became even more powerful and

challenging, and using the media was an integral part of the process. This looked like the Iron Lady.

One of the reasons for Mrs Thatcher being so distinctive in, and dominating, many photographs is simply due to the absence of other women. The eye is drawn to the only woman among men, even if she is not, as it were, centre stage. Minette Marrin points out that in office and in political life "... whether through lack of choice or out of misogyny common among powerful females ..." there have been few women surrounding Mrs Thatcher. (Spectator 15 April 1989) Very many press photographs reinforce this point. It is the single female and her image which together make the impact, "... suggesting an almost mythic role:." (Marrin, *ibid*) The problem with myths is that they encourage half truth, untruth, or fabrication, and the camera may, inadvertently, assist the process. Political bias may also aid and abet the development of the phenomenon.

It might be argued that Mrs Thatcher could have left the 'image' to itself and concentrated only on substantive politics. (As Mrs Golda Meir and Mrs Indira Gandhi apparently did). Women's fashions change regularly so she would never have looked 'unfashionable' - dowdy perhaps, or even still 'Mumsy'. If the rhetoric remained unchanged then there would still have been the chasm between the visual and verbal images. Brenda Maddox, however, pointed out three crucial factors which demand care of the image. A female political leader, a world Stateswoman, cannot ignore her appearance; she cannot be changeless, like royalty; and her flawed appearance would always be newsworthy. (Daily Telegraph 15 August 1990). The camera showed all too clearly the housewife image at one stage, whilst the crusading and challenging rhetoric was being reported which suggests Mrs Thatcher chose or was guided into the wrong images to start with. In the absence of a role model, and given her background, it seems there was no choice, and no need of one.

"Her posture as housekeeper to the nation may have become one of her greatest clichés but it is none the less genuine for all that; she clearly believes in her housewife homilies ..." (Marrin op cit)

The final image of the powerful, invincible Executive and world leader encouraged an element of isolation and distance. "To the public at large, she often appears cold, mannered, slightly inhuman ..." (King 1989 : 129) with the smile that could chill a daffodil.

Yet the smile is normally a positive or constructive gesture in non-verbal communication, and it may help sway public opinion - though probably not on its own. With the exception of the periodicals there were not only a large number of photographs, particularly personal ones, but a large number of smiles too, across the range of political bias. Guardian statistics showed a large number of 'Mrs Thatcher' photographs, with a good proportion 'smiling'. It was in the sharp and witty articles and the editorials where the censure was to be found, even though the photographs intimated 'this is the woman'. The Observer started with a very high proportion of 'smiles' in 1979, although this total declined steeply. Yet in 1983 and 1987 in spite of these lower figures, more of the photographs were smiling than not. Political factors could partly account for the decline in smiles in 1987. The sharp image might also have contributed, although of itself, it was newsworthy. The Mirror alone held to its bias in a particular way - as we know - in 1987.

Burch notes that modern politics of persuasion require 'more mundane activities' as well as speeches. The entire campaign "now constitutes the act of persuasion and contains within it a series of sub-operations" - the factory visit, the walkabout, the smile, the handshake - to give "an impression of the party, the policies and the leader". (Burch 1986 : 66)

With the media so actively participating in general election campaigns, since 1979, any political leader who took a laissez-faire attitude towards his/her image showed "either a

blind-spot about the intrusiveness of the media into politics or a blind optimism about their public image". (Seymour-Ure 1987 : 20) When Mrs Thatcher became Leader of the Opposition she already knew the value of a 'good' photograph. Perhaps she was fortunate in being photogenic and a persuasive performer.

Martin Keene



Manic and obsessive: from electric shocks to electoral jolts; from revolution nonsense to reshuffle incompetence, Thatcher is losing touch with reality

Mad, bad and dangerous to know

Sunday Times 29 October 1990

Conclusion

We are now in a position to pull all the threads together. This chapter will firstly trace the various strands of the transformation, and secondly review the changes in, Mrs Thatcher's image. Thirdly, it will briefly consider aspects in the development of her style of leadership, so that we can see how the diverse images reflect these changing styles.

There seems little doubt that many aspects of Mrs Thatcher's personality and strong characteristics can be traced to the Grantham upbringing and the formidable influence of her father. To this must be added the varied experiences of the intervening years until she reached Parliament, and the formative years there. Whatever she appeared to become as Tory Leader and then Prime Minister, her character was set long before Gordon Reece and others became advisers. As we saw earlier, the image-makers contend their work only helps develop such favourable characteristics as are already present. They may tone down negative habits or modify mannerisms to help improve the image, but they cannot re-create the person.

Mrs Thatcher's personal image changed dramatically through the years. By the late 1970s she had created for herself, or acquired, several images which stayed with her in some form for the next fifteen years. The most famous, and possibly her favourite, came through a foreign agency, and perhaps was more potent and perceptive as a result. 'The Iron Lady' owed nothing in origin to spin doctors, advisers or the media, and arguably they devised nothing to match it. Bestowed in pique by a Russian newspaper it eventually became an accolade. If it became a criticism in later years this can only be attributed to self determined changes in Mrs Thatcher herself.

As anticipated in the Introduction, the 1979 range of verbal images are not too definite, in spite of press partisanship, nor are they particularly critical. There are some critical comments, relatively few, found mostly in the Labour biased publications, but even there they are in a minority. On the whole the newspapers and periodicals tended to use Mrs Thatcher's own name, or an official title, or proper variations of either.

There is a little descriptive or defining imagery - such as 'Joan of Arc', 'Attilina the Hunette' or 'Girl with the Golden Larynx'. Nicknames are relatively few at this stage, although 'Iron Lady' and 'Mrs T' both appear, and the minor categories are mostly empty; Bestiary has one She-bear, which we know to be more deadly than the male, but there is little else at this time.

The Cartoons also concentrated more on Mrs Thatcher as herself, or as her alter ego, the 'Superwife' or 'Super Mag'. She engaged in various activities, or appeared as other people, to a limited extent in both cases, but there are no particularly significant images. The Bestiary contains nothing more frightening than ducks and a tortoise. Throughout there is humour and wit rather than critical comments, or other controversial matter. There are no ugly or grotesque images, that is, deliberately distorted to be incisive or cruel, and there are more cartoons than caricatures. Mrs Thatcher is shown in predominantly female roles. Notably absent at this election are the satirical strip cartoons.

The photographs mostly portray Mrs Thatcher smiling - even in the Daily Mirror. There are a limited number where Mrs Thatcher is not posing, or where she seems genuinely unaware of the photographer. The photo-opportunity and the pseudo event account for many of the locations and the resulting record of a "moment in time". On a slightly cynical note, these photographs are almost an itinerary check list for last years holiday - been there, seen that, done that. Mrs Thatcher in mufti looks variously dowdy, mumsy, or a suburban housewife, yet she was undoubtedly wearing the fashion of the day. The alternative vision is dressed up in a suitable uniform, according to the type of visit. In some pictures the "soft and misty" look advocated by Gordon Reece looks dated now and Mrs Thatcher appears to be simpering or looking coy. There were occasions when the headline or the caption was at odds with the image portrayed, giving a confused message. We know Mrs Thatcher herself added to the confusion of messages for some years with her own disparate visual and verbal images.

As expected, well defined images of Leadership are few in 1979. The statistics showed that most were personality features rather than being politically based. Mrs Thatcher was an unknown quantity as a national leader. The images available are a mixture :

'Head Schoolgirl', 'First Lady', 'governessy leader', 'one woman revolution'. The link is the dominant woman/conviction politician strand.

Arguably what belongs here also is the 'Iron Lady'. We saw that it was the name which established her importance both at home and abroad, and established also that being 'Iron' she could not be "disturbingly feminine". It also had strong positive political connotations

The Cartoonists used the door of Number 10 to indicate ascendancy, and the new airline pilot warning of a bumpy ride ahead. Photographers made their point with Mrs Thatcher either dwarfed by security men, or surrounded by them so that she was barely visible. The public were at a distance. It was only after the election victory the traditional Number 10 picture appeared.

There are great contrasts between the images of 1979 and 1983. Where the first were relatively uncritical and sometimes bland this cannot be said for the second election. Criticism and approval are expressed strongly, partly due to partisanship, but there are well defined images and some controversial matter. The tremendous swing from slight uncertainty about Mrs Thatcher, with strands of optimism in 1979, to the triumphalism and "cannot fail" factor of 1983 are quite startling.

The statistics show a big increase in the quality and quantity of descriptions. More images were required to meet the increase in the nature and type of election news. Also, Mrs Thatcher was a Prime Minister seeking re-election. Difficulties with Cabinet colleagues, policies and her diminished popularity in the opinion polls marked the intervening years, with the scales tipped dramatically by the Falklands War. By general election time 1983 Mrs Thatcher's rating was high, and almost every factor seemed to favour her from the Conservative viewpoint. The other plus factors were those recorded earlier concerning the Opposition and Michael Foot. Mrs Thatcher was virtually assured of an election win.

Much of this is implied in descriptions or images, or, else the image given is the result of these circumstances. Some balance is maintained however since there is some fairly robust criticism of the leader, the personality and the presidential-style campaign, "the hectoring

bossiness and distant arrogance". (Crewe op cit). It was shown earlier that the Guardian in particular used some subtle methods to disapprove or disparage, while other publication had different approaches. However, criticism of Mrs Thatcher was sometimes difficult without mentioning one or some of her good features also.

The Leadership images were strongly defined whether as praise or criticism, and not suprisingly they reflected the Falklands influence. It is all in sharp contrast with 1979, especially with only four years between. The images are more positive and reflect Mrs Thatcher's own gain in power, separate from the prestige of being Prime Minister. The War Leader issue raised the Warrior Queen or Warrior woman images. The first Woman Prime Minister became the androgynous leader. Regal and Historic images were used, reflecting the regal and martial tones and symbolism of Mrs Thatcher's speeches, as well as some of her newer habits and attitudes. It could possibly be argued that the tones and attitudes were partly attributable to the depth of feeling of the patriotic conviction politician and her knowledge of self worth, particularly after the Falklands. There was almost a degree of religious fervour in her leadership and in some of the support for her amongst parliamentary colleagues, in the country and many newspapers. Small wonder therefore that the word 'charisma' crept in. Given all these changes perhaps it is not surprising that Mrs Thatcher's apparent accretion of power caused concern in many quarters, some of it expressed in some of the images, also raising doubts about the nature of her leadership with the Cabinet. For example : 'Authoritarian leader'; 'one woman dictatorship'; and 'woman dictatoress'.

The graphic images had changed substantially by 1983. Many of the relatively innocuous images had disappeared, but there were considerably more new ones of an incisive nature. Not all the cartoons were critical, but there were anti-Thatcher ones in both Tory and Labour publications. There were also more caricatures - the distorted likeness - but they were not entirely grotesque distortions at this election.

Comparisons of the two main party leaders were rather different from 1979 when Mrs Thatcher, by implication or design, was 'the little woman' challenging 'Uncle Jim', The Prime Minister. By 1983 the strength, drive and modern campaigning style of Mrs Thatcher, Prime Minister, was contrasted with the weakness and infirmity of

Michael Foot, trapped in an unco-ordinated campaign. Yet even in this situation Mrs Thatcher's leadership was not always admired, as the critical images showed. For example : the non politically correct 'Falkland Penguin'; the 'Anatomy Professor'; and a 'Witch'.

In 1983 also, one particular ceremony, Trooping the Colour, gave the cartoonists vast scope for their visual précis of Mrs Thatcher and all her works. Leadership, personality, royal pretension, the campaign, the marketing, some policies and the Falklands were all included directly or by implication.

The strip cartoons were particularly noticeable in 1983, partly for the genre, but also because they provided some of the sharper criticism and caricature. The social comment in graphic form was sometimes subversive, sometimes aggressive. Mrs Thatcher's personality, leadership, use of the media, and her relationship with Cabinet colleagues were all analysed, severally or collectively, as well as how she was marketed. It is probably fair to note that at this stage the work of Scarfe, Bell and Griffin marked the opening salvos of strictures which reached near bombardment force during the 1987 election campaign. This is not to decry or belittle the work of other cartoonists - they all make their point distinctively - but rather to say that the strength of comment, even perhaps prescience, in some work tends to leave a stronger impression.

One of the fascinating features of the photographs is that Mrs Thatcher really does look younger and more lively than in 1979, and even more so than in 1975. Most of the newspapers, but not the periodicals featured these changes in some detail. By 1983 the cosmetic dental work was complete, the hair and make-up style had altered and the dress was more fashionable. On the whole the appearance is far more business-like or professional than the suburban housewife of four years earlier. A few photographs, show that this visual image change process was progressing, but not completed. However, even allowing for improvements in printing technology, most of the images do seem to bear out Barbara Castle's thoughts on adrenalin and the vitamin of power, or perhaps the love of power for its own sake.

All the publications show Mrs Thatcher smiling frequently, but there are more of the serious or unflattering shots. The photo-opportunities and the pseudo event records continued; the 'dressed-up' events are as varied as, though different from 1979, with successful industry and new technology the theme. Increasingly, however, the pictures also show the distance between Mrs Thatcher and the general public. She is 'in' the campaign bus, 'behind' a barrier, 'up' on a stage. Except for the morning press Conference, or the star studded campaign finale, she is not so often seen in or with a crowd or group of 'ordinary people'. The isolation was in part due to security measures, in part to make her conspicuous for onlookers and photographers.

The Williamsburg trip enhanced the World Stateswoman image. Standing beside the President, no longer the 'new girl', she appears confidently and comfortably centre stage. This was the type of image which Michael Foot could not counteract or off-set with his "urban rambles and traditional platform oratory". (Holme 1988.)

As the adage says : "Nothing succeeds like success". In 1983 Mrs Thatcher's image in many forms implied success : 'the Star', 'the VIP', 'the market leader', the 'War Leader'. In spite of the criticism, to elect someone else in her place at this stage would have seemed like *lèse majesté*.

The images of 1987, whilst still mainly favourable due to partisanship, were off-set by many reservations and criticisms in the Conservative publications, and considerably increased antagonism in the Labour ones. The cult of personality remained, but the cracks were showing in the edifice created for, or perhaps by, the media biased campaign in the 1983 election. There were implicit warnings that those on pedestals should always be prepared for a fall.

After a further four years in office Mrs Thatcher enjoyed increased status and fame abroad as senior, long-standing World Stateswoman. At home the intervening years were once again eventful, though not always favourably so, at a time when it might be expected she would consolidate her position. Media attention from 1982 onwards was such as to iconise her - but the true icon does not have feet of clay. (If icons have feet at all)

There was no Falkland factor, but after a year long confrontation with the miners and

Arthur Scargill, the crusading spirit was undiminished. However, arbitrary treatment of Cabinet colleagues and the dramatic resignation of two prominent members fuelled allegations that Cabinet government was being undermined by Mrs Thatcher's "presidential" intentions. The Westland affair left her in a particularly vulnerable position, and it also called into question the role and influence of Bernard Ingham.

By general election time feelings 'for' or 'against' Mrs Thatcher had intensified; there was little indifference to her. Her dominant high profile as a fountainhead, ensured that success and failure were seen as hers alone, though she claimed only favourable outcomes of her government's programme.

Statistics in earlier chapters show significant changes in the images of 1987, in particular an increase in the type of critical comment. Mrs Thatcher's own name and official title are used to a greater extent, with much more emphasis on personality and character than in 1983. The daily papers and periodicals made some use of the minor categories, particularly the historical section, but many of the references are unflattering.

It is particularly noticeable that personal criticism increased in all the Editorials during this campaign. There is no trace of the benign, magnanimous or approving comments of the earlier elections; even the style of fault-finding changed. The Conservative biased publications became critical, in varying degrees; the censure and disparagement in the Labour biased ones increased greatly.

There are fewer, and rather different references to leadership this time than in 1983 - though the Falkland factor was not quite extinct. The uncompromising androgyne, the powerful executive, the Warrior, the Regal leader images almost overwhelm any feminine comments. By implication, Mrs Thatcher is still "the best man in the Cabinet", though other images support the impression of dictatorship in some degree. As we know, she enjoyed being Prime Minister and relished - even rejoiced in the power and prestige. This is reflected in some opposing representations. In many of the political leadership images it is possible to trace the TBW factor.

The Cartoonists' observations were considerably more critical than in 1983. The use of satire and caricature increased and both seemed sharper and more cruel than before. Some were quite savage. Several of them borrowed a theme or image from the "Spitting Image" programme, but for many it was a case of using extremes - often Draconian ones, quite different from 1983 - to make their point, particularly in the strip cartoons. Dinosaurs and related monsters were not only prehistoric but had nasty habits, were very ugly, had human features and were destructive in modern ways both physically and verbally. Mrs Thatcher appears as not particularly feminine. Hitler and other tyrants directed battles and campaigns of varying types, subduing protest and population alike aided by familiar faced supporters. In these representations Mrs Thatcher in male attire has an affinity to the TV latex model mentioned above, but it does not match for the verbal description of the "best man" variety discussed elsewhere.

Several of the cartoonists re-used earlier themes or images - on the repeat prescription principle. Gerald Scarfe made Mrs Thatcher's 'beak' appear sharper, and even more dagger-like than before; a hatchet faced Queen Margaret III "passed by on the other side". Steve Bell's Talking Head with manic eyes not only self destructed but took the studio with her.

Familiar images not drawn to excess also appeared, so that although any cartoon represents only one side of an argument, not all the arguments were of the sledgehammer variety, and not all cartoons were critical, or caricature. Some Bestiary images, for example, contrasted in size and statement with the mighty monsters by being 'ordinary' in name, if not perhaps quite so in representation. The Iron Lady/Formidable Female appeared in various forms and the Housewife stereotype made a limited appearance. Mrs Thatcher appeared as herself in situations which often seemed to parody the pseudo-event or photo-opportunity.

Cartoons, therefore, contrived as usual to present alternative views of the news, and made their point by being witty, or wounding, or both. For some cartoonists their work represented pins in a straw doll or wax figure, but the spell was not effective on the victim. She never saw the visual images and could never be upset by them. It was the verbal images Bernard Ingham reported, and which she often found difficult to understand.

The photographs of 1987 differ markedly from earlier ones. They show the 'power dressed' Executive - the antidote to the Housewife cliché. Journalists, as we know, commented extensively. This updated modern image, though news for the photographers, was ignored by the cartoonists. They retained the traditional tabs of identity, which is a way of pricking pomposity or keeping the mighty down to size, in the eyes of the population. But 'The Executive' photograph more nearly matched the verbal images of 1987, and Mrs Thatcher's own rhetoric. Visually and verbally, any remaining vestige of "the Dresden shepherdess" or "the fluffy" finally disappeared. The new image was "the toughie" - the strong, resolute woman.

The positive image had power but it isolated Mrs Thatcher. As the only woman in a group in many of the photographs, even when not centre stage, she was the dominant figure and cannot be missed or overlooked. Alone in other photographs, many unsmiling, there is a hardness of the features which may be labelled resolution, determination, arrogance or indifference according to the bias of the publication. However these images are labelled, in some way they support the icon or the myths.

As a Leader and a World Stateswoman, Mrs Thatcher's appearance had to support the fact. She was not Royalty, for all her regal attitudes. She could not ignore her appearance or be changeless. The Iron Lady had to look the part - and arguably she finally did. By 1987 she was the consummate performer. The smiles may have decreased, but Mrs Thatcher had no blind optimism about her public image.

Relationships : The Image v The Politician

Turning now to specific points and taking first the relationship between the images and actual behaviour - did Mrs Thatcher grow into an image? Put simplistically, it does seem so, but an important part of the change comes from the development in her style of leadership.

Press descriptions of Mrs Thatcher in the early 1970s, the 'Milk Snatcher' days, were often of the self-righteous variety, or else conventional descriptions of a stereotype 'Tory lady', with middle class attitude and statements. In the photographs, apart from the

famous hats and the 'smiling for the photographer' aspect, there are signs of trying to make a good impression - though this could equally be interpreted as gaucheness, or self-consciousness. From 1975 onwards Gordon Reece began to change much of this, and the Housewife image proliferated, remaining in the repertoire for many years. Mrs Thatcher regularly reminded everyone of her dual roles. Together with the Iron Lady, these are the first of many contradictory symbols.

In view of what came later it is interesting to find Boadicea having the briefest mention in 1975, but she then disappeared until 1982. The Iron Lady appeared in 1976 and remained in regular use. Arguably what was first implied by this nickname changed between 1976 and 1990; it started as a nickname but became an accolade and title. The strongly worded speeches which provoked the name could have been politically empty sound and fury, no more than the Leader of the Opposition making sure she was not upstaged. The Russians chose to take her seriously, thereby giving her kudos and standing denied elsewhere. The power aspect was not apparent in the mid 1970s images whereas it has everything to do with them throughout the 1980s.

There were no indicators in 1979 as to how Mrs Thatcher would turn out if she became Prime Minister. There could, perhaps, be a case made for a 'confrontational style of leadership' drawing on Mrs Thatcher's way of ministerial management of the Department of Education, discussed earlier. This would have to be set within the context of it being her first full ministerial position, but only a junior member of the Cabinet. A further difficulty would be her lack of a senior ministerial post (eg one of the big three) to give a balanced comparison of style.

Journalists had to 'hedge their bets', as it were, in 1979 with relatively bland even uninspiring images, with the exception of the Daily Telegraph which already seemed to have a worshipful approach. As we know, the surprise in 1975 was that Mrs Thatcher became Conservative party leader. A further surprise for some in the party was that she remained party leader until 1979 - her selection being seen as no more than a temporary move until a more suitable man 'appeared'. Put another way : Perhaps the biggest surprise of all was not so much that a Grantham grocer's daughter sought to climb the greasy pole - there were other Tory MPs with an equally modest background - but that a

Conservative woman MP was able to do so in the party of tradition, grandees and paternalism. Once she became Leader the strength of her 'convictions' were rather less than gale force blasts, though firmly expressed, and Thatcherism in full scale was yet to come. Shadow Cabinet colleagues believed traditional Cabinet government, with the leader as Chairman, would continue when the Party was returned to power ¹. It probably did not occur to them that 'conviction' in this instance meant leading from the front, because this leader knew what was right and what was needed and was determined that everyone else should know as well.

The Housewife image was meant to broaden the appeal not only to women voters, but to give Mrs Thatcher countrywide appeal. She was meant to seem 'ordinary' yet an achiever in being able to combine dual roles, and look attractive with it. Mrs Thatcher ably assisted the impression. The glass ceiling impediment had not then been coined, though the concept was known. Yet many writers argued (Young; Wintour and others) that in spite of this image change or perhaps because of it, she remained a southern suburbanite who may or may not have been a meritocrat and out of touch with a large proportion of the population. This almost begs a series of "what if" and questions about Gordon Reece's management of the image had Mrs Thatcher retained a Grantham accent, or had a Liverpool or Manchester accent instead. As well as being a 'Housewife', would it have made her more acceptable both sides of the North/South divide, or would elocution lessons been deemed necessary? Had the Labour Party been in Opposition and Barbara Castle unexpectedly elected to leadership, it seems highly unlikely the Housewife image would have been used, with or without a 'Gordon Reece' advisor.

As the foregoing paragraphs show, there were few indications of leadership before Mrs Thatcher's challenge for the Premiership. This fact emphasises the extraordinary gulf between the person and the images up to 1979 and the development of a leader and her images by 1983.

Economists and others have argued that even without the Falklands War probably Mrs Thatcher and the Conservatives could still have won the 1983 general election,

¹ Mrs Thatcher was probably aware of: "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams Thou shalt not harken".
Deuteronomy 13 v 1

though not with a landslide. Inflation fell from 22% to 12% by the end of 1982, in January 1983 there was an upturn in the economy, the Government's popularity increased together with other related factors (Sanders, Ward and Marsh 1988). Therefore, the economic improvement and the 'feel good factor', together with the disarray in the Labour Party and the media projected image of Michael Foot probably would have ensured Mrs Thatcher continuing as Prime Minister. The Falkland factor might be seen as just the icing on the cake, except that it gave a new dimension to Mrs Thatcher's leadership and images. At the time it gave rise to a vast number of descriptions and many Churchillian allusions, some of which re-appeared during the 1983 campaign. The media-led cult of personality had its roots here.

The 1983 images include a wide and assorted range of formidable women, but arguably a transformed Iron Lady, no longer a nickname but the epitome of powerful leadership and an icon. Though the words were not her own, they were what she meant and thought in "The Lady's not for turning". In 1982 Enoch Powell had used the Iron Lady theme to question Mrs Thatcher's sagacity on the eve of the Falklands conflict. He used it again to compliment her on the successful outcome of the campaign and the quality of her leadership. There were those critics who thought otherwise of the whole enterprise and the Leader. Probably the most famous is Tam Dalyell who continued his protest for many years. In 1983, amongst the cartoonists, Steve Bell also had a statement to make on the Falklands and the Iron Lady within the context of the election. He saw her as a penguin - a leading lady in a non-politically correct show. The penguin is an elegant looking bird until it moves, or make a noise.

What seems to be out of line with the verbal images at this stage are some of the photographs showing a still "mumsy" appearance. It has to be said that in 1983 some of Mrs Thatcher's outfits are less than flattering, even if many other aspects of her appearance and presentation had been improved. A good example, quoted previously, was her early morning arrival from Williamsburg after an overnight flight looking "bandbox fresh", and the dowdy appearance two hours later on the way to Parliament; Mrs Thatcher had changed a suit for a dress, unfortunately. Writers and journalists have noted that professional women, because of their sex, are expected to be not only business-like and decisive but elegant and attractive as well, whereas professional men in their

'uniform' suits are never faced with such a problem. Yet for a woman, too much attention to appearance draws unwanted comment, but good grooming is critically inspected. Mrs Thatcher's good grooming was frequently commented on in a variety of publications, together with her briskness, brusqueness and her long working day.

In the 1987 campaign the photographs and many of the verbal descriptions are all of a piece. Mrs Thatcher seemed convinced of her invincibility and invulnerability, though aspects of the Conservative campaign nearly proved her wrong. She had also finally found the 'uniform' which complemented the image she wished to project, of power and authority, the isolating, but 'Iron Lady look' perhaps. In little more than eight years she had gone from "old-fashioned Tory Woman" to glamorous power executive. (Thomas 1994) Not all the verbal images were favourable, as was shown. Alternative descriptions of Mrs Thatcher as Premier and Personality were based on historic and modern examples of the dark side of charismatic leadership - despots and tyrants among them. Several cartoonists also followed this theme, when Mrs Thatcher appeared in her male persona.

There is a certain irony in the fact that when finally an apparently definitive image of the Politician and Personality appeared - one to Mrs Thatcher's liking, at least - there were also uncomfortable murmurs, variously expressed, of instability in edifices or falls from pedestals, flaws in the charisma and monomania. It should be remembered that the criticism and unease expressed was not all in the Labour press. It is a far cry from the Dresden Shepherdess of 1975 and the Housewife of 1979. The cynical might see it as the beginning of the denaturing of an iron construct.

Images and Reality

We turn now to compare 'reality' with the images just reviewed and consider other factors affecting changes in the Leadership images. Fundamental changes occurred, arising from Mrs Thatcher's relationship with Cabinet colleagues, and the nature of her authority; which influenced the images of her power. There is also a lesser known, or often ignored, alternative view of the private woman which tends to be overshadowed by the public 'big persona'. The private image, because so different, raises scepticism about its veracity.

This not to suggest a split personality here, or a Jekyll and Hyde character, but there does seem to be an extraordinary divide between the public and private Mrs Thatcher.

In connection with this latter point, Patrick Cosgrave notes that there usually is a difference between the private and public face of a politician, especially one with a TV image. He considers Mrs Thatcher to be one of the few people in whom the difference is so marked. "Again and again I have seen visitors who have been put off if not repelled by her public image come away from a private meeting captivated," (Daily Telegraph 4 May 1979) ¹

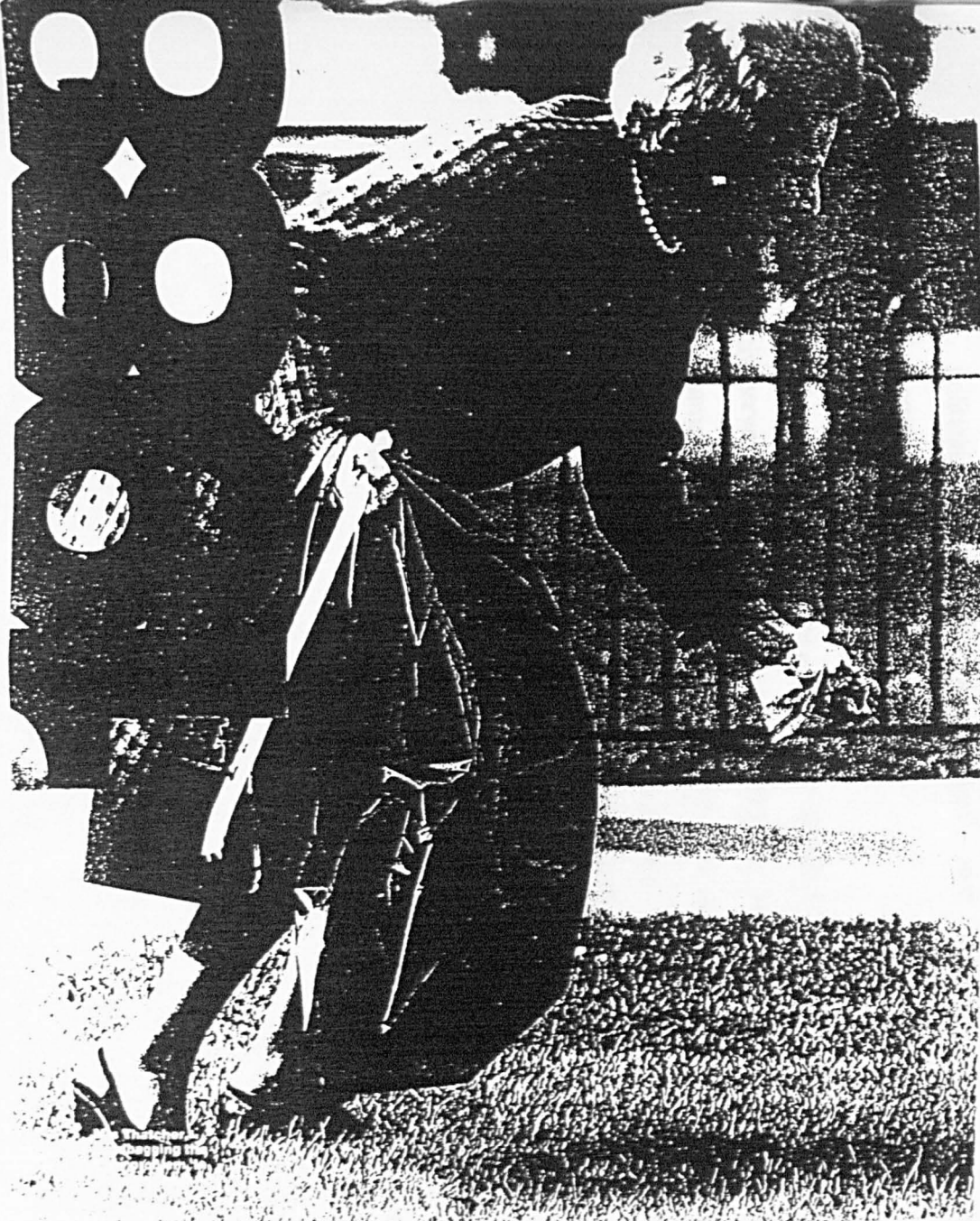
Laurence Marks also recorded

"..... although tough minded and not emotional, Mrs T (sic) is not the Ice Princess of popular legend but considerate with colleagues and unusually ¹ sensitive and tactful when their personal problems clash with political life"
(The Observer 6 May 1979)

Wapshott & Brock (1983), Young and Sloman (1986), and several others have also noted this sympathetic streak, and her kindness and devotion to a small circle of friends. This side of her image more nearly fits "the fluffy" representation noted by the press in the 1970's and early 80's. However, as the Formidable Female image became dominant both the "fluffy" politician and the more human and caring personal image eventually disappeared, certainly before 1987 if the photographs are any guide. The verbal images seem to support this premise. Yet we have to remember there is another apparent contradiction here too. The "fluffy" image only ever applied to Mrs Thatcher's appearance, never her politics. The point the press made originally was the incompatibility of the Dresden shepherdess/Housewife look and the words of the conviction politician - or the early version of the Iron Lady.

Mrs Thatcher was not a traditionalist in leadership, chairmanship or political conviction. As an assertive woman she led from the front and spoke her mind in the certain knowledge

¹ He also records that in his 1978 book about Mrs Thatcher, with the aid of a few anecdotes and private details, he "tried to convey something of (her) warmth and force of character (but) several reviewers even those well disposed towards the book, objected (to the) demeaning catalogue of incidentals about her". (ibid)



Guardian Review 1989



Nicholas Ridley 1992 "My Style of Government"



Litter, a political philosophy

Sunday Telegraph
12 June 1994

that she was right. During her years of Premiership she stretched the bounds of power fully, but was not the first leader to do so. Macmillan, for example, “controlled” his Cabinet. (Foley 1993:11) The office of Prime Minister can stretch or contract to accommodate the incumbent’s style, like an elastic band. (Jones op cit) Like her predecessors, she developed and exploited a vacuum at the centre of British politics (Holme 1988).

She had a “compulsive drive to prevail by the sheer strength of her personality” imprinting her view firmly, forcefully even emotionally.” (Foley 1993:5) She sometimes gained support for her views by mobilising party opinion over the heads of Ministers. (Burch 1984:414) As noted earlier other times statements on television during an interview sounded like policy already agreed, when no discussion had taken place. Mrs Thatcher’s Machiavellian mode was noted by colleagues and critics alike; it certainly accounts for some of the images. In the 1983 selection we saw : ‘authoritarian leader’, ‘one woman dictatorship’, ‘extremist’, ‘woman dictatoress’, ‘Fuehrerin’, ‘fanatic Maggie’ and ‘Mrs Big’. In 1987, there were tyrants and despots¹ as well as ‘Privateer Premier’, ‘domineering politician’, ‘she-who-must-be-obeyed’ and ‘authoritarian would-be Empress’, and of course TBW.

The Falklands War changed many things for Mrs Thatcher. It proved her leadership qualities, steely nerve and powers of decision making. It strengthened her influence in Cabinet and Parliament and improved her image. She was seen to have immense power and authority. It left no doubt that she was in command and intended to remain so, though there was some surprise when she took the salute at the Victory Parade in London. She was “big” and well able to confront powerful adversaries - whether General Galtieri or, later, Arthur Scargill - “in a singular deployment of individual authority and sustained intransigence”. Such notable dramas proved her mettle. (Foley 1993:3) Facing down Cabinet colleagues might not be in the same league, but she would not let them succeed where others had failed.

¹ Stalin; Hitler; Genghis Khan; Catherine the Great of Finchley.

The Image Makers' influence

Having looked at the relationships between images and reality, we can now consider how far the images reflect what Mrs Thatcher's image-makers wanted.

Between elections we know that Bernard Ingham's influence on the image, via the Lobby, was increasingly pervasive, even "circulatory" - that he even 'out-Thatchered Thatcher' (Foley ; Harris ; Tunstall op cit). His projection was always of the strong woman in command - a reinforcement of Nanny, Headmistress or Iron Lady. But being so closely identified with Mrs Thatcher meant that any of his errors of judgement inevitably reflected on her - the pedestal trembled or rocked - revealing the obverse image of the petty tyrant. Equally inevitably the depictions carried over into election time.

Ingham's relationship with Mrs Thatcher never faltered, but after 1987 as her path became increasingly difficult and her style of leadership questionable, he publicly stepped over any bounds of impartiality as her staunchest support - outside her family. (Ingham 1991:394.) Tunstall considers that by this stage there was also a decline in Ingham's own dominance as far as the Lobby was concerned. The press became less friendly towards Mrs Thatcher and towards him. He should, arguably, have warned her but may not have done so. Senior Conservative voices, among them Michael Heseltine and Nigel Lawson became more effective with the Lobby than Ingham, with attributable briefings. (Tunstall 1996:272/4.) They projected rather hostile images of Mrs Thatcher.

In general Ingham seemed satisfied with what he was doing - rubbishing, leaking and Westland notwithstanding. His presentation of Mrs Thatcher was a favourable, positive image, as he saw it. The images reviewed of Mrs Thatcher do fit in with the person Ingham was content to see emerge from his briefings, particularly by 1987. He thought he was effective. Whether he did a good job is debatable.

The marketing of Mrs Thatcher for the 1979 general election represented a "quantum leap" for political marketing as a whole. (Scammell 1995:60.) As was shown earlier, improving her image had started in 1975 under the guidance of Gordon Reece, at the time of her election to Conservative leadership. The packaging and planning gained

momentum, and with further professional guidance became the 'presidential-style' general election campaign which brought her to power. Not only did the Conservative party want to return to office, but Mrs Thatcher - the aberration or novice - would be allowed only one attempt to win an election. Some argued that the campaign needed to be different to conceal her inadequacies and lack of experience. (Butler & Kavanagh 1980:252.) Failure meant a further five years in opposition. Something strikingly different was needed.

Probably the single most effective factor in the new style campaign was the co-ordination of all the parts by media and marketing experts. (Scammell 1995:65;87.) Saatchis were

“given almost complete access to all the information available concerning party policy and research; its task was not simply to market the political party but to create a marketing strategy”. (Negrine 1989:197.)

In the communication of the message, arguably, the politicians took third place, with Mrs Thatcher in the spotlight and the experts with their detailed plans, in the prime position, organising overall. The various advisers had almost a free hand, but naturally there were discussions with the Party Chairman, Central Office and Mrs Thatcher, regarding topics for advertising and the content of the PEB's, amongst other things. For example, regarding television -

“Saatchi's instructions from Reece, acting on the leader's authority, were to 'eschew the clichés which have dominated Tory party politicals for the past decade and major [sic] on the selling of a brand in the most acceptable way' ” (Young 1990:126.)

By using television as the prime conduit for the campaign, the message could reach a national audience and, to an extent, the team and therefore the Conservative Party controlled the news and images. Political events and pictures were timed to meet the requirements of bulletins. “Reece advised that a minutes coverage on the television news was worth virtually the whole of a current affairs interview.” (Scammell 1995:80.)

The team could also draw on strategy and methods tested in the Presidential elections, the records of the successes and failures, and particularly the observations and personal experiences of Harvey Thomas and Gordon Reece, both of whom had spent time in America. The press drew on the news and images presenting them in a partisan way, but adding the comment and detailed discussion missing from much of the broadcasting.

The campaign team were marketing a new product with a new message. “Successful marketing demands the right product image if the customers’ brand loyalty is to be guaranteed.” (Franklin 1994:148.) The customer has to be convinced, but cannot be coerced. With her willing co-operation Mrs Thatcher was “packaged” and her new image projected in ways which prompted much comment in the press, both visually and verbally, and drew more criticism and some merriment from the Opposition. (Butler & Kavanagh 1980:172.)¹ It was suggested by some commentators and MPs that if all else failed Mrs Thatcher should be sold like cornflakes, toothpaste or washing powder. Others considered the commercial selling of an aspiring Premier was undignified and inappropriate. For some colleagues in the Conservative party who were not entirely happy with Mrs Thatcher as their leader anyway, this style of ‘marketing Margaret’ may have looked like trivialisation, pushing the possibility of her Premiership beyond reach, with obvious repercussions.

There was a “deadly serious purpose” behind the need to tailor the campaign using “apparently gimmicky presentational techniques. (Mrs Thatcher) entered the race as an electoral weakness”. (Scammell 1995:78.) In leadership terms she was an unknown quantity; politically, she was not as experienced as James Callaghan. During the campaign she was advised to be circumspect and not speak her mind as freely as she might have wished, even if she spoke forcefully and with conviction. Meanwhile the media and the Opposition waited for her mistakes.

Against all this Mrs Thatcher had to be seen and heard as a potential leader - a credible alternative to James Callaghan. “Elimination of risk is the guiding principle of political

¹ Adam Raphael “The Selling of Maggie” The Observer 22 April 1979
Tom Baistow “The Marketing of Margaret Thatcher” The Guardian 30 April 1979
Paul Callan “The Making Up of Margaret Thatcher” Daily Mirror 20 April 1979

marketeers.” (Scammell 1995:81.) To this end there was a carefully controlled campaign with a “personality” centre stage, in photo opportunities or pseudo events with no political content or comment; a limited number of well prepared speeches in selected venues with ‘ticket only’ audiences; TV appearances only with ‘friendly’ interviewers; no unprepared interviews elsewhere; and no TV confrontation with the Prime Minister. By the direction of Gordon Reece and Harvey Thomas all TV appearances had to have good lighting, with suitable backgrounds and camera angles, and showing Mrs Thatcher’s best profile - her left. (Franklin 1994:134,147; Foley 1993:109; Scammell 1995:80.) Many of these points were refined and used in subsequent general election campaigns. One further interesting aspect also arose from the shielding of Mrs Thatcher in 1979. The Conservatives ran a shorter, more intensive campaign than Labour, “a quiet, safety first operation”. (Scammell 1995:79.) It was considered a successful strategy and repeated in 1983. By 1987, as another safety first measure, but for different reasons, Mrs Thatcher was “saved” for the latter part of the campaign.

One view of Mrs Thatcher’s 1979 success was that the media “neutralised the issue of her political inexperience” while projecting “her personal credentials as a prospective prime minister”. Therefore, the campaign “was seen as an organisational triumph in presidential-style techniques”. (Foley 1993:109.) It was a positive form of media exploitation. The apparently negative view appeared in an isolated European edition of *The Times*.¹ It appeared to mourn the passing of the traditional campaign, overtaken by a leader’s election campaign blatantly exploiting “modern communications in public relations terms”. For a journalist, the nub of the matter seemed to be that

“the picture was the message and the message was the picture. (Adapting McLuhan). Words were at a discount. The writing press were the spears in a Shakespearian play who march on and off looking like an army”.

(Wood 30 April 79.)

Over the five week campaign period Mrs Thatcher appeared in a front page press

¹ Article by David Wood 30 April 1979

A very limited edition was published, the only appearance of *The Times* during the 1979 general election, due to strike action (mentioned elsewhere).

photograph 24 times against 9 by James Callaghan. (Bilton & Himelfarb 1980:253.) It might be said that the 1979 campaign was a triumph for Mrs Thatcher's marketing team and advisers. "Mrs Thatcher frequently queried her staff about the 'tone' of her campaign, seeking a judicious blend of the crusader and the pragmatist." (Butler & Kavanagh (1980:324.) She took the advice of her team, and though an able communicator and centre piece of the campaign, she controlled the forcefulness and aggression, and maintained the softer image.

For Mrs Thatcher, success in a presidential-style campaign assisted the image of power she wished to establish. She had become Prime Minister through a media inspired campaign which "suggested personal characteristics of leadership". (Foley 1993:109.) With personalised politics, 'the Leader' and 'the Party' became interchangeable. The Star was in the ascendant. In due course Thatcherism would replace Conservatism.

The Conservative campaign of 1983 was a larger more polished production, though not the "landmark in the development of political marketing" like its predecessor. (Scammell 1995:116.) The Marketing Department (under Christopher Lawson) had "overall responsibility for a communications strategy for the general election". (Butler & Kavanagh 1984:33.) He considered that "commercial marketing could be directly applied to selling a political party", the essential point was the communication process. (Foley 1993:110.) The message and the language should be kept simple, but should have an emotional pull, in some degree, on the audience/voters.

Many of the presentational refinements in 1983 were developed at Party conferences by Harvey Thomas. One of his guiding principles was creating the right atmosphere. "He believed image wins peoples hearts a necessary precursor to the winning of minds". (Scammell 1995:101-3.) Christopher Lawson was responsible for the most extraordinary piece of theatricality of the whole campaign. The Wembley youth rally was a daring departure possibly indicative of Conservative confidence in unusual marketing strategies; it gained Mrs Thatcher's approval and support. It represented

“a consciously planned attempt to imitate an American party convention, in order to project the Prime Minister as a directly marketable political commodity. (Foley 1993:11.)

Mrs Thatcher found the event and the atmosphere amazing and stimulating, particularly the endorsements of the show biz and sporting celebrities, and the cheers of so many young adults. Lawson also altered the Party logo. It resembled an Olympic torch and became “a new visual symbol (which) enhanced (the) corporate image”. He also ensured that Mrs Thatcher “like American Presidential candidates” had a campaign song, written by Ronald Millar (Foley 1993:111) - surely the ultimate embellishment. A propos the song : a copy of the official one went to every constituency, but no writer seems to have recorded its fate from then on, or how it was received by the faithful. However, there was a second, unofficial song, penned by the journalists who accompanied Mrs Thatcher on her daily tours. Being kept at a distance they often had no words from her, and were granted no interviews. They sang their concern and frustration.

It is very difficult to consider the 1983 campaign without some reference to the Falklands influence from the previous year. Mrs Thatcher’s political standing and world status were tremendously enhanced, and this was reflected to some extent through her image, her speeches and her regal style. Had she not been the victorious leader the marketing strategy and the whole campaign would have been markedly different. Although the campaign did not rely on the victorious war leader image, it could not fail to heighten this impression. Since she was already iconised by the Tory press, particularly the Tabloids, this also would be reflected.

By May 1983 Mrs Thatcher was well versed in various methods of image projection and ways of putting over her particular message. She was very personally involved in the techniques of persuasion, confident in what she was doing, confident that the marketing strategies she approved were correct.

“The (Wembley) rally represented the climax of the campaign to market Mrs Thatcher herself as the embodiment of the government and the symbol of its achievements.” (Foley 1993:110.)



Mrs Thatcher's take-over was complete. She had "won through" on the economic difficulties and the unpopular years and had instituted her policies. She saw the Falklands as a patriotic triumph vindicating her style of leadership, and carried it into the election. Mrs Thatcher was also assisted by the non-presidential style of the other party leaders, and their disjointed, lustreless campaigns.

Some advertising, marketing and publicity material was not approved by Mrs Thatcher, giving some indication of her control in this area compared with 1979. For example, she turned down a biographical PEB in case it seemed too presidential. She also cancelled some Sunday press advertising just before election day, and posters of 'Michael Foot, pensioner'. Earlier, in January 1983, during an election strategy meeting she seriously disagreed with David Boddy, head of the CCO press office, about the use of breakfast TV. In 1986 virtually identical arguments were repeated with Michael Dodds at another strategy meeting. (Scammell 1995:111.)

Mrs Thatcher's campaign was a personal triumph. The triumphant tone of the strategy was hers; and the image makers exploited her strength. She was the Conservative message and "dominated the media coverage of the party". Strangely, although the Conservative press idolised her, she had fewer front page photographs than in 1979 (Butler & Kavanagh 1984:91, 274); but as we saw earlier, some newspapers wittily mocked the icon. In 1979, in a watershed election, Mrs Thatcher was a crusader and pragmatist. In 1983 she was seen as the only possible Leader in the most presidential campaign ever.

It might be argued that the Conservative party won the 1987 general election in spite of their campaign strategy and Mrs Thatcher's toothache. All the lessons learned during their two previous campaigns seemed to be forgotten, and factionalism at the highest level nearly caused them to founder. They were shocked and challenged by the sheer professionalism of the Labour party campaign, which exploited some of Mrs Thatcher's techniques and introduced new ones, with the whole operation meticulously planned and steered by Peter Mandelson.

The Conservative election campaign began at the Party Conference in 1986. It was the “launch pad” for party recovery. (Butler & Kavanagh 1988:35) The early start was deemed essential to counteract poor placings in public opinion polls, and disappointing results at by-elections. (Thatcher 1995:566; Tebbit 1989:43.) The Government was not particularly popular for a variety of reasons, such as the Libyan bombing, Westland, and the Land Rover sale. After two terms in office the electorate could be looking for change; and the Miners’ Strike had produced a different reaction from the Falklands conflict. “People felt that the government had lost its way and run out of steam. The victories over inflation and the trades union bosses were now taken for granted.” (Sharkey 1989:63.)

The Saatchis, in a new departure, were given the responsibility of organising the Conference, as well as planning the election campaign advertising. For them, the most important task was to strengthen the message and freshen the image of a radical leader and her government, even though they considered Mrs Thatcher to be the Conservatives’ greatest asset. John Sharkey had the unenviable task of explaining to the Prime Minister why “new tasks were required for her phenomenal energies”. She had to have a busy, high profile campaign again. Without battles to fight, her determination, single-mindedness and strong will, all previously lauded as virtues were now perceived as stubbornness, inflexibility and an inability to listen. (Sharkey *ibid.*) Some of this argument Mrs Thatcher had heard before under the TBW guise, as we know.

By May 1987 when the general election date was announced. Mrs Thatcher had comprehensively briefed Saatchis on the message and style of advertising she wanted, regarding the positive achievements and commitments of the Conservative government. The presentation and revisions were complete, she made the final choice of items to be used, and directed the party’s advertising and media presentation to reflect what was acceptable and favourable to her.” (Foley 1993:114.)

She would continue to have a predominately “good” press, and although television was committed to fairness and balance, her daily tours were designed to be telegenic and newsworthy. (Young 1990:510.)

However, the relationship between the Prime Minister and the Party Chairman were strained, as we know, and each had a campaign team, agency and outside supporters (or 'exiles'). There were, therefore, two planning centres, No 10 and Conservative Central Office, which triggered rivalry and tension. Worse still, the successful team of 1983 on whom Mrs Thatcher relied "were all under a cloud for some reason in 1987" (Butler and Kavanagh 1988:40.) Norman Tebbit was not as adept at dealing with Mrs Thatcher as Cecil Parkinson had been in 1983. An additional problem was that by 1987 "communications" at CCO had been reassigned to several people, none of them sufficiently experienced with TV presentation to match Peter Mandelson. (Scammell 1995:128.)

Arguably the Conservative confusion resembled the Labour party campaign in 1983. Mrs Thatcher even had a personal handicap, a dental abscess which developed mid-campaign but remained untreated until after the election. (Thatcher 1993:584.) Her nervous tetchiness was commented on in the press, but it was exacerbated by too many people vying for attention on campaign matters, and an overfilled diary. It was almost too much, even with her remarkable stamina. (Tyler 1987:197.) On one matter alone - apart from the need to win - there seemed to be agreement amongst all the factions. The Prime Minister was to be saved for the last phase of the campaign, not only for a strong finish but, as noted earlier, for 'safety' reasons. It was a paradoxical situation - she was seen as both an asset and a problem. "Her party's research indicated that she should be used in small doses Few people were neutral when that familiar face loomed on to the screen." (Cockrell 1988:322.) There was concern that her forcefulness and strident tone might be seen as aggression rather than being positive and persuasive - an echo of 1979.

Mrs Thatcher was not pleased with her own photo-opportunity tours organised by CCO. These often did not match the theme for the day or were a disaster through carelessness, such as visiting a school on a Bank Holiday, or a factory in Wakes Week. The media were not getting the message they had come to expect; they walked out from an "off the record" briefing. (Scammell 1995:138.) She complained forcefully and things improved. Of the famous photograph in the blackcurrant field, she considered it "a surreal picture of splendid isolation". (Thatcher 1993:583.) But then the toothache arrived and the Thursday madness.

Black, Wobbly or Nervous Thursday - depending on the commentator - was "a crisis of confidence in the higher echelons In the middle of it, Mrs Thatcher sought to overturn Central Office's campaign strategy and radically alter the thrust of the advertising". (Butler & Kavanagh 1988:107.) Vincent Hanna announcing the results of one rogue poll in television Newsnight apparently triggered the crisis. Young and Rubicam's research added to the gloom of an already fraught situation and irritable leadership. As the figurehead to be sustained, Mrs Thatcher needed a boost to her spirits, confidence and temper. "The leader and the leader's feelings and morale were all important. The image and therefore the welfare of the party lay in her hands". (Foley 1993:113.) The situation was calmed on the Friday when a Marplan poll in the Guardian showed a steadily maintained lead.

The advertisements were changed "in the light of (her) sentiments" and the campaign ended with an even higher media profile for her, (Foley, *ibid*), toothache and overload notwithstanding. Eventually there were several versions of the events. Mrs Thatcher dismissed the day, and an unhappy but successful campaign, as simply "good old-fashioned stand-up rows" where things best left unsaid are aired in the heat of the moment. "Perhaps the creative tension was more tense than creative on occasion". (Thatcher 1993:573.)

Mrs Thatcher was again The Star in a 'presidential' campaign, all was designed around her, culminating in another Wembley Rally and a swift visit to the G7 Conference in Venice, confirming her international political standing. Butler and Kavanagh suggest that Black Thursday was a self-inflicted problem. She considered it essential to win the election with a very large majority - minimum 100 seats - to prevent 'loss of face' by only achieving a small one, perhaps less than 80. (Butler and Kavanagh 1988:252.)

One disastrous day should not be blown out of proportion or allowed to overshadow an eventually successful campaign and unique election victory. Mrs Thatcher consolidated her place in history, and remembered to raise three fingers for the photographers in her victory wave. The 102 majority, though down on 1983's total, was still a major achievement. The Times spoke of "two great, indomitable predictable forces Mrs Margaret Thatcher(and) the good sense of the majority of voters". (16 June 87.)

The opposing view regarded the win as “barely a semi-colon in the stretching sentence of the Thatcher years”. (Guardian 16 June 87.) The triumphalism which still existed in spite of the Icon’s feet of clay was summed up as “Her Victory and in the end, her personality which came to dominate (the) election”. (Tyler 1987:240.) Her “efforts left the impression of a victory that vindicated the marketing power of image projection and personal promotion”. (Foley 1993:114.)

The drawback to being such a dominant leader and having such power is that both success and failure are attributed to that leader. They become a target, “perfect material for psychological warfare”. (Vincent 1987:288.) Any setbacks are personal and potentially devastating. As Young notes, the election was a model of the personal political style by which Mrs Thatcher lived, though it “exposed the vices and virtues of the ruthless crusading leader who knew she was right and had a supreme duty to remain in power.” As she lived so was she “sometimes wishfully expected to die”. (Young 1990:508.)

Images as omens

The marketing process, like newsgathering for the media, can never stop. Once a ‘personality’ is on the treadmill there is no stepping off. The more they are in the headlines, the more often they have to be in the headlines or risk being overtaken to become yesterday’s news. “The modern publicity process could be likened to the near-irresistible force of a magnet, obliging those that enter its field to conform to its pull”. (Blumler 1990:113.) In this situation the Prime Minister’s term of office remains the ‘presidential’ campaign and never ceases. Only the general election details are missing. (Foley 1993:124; Jones 1990.)

Given the circumstances, keeping the image fresh and renewed or revitalised is difficult, and over a fifteen year span, severe problems arise - the ‘palate fatigue’ factor among them. If the image remains untouched it loses impact and becomes stale, even bland, but it may reach a stage where no further transformation is possible and all potential is exhausted.

The party leader's image appears to have some influence on the voters. After the 1987 election an exit poll showed that 6% said the one reason which decided their vote was the party leader. (Butler & Kavanagh 1988:249.) Holme refers to an "implicit personal popular endorsement of the electorate". (Holme 1988.) Having achieved a third consecutive election win, arguably Mrs Thatcher believed her publicity machine - near single-handed she could win the campaign - and her invincibility as the Iron Lady in all circumstances. She was respected though not loved for the image projected. "As long as her style brings success to her party it will be accepted, but if her luck runs out the elastic will snap back on her". (Jones 1990.)

But dissent and dissatisfaction were already developing, as we know. There was an uncomfortable awareness that the manic eye and strident tones were going to be negative factors at the next election. John Sharkey had warned of the virtues which became vices. To these could be added patriotism turning to xenophobia in view of her increasing difficulties in EC negotiations 1987 - 90, according to eminent Cabinet colleagues. (Howe 1994: Lawson 1993.) Steve Bell maintains the cracks in the image were clearly visible long before 1987, hence his use of the "manic eyes" in the Talking Head strip cartoon of May 1987.¹ Some photographs of Mrs Thatcher between 1990 -1992 bear an uncanny resemblance to his representations.

Although predictably 7 of the 11 national daily newspapers supported Mrs Thatcher's re-election, "the endorsements were less fulsome than in 1983. (Harrop 1988:163, 169.) Even more significantly perhaps, after the election "the Conservative press withdrew its affection". (Tunstall 1996:272.) It was a crucial downward step. More than any other Prime Minister she had benefited from a press bias on occasion almost bordering on sycophancy. Mrs Thatcher was probably not aware of the creeping hostility due to Bernard Ingham's peculiarly personal and very selective morning press digest. She was therefore woefully short of information on the public reaction to a variety of matters - the poll tax, for example. The reporting was not all hostile, and the tabloids maintained some images, or faithfully reported Mrs Thatcher's choice. The qualities were a little more restrained. In 1988, photographs had showed her "'hand-bagging' the litter in St James' Park". On her tenth anniversary in 1989 the photographs showed her cuddling her

¹ Personal interview

grandson, but it was at odds with her self-description as a Tigress, devoted to defending the family and the political family. The popular and tabloid press headlined the feline. (Webster 1990:170.)

Critical comments increased. In 1989 Robert Harris thought Mrs Thatcher was “mad, bad and dangerous to know”. From being a “slightly manic and obsessive person” (presumably he meant the conviction politician, the Crusader, St Joan, the one-woman revolution) she had developed “extreme crankiness even epic delusion”; no-one could convince her she was mortal, except William Whitelaw. Harris was of the opinion that her party would give her one more year to stem the series of crises, otherwise “my bet is that she will be out The big question will be : who tells her to go? Sir Geoffrey? The men from the 1922 Committee? Or the men in white coats?” (The Sunday Times 29 October 1989.)

Noel Malcolm (Spectator, 25 February 1989) implied a character schizophrenia as well as suggesting “an ideological (one) at the heart of Mrs Thatcher’s public performance,” the grassroots vision “Mrs T of Finchley, Housewife” was still to be found in basic Thatcherism. Yet “the Superstar” publicly criticised her own government for slow reactions to public need, thereby requiring her personal intervention. “ “Housewife Superstar” may be a formula for success in showbusiness - but it is no way to run a government.” This was the wrong combination of images for a powerful world leader. We met this character schizophrenia charge earlier in visual and verbal terms, expressed by Steve Bell and Jenny Craik. Ken Livingstone considered her “paranoid” about her public image and behaviour. ¹ John Jensen and Roger Law both thought delusional tendencies developed after the Falklands. ¹

In 1990 the Spectator noted that the Premier’s “faults” (were) exaggerated with the passing of the years she allows Ingham to rubbish Cabinet colleagues in a way (that is) grossly disloyal” (17 November 1990.) Watching his prediction come true Robert Harris wrote : “(with) her arrogance she has become a menace she is unfit to rule”. (Sunday Times 18 November 1990.)

¹ Personal interviews



Daily Telegraph August 1991

Daily Telegraph August 1993



Lady Thatcher: 'You have to have a spell in opposition, even if it is in opposition to your own party'

Picture: Rob Judges

The isolationist and autocratic images of 1987 did not fade away. Events and Mrs Thatcher's attitude served to reinforce them. A strong body of opinion in the Conservative party thought she had become an electoral liability by mid-term (perhaps earlier), opinion polls tended to support this view, and many felt she should have resigned shortly after the third victory. She was beginning to look "like a lame duck premier". But Mrs Thatcher recalled "coming back from the dead" before two previous elections. (Foley 1993:178.) No-one records whether Mrs Thatcher hoped the Gulf War would eventually turn into a (Falkland) factor, this time the Iron Lady and allies v. Saddam Hussein. She considered herself invincible and unassailable, presuming 'right is might' (to adapt a phrase), and most challenges could be repulsed or shouted down. Sir Anthony Meyer "tested the potential for dissent against Mrs Thatcher his challenge destroyed the aura of invincibility". (Foley *ibid.*) Sixty Conservative MPs did not support their leader, approximately 16% of the parliamentary party. It was a warning to The Star and her advisers, but it went unheeded. The culmination of all the crises came with Sir Geoffrey Howe's resignation. During his speech in the House Mrs Thatcher listened impassively, conscious as ever of the impression she created, and fully aware of media scrutiny waiting for signs of emotion. (Thatcher 1993:839; Jones 1995:83.)

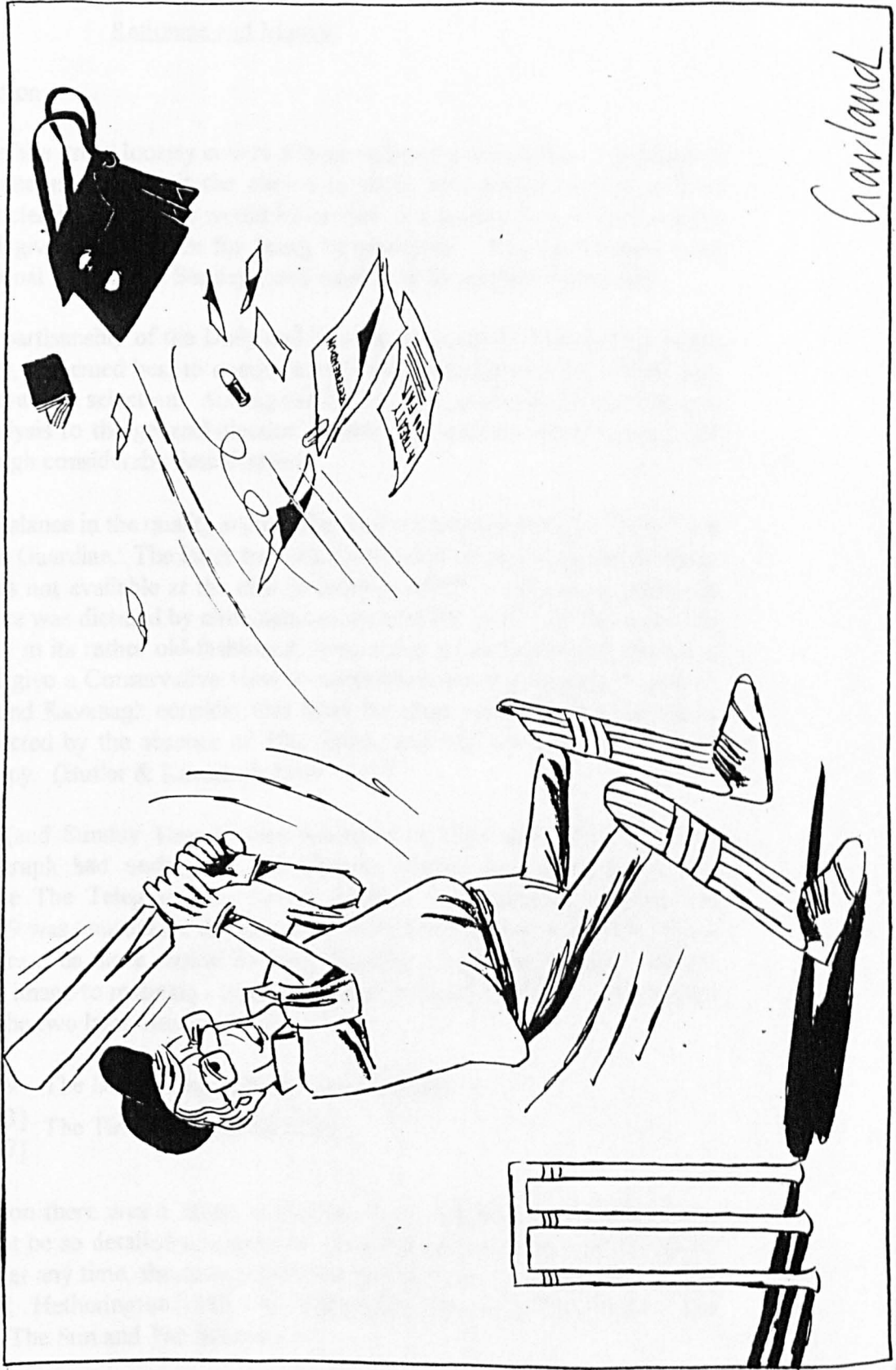
Once Mrs Thatcher started losing popular support and the cracks showed, the cartoonists latched on to the fallibility and questioned the invincibility. Steve Bell predicted her fall from power a month before it happened - she was felled by a tree, and leading Conservative MP's shed crocodile tears. (Baker 1994)

In 1975 Mrs Thatcher polled sufficient votes to topple Edward Heath and ensure a second ballot. For the World Stateswoman, after the substantial win of 1987, there is a certain poignancy that in the 1990 leadership election she missed winning on the first ballot by such a narrow margin. In Kenneth Baker's opinion, had she not gone to Paris but stayed in London, canvassing personally, she would have won.¹ Mrs Thatcher considered the best image of her for the Party to see was as a World Leader. But she also admitted privately that the business of personal canvassing - the phoning and visits to the Tea Room - were not for her, after eleven years. (Baker 1993:390.) With the first ballot result 'the elastic band snapped back'.

¹ Personal interview

We saw in the Introduction that visual and verbal images are an attempt by people working for the media and the readers to define and interpret what is happening. The images represent a distillation of the way someone is perceived. To chart the progress of a phenomenon at three consecutive successful elections, allowing for partisanship, requires a range and variety of images, many of them conflicting. The media directed 'presidential' campaign demands image marketing and management, and though Mrs Thatcher took advice and direction at first, she quickly went from apt pupil to astute director, with a 'feeling' for creating an impression. Her radical political approach required images to match. The 'Iron Lady' was her preferred choice, but there were variations. In the seeds of her success, however, she sowed her failure. Her isolated leadership left her vulnerable. From an asset she became a liability. Her virtues became vices; for example, her single-mindedness became tunnel vision, and Iron Lady inflexibility became a drawback.

Arguably in the reviewed material the advancement of the politician and personality, the accretion of power, the pre-eminence and the isolation are recorded in the changing images. Mrs Thatcher's management of her image was equally influential on the direction of all her advisers. The image was altered of necessity to suit the change in political standing; shaped by advisers for expediency, and for effect by Mrs Thatcher.



Appendix

Rationale and Method

Choice of Publication

The umbrella term 'the Press' loosely covers a large range of publications. For research purposes it was necessary to limit the choice to those newspapers and periodicals where the general election campaign would be carried as a normal part of their regular news output, and given prominence for being 'newsworthy'. The newspapers were selected from national Dailies and Sundays, and weekly or fortnightly Periodicals.

With the unequal partisanship of the Daily and Sunday newspapers biased towards the Conservative party, it seemed best to compare and contrast material from a small and, if possible, representative selection. Among the dailies, two quality papers would give full cover and analysis to the general election, whilst two tabloids would present the popular view, though considerably less detailed.

To get a partisan balance in the quality section the choice was between The Times, The Telegraph and The Guardian. The latter two were printed at all three general elections but The Times was not available at the critical dates in 1979¹, owing to an industrial dispute. The choice was dictated by circumstance, at least for 1979. At that time The Telegraph was still in its rather old-fashioned, even staid, presentation and choice of content, but it did give a Conservative view to counterbalance the Guardian's output. However, Butler and Kavanagh consider that from the press point of view the whole campaign was affected by the absence of The Times, and that the media missed the gravitas and the copy. (Butler & Kavanagh 1980 : 172)

Since The Times (and Sunday Times) were published in 1983 and 1987, and even though The Telegraph had undergone considerable change and updating, it was decided not to use The Telegraph for further analysis. All general elections are important, and 1979 was unusual for the presence of the first woman contender. Since 1983 and 1987 were even more critical for Mrs Thatcher - both the politician and the personality with an image to maintain - it seemed better to have The times heavyweight counterbalance at the two later elections.

Choice: 1979 The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian
 1983 } The Times and The Guardian
 1987 }

In the tabloid section there was a range to choose from, although the election news published would not be so detailed or extensive. Some papers give very limited space to political matters at any time, the newsworthiness puts it low on the significance list. (Negrine 1989 : 41; Hetherington 1985 : 8) The choice eventually fell between The Express, The Mail, The Sun and The Mirror.

¹ Publication was suspended from 30 November 1978 until 13 November 1979, pending agreement on new technology and manning levels.

The most obvious choice for comparative purposes seemed to be The Sun and The Mirror. However, during preliminary research it was noted that the Daily Mirror made significant changes to presentation, particularly during the 1983 and 1987 campaigns. Although retaining its traditional tabloid style approach, there was much more analysis and comparison of Labour and Conservative policies and achievements; election politics became increasingly newsworthy - unlike The Sun which was pro-Thatcher, rather than pro-Conservative. As the subsequent research analysis showed, The Mirror stood up well to the comparison with the Express.

Choice for all three elections: The Daily Express and The Daily Mirror.

The Sunday papers presented similar problems to the daily ones concerning political bias. The choice in the qualities, therefore, was not so much to find a true counterbalance between Labour and Conservative viewpoints, but to find an alternative view. For the reasons mentioned earlier, The Sunday Telegraph was used in 1979, and The Sunday Times in 1983 and 1987. The Observer editorials, directly or indirectly made a point of saying there was no favouritism with the political parties at general election time; they tried to be 'even handed'. Nonetheless, in 1979 the editorial finally approved James Callaghan; in 1983 and 1987, with reluctance, it was noted that Mrs Thatcher would 'probably win'. With such reservations expressed this seemed to offer some significant variation of viewpoint from the Sunday Telegraph and later Sunday Times.

Choice: 1979 The Sunday Telegraph and The Observer
 1983 } The Sunday Times and The Observer
 1987 }

The Sunday tabloid choice presented similar problems to the dailies. For much the same reasons it was decided to stay with the counterparts of the dailies.

Choice for all three elections: The Sunday Express, The Sunday Mirror.

In the Periodicals section the Choice almost made itself. The Economist, although partisan, was felt to be too specialist in the contents.

New Statesman and The Spectator, both strongly partisan, seemed likely to give a better balance of material and information for research purposes. This was, therefore, the choice for all three elections.

Two further periodicals were included: Punch and Private Eye. Their material for analysis was mainly in the visual images section, but it was possible to find some very limited results in the articles. These publications were included, not so much for light relief as for the particular biased eye viewpoint of the campaign. Their approach could perhaps best be described as the serious application of satire in observing the democratic process.

Collection of research material

Time Scale

So that accurate comparisons could be drawn between statistics for each general election, the number of weekdays researched was set at 24 for daily papers and 5 days for Sunday papers and periodicals. The main reason for choice was comparability, given that the three campaign periods varied considerably. For example: because of the date chosen for election day, one campaign spread across Easter, and so there was a lull for virtually a long weekend. The criticism was made in the media that the campaign dragged on and the electorate got bored with it.

In the calculations for the research period, election day was counted as day 22 for the daily papers, and the research stopped on the Saturday, i.e. day 24. The Starting point, therefore, was a Monday, 3½ weeks before election day. This may seem an extended period to research, but it was found that the daily papers were already gathering election news at that point. It was not 'full coverage' in either quality or tabloid terms, but election matters, clearly headlined as such in articles or features by named writers plus editorial comment appeared. Even the cartoonists in their inimitable styles noted the start of election madness by politicians, and others. 'Full coverage' started three days later, on specially designated pages.

If the Sunday papers and periodicals had been confined within these same dates, already limited statistics would have been even fewer. The problem is then that percentages from low figures though accurate, give a distorted picture. It was, therefore, decided to slightly extend the Sunday range to give five readings - day 5 being the Sunday after polling day when some Cabinet changes were known, unsuccessful or long time favourites waved farewell and there was time for summing-up the situation and making forecasts.

The periodicals had to be adjusted a little further to give a five day record, allowing for variations in publication day. Day 5, therefore, was publication day following polling day, since, like the Sunday press, the serious and satirical publications still had much to say on the results, and to give an assessment.

Time span	Daily press	Sunday press
1979	7 April - 5 May	6 April - 6 May
1983	16 May - 11 June	15 May - 12 June
1987	18 May - 13 June	17 May - 14 June

Guidelines

In order to gather verbal and visual images of Mrs Thatcher during three general elections the following guidelines were observed.

Verbal images meant all direct references to Mrs Thatcher by her proper name or official titles; nicknames; character descriptions (based on the adjectives used); regal and aristocratic references; historical, literary, bestial and pictorial names or allusions.

Visual images were drawn from cartoons, pocket cartoons, caricatures, strip cartoons, artist's impression and line drawings; also photographs. In both cases it was noted if Mrs Thatcher was alone or with other people. In the photographs smiling and non-smiling were recorded, and details of the event or occasion.

From the specified publications between the given dates, verbal and visual images were collected from:

Articles - these included signed, specified general election articles, reports, leading articles and light features. Not included - space filling anonymous paragraphs; items from letter pages, critics, business and foreign news pages.

Editorials - here taken to mean the unsigned opinion articles, located in traditional places in all publications, which express the official view, within an established bias.

Cartoons and related matter were included where they were clearly intended to relate to general election matters. This was by placement or content.

Photographs from the front page and election pages were included, and where they were part of light feature articles. Photographs appearing on exempted pages, (noted above in articles) were not included.

Analysis

This was done in two parts - quantitative and qualitative. For each election and publication, the totals of election articles, editorials, cartoons and photographs, and the totals of these sections where Mrs Thatcher was mentioned, or appeared, were analysed. A further division was measured between the political and personal connotations.

In the articles and editorials it was necessary to indicate whether Mrs Thatcher was the subject, only part of the subject, or whether she was mentioned but was not essential to the discussion.

The divisions in cartoons and photographs had to be slightly altered because of the difference in material. Apart from the political and personal aspects, other divisions included whether Mrs Thatcher was alone and therefore the subject, or whether others appeared and were equally important. One final detail in the photographs needed recording, and analysing. What did the detail of the photograph indicate and what was the event or circumstance? Some photographs had no detail; they were simply a picture of Mrs Thatcher.

Interviews with

The Rt. Hon. Kenneth Baker, CH; MP
Ken Livingstone, MP
Dr Alan Mynett
Dr Bryan O'Connor
Dr Tony Tyrrell

Steve Bell
Brian Harding
John Jensen
Roger Law

Newspaper Circulation

<u>Publication</u>	<u>Circulation figure in 000's</u>		
	1979	1983	1987
Daily Telegraph	1358	-	-
The Times	-	321	450
The Guardian	275	417	494
Daily Express	2458	1936	1697
Daily Mirror	3783	3267	3123
Sunday Telegraph	1003	-	-
Sunday Times	-	1279	1293
The Observer	929	736	722
Sunday Express	3261	2699	2449
Sunday Mirror	3827	3502	2971



Lady Thatcher: mumsy to queenly

The transformation of Margaret Thatcher, from gawky Tory Woman to glamorous power matriarch, must rank as one of the most successful makeovers ever.

In 1979, she was a mumsy blonde. In later years, her hair was still blonde, still bouffant; but the colour was warmer, the set fuller and softer, the whole effect infinitely more polished. Her make-up, too, was restyled - by Joan Price, owner of the Face Place - to give a healthier, more flattering appearance.

And then there was power itself. Power made Mrs Thatcher glow like a woman in love, and her sexuality was an essential element in the control she exerted over the male world of politics. Senior Tories almost swooned in her presence. Opponents like Francois Mitterrand admitted that even if she was half Caligula, she was also half Marilyn Monroe.

by David Thomas

Sunday Telegraph 3 July 1994

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The Guardian	7 April-5 May	16 May-11 June	18 May-13 June
Daily Express	7 April-5 May	16 May-11 June	18 May-13 June
Daily Mirror	7 April-5 May	16 May-11 June	18 May-13 June
Sunday Telegraph	6 April-6 May	-	-
Sunday Times	-	15 May-12 June	17 May-14 June
Observer	6 April-6 May	15 May-12 June	17 May-14 June
Sunday Express	6 April-6 May	15 May-12 June	17 May-14 June
Sunday Mirror	6 April-6 May	15 May-12 June	17 May-14 June
Spectator	2 April-9 May	11 May-16 June	13 May-18 June
New Statesman	2 April-9 May	11 May-16 June	13 May-18 June
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