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Bakalářská práce

**The Depiction of Margaret Thatcher in the British
Press**

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Prohlašuji, že jsem práci zpracovala samostatně a použila jen uvedených pramenů a literatury.

Plzeň, duben 2016

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1 INTRODUCTION

The main objective of the thesis is to examine the depiction of Margaret Thatcher in the British press. Another objective is to analyze whether the coverage tends to be positive, negative or neutral and which attitude individual newspapers adopted towards the former Prime Minister. The final objective is to analyze whether the newspapers take the same stance on Margaret Thatcher in all affairs or whether their attitude varies in different cases.

The thesis is divided into two sections: the theoretical and the analytical part. The first part provides general and theoretical information about the British media with focus on the British press and its history since 1476. It is followed by the division of British newspapers according to their seriousness and political leanings. The final chapter of the first part commences with general information about the British political system and presents brief bibliography of Margaret Thatcher with the focus on her political career.

Sources used for the purpose of the theoretical part of the thesis are primarily monographs providing information on the British press, for example *The British Press* written by Mick Temple and *The Media in Britain* by Jeremy Tunstall and books presenting material about the former Prime Minister's personal and political life, for instance *Not For Turning* by Robin Harris and *Premiérka Jejího Veličenstva* by Czech author Lenka Rovná.

The analytical part of the thesis aims at attitudes of chosen British newspapers towards selected affairs related to Margaret Thatcher. This part is divided into five chapters. The first chapter presents the portrayal of Thatcher's ideology, so-called Thatcherism, in British press. The second chapter is focused on the relationship that the former Prime Minister had with Denis Thatcher, Ronald Reagan and Rupert Murdoch and their depiction by the British newspapers today. The third chapter deals with the domestic affairs in which Thatcher played a significant role, in particular the protests against nuclear weapons in Greenham Common, the bombing attack in Brighton and the miners' strike in 1984 and 1985, as reported by the British press. The chapter four discusses the depiction of Margaret Thatcher

in the context of the Falklands War and the Cold War. The final chapter includes the analysis of articles published immediately after Thatcher's death.

The main resources used in this part are newspaper articles and commentaries published in the British press *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Spectator*, *The Sun*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Daily Star* and *The Express*. The corpus of articles for the analysis was obtained through searching the websites of the respective newspapers using the search phrase "Margaret Thatcher". The analysis is most focused on the first two mentioned newspapers, because they provide the most information about all topics analyzed in the thesis. In a large number of chapters, there is also a complementary analysis of other mentioned newspapers. The listed newspapers were chosen on the basis of the political support they give in order that there are newspapers from all political spheres in the thesis.

2 MEDIA IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Media in the United Kingdom are represented by means of communication such as television, radio, the press and the internet. The media market is characterized by being highly commercialized and mostly London based. The most popular type of communication in the United Kingdom is the television which is also confirmed by the viewing measurement from 2010 showing that a British citizen watches television on an average of four hours per day. [1] The most prominent company dominating British media industry is the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) with its total comprehensive income 103.7 millions of pounds for the year 2014. [2]

2.1 THE PRESS

The today's British press exists in print and online form. Even if the popularity of printed version of newspapers decreases, there are still over 7 millions of copies sold every day. [3] The British press is deeply dependent on advertising. According to Ralph Negrine "[...] advertising revenue accounts for some 40% of the popular press's total revenue and some 70% of the qualities' total revenue." [4]

The British press influences as well as is influenced by British society. Its great power lies not only in hands of owners and journalists, but sometimes also in hands of trade unionists. Naturally, owners, nowadays mostly private corporations, possess the greatest amount of power available because they are responsible for establishing or closing of newspapers publishing houses and more importantly they create the strategy of the whole company. Journalists have also great influence on the newspapers because they decide about what and who will be published in news. [5] The press power is manifested in the connection with the politics especially during general elections, but it has also impact on creating new words such as guardianista, the word used in British slang for a middle-class reader of *The Guardian* newspaper who is typically left-wing oriented and politically correct. [6]

3 HISTORY OF THE BRITISH PRESS

The history of the British press begins with the birth of print and establishment of the first printing press in Westminster in 1476. First publications were mostly propagandist pamphlets and it did not change until the early seventeenth century when the messages started to incorporate also news from wars and politics. The audience grew and there were thousands of papers published every year. It is a period when the government began to perceive the press as a danger, because the powers of the press mentioned in previous paragraph began to manifest themselves. [7]

The Civil War and Glorious Revolution brought not only political changes, but also new attitude to writing. According to Mick Temple, “the way of reporting of King Charles’ death can be recognised as 'modern’”. [8] The first half of the seventeenth century opened a new era of state controlled censorship which included primarily dissident publications and ideas against monarchy, but the control ended at the end of the same century.

An English writer Daniel Defoe who transformed traditional way of writing by adding eyewitness to his reports is considered for the most influential journalist of the eighteenth century and also for father of English journalism. Defoe was travelling throughout the country to ascertain first-hand information. In 1712 the first Stamp Act came into force and it meant rise in prices of the press and worse availability of paper for working class. The combination of the Stamp Act and following Industrial Revolution led to increase in working class radicalism and demand for abolition of the press taxes. The whole campaign became known as 'taxes on knowledge' and because of powerful newspapers and business men all taxes were cancelled by the year 1861. [9] [10]

The nineteenth century was an age of new journalism. Invention of overland telegraph and undersea cables enabled fast spreading of information from other countries. Journalists, principally W. T. Stead, started to promote modern investigative journalism and the use of reports to make social changes and to change the world. In addition, politicians started to perceive the power of British newspapers on the public opinion and the dependence of their political career on the press. Therefore, politicians

funded the British press and between 1892 and 1910 the journalist and newspaper owners from the House of Commons were on the increase. “[But] the most extraordinary example of political acquisition occurred in 1918, when the Liberal prime minister David Lloyd George and his supporters bought the Daily Chronicle for £ 1,659,000“ [11]

The end of the nineteenth century is characterised by growing start-up costs which caused rise in advertising to keep the prices low. At the same time, Alfred Harmsworth and his new style of journalism were brought onto the scene. Harmsworth founded *The Daily Mail* on 4 May 1896 and with it the sensational headlines and illustrations came. His strategy was cheap newspapers affordable for lower middle class which resulted in wider readership. [12]

During the First World War most of the newspaper acted pro-war. On the contrary there were newspapers against the war, namely *The Daily Herald* and *Manchester Guardian*, but because the British society was strongly supporting war, they lost their readership. The press used to encourage recruitment, to support soldiers and to do anti-German campaigns. As a result of giving publicity to the War the citizens of the Great Britain lost the confidence in the British press since they were able to compare their experience with the reportages. [13] [14]

The era of the press barons that is how the inter-war period was described. Three main owners dominated on the British press market. Alfred Harmsworth, known as Lord Northcliffe, proprietor of *The Times*, *The Weekly Dispatch*, *The Daily Mail* and *Evening News*, Harold Harmsworth who controlled for example *The Daily Mirror* and *The Sunday Mail* and Lord Beaverbrook who owned newspapers such as *The Daily Express*. The barons shared patriotism and xenophobia and the newspapers focused on their business and personal interests. In detail, on May 1926 when the general strike was held the barons did not care about bad working conditions and lack of security in British industry, on the contrary they called it dangerous. [15]

The Second World War brought new powerful competitor to the press, the radio. The biggest advantage of the radio was the promptness of delivering information to the public. For this reason, the morning newspapers were reporting old messages. Even though the press played an important role during the war, its main function was to unify the nation and to play a patriotic

role. In contrast with the First World War, when the censorship was harsh, during the Second World War the censorship was not needed because the press saw as their patriotic duty to use a myth-making, in detail to make sure that the war is described as good and winning. The press not only unified the nation, but also changed the British society. Publishers transformed the format to smaller size to reduce the price and to acquire larger readership. Under those circumstances the newspapers were affordable to a working class and that also gave power to the labourers to make an impact on the press. [16] [17]

After the Second World War the world went through crucial changes and the British press was no exception. To gain control over the press and to help the newspapers to deliver reliable and high-quality reports, the government established the National Council for the Training of Journalists in 1951. The Council was engaged in training and examination of journalists in different areas, such as shorthand writing or law. The process helped raise the standards of reporting and returned the reliability to the press. As mentioned previously the radio was powerful competitor to the British press during the war, but the year 1955 brought new commercial television. The television was main source of world news and for the first time citizens of the Great Britain were able to watch and see real political debates. Even though the press remained the main source of political reports, the arrival of the commercial television caused the development of tabloids because journalists tried to copy the style of commercial television and its advertising. [18]

Even though the British press already went through a great amount of changes, the arrival of Rupert Murdoch, the most influential media tycoon in the world, is the most important milestone. Murdoch transformed British newspapers the most significantly. He brought down the quality level by using aggressive journalism and paparazzi. Furthermore, in 1969 the post-war media magnate bought the broadsheet *The Sun* and recreated it into a new type of tabloid in which the main topics are celebrity gossips, sport and entertainment. "The paper was in a different class to its competitors – sexy, irreverent, relevant, 'the most consistently influential paper of modern times', according to the BBC's media correspondent Torin Douglas (2004)" [19] *The Sun* became the biggest seller in 1978 and because of its dominance other

newspapers tried to be the same which provoked so-called 'tabloidization'. The major transformations were the reduction of political news, more indirect reporting and trivialism. Moreover Murdoch's name is connected with the Wapping dispute which results from the monopolistic behaviour of pressmen and frequent union strikes. This case was about moving the printing from Fleet Street, which was the traditional place of printing newspapers to Wapping, district in East London where Murdoch prepared new industrial base. Despite the fact that the change caused difficult entrance into the British press market Murdoch turned it into profitable market because for the first time the newspapers were not owned for propaganda, but for making money. [20]

Current years brought the rise of computer power and the internet so that online newspapers develop which results in falling circulation of printed papers. At the same time, the young generations still tends to read the traditional paper newspapers so that the decline is slow.

3.1.1 THE DIVISION OF BRITISH NEWSPAPERS

The British newspapers are divided into broadsheets and tabloids. The word broadsheet stands for serious and high-quality newspapers which are printed on large paper, for example *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian* and *The Independent*. The information given in broadsheets contains home and foreign news and political reports. On the other hand, tabloids are printed on smaller paper than broadsheets. News focuses on celebrity gossips, human interest stories and popular trends. Under those circumstances it is also called "popular press". The most popular British tabloid is *The Sun*, followed by *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Mirror*. [21]

Equally important is the division according to the political support the newspapers give. In this case there are the left-wing press and the right-wing press on the British market. The values of the left-wing papers are the support of minorities, income equality, free education, easy access to health care, redistribution of taxes and pacifist attitude. These enumerated values are quintessential for *The Guardian* which promotes labour party and writes about the education and human rights. On the contrary the right-wing press is characterised by the recognition of the traditional family, the promotion of lower taxes and private education and positive foreign politics towards

the United States of America. Traditional representatives are *The Spectator*, *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*. [22]

Sphere of activity is another factor that divides British newspapers. There are three main groups, local, regional and national press. Local newspapers are distributed only in area of small town or in certain quarter of big city and they write about local news, to enumerate *Sunday Mercury* published in Birmingham and *Croydon Guardian* circulating in London Borough of Croydon. Regional newspapers have wider extent of coverage than local ones, they usually cover one of four regions of the United Kingdom. The largest coverage have national press which covers the whole country. The national press writes not only about national issues, but also informs readers of international news. Typical representatives are for example newspapers mentioned in the first two paragraphs *The Guardian* and *The Sun*. [23] [24]

As a result of large immigration the British press can be also divided according to ethnic groups, their religion or mother tongue. *The Irish World* established in 1987 is a typical example of newspapers created for the Irish community living in the United Kingdom. Another example is Polish weekly magazine *Cooltura* which additionally publishes in Polish. [25] [26]

There is another special newspaper on the British newspapers market. *The Morning Star* is a socialist daily newspaper represented by trade union leaders, left Labour MPs and others. It is wholly owned and financed by its readers and no person or organisation profits from it. [27]

4 POLITICAL SYSTEM IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

The official name of the country is The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The country is constitutional monarchy where the head of state is the King or the Queen, currently the Queen Elizabeth II. The Queen has representative role and her powers are limited. She appoints ministers, opens Parliament with the speech that is written for her and she has the right to assemble and dissolve the Parliament. The position of supreme commander of all armed forces and the head of the Church of England also belongs to the monarch. [28]

Legislative body is represented by the Parliament, which is divided into House of Lords and House of Commons. Its main function is law-making. On the contrary executive power is in hands of the Cabinet. The Cabinet of the United Kingdom is formed by 21 ministers and the Prime Minister, so of members of the winning party of general election and their leader. There are two main political parties in the United Kingdom, Conservative Party whose representatives were for example Sir Winston Churchill and Margaret Thatcher and Labour Party represented by Clement Atlee and Tony Blair. [29]

The Prime Minister is the head of the government and his official residence is on 10 Downing Street in London. "In the House of Commons the PM's duties are to make formal statements, answer questions from MPs and take part in debates. Prime Minister's Questions last 30 minutes and takes place every Wednesday at noon when the House is sitting. The PM sits on the Government frontbench on the Speaker's right, near the despatch box in the House of Commons." [30]

4.1 MARGARET THATCHER

Margaret Hilda Thatcher, born in Grantham on 13 October 1925, was the only woman who became Prime Minister in the United Kingdom.

4.1.1 BRIEF BIBLIOGRAPHY

Margaret Hilda Thatcher, born Roberts, was raised in a lower middle class family. The most influential person of her childhood was her father, Alfred Roberts. He was very dominant and strict and led Margaret and her sister Muriel to self-reliance, independence and self-control. Ever since he was

a mayor of Grantham, Margaret mixed with political society from very early age, as an illustration during the elections in the city in 1935 she served as runner. With the arrival of the Second World War came also the first significant moment and that is the meeting of Edith, friend of Muriel, whom the family provided with a shelter and who informed them on the cruelty of Nazism. This represented one of the key influences on Margaret's patriotism and determination to protect the country, later manifesting, for instance, in her support of Israel during her premiership. [31]

Her determination and hard work had a positive impact on studies. After private classes of Latin, she was accepted to Oxford University to study chemistry. She became a member of the Oxford University Conservative Association and in 1946 they chose her for President. This experience helped her find a position of candidate in Dartford in 1950. The progressing political career was interrupted by personal life, specifically by the relationship with Denis Thatcher whom she married in December 1951 and with whom she raised two children, twins Mark and Carol. During the stay at home time the mother of two finished the second university degree as tax lawyer. At the same time, she decided to return to the political sphere and in 1959 Margaret won the general election as the candidate for Finchley. Between this year and the year 1979 she occupied several positions as a Member of Parliament. Parliamentary Undersecretary at the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance, spokeswoman on Housing and Land, spokeswoman for the Minister of Finance Ian Macleod, spokeswoman on Fuel and Power. [32] [33]

In 1969 Thatcher was appointed as Secretary of State for Education and Science and she brought choice and competition to the education system. This kind of system works as a business, which is typical for Thatcher's policy. For the first time parents saw school results and ratings and they were able to choose the school for their children. On the other hand, high competition among schools caused the decline in level of education and teachers were giving students' results of tests to improve school's situation. Under those circumstances access to education is dependent on place of residence and wealthy family, 1/5 of students leaves functionally illiterate and 1/4 lives life on benefits. Only one year after being appointed she abolished free school milk

for children between the age of seven and eleven which was the most discussed and criticized decision she made in this position. [34]

The 1970's were difficult years not only for the United Kingdom, but also for the Conservative Party and its leader E. Heath. The country went through oil crises, failing industry and bad economy situation and in 1974 the Labour Party won general election. In the same year the Conservative Party organized elections of their new leader and Margaret Thatcher was one of the candidates. In the first ballot Thatcher defeated Heath with 130 votes and that caused his abdication. On 11 February 1975 in the second ballot Margaret Thatcher won the election with 146 votes, defeating Whitelaw, Howe, Prior and Peyton. From 1975 to 1979 she held the position of leader of Conservative Party and Leader of the Opposition. Labour Party with its leader James Callaghan formed a majority government until 1979 when the high number of unemployment which was 1.5 million people and the "Winter of Discontent", the series of strikes, caused loss of confidence in the party. When on 4 May 1979 the Conservative party won general election Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister. [35]

During the eleven years of her premiership, Thatcher conducted herself in a manner that other MPs were not accustomed to. Her political style was increasingly presidential, i.e. decisions were made by herself rather than on the basis of collective discussion, as had been the case before. The Cabinet was not functioning as a discussion forum as it had in previous years. She also created parliamentary committees specialised in domains such as economy to strengthen her power and to weaken the power of Cabinet. The objectives she set for the first term in office were the reduction of the inflation and taxes, the limitation of governmental spendings and the trade union reform. [36]

Her political vision represented a radical break with the post-war social democratic consensus, embracing instead free market and privatisation policies. Self-employment was supported through the lowering of taxes. Thatcher's concept of Britain as a property-owning democracy produced a so-called right-to-buy policy under which council houses were sold off into private ownership. The property democracy was imposed and more than 1 million of council houses were sold which reduced the investment in housing funds. In 1980 came a wave of oil crises which caused the increase of unemployment

from 1.9 million to 3 million of people within two years. The high unemployment and poverty resulted in social unrest which stopped in 1983 when the inflation decreased from 21% to only 5%. [37] [38]

In 1983 new general election were announced where the candidate for Labour Party was Michael Foot. The Conservative Party and its leader Margaret Thatcher won and it was specifically because of victorious Falkland War and the question of nuclear weapons. Both of these topics are examined in more details in following chapter of the thesis. [39]

Thatcher's second term in office is well-known for problems with trade unions and their leader Arthur Scargill, great privatization and the bomb attack in Brighton. All three topics are also examined in following chapter of the thesis. During the second term the country still struggled with high unemployment which required state spendings on benefits and also had physical consequences on citizens. Different from the last years when she had shown her anticommunist attitude and in 1976 obtained the alias "Iron Lady", in this period she created positive relations with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and before new general election she visited Moscow which raised her popularity among voters and reinforced her position in international relationships. Third elections where Margaret Thatcher played role of leader of Conservative Party were on 11 June 1987 and she won for the third time in a row, which was for the first time in a post-war era. The victory was supported by working class because due to her policy they became owners of houses and benefited from reduction of taxes. [40]

The third term in office was also the last for Margaret Thatcher as Prime Minister. In contrast to the two preceding terms, her popularity with the public suffered considerably. The introduction of the Community Charged, also called "poll tax" caused enormous riots and returned sympathies of voters to Labour Party. [41]

Her attitude to politics was always characterised by patriotism and opposition to the European unification, specifically to the European Economic Community (EEC). In the course of last three years of her governance many supporters of "thatcherism" resigned from Parliament, namely Nigel Lawson, Norman Fowler and Peter Walker, but the most serious resignation for her was the one of Geoffrey Howe. Howe resigned

from Parliament in 1990 after Thatcher's speech against the foundation of the European Central Bank. In the same year Michael Heseltine, a member of Conservative Party, invited Prime Minister to organize new ballot of leader of Conservative Party. On 20 November 1990 Margaret Thatcher won the first ballot, but she did not win by a majority of votes and therefore the second ballot was announced. Only two days after the first ballot, on 22 November 1990 Margaret Hilda Thatcher, the first woman Prime Minister of the United Kingdom resigned from her position. [42]

Even after the termination of being Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher remained politically active. She kept the same political attitude when criticizing the European Union and the Maastricht Treaty, commenting on Bosnian and Yugoslav Wars and when supporting Tony Blair in Iraq War. On 30 June 1992 former Prime Minister obtained seat in the House of Lords as Baroness Thatcher of Kesteven and on 25 April 1995 former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher received the highest award that can be bestowed by the British Monarch, Order of the Garter. In this period Thatcher also wrote two memoirs, in 1993 *The Downing Street Years* and in 1995 *The Path to Power*. In 1999 not forgetting about the Falkland War Thatcher visited Augusto Pinochet, the dictator of Chile, when being arrested in London and publicly expressed her support to him. [43]

After suffering several small strokes in 2002, Margaret Thatcher decided to end her public activities. The next two years were the most tragic in Thatcher's personal life. On 23 June 2003 her husband Denis Thatcher died of heart failure and a year after died her foreign ally, former president of the United States Ronald Reagan. Since then she has been living life affected by deteriorating health condition which made her move to Hotel Ritz where on 8 April 2013 in the age of 87 died of a stroke. [44]

5 THE PORTRAYAL OF MARGARET THATCHER IN THE BRITISH PRESS

In this chapter the analysis of attitudes of chosen British newspapers towards selected affairs related to Margaret Thatcher is presented.

5.1 THATCHERISM

This chapter deals with the depiction of Thatcherism from the point of view of the newspapers *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Sun* and *The Daily Telegraph*. The analysis is focused on the specific characteristics of Thatcherism, which are mentioned above, and the newspapers are mutually compared.

Thatcherism is a term used to describe the policy of Margaret Thatcher when she was the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990. Thatcherism is characterized by promoting free market, privatization of state-owned industries, low inflation, tax cuts and small state. [45] Thatcher's policy did not have an impact only on how the state was run, but also changed the British society. Thatcherism had its supporters as well as its critics who were pointing out its great social costs. [46]

The Guardian reopened the topic of Thatcher's impact on the British society in 2013, the year of Margaret Thatcher's decease. When writing about her legacy the journalists raised topics such as education reforms, home ownership and the difference between the rich and the poor in which case all of them are consequences of Thatcherism and government spendings cuts. Malcolm Dean described the cuts as savage, especially in sphere of benefits and housing. In the same article he also mentioned radical change in British society describing it as a brutal widening of inequality. "Pensioners were the worst hit. The proportion living below the poverty line rose from 13% to 43%. Child poverty more than doubled." That is how Dean pointed out the worsening situation of poverty in the United Kingdom. [47]

Another consequence of Thatcherism did not go unnoticed when James Ball wrote: "[...] the most direct impact of Thatcherism was on levels of home ownership [...]". [48] Although Ball considered the government spendings cuts as necessary, through which he stood out compared to other journalists

writing for *The Guardian*, he also brought attention to problems with payment of high mortgage, the corollary of selling council houses.

A large number of articles in *The Guardian* write about unfavourable consequences of Thatcherism on the British society without mentioning the impact on the state administration which places Margaret Thatcher into the position of an uncaring Prime Minister and *The Guardian* into the position of Thatcher's critic. Besides the already mentioned inequality and the impact on home ownership, *The Guardian* emphasizes and moreover criticizes the individualistic accent of Thatcherism which according to Jonathan Freedland appears as: "[...] apparent disdain for the collective." [49]

As expected from *The Independent*, the depiction of Thatcher's policy is not homogenous. On one hand, the authors write about the mistakes that happened in the past, such as raising inequality, on the other hand, for example the extensively discussed right-to-buy scheme was "[...] all about overturning that old order, giving everyone a chance to own their home, setting people free to make their lives better." [50] as written by Ivan Massow.

In contrast with *The Independent* which has not published a large number of articles on this topic, *The Sun* has produced a large number of them. This newspaper takes a positive stand on Thatcherism, especially because of the relationship which Thatcher had with the owner of *The Sun*, Rupert Murdoch. The journalists write about direct tax rates, fight against socialism and privatization, all attributes of Thatcherism, and they highlighted the advantages that Thatcher's politics has brought to current Britain. Even though *The Sun* is known for its quintessential tabloid attitude towards former Prime Minister, which is evident for example in the use of address 'Maggie' instead of more respectful 'Margaret Thatcher', the support for her premiership is evident when for example Andrew Marr wrote: "There are always victims, always mistakes. But this is a rich country now. And you can't eat the fruit while sneering at the farmer." [51]

As well as other newspapers mentioned in this chapter, *The Daily Telegraph* also reacted to Thatcher's decease in 2013 by publishing articles about her legacy and impact. Differently from *The Guardian*, which was predominantly critical, *The Daily Telegraph* supported Thatcher's policy and depicted it as necessary for the future of the country.

According to the journalists such as Steven Swinford, James Kirkup or Roger Bootle, Thatcherism was revolutionary change that gave the British more power, than they had had before. In connection with the nation they also pointed out that the policy was focused more on individuals than on community and backed it up by mentioning Thatcher's famous statement: "There's no such thing as society. There are individual men and women and there are families." [52] *The Daily Telegraph* appraised this statement positively whereas *The Guardian* used this statement to criticize and emphasize the individualism that Thatcher promoted. [53][54]

The journalists also mentioned the negative consequences that Thatcherism had on British society such as high unemployment and the dependence of a large number of people on welfare state, but since the articles were published in 2013 they took into account the long-lasting consequences which are described as successful and notable, especially in the sphere of privatization.

In general, there are newspapers, such as *The Guardian*, which consider Thatcherism to be antisocial and which refers to negative social impact that the policy had on the British society during her premiership, and on the contrary, there are newspapers, such as *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun*, which consider the policy to be necessary and beneficial for current Britain.

5.2 THATCHER'S MEN

In this chapter, the three most important men in Thatcher's life, Denis Thatcher, Ronald Reagan and Rupert Murdoch, are presented. It is focused on the depiction of the men and the relationship with Margaret Thatcher by the British newspapers today.

5.2.1 THE MOST IMPORTANT RELATIONSHIP (DENIS THATCHER)

"For forty years I have been married to one of the greatest women the world has ever produced. All I could produce - small as it may be - was love and loyalty."
[55] - *Denis Thatcher*

Sir Denis Thatcher, born in 1915, died in 2003, was the husband of Margaret Thatcher, former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and British businessman. As mentioned in theoretical part of the thesis, Denis and Margaret met in 1949 and they married in 1951. Thatcher was a wealthy man and a large number of experts agree that it was him who was behind his wife's successful career. Thanks to him, Margaret Thatcher was able to enter worthy society and her husband was the one who financed her studies and household. [56]

In 2013, the year of Margaret Thatcher's death, not only were the articles commemorating former Prime Minister were published, but also articles about Denis Thatcher and their relationship were presented. Concerning their relationship, the British newspapers appear to hold an unanimous opinion and, moreover, the journalists use the same words to describe it. The partnership is depicted as the basis of Mrs. Thatcher's career. *The Independent* characterized it as: "The cornerstone of Thatcher's success" [57] and *The Express* used the term 'bedrock' [58] to delineate the importance of the relation.

Even though in the past Denis was mocked by the British newspapers, especially by *The Private Eye* for his conservatism, obsolete manners and certain extent of xenophobia, a large number of articles today mention that Denis Thatcher was a great supporter and ally of his wife that he was her main advisor and all authors emphasize that he was always placing her interests before his. [59] To underline the importance of the partnership the journalists use the superlative adjective 'the most', for example David

McKittrick wrote: “[...] the most important relationship of her life was clearly that with Denis, who offered unstinting support.” [60]

5.2.2 THE SECRET MEETING (RUPERT MURDOCH)

Keith Rupert Murdoch, born in 1931 in Australia, is an American media tycoon, who is considered one of the most influential and powerful people in the world. In 2015 *The Forbes* ranked Rupert Murdoch as the 35th most powerful person in the world and his net worth has been calculated at \$10.7 billion. [61] Concerning the ownership of the British press, Rupert Murdoch currently owns three newspapers, *The Sun*, *The Times* and *Sunday Times*, in which case the first mentioned is the most widely read in the United Kingdom. [62] [63]

Rupert Murdoch is well known for his professional relationship with Margaret Thatcher and the support that Murdoch’s media expressed to her in 1980s. Murdoch’s newspapers, especially *The Sun*, had been supporting Margaret Thatcher since the general election in 1978 and therethrough contributed to Thatcher’s triple election victory. [64]

They both have been mutually beneficial. Murdoch supported Thatcher’s premiership through the press he owns and Thatcher on the other hand introduced industrial relations legislation which enabled Murdoch to move his plants to Wapping, as mentioned in previous chapter, and she also expressed her support to Murdoch’s bid for *The Times* and *The Sunday Times*, because the government authorized the incorporation without asking the advice of the Monopolies and Mergers Commission. In 1981, when the discussions about buying these two newspapers were topical, the official information was that there was no communication between Thatcher and Murdoch, but after the release of documents from Thatcher Archive Trust in 2015 the topic has been reopened. It was found that the former Prime Minister and the media tycoon had a secret meeting together, which obviously began to be discussed by the newspapers again. [65] [66]

Harold Evans, writing for *The Guardian*, described the meeting as “The coup that transformed the relationship between British politics and journalism [...]” [67], moreover, he pointed out that Thatcher and Murdoch conducted themselves dishonestly to cover up the greatest extension

of monopoly power in modern press history. Thatcher's behaviour in this affair is depicted as reckless and selfish because she did it to ensure sunshine headlines for herself in the Murdoch press. The selfishness was mentioned not only by *The Guardian*, but also by *The Independent* which also commented that the reason why Thatcher supported Murdoch was the need of the support by the British press in time of her unpopularity. [68]

Even though Thatcher's personal involvement in Murdoch's purchasing deals is mentioned in a large number of publications, Murdoch himself "[...] denied ever asking her for any help in expanding his media empire [.]" [69] as mentioned by *The Daily Telegraph*.

Concerning the professional relationship between Margaret Thatcher and Rupert Murdoch, not only is the secret meeting being currently discussed, but it is also analyzed in view of the fact that it changed the relation between British politics and the British press. All the newspapers mentioned in this chapter share the opinion that the relationship was the turning point in British history and the following Prime Ministers, especially Tony Blair and David Cameron, have been using good the relationship with the British press for their own benefit, as Margaret Thatcher did in the 1980s. [70]

5.2.3 THE TELEPHONE APOLOGY (RONALD REAGAN)

"Prime Minister, the United States and the United Kingdom are bound together by inseparable ties of ancient history and present friendship. Our language, our law—even though you do use our language with an accent—our democratic system of government and our fierce belief in the God-given right of all men to be free, all of these the United States share with your proud island." [71] - *President Reagan in 1985*

Ronald Wilson Reagan, born in 1911, died in 2004, was an American politician, union leader, Governor of California and the President of the United States of America from 1981 to 1989. Reagan's presidency is characterized by the reduction of tax rates and government spendings, free market economy and fight against the Communism, in which case all of them are also attributes of Thatcherism. Under those circumstances, Reagan and Thatcher created allied relationship based on shared ideas. The former President of the United States supported the United Kingdom during the Falklands War;

equally important was Thatcher's authorization for the US army to use military bases in Great Britain and together they contributed to the end of the Cold War. [72] [73]

A large number of British newspapers share the opinion on the relationship. David Rennie writing for *The Daily Telegraph* depicts the alliance as: "The extraordinary friendship between President Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher - seen by outsiders as an historic alliance of political soulmates [...]" [74] and Tom Brokaw from *The Guardian* describes it as: "[...] the strongest transatlantic partnership since the second world war [...]" [75]. In general, the newspapers mention the advantages that the United Kingdom gained thanks to the relationship, such as mentioned support during the Falklands War, and they point out the strength of this alliance. As an illustration *The Guardian* published the statement of Sir Harold Evans: "[...] 'the relationship between Thatcher and President Reagan was closer even than Churchill and Roosevelt'". [76]

Although the alliance between Thatcher and Reagan is believed to have been beneficial for both countries, the relationship has also undergone a period of disagreements, especially in 1983, during the US invasion of the island of Grenada belonging to the Commonwealth of Nations. The invasion started with no previous discussion and the former Prime Minister herself opposed it. In 2014, the recorded telephone conversation between Thatcher and Reagan concerning the invasion was released. It was found that Reagan called Thatcher to apologize for not informing her about the invasion. In the same year the British newspapers produced a large number of articles about this conversation. [77] [78]

Lizzie Dearden from *The Independent* focused on the behaviour of both participants during the telephone call. According to her, Thatcher showed no emotions and was distinctly frosty when listening to the nervous President of the United States. Equally important is also the depiction of the nature of the conversation, which is already in the headline described as a sweet-talk. [79] The same point of view is shared by *The Daily Telegraph* which additionally mentioned that Reagan sounded contrite and the whole conversation is delineated by the adjective 'awkward'. [80] In the contrary, the depiction of Thatcher's attitude by *The Guardian* is different

from the two mentioned newspapers. Mark Tran mentioned that: “Newly released White House tape transcripts reveal how Ronald Reagan sought to mollify an angry Margaret Thatcher after the US invaded Grenada [...]” [81] which shows that the journalists attribute the former Prime Minister emotions.

5.3 DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

This chapter deals with three important affairs which occurred during Thatcher's premiership in the United Kingdom and in which Margaret Thatcher played a significant role. Namely the Greenham Common protests, the Brighton bombing and the miners' strike of 1984-1985. The chapter presents the depiction of Margaret Thatcher and her attitude during these affairs.

5.3.1 THE GREENHAM COMMON

Royal Airforce Greenham Common was the RAF base in Berkshire, England. The base was established in 1942 and was used during the World War II and the Cold War, not only by the British Army, but also by the US Army. As mentioned in previous chapter, Margaret Thatcher was an ally of the US President Ronald Reagan and NATO and because of the existing political situation in Europe, they had made a joint decision to place nuclear missiles in the United Kingdom, in Berkshire, close to the Soviet Union. [82]

Greenham Common became known throughout the world due to the 1980's protests against nuclear weapons. In this period the Welsh women's movement 'Women for Life on Earth' decided to establish peace camps around the base and protested against nuclear missiles which were stored there. The women were organizing protest marches, forming human chains and cutting protective fences around the base. The protest made the transport of weapons on the roads, the entry into the base and its operation difficult and attracted a large number of journalists from around the world. [83]

As a result of interview on the day of Thatcher's funeral, in which David Cameron recalled her attitude to the Greenham Common camp, British newspapers, such as *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*, published articles on this topic. In this case, the opinion of journalists is not uniform. [84]

The Guardian describes the former Prime Minister in negative way. The journalists write in support of the women who protested in the camp and they highlight their power. In addition, Beatrix Campbell presents her article by the headline which says: "The legacy of Greenham Common has outlived Margaret Thatcher" [85] and therethrough depicts the women's movement as more important legacy than Margaret Thatcher. Moreover, *The Guardian*

uses data to back up its opinion, as an example, the newspaper published: “[...] the peace camp's impact on public opinion was profound – 67% of British women, and 62% of Tory women voters, opposed Cruise.” [86]

On the contrary, *The Daily Telegraph* does not publish articles undermining Thatcher's authority. Even though she is depicted as contemptuous of the situation and moreover the author Sam Marsden mentions her conversation with George Bush senior by writing: “[...] Mr Bush then asked how the Greenham Common women were faring. The Prime Minister said that they had become an eccentricity.”, [87] which again demonstrates her negative attitude towards the movement, the newspaper criticizes women's action and comment on the problems that were caused, which are mentioned in second paragraph, and Thatcher's attitude is described without negativity.

5.3.2 BRIGHTON IRA BOMBING

The Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) was a paramilitary organization whose objective was the creation of united Ireland without the supremacy of the United Kingdom. This organization has been responsible for a large number of bomb and other attacks and had has therefore been regarded as a terrorist group. The biggest operation for which the IRA claimed the responsibility is the bomb attack on Margaret Thatcher. The IRA decided to attack the Prime Minister because of hunger strikes that took place in 1981. At that time, Thatcher made a decision that the prisoners who are connected with the IRA would not be given special treatment and on the basis of this decision, the prisoners decided to hold the hunger strike. In the same year, Bobby Sands, the leader of hunger strike, and nine other prisoners died of starvation. [88] [89]

The attack was scheduled for 12 October 1984. At that time, the Conservative Party Conference was held at Grand Hotel, in Brighton, where besides Margaret Thatcher there were other delegates and party ministers. The bomb was planted by Patrick Magee, a member of the IRA, and exploded at 2:54 in the morning. There were five people dead, more than thirty people were injured and although the target of the bombing was the Prime Minister, she survived. [90]

In 2014, when the 30th anniversary of the attack was remembered, a large number of British newspapers published articles related to this topic. Besides describing the tragic event, the British newspapers also discussed the behaviour of former Prime Minister shortly after the attack. The journalists share the same opinion and depict Thatcher as a person who was not intimidated by the attack and who showed strong opposition to terrorism and attacks on democracy. *The Daily Telegraph* provides the most extensive coverage of the issue. The authors commented on her determination to continue in the conference as planned and in majority of articles her speech of the following morning is quoted, as an illustration John Bingham wrote: “Her reaction was characteristically defiant. Addressing the conference on the same day as the IRA’s warning, she told them: ‘All attempts to destroy democracy by terrorism will fail.’” [91]

As mentioned, the depiction by *The Guardian* is the same as by *The Daily Telegraph*. One of articles in *The Guardian*, which has been republished, carries the title: “Defiant Thatcher says that terrorism will not win”. [92] Once again the same part of her speech is used to describe Thatcher’s determination and attitude against the attack and against terrorism. In addition, this newspaper points out her humanity and solicitude when writing: “She described the explosion as an inhuman, indiscriminating attempt to massacre innocent and unsuspecting people and sent heartfelt sympathy, as Prime Minister and as leader of the party, to all those who had suffered.” [93]

Of all the topics analyzed in the chapter dealing with domestic affairs, the depiction of Thatcher’s attitude after the Brighton bomb attack is the only one on which the British newspapers share the same opinion.

5.3.3 MINERS’ STRIKE

The miners’ strike from 1984 to 1985 is considered the major industrial strike having impact on coal industry in the United Kingdom. The strike was a culmination of tensions between the government, led by Margaret Thatcher, and National Union of Mineworkers, headed by Arthur Scargill. [94]

In 1970s and 1980s, the government struggled with very strong trade unions which were even considered one of the reasons of the fall of Heath’s cabinet. Since the beginning of Thatcher’s premiership, her stance against

the trade unions was well-known. In 1984, the government manifested intentions to close 20 uneconomic pits and as a result of that, the miners of Cortonwood colliery in Yorkshire started to protest on 5 March 1984. The protest affected many others and soon there were unofficial strikes all across the United Kingdom. There were a large number of consequences that the strike had, not only on the country, but also on the citizens. This period brought high amount of violence, for example when strikers tried to prevent other employees from going to work by using brute force, and in addition three deaths related to the strike were reported. This situation was also very expensive for the government because they had to ensure the social security, and moreover, import the coal from Poland. [95] [96]

The strike ended on 5 March 1985, after a majority of strikers decided to return to work because their families suffered from hunger. Equally important was Thatcher's determination and effort to defeat the trade unions. [97]

Concerning this topic, *The Daily Telegraph* is a staunch supporter of Margaret Thatcher. The articles published in recent years depict the former Prime Minister as unyielding leader who managed to defeat the trade unions and thereby helped improve British economy. Moreover, the settlement of this problem is described as the greatest success of Margaret Thatcher during her second term in the office. For instance, when Thatcher's obituary was presented, one of its parts carries a subheading: "Margaret Thatcher's greatest achievement during this parliament was in resisting the year-long national miners' strike." [98] The newspaper also posted video, in which the speech of Margaret Thatcher on one hundred and fourth day of strike is recorded. They also quoted a part of the speech: "violence does not pay" [99] and together with the video, it emphasizes Thatcher's determination and resolute attitude against trade unions and the strike.

Different from *The Daily Telegraph*, the depiction of Margaret Thatcher in *The Guardian* is negative. Her conduct during the strike is delineated as extremist with a great prejudice against the miners. For example, Seumas Milne wrote "The fevered extremism of her comments – Labour's leader Neil Kinnock was even absurdly described as a "puppet" of the miners' president Arthur Scargill – are a reminder of the vengeful class fury of her government." [100] Along with her behaviour, the manipulation of media and police violence

are also criticized. The newspaper defends the strike and mentions the negative economic consequences that are currently manifested, such as so-called zero-hour contracts or outsourcing. Equally important is the article by Ann Czernik, which brings very negative and emotional interview with Ken Radford, a former miner. Radford speaks of severe police violence and the consequences he experiences, such as problems with finding job or poor standard living in cities around the mines. Furthermore, he accuses the former Prime Minister for all of that when saying in the interview: “My lad's out of work. He's 25, he's had three, maybe four years' work in the past nine years. He's a good lad. Thatcher destroyed him through no fault of his own ... Thatcher took everything away – hope, everything – just for her own pride.” [101]

5.4 FOREIGN AFFAIRS

This chapter is concerned with the depiction of international conflicts, specifically with the Falklands War and the Cold War, in which Margaret Thatcher played a prominent role. The depiction of the former Prime Minister by the British Press is presented.

5.4.1 THE FALKLANDS WAR

The conflict that helped Margaret Thatcher win the general election in 1983 is called 'The Falklands War' and has its origins in 17th century. The Falkland Islands are the group of islands in the South Atlantic Ocean, only 400 miles away from Argentina and 8 000 miles distant from the United Kingdom. The dispute between the Spanish, the British, the French and the Argentinians over to whom the islands belong started in 17th century. Since 1833 the territory of islands has been occupied and governed by the United Kingdom and that year also defines when the Argentinians started to lead long running disputes with the current ascendancy.[102]

In the pre-war period, Argentina was under a military dictatorship and the country suffered from an economic and social crisis. As a response to the situation, the Argentinian governance decided to invade Falkland Islands, which happened on 2 April 1982. They did not expect any armed response from the United Kingdom and Thatcher's planned reform of British army was expected to contribute to Argentinian's achievement. Nevertheless, Prime Minister showed her patriotic attitude and decided to send 93 ships in total to the Falkland Islands. Meanwhile the ships voyaged towards the islands, there was time for diplomatic negotiations. The two countries did not reach an agreement and the conflict divided other countries into supporters of Argentina, which was almost whole South America, and supporters of the United Kingdom, for example the United States of America. The United Kingdom also gained a support of international organizations such as the United Nations and the European Economic Community. [103] [104]

On 21 May, after aerial and naval battles, the British army landed on East Falkland Island where bloody conflicts between the two armies took place. After 74 days of Argentinian occupation, the British army conquered the capital Stanley and won the war which was never officially announced. There were

about 700 of deaths on the side of Argentina, 3 dead civilians and 252 casualties on the part of the United Kingdom, which was the highest loss of lives since the Second World War for them. [105]

The result of the Falkland War was not only the rise of popularity of British Prime Minister, but also social unrest and the end of the dictatorship in Argentina. [106]

5.4.1.1 COMPETENT LEADER

As mentioned, the victory over Argentina helped Thatcher win general elections and she also gained considerable popularity. This fact was mentioned by a majority of newspapers. Simon Jenkins from *The Guardian* stated: "The Falklands war of April-June 1982 was the turning point in Mrs Thatcher's premiership, indeed in her political career." [107] Likewise *The Spectator* mentioned that "[...]one of the chief reasons that she was re-elected in 1983 after a period of staggering unpopularity was the Falklands triumph of 1982[...]". [108]

The Guardian depicted Thatcher's attitude during the war as uncompromising, but on the other hand respectful towards decisions of international organizations. Journalists pointed out her patriotism when commenting on Thatcher's personal letters sent to relatives of the victims of the war. Even though this newspaper is characterised by its pacifism, Thatcher's decision to go on war is not framed in negative way; on the contrary, it is depicted as inevitable and politically correct. In a large number of articles the Falkland War and Thatcher's leadership during the war is described as one of the milestones in her premiership. As the subtitle of Jenkins' article stated: "The prime minister's decision to go to war in 1982, with her government on the brink of collapse, changed everything". [109]

The same opinion and depiction was fully shared by *The Daily Telegraph*. Once again Thatcher's patriotism was highlighted when the journalist Peter Foster quoted her war speech: "We have to recover those islands," she said. "We have to recover them for the people on them are British and British stock and they still owe allegiance to the Crown and want to be British." [110] In addition *The Daily Telegraph* created a picture of Margaret Thatcher carrying about the soldiers in the Falkland War and always wearing

black during the war as a sign of respect. Along with that the determination is another important character attributed to former British Prime Minister which is mentioned in a large number of articles.

There are no newspapers denouncing Thatcher's actions during the Falkland war, in reality the British newspapers such as *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Spectator* or even the controversial tabloid *The Sun* endorsed her and depicted her as a good leader and exceptional executive.

5.4.2 THE COLD WAR

The Cold War was military and political rivalry and tension between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. The tension arose on the basis of ideological differences and the disagreement about the organization of the world after the World War II. On one side, there were the United States and its allies, such as the United Kingdom and NATO, and on the other side, there was the Soviet Union. The war was conducted with no actual fighting between the two countries, it was based on competing in technical progress, sport, espionage and arms race or on proxy wars outside their territories. [111]

Margaret Thatcher is considered one of the most important figures that helped end the Cold War. The former Prime Minister spoke out strongly against communism, cooperated closely with Ronald Reagan and NATO, with which she concluded an agreement on the placement of nuclear weapons in the United Kingdom. The placement of missiles was one of the reasons why Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev former leader of the Soviet Union, signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Treaty eliminating nuclear weapons, in 1987. The second reason connected to Thatcher was that she created positive relations with Gorbachev, as mentioned in theoretical part of this thesis. Thatcher served as a mediator between the two leaders and helped along their meeting. [112] [113]

5.4.2.1 THE COLD WAR ANGEL

The role played by Margaret Thatcher during the Cold War is considered one of the key roles in her premiership and therefore the British newspapers included this topic among other about which they wrote after her death in 2013.

The Daily Telegraph places great emphasis on the support that Thatcher expressed to Reagan during the war, as an illustration David Blair wrote: “By offering immovable support, she helped Reagan to accelerate the end of the Cold War.” Moreover Blair’s article carries the headline: “Margaret Thatcher: The 'Iron Lady's' pivotal role in ending the Cold War” [114] through which he highlights the importance of Thatcher in the war. Another journalist from the same newspaper, Radek Sikorski, points out the significant role that Thatcher played during the conflict, furthermore his headline says: “Margaret Thatcher: A Cold War angel and a democratic miracle” [115] through which he describes Thatcher as an angel and gives her great magnitude.

The cooperation between Reagan and Thatcher is mentioned also in *The Guardian*. This newspaper also highlights Thatcher’s support and importance during the war. The former Prime Minister is depicted as a key player or an important component, for instance Richard V Allen writes: “Unquestionably, a major component of what Reagan achieved was mirrored in what Baroness Thatcher herself achieved.” [116] and thereby refers to both facts mentioned in this paragraph.

All things considered, the British newspapers support Margaret Thatcher’s actions during the Cold War. As well as the depiction of Thatcher’s attitude during the Falklands War, the depiction related to the Cold War is positive and the journalists share the same opinion. Of all the topics analyzed, Thatcher’s role in Britain’s foreign policy is the only one which provokes almost no disagreement across papers of various political leanings.

5.5 MARGARET THATCHER'S DEATH

"The world has lost one of the great champions of freedom and liberty, and America has lost a true friend. As a grocer's daughter who rose to become Britain's first female prime minister, she stands as an example to our daughters that there is no glass ceiling that can't be shattered. As prime minister, she helped restore the confidence and pride that has always been the hallmark of Britain at its best. And as an unapologetic supporter of our transatlantic alliance, she knew that with strength and resolve we could win the Cold War and extend freedom's promise." [117] - Barack Obama, US President

This chapter discusses in what style the British press wrote and published articles immediately after Margaret Thatcher's death and whether the journalists held positive, negative or neutral attitude.

Since the year 2002, when Margaret Thatcher suffered several small strokes, she struggled with a declining health condition. The same year is characterized by the end of her political activities and only three years later, in 2005, her daughter Carol indicated in the interview for *The Daily Telegraph* that her mother had problems with memory, which were specified as dementia in the following years. After having problems with climbing stairs in house in Chester Square, Margaret Thatcher moved to The Ritz where the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom died after suffering a stroke on 8 April 2013. [118] [119]

As mentioned in the thesis, Margaret Thatcher played a key role in British modern history and that is why the articles about her death started to appear only a few minutes after it occurred.

The articles published in *The Daily Telegraph* immediately after the announcement of Thatcher's death depict the former Prime Minister in a positive way. For her description, the journalists use positive attributes and superlatives through which they highlight her importance and political power. To demonstrate, the newspaper frames Thatcher as "Britain's greatest post-war prime minister" [120] and "Britain's greatest peacetime prime minister" [121]. The majority of articles also present changes that Thatcher introduced during her premiership, such as privatization or transformation of British economy, and in *The Daily Telegraph* the changes are evaluated positively.

As an illustration, the journalists Gordon Rayner and Steven Swinford wrote: “She will go down in history not only as Britain's first female prime minister, but as the woman who transformed Britain's economy in addition to being a formidable rival on the international stage.” [122]

On the contrary, *The Guardian* describes Thatcher in a negative way, which is demonstrated by Michael White’s depiction of Margaret Thatcher as “[...] an unremarkable mid-ranking Conservative politician”. [123] The majority of articles deal only with celebrations of Thatcher’s death on the streets through which the authors undermine Thatcher’s legacy. For instance, the article published on the day of her death, written by Barry Neild describes street parties in Brixton and Glasgow and is concluded by the sentence: “A chorus of “so long, the witch is dead” erupted, along with chants of “Maggie Maggie Maggie, dead dead dead,” from the gathering as champagne bottles were popped.” [124] The changes mentioned in the previous paragraph are significantly criticized and the newspaper also publishes a large number of interviews with citizens celebrating her death in which they give reasons for the negative attitude they have towards her. A majority of them criticizes the changes that Thatcherism introduced and share their unfavourable experience. For example, *The Guardian* published the article presenting reactions of Orgreave veterans in which authors Helen Pidd and David Conn write: “Chris Whitley, 56, who sold tobacco on the picket line, said he was in the pub to ‘celebrate – course we are. She killed these villages.’ He said families had been torn apart by the strike – brothers still refusing to speak to each other, unable to forgive the sibling who crossed the picket line while the other struggled by on strike wages for a year or more.” [125]

The attitude held by *The Guardian* when publishing articles related to Thatcher’s death is shared by *The Independent*. This newspaper published articles about celebrations of Thatcher’s death as well. Moreover, the journalists emphasize how great negative impact Thatcherism had on British society because they present citizens who did not even live in the era of Thatcher’s premiership so they have no personal experience with Thatcherism nevertheless they take a negative stand on it and celebrate her death.

Besides the newspapers mentioned above which comment on the topic either positively or negatively, there are newspapers that provide neutral

commentary, such as *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Star*. The majority of articles quote global political personalities who expressed their condolences and the authors provide information about Thatcher's premiership without any praise or criticism. [126] [127]

Concerning the comparison of the depiction of Margaret Thatcher before and after her death there are newspapers that did not allow themselves to be influenced by the grievous event, kept the same attitude after her death and did not change their attitude towards her, for instance *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*, but on the contrary there are also newspapers, such as *The Independent*, which changed their attitude. Before Thatcher's death her depiction in this newspaper was not homogeneous, whereas after the former Prime Minister's death the articles have only criticizing character. As mentioned in previous paragraph, there are also newspapers providing neutral commentary on Thatcher's death, namely *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Star*.

6 CONCLUSION

As mentioned, the goal of this thesis is to analyze the depiction of Margaret Thatcher in the British press. The analytical part is divided into five chapters which are focused on events in which Thatcher played a prominent role.

The analysis was based on the examination of the individual papers' attitude towards former Prime Minister and during the research it was found that that the British newspapers usually report on affairs which have impact on British society.

As revealed in the chapter "Thatcher's ideology" the opinion of the British press on Thatcher's ideology called Thatcherism is not homogeneous. *The Guardian* acts as a critic of Thatcherism and does not approve it particularly because of its negative social impact and strong individualism. By publishing articles focused on deteriorating conditions of British society, the journalists depict Margaret Thatcher as an uncaring Prime Minister. On the contrary the newspapers *The Sun* and *The Daily Telegraph* consider Thatcherism as necessary and with a positive impact on current Britain.

Secondly, the first part of the chapter "Thatcher's men" presenting the depiction of Denis Thatcher revealed that the portrayal by various newspapers is uniform, the authors across the British press share positive attitude and in the depiction they use superlatives. Concerning Rupert Murdoch it was found that the majority of British newspapers share the same negative depiction of the relationship he had with former Prime Minister, the perceived dishonesty and lies that surrounded this relationship are criticized and in this context Margaret Thatcher herself is depicted as pursuing her self-interest. The last part of this chapter dealing with Ronald Reagan presents that also in this affair the newspapers share the same opinion which in this case is positive and the relationship is depicted as advantageous for the United Kingdom.

The analysis in the third chapter "Domestic affairs" shows that only in the case of the event in Brighton, the depiction of Margaret Thatcher across the British press does not vary. The authors point out Thatcher's determination, strong opposition to terrorism and fearless personality.

Concerning the affairs in Greenham Common and the miners' strike the attitude of *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* is miscellaneous. *The Guardian* is again presented as critic of Margaret Thatcher and moreover as supporter of discontent British society through which undermines Thatcher's authority. The authors blame her for police violence and criticize her regarding the abuse of Prime Minister's power. On the other hand, *The Daily Telegraph* acts as a staunch supporter of Margaret Thatcher, when describing her in the context of domestic affair they characterize her as an unyielding leader who improved British economy and they describe the affairs as Thatcher's greatest success.

The sixth chapter presenting the examination of the depiction of Margaret Thatcher in the context of foreign affairs reveals that of all topics examined in the thesis Thatcher's role in foreign policy of the United Kingdom produces almost no disagreement across British newspapers of diverse political tendencies. A large number of newspapers, such as *The Sun*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Spectator* and *The Guardian*, depict Thatcher in a positive way as a competent leader.

The final chapter shows that concerning the comparison of portrayal of Margaret Thatcher before and after her death there are newspapers that did not change their attitude even after the grievous event, for example *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*, but on the other hand there are newspapers which did not keep the same attitude, such as *The Independent*. In addition, it was found that there are also newspapers which provide neutral commentary on the situation, such as *The Daily Mail* or *The Daily Star*.

In conclusion, the result shows that in a majority of analyzed topics *The Guardian* acts as a critic of Margaret Thatcher and her policy with the focus on presentation of British society which suffers the consequences of her policy. On the contrary in all analyzed topics *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun* occupy a position of Thatcher's supporter. Additionally the newspapers such as *The Daily Mail*, *The Daily Star* and *The Spectator* provide neutral portrayal of Margaret Thatcher across all topics analyzed. Concerning the newspaper *The Independent* which published supporting but also criticizing articles before her death and only criticizing articles after her death, the analysis

shows that this newspaper is ambivalent. These findings appear to be in accordance with the political leanings of the papers analyzed.

7 ENDNOTES

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9 ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the depiction of Margaret Thatcher by the British press. The analysis focuses on the events in which the former Prime Minister played a significant role. The main sources used in this thesis are the monographs providing information about the British press and Margaret Thatcher's personal and political life and the British newspapers *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Spectator*, *The Sun*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Daily Star* and *The Express* which were chosen on the basis of the political support they give in order that there are newspapers from all political spheres in the thesis.

The analysis is most focused on the first two mentioned newspapers because they provide the most extensive amount of information to all selected events. In addition, there is a complementary analysis of other mentioned newspapers.

The thesis is divided into two main sections. The theoretical part providing general information about the British press and presenting brief bibliography of Margaret Thatcher is followed by the analytical part which aims at attitudes of previously mentioned British newspapers towards selected affairs related to Margaret Thatcher.

The thesis is concluded by chapter presenting results of analysis.

10 RESUMÉ

Cílem této bakalářské práce je analyzovat vyobrazení Margaret Thatcherové podle britském tisku. Analýza je zaměřena na události, ve kterých bývalá britská premiérka zastávala významnou roli.

Hlavní zdroje používané v této práci jsou monografie poskytující informace o britském tisku a osobním a politickém životě Margaret Thatcherové a britské noviny *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Spectator*, *The Sun*, *The Daily Mail*, *Daily Star* a *The Express*, které byly vybrány na základě jejich politického orientace tak, aby byly zastoupeny noviny všech politických sfér.

Analýza je zaměřena na první dva zmiňované deníky, jelikož poskytují největší množství informací o všech vybraných událostech. V bakalářské práci je také doplňková analýza ostatních zmíněných novin. Práce je rozdělena do dvou hlavních částí. Teoretická část poskytující obecné informace o britském tisku a prezentující stručnou bibliografii Margaret Thatcherové je následována analytickou částí, která se zaměřuje na postoj výše zmíněných novin vůči vybraným událostem souvisejících s Margaret Thatcherovou.

Práce je zakončena závěrečnou kapitolou, která prezentuje výsledky analýzy.

11 APPENDICES

11.1 APPENDIX 1 – Margaret Thatcher and her husband Denis Thatcher standing outside 10 Downing Street¹



¹ ABC [online]. [Retrieved 9 April 2016]. Available from: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-12-16/margaret-thatcher-and-denis-outside-10-downing-street/7034246>

11.2 APPENDIX 2 – Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan in 1981



² USA Today [online]. [Retrieved 9 April 2016]. Available from:
<http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2013/04/08/thatcher-reagan-political-soulmates/2063671/>

11.3 APPENDIX 3 – Thatcher and Gorbachev in England in 1984



³ CNN [online]. [Retrieved 9 April 2016]. Available from:
<http://edition.cnn.com/2013/01/11/world/europe/mikhail-gorbachev---fast-facts/>

11.4 APPENDIX 4 – Thatcher returning to the Conservative Party Conference after the Brighton bombing attack in 1984



⁴ The Guardian [online]. [Retrieved 9 April 2016]. Available from:
<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/gallery/2009/may/04/margaretthatcher-conservatives#img-14>

11.5 APPENDIX 5 – Thatcher visiting troops in Falkland Islands⁵



⁵ Rare Historical Photos [online]. [Retrieved 9 April 2016]. Available from: <http://rarehistoricalphotos.com/margaret-thatcher-falkland-islands-argentina-surrender-1983/>

11.6 APPENDIX 6 – Street celebration of Margaret Thatcher’s death⁶



⁶ The Telegraph [online]. [Retrieved 9 April 2016]. Available from: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/margaret-thatcher/9982143/Margaret-Thatcher-why-is-she-still-so-demonised.html>

11.7 APPENDIX 7 – The front page of The Daily Telegraph presenting Thatcher's death⁷



⁷ The Guardian [online]. [Retrieved 9 April 2016]. Available from: <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/gallery/2013/apr/09/margaret-thatcher-death-newspaper-front-pages#img-15>

11.8 APPENDIX 8 – The front page of The Guardian presenting Thatcher's death⁸

Inside: unique 16-page supplement including Mikhail Gorbachev, Shirley Williams, Lech Walesa, Carol Thatcher, Nigel Lawson and Nancy Reagan

the guardian

“
She became harder than hard
”

Hugo Young on Margaret Thatcher, 1925 - 2013

Days before he died in 2003 Young, Guardian columnist and Thatcher biographer, wrote an epitaph for the prime minister who changed Britain for ever

The first time I met Margaret Thatcher, I recall she was wearing gloves. But without any question, sitting behind her desk, she was wearing a hat.

Being a woman is undoubtedly one of the features, possibly the most potent, that makes her ascent to power remarkable.

The woman, however, changed. The gender remained, its artifacts deployed with calculation. But it was overlaid by the supposedly masculine virtues, sometimes more manly than the men could ever assemble. She became harder than hard. Sent Bobby Sands to an Irish bere's grave without a blink. Faced down trade union leaders after her early years - apprentice years, when Jim Callaghan's Britain was falling apart - in which the commonest fear was that the little lady would not be able to deal with them across the table.

Thatcher became a supremely self-confident leader. No gloves, or hats, except for royalty or at dinners, but feet on the cable, whisky glass at hand, into the small hours of retinue, for want of male cronies in the masculine world she dominated for all her 11 years in power.

I think by far her greatest virtue, in retrospect, is how little she cared if people liked her. Britain was battered out of the imminent conversations that had held back progress and, arguably, prosperity. This is what we mean by the Thatcher revolution, imposing on Britain, for better or for worse, some of the liberalisation that the major continental economies knew 30 years later, they still need. I think on balance, it was for the better, and so, plainly did Thatcher's chief successor, Tony Blair. If a leader's record is to be measured by the willingness of the other side to decide it cannot burn back the clock, then Thatcher looks big in history.

But this didn't come without a price. Thatcher left a dark legacy that, like her successes, has still not disappeared behind the historical horizon. What happened at the hands of this woman's indifference to sentiment and good sense in the early 1980s brought unnecessary calamity to the lives of several million people who lost their jobs. It led to riots that nobody needed. More insidiously, it fostered a mood of tolerated harshness. Materialistic individualism was blessed as a virtue, the driver of national success. Everything was justified as long as it made money - and this, too, is still with us.

2-15

Read the full text on pages 2-3

⁸ The Guardian [online]. [Retrieved 9 April 2016]. Available from: <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/gallery/2013/apr/09/margaret-thatcher-death-newspaper-front-pages#img-4>