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PRESS BIAS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

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PRESS BIAS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

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* * * * *

The Ohio State University
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Introduction and Review of Literature</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Role of the Press in a Democracy</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the Agitation Process?</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Agitation Process and Press Bias--A Theoretical Perspective</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review of Literature</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press Bias in Times of Stress</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Agitation Process</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Agitation Process--Northern Ireland</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promulgation</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Agitation Process and Press Bias--A Theoretical Perspective</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statutory and Legal Prejudice in Northern Ireland</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Authorities Act</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content Analysis Methodologies</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of Review of Literature</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Questions</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Methodology and Research Design</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedure</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Example of ECO-Analysis</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedure for Data Analysis</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coder Reliability</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Description of Data</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Terms Relating to the Agitants</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of Variance</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Terms Relating to the Agitant</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive Terms Relating to the Control Element</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of Variance - Positive Terms Relating to Control</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Terms Relating to the Control</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of Variance - Negative Terms Relating to Control</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primacy</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story Size</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head Size</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page Number</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IV. Interpretation of Data</strong></td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Review of the Data</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Local Reporter Comments</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Empirical Data--The Use of Evaluative Terms in Belfast Newspaper Stories Relating to the Catholic Agitation Process in Northern Ireland</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluative Term Use in Three Northern Ireland Newspapers</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primacy</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Evaluative Terms All Categories</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weights and Measures of Terms (Positive, Negative, Agitant, Control)</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Road to Belfast</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banishment and Pergation in Northern Ireland</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tourist Office and Bus Station</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Belfast Libraries</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FOOTNOTES</strong></td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>APPENDIXES</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Evaluative Word List</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Score Sheet and Instructions</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Instructions for Analyst</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIBLIOGRAPHY</strong></td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

1. Coder Reliability Comparison of Three Coders with Primary Coder ............... 56

2. Total and Mean Number of Stories per Paper by Time Period .................. 62

3. Total and Mean Number of Evaluative Terms (All Categories) per Paper by Time Period . 65

4. Mean Number of Terms per Story by Paper and Time Period ..................... 68

5. Total and Mean Number of Positive and Negative Agitant and Control Terms by Paper by Time Period ................. 70

6. Mean Story Size by Paper and Time Period . . . 82

7. Mean Head Size by Paper by Time Period . . . 83

8. Mean Page Number by Paper and Time Period . . . 84
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

Conflict in Northern Ireland has long been the subject of study, if for no other reason than because the conflict has gone on so long. Beginning with Henry VIII and continuing through the administration of Margaret Thatcher, conflict has become a way of life in Northern Ireland. The two opposing forces are reasonably well-defined. The Scots-Protestants, for the most part, the descendants of Oliver Cromwell's officers, and soldiers who were given land in exchange for their service during the Williamite War, are loyal to England. They have exercised their power as the majority to systematically discriminate against the Irish-Catholics. This pattern of discrimination is currently beginning to break up under the pressure of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights movement, pressure from the United Nations, as well as from a lack of willingness on the part of Great Britain to commit such a large portion of her resources to maintaining the status quo in Northern Ireland. It is important to understand that while there may be some debate about whether or not discrimination against Catholics is currently the policy in Northern Ireland, there can be little doubt about its historical presence.
I have a personal interest in the history of this region, because my grandfather was born in Ulster. His recollection of being ostracized by his sisters because he had a Catholic girlfriend, I think, most clearly demonstrates to me the presence of anti-Catholic attitudes in Northern Ireland as a historical fact. I might add that on a subsequent trip to Ireland, I talked with my grandfather's two sisters, who still live in Belfast, and they, now over sixty years later, mentioned the incident as evidence of brother Jim's (my grandfather) lack of character.

Most of the scholars who have studied the situation in Northern Ireland have done so from the perspective of the historian. For the communication scholar, the situation in Northern Ireland provides an ongoing opportunity to study the press in a time of great stress.

The central problem discussed here is whether or not the press becomes biased with reference to agitant groups in an unstable political situation. Northern Ireland is the focus. Three things must be considered in order to understand the above problem. First, what is the role of the press in a democracy? Second, what is the agitation process? Third, how are the two related as they apply to the special circumstances that are Northern Ireland?

The Role of the Press in a Democracy

The role of a free press in a democracy has long been recognized as essential to the orderly administration of the state. The importance and power of that role has led
virtually every government to place some restraints upon the press.¹ These restraints take the form of laws designed to curb or channel the power of the press, or to check the responsibility of the press. In times of political or social stress, the control of the press usually becomes more widespread. The rationale for placing restraints on the press, in this case, is usually that the benefits of some restraints balance the damage done to the free flow of information, and consequently, the democratic process.

What is the Agitation Process?

"Any group that advocates significant political or social change opposed by the establishment must make a choice among the means of persuasion available."² For instance, the agitator may choose to petition for redress of his grievances, or he may choose to force change through acts of war or terrorism. Usually, the agitator follows a more or less linear progression from petition of the establishment, through a series of maneuvers, to revolution. According to Bowers and Ochs, "agitation exists when people outside the normal decision-making establishment advocate significant social change and encounter a degree of resistance within the establishment such as to require more than the normal discursive means of persuasion."³

To take Bowers and Ochs' analysis one step further, it might be said that rhetorical dialogue is begun when the agitant presents his petition, but in point of fact, the motivating force which prompts the petition is often the
systematic denial of human or property rights by the establishment. In that sense, all revolutions begin with a demonstrable establishment bias against a minority group. The present study views newspaper stories about the violence in Northern Ireland by the Irish press to determine if those stories are biased as measured by the use of evaluative terms toward either the establishment or the agitator. The focus here is on one example, the press. Surely press bias has more importance than many other forms, at least in a democracy. However, it should be remembered press bias is a component of a larger problem that lies in the underlying attitudes.

In order to understand bias in Northern Ireland, the term bias must be understood, at least operationally. A bias is the behavioral component of an attitude. Gordon Allport defines an attitude as "a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience exerting directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related." Thus, bias is an observable manifestation of an attitude. This study operationalizes the term as presence of a statistically significant number of evaluative terms relating to either the control forces or the agitants measured over time, or among papers; additionally the presence of statistically significant story placement, story length, or headline size, over time or among papers is evidence of bias.
In Northern Ireland the current agitation process began in the early sixties as the Catholic minority (Northern Ireland is two-thirds Protestant) began to demand its civil rights. The problem was founded in the 1920 peace settlement between Ireland and England. The agreement gave independence to the Irish Republic (the twenty-six southern counties) while Northern Ireland remained a part of Great Britain. The reason for the division was that while the southern counties were predominantly of Irish-Catholic descent, the six northern counties were predominantly Scot, or Protestant. The Scot-Protestants have always held allegiance to England, as Patrick O'Farrell pointed out:

... Northern Ireland received entitlement to preserve its own antiquity as a society based on Protestant Unionist ascendancy and anti-Catholic discrimination; as its first Prime Minister, Sir James Craig, put it, Northern Ireland had a 'Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people', and the subsidiary political, social and economic structures followed suit. The outcome of partition was to reduce the traditional Irish question as it had formerly pertained to thirty-two counties, to the dimensions of six. The shrinkage converted a Protestant Unionist minority as a whole, to a majority in the Northern Ireland context, but it did not change the essential question, which remained as it had always been, what was to be the status of Irish-Catholics in the island of Ireland?

The bias one group in Northern Ireland feels against another group is firmly rooted not only in religious and political differences, but in social and legal differences as well. The anti-Catholic and anti-Irish attitudes evidenced above were reflected in biased English law, which at various times in history made it literally illegal to be an
Irishman in Ireland.\textsuperscript{8}

This original problem is the foundation for the agitation process today in Northern Ireland. The Catholics have attempted, over the past fifteen years, to obtain their civil rights by choosing among the means available. Petition, marches, strikes, boycotts and military action have all been tried. By 1980 the situation had developed to the point that while many of the Catholics and Protestants sought a solution to the situation, led by Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams (Nobel Peace Prize winners) in the so-called Peace People Movement, a significant number on both sides had turned to a different kind of agitation, violence. For the Catholics, the Irish Republican Army has continued a campaign of armed guerrilla warfare. The Protestant paramilitary forces have a number of names, including the Ulster Freedom Fighters, the Ulster Defense Regiment, and others. These Protestant organizations are essentially reactionary groups set up for the purpose of retaliating against IRA operations and for preventing the unification of Ulster with Ireland.

The Agitation Process and Press Bias--
\underline{A Theoretical Perspective}

Just as the role of the press can be considered that of a gatekeeper, as a number of researchers have claimed,\textsuperscript{9} the agitation process can be considered an event or series of events. A theoretical framework useful in understanding the relationship between events and gatekeeping is a mass
communication model. This assumes, of course, that the social and political system in Northern Ireland has a need for transmissible messages as a means of solving its problems.

In the simple act of communication, Person A transmits something about an object, X, to Person B. Newcomb found that as this process takes place, systematic changes in the condition of the system can be predicted. Applying Newcomb's basic postulate to the mass communication process, Westley and MacLean devised a communication model that is useful in understanding how the complex process of news-making takes place. Expressed schematically, the Westley-MacLean model looks like this:

Where X = events, A = advocacy roles, C = Channel roles, B = behavioral system roles, F = feedback. The four basic elements in this model, when it is applied to the situation in Northern Ireland, can be translated as incidents or persons involved in mass communication about
the agitation process or agitators. The X's are events, from which the A's (reporters for the various newspapers) must select stories to be communicated to the population (B) the channel of the newspaper (C).

The connection between press bias and the agitation process is in the nature of this mass communication reporting process. All elements in the system are interdependent. In fact, as noted by Bowers and Ochs, the agitator may try to manipulate the political and news system. For Westley and MacLean this function is that of a "purposive" communicator and was assigned the position of A. Here, it is useful to isolate the "purposive" communicator (agitator) from the "non-purposive" communicator, the reporter. This elaboration of the basic model will be dealt with systematically in the Review of Literature.

Review of Literature

Introduction

The review of literature covers four basic areas. First, the press bias in times of stress. Second, the agitation process in general and Northern Ireland specifically. Third, the relationship between the agitation process and bias in the press. Fourth, research methodologies applicable to the research problem.

Press Bias in Times of Stress

It is difficult to talk about the concept of bias without at least touching on the literature that relates to
attitudes. It is important to understand that there is a difference between bias and attitudes. An individual may have a negative attitude toward a group or another individual. But that attitude may not beget biased actions. In short, the attitude that is kept to oneself is meaningless in terms of this dynamic. This study attempts to measure the amount of bias in daily newspapers during a period of time in which there was a large number of pressures on the press to carry the stories with a favorable bias toward one group or the other. Certainly it could be said Bowers and Ochs are correct about the actions of dissident groups that the agitants have clear media goals. They wanted the media to carry their message fully and favorably. The same could be said for the security forces. In that sense, as the situation became more and more serious, the press should have been subject to greater and greater pressures from each of these groups to resolve questions about dissident action in their favor.

A number of scholars have undertaken studies of the press in times of stress. The basic thrust of that research seems to have been historical, descriptive or legal. Most of the volumes dealing with the subject of censorship or pressure on the press are either expositions of case law, \(^{14}\) philosophical treaties on freedom of the press, \(^{15}\) or historical chronologies. \(^{16}\)

There have been a few scholarly works dealing with the subject of press bias or censorship. A few have discussed
the subject in relationship to a period of political instability. Ghazi Ismail Al-Gailani focused on prior restraint initiated by the government. Emmanuel E. Parasches treated a similar issue. Robert Crawford, like Gailani, studied the press in a time of great turmoil, the Sukarno takeover in Indonesia, but again he focused on the role of the government in press suppression. Don Pember investigated the legal aspects of press suppression.

All of the above-mentioned scholars focused on one fairly narrow area, that of governmental attempts at press suppression or control through censorship. In one sense it could be said that their research is a compendium of research into legally sanctioned bias. Perhaps the reason all these studies have focused on legally sanctioned establishment bias is that establishment bias is often reflected in law. Thus it is somewhat easier to research because laws are codified and published while bias attitudes that beget those laws are not.

The reason for the lack of information on the subject of prior restraint by anti-establishment forces through press manipulation may be that urban (most opinion-leading newspapers are located in large cities) terrorism is a relatively new political phenomenon. In traditional wars, the press is either suppressed by the government in the name of national security, or manipulated by the political factions directly, as in Sweden, where the major newspapers are owned by the various political parties. The situation
in Northern Ireland is different. The government and the press have attempted to function normally in the face of sustained guerrilla attacks from many sides. These attacks are not the repressive legislation of the totalitarian state, nor the wholesale jailing of newspaper reporters as in Indonesia during the Sukarno overthrow; rather, they are actual physical attacks by outlawed revolutionaries on those members of the press who print unfavorable stories about anti-establishment figures or anti-establishment political issues, as Crawford notes took place in Indonesia.21

The Agitation Process

The agitation process is a complex one. A number of scholars have focused on the rhetoric of social change. Most have taken a historical approach. Five model approaches can be advanced when attempting to understand the structures of agitation.

First, the "systems" approach attempts to understand change in terms of balance theory. For example, the society (system) operates smoothly and efficiently until some stress or tension produces imbalance. The imbalance produces change.22

Second, the "developmental" approach understands change as an integral part of society focusing on some distant goal, and is distinguishable in phases.23

Third, in the "social action" approach the activist-agitator acts as an agent of change who understands his role in the agitation process.24
Fourth, there is the "Marxist" approach to social change, outlined by Jonathan Turner. The basic assertions here are that:

(1) The more unequal the distribution of scarce resources in a system, the greater the conflict of interest between dominant and subordinate segments;

(2) The more aware subordinate segments become of their collective interests, the more likely they are to question the legitimacy of unequal distribution;

(3) The more aware subordinate segments are of their collective interests, the more likely they are to organize and initiate overt conflict against dominant segments;

(4) The more violent the conflict, the greater will be the structural change of the system and redistribution of resources. This approach to the problem is effective to the extent that it sees social change as a dynamic in which the mass media are an integral part and time is an important component. This approach, however, fails to consider the effect of cultural values as well as the influence of the various actors.25

Fifth, "game theory" sees the agitation process as a series of maneuvers, each calculated to gain an advantage for the "players."26

It is important to note that none of these theoretical approaches are mutually exclusive; the agitation process can be understood by applying any one or all of them to a given societal situation. The game approach focuses on the role of the participants in the agitation process. This is particularly salient to a discussion of how a given "player" or "group of players," through exercising their "maneuvers" or strategies, can affect another dependent part of the society,
in this case, the press in Northern Ireland.

The "game approach" is useful in this case. It provides a more or less linear approach to the agitation process, dividing the process into a number of "strategies" and further dividing the "strategies" into "tactics." For example, "petition of the establishment" is a strategy and within that broad strategy; selection of sources of evidence is a "tactic." These divisions provide the researcher with the opportunity to monitor changes in the communications system at any point in the agitation process, and to compare changes, if any.

The agitation process, according to Bowers and Ochs, can be divided into nine strategies: "petition of the establishment, promulgation, solidification, polarization, non-violent resistance, escalation-confrontation, guerrilla-ghandi, and revolution." The theoretical approach to understanding the agitation process emerged from Bowers and Ochs' studies of the Black American civil rights movement in the United States and the Chicago Democratic Convention in 1968. In an attempt to understand the agitation process in Northern Ireland, the work done by Bowers and Ochs helped give form to the analysis of the situation in Northern Ireland because the researcher used the categories devised by Bowers and Ochs during their study of the situation in Chicago's Democratic Convention.

According to the study mentioned above, "petition is characterized by use of all the normal discursive means of persuasion. Its tactics include selection of target
audiences, selection of types and sources of evidence and selection of linguistic style."^29

"Promulgation is characterized by the use of the tactics of informational picketing, erection of posters, distribution of handbills and mass protest meetings. Promulgation also makes use of the tactic of exploitation of the mass media, and the use of legitimizers to further that exploitation. A legitimizer is a person who is within the establishment and endorses at least some parts of the agitators' ideology. Finally, in promulgating their cause, the agitator may use the tactics of staging an event that he knows to be newsworthy."^30

Boorstin called this kind of event the "pseudo-event," or an event that takes place solely for its news value."^31

"Solidification is characterized by the use of the tactics of plays, songs, slogans, expressive symbols, and in-group publications, all designed to weld the agitation group together. This main difference between the tactics of solidification and that of other strategies is while the tactics of other strategies are directed at the public, the tactics of solidification are directed at the agitation group rather than the public at large, and are designed to reinforce agitant group solidarity."^32

"The strategy of polarization is designed to force individuals who have not committed themselves to take a position. It is characterized by the tactics of use of "flag individuals" and "flag issues," and the invention of derogatory jargon."^33

"The strategy of non-violent resistance is characterized by use of "creative disorder" (sit-ins, boycotts, strikes, etc.). Also, the tactic of persistance is central to non-violent resistance. The agitator must force the establishment to react to the issues. It must be clear that the agitators will not discontinue their efforts no matter how long it may take for change."^34
"The strategy of escalation-confrontation has only recently begun to be explored by agitators. Its basic principle is that when the establishment is sufficiently apprehensive, it will over-prepare for agitation. The over-preparation will result in excesses by establishment security forces, and the inadequacies of the establishment position will be demonstrated. The strategy is characterized by a series of tactics designed to escalate tension in the establishment until the establishment resorts to violent suppression in a confrontation with agitators. The tactic of "token violence" is representative."35

"The strategy of guerrilla-ghandi is characterized by a division in the ranks of the agitators. Two groups emerge, the first dedicated to non-violent resistance, and the second dedicated to physical destruction of the establishment. Each group is working toward the same goals."36

"The strategy of guerrilla-ghandi is indicated by the use of physical attacks on an unpopular establishment. If successful, other members of the society will be polarized and either join in the attacks or defend the establishment."37

"The strategy of revolution is war. The tactics are those traditionally used in warfare."38

According to Bowers and Ochs, the strategies outlined above are "cumulative and progressive." Each step is dependent upon the previous one, although the process is not completely internally consistent. For instance, "solidifying tactics may also serve promulgation or polarization functions." Much depends upon the reactions of the establishment. At any point in the agitation process, the control or establishment forces can make a choice to
react to the agitators in one of three ways.

"First, the establishment can meet the agitators with suppression, deny their grievances. Second, the establishment may react with avoidance, that is, they may grant some demands in the hope that the movement will be defused. Third, they may react by capitulating, that is, they may grant the demands of the agitators."39

The focus of this dissertation is to describe the relation between agitation movements and biased press content as measured by the presence of evaluative terms in a statistically significant number. Thus, the strategies of petition and solidification are not covered. Petition of the establishment includes general tactics that are not usually covered by the media. When these strategies alone are employed, agitation does not exist, except at a very low level. Their early employment is crucial to the agitation process; however, because the establishment, by showing that petition has not taken place, can label the agitator as a social deviant who has foregone the normal means of persuasion in favor of disruption. Until the establishment meets these strategies with either avoidance or suppression, the promulgation strategy cannot begin. Until the establishment reacts, in fact, the agitator may have some difficulty winning support for more drastic strategies. Solidification occurs within the agitation group, and as such, is not reported by the media. Thus, in a study focusing on press content solidification should not be covered.
In order to relate the "game theory" of agitation to the situation in Northern Ireland, it is necessary to define the process of agitation in terms of the present context that began in the late 1960's as the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland sought to gain their civil rights.

The Agitation Process--Northern Ireland

The Irish Republican Army (IRA), long leaders in the agitation process, ended one such process in 1962, as it pledged to stop all terrorist activity in exchange for release of IRA prisoners held in English jails. The next six years were relatively calm, although due to the nature of Irish-English relations, no period has been completely without agitation.

By 1968, the Catholic Civil Rights agitation process had begun in earnest once again. In terms of the press, promulgation was the first clearly discernible strategy.

Promulgation

Led by students and Catholic workers, promulgation began in October 1968. A mass protest meeting on October 5 of that year was met with severe police suppression, and prompted students at Queens University in Belfast to stage a protest sit-in. Throughout the month of November, there were a number of clashes between Catholic civil rights marchers and control elements of the establishment. By late November, the establishment met the demands with the tactics of avoidance. A few superficial reforms were
announced; for instance, an ombudsman was appointed. 44

The process of promulgation continued, coupled with some solidifying activities until early 1969. The civil rights marches continued through January; however, the focus of the marching changed. Polarization utilized the twin tactics of exploitation of flag issues and flag individuals. The agitators attempted to force the public, as Bowers and Ochs suggested, to make a choice. In short, the agitants tried to develop the logic that, if you are not with us, you are with them, leaving no middle ground. In February, a protest march was held. The stated objective of the march was to force the resignation of William O'Neill, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland. Mr. O'Neill had become a flag individual. 45 A good example of a flag issue also came during that same month. It was outlined by a *Times* volume, entitled *Ulster*. The issues included:

1. One man, one vote in local elections
2. The removal of gerrymandered boundaries
3. Laws against discrimination by local government
4. Allocation of public housing on a point system
5. Repeal of the Special Powers Act
6. Disbanding of the "B" Specials46

The two issues which became most important in the polarization process were repeal of the Special Powers Act (the Act provided for internment of agitators without trial, and denial of writ of habeas corpus) and the disbanding of the "B" Specials as Protestant paramilitary police forces.

Bowers and Ochs might say that Mr. O'Neill was selected as a flag individual through his job as an implementor of
policy, in much the same way that Lyndon B. Johnson was selected as a flag individual during the Chicago Democratic Convention in 1968. He was an implementor of policy. The Chicago police are easily compared to the "B" Specials of Ulster and that is why Mr. O'Neill was chosen as a flag individual.

Another polarizing tactic, the invention of derogatory jargon, was evidenced in a speech Ms. Bernadette Devlin gave:

One only has to consider the name of the leading O'Neillites to see what class they represent. The Duke of Westminster, the Son of Lord Carson, the husband of Lady Mora Hamilton—as motley a cabil of gentil riffraff as ever came together to con the common people. But the common people of Ulster are no longer up for sale to the lowest Orange bidder.47

The strategy of non-violent resistance was particularly difficult to discern in Northern Ireland. The situation has always been a volatile one. The presence of the Irish Republican Army and militant Protestant factions led to numerous violent clashes between what could properly be called agitators and control elements, in that the militant Protestants represented the status quo and as such, could be termed control forces. What is particularly interesting is that while the IRA was never long out of the headlines, throughout the latter part of 1969 and into 1970, they were mentioned only as a threatening presence or when arms were seized or IRA members arrested. During this period, the British had attempted to put the lid on further agitation
by passing restrictive public meeting laws. As these laws were passed, the strategy of the agitators changed from polarization to non-violent resistance. On January 1, 1970, a parade ban went into effect, and one month later the Public Order Act was activated. The Public Order Act provided for the arrest of any person who published any matter which was threatening or abusive, or whose publication or speech led to a breach of the peace. Catholic agitators took to the streets in defiance of the ban. Ms. Bernadette Devlin was jailed under the Act. The ban was lifted for the traditional "Orange Day" parades on July 12, but was reimplemented one week later. Throughout the rest of 1970 there were a series of clashes between Catholic agitators, Protestant paramilitary organizations, British troops and police.

In one sense, the above-mentioned laws represent a "step forward" when you consider what had happened in the past. In the past, anti-Irish attitudes were allowed free rein, even to the extent that the Irish language, religion and culture were outlawed.

The use of the strategy in escalation-confrontation became evident in 1971. The IRA was the instrument of escalation. Through bombings and snipings, the IRA forced the British to adopt more stringent control methods. In May 1971, the British Army was authorized to shoot suspected terrorists. Two months later, two civilians were killed by British soldiers and Bernadette Devlin, now
Member of Parliament from Mid-Ulster, called for a full inquiry. One month later a Catholic driver was killed by a British sentry. The IRA retaliated by killing two British soldiers. One day later, now Prime Minister Brian Faulkner invoked the "preventive detention" rule of the Special Powers Act. He also imposed another ban on parades. The next day 230 suspects were arrested in early-morning raids in the Catholic sections of Belfast and Londonderry. One month later another 215 were arrested.

By October 1971, the IRA vowed to take even sterner action against British excesses under the Special Powers Act. Faulkner described his position with regard to the IRA:

We are, quite simply at war with the terrorists... the ordinary law cannot deal comprehensively or quickly enough with such ruthless viciousness.

Newsweek described the situation in August of that year:

Last week the Protestant government poured fuel on a smoldering fire. Invoking the "preventive detention law" giving it the full power to jail suspected terrorists without trial. The government ordered the arrest of more than three hundred alleged Catholic guerrilla fighters. The violent Catholic reaction and the Protestant counter-reaction exacted a harsh toll: twenty-six persons were killed, hundreds more were injured and more than seven thousand people were driven from their homes.

The strategy of escalation-confrontation reached its zenith with Ulster's "Bloody Sunday." Twenty thousand marchers were headed for the square in front of the guild hall for a rally against internment. They were stopped by British troops and led into the Bogside (a Catholic
ghetto). About forty youths stayed behind and engaged in "token violence," hurling rocks and bottles at British troops. Soldiers of the first Battalion advanced on the youths, shots were heard, and the paratroopers gave chase. They ran down Roseville Road to Free Derry Corner where Ms. Devlin was about to address the crowd. According to Newsweek:

... The next twenty minutes were a nightmare. Terrified screams and shouts mingled with the thump of British automatic weapons fire, and when it was over, thirteen unarmed marchers, at least six of them in their teens, lay dead in the street and seventeen more were carried off to hospitals.61

All of the above is simply a way of explaining the nature of Northern Irish law. The reader will please note that while it is difficult to discern whether or not a given individual is being arrested because he or she is a dissident or because he or she is a criminal in the eyes of the law, it is less difficult to understand the law when the government bans all parades and demonstrations, only to lift that ban for the traditional Protestant Orange Day parade. This appears to this author as evidence of bias in the law.

It would be difficult to explicate the motives of the agitants, but according to the Bowers and Ochs paradigm, the presence of rock-hurling youths and an over-prepared control force were the necessary elements for the strategy of escalation-confrontation. The use of "token violence" (the rock-hurling youths) precipitated the entire event.
The control forces had overreacted. The effect of "Bloody Sunday" was to divide the Catholic community into two factions: (1) Agitators who advocated continuing the process of non-violent resistance (ghandi) and (2) agitators who advocated violent resistance (guerrilla), as Bowers and Ochs have predicted.62

Less than a month after "Bloody Sunday," the Northern Ireland Parliament was suspended.63 The action was viewed by Catholic proponents of non-violent resistance as a step toward a peaceful settlement. But, Sean MacStiophaine, chief of staff of the Provisional wing of the IRA, announced that the terrorist campaign would continue.64 The split in the agitation movement was a real one. On one hand, non-violent Catholic agitators staged marches and sit-ins, their leaders spoke of a peaceful solution; on the other hand, the IRA intensified its attacks, even to the point of using a Soviet-made rocket launcher to attack a police outpost.65

As of May 1974, when the data for this study were collected, the situation in Northern Ireland had changed little. There were still two basic agitation forces, one dedicated to reconciliation and compromise, the other dedicated to overthrowing the government by force. The strategy of guerrilla-ghandi was still being employed by the agitators.

In summary, the situation in Northern Ireland has always been a complex one. The definitions of control and
agitation elements are sometimes obscure. The basic Catholic grievances, equal consideration in housing the employment, have not been resolved. The agitants can be defined as Catholic poor and working class, along with some students and political functionaries. These groups have been advocating change in the basic social and economic structure of Northern Ireland which, as Patrick O'Farrell noted, is rooted in Protestant discrimination against Irish-Catholics and a biased body of law. It is more difficult to clearly define the control elements. Basically, the definition should encompass all establishment elements who have been instrumental in attempting to maintain the status quo. British troops, "B" Specials, the government of Northern Ireland, police and Protestant paramilitary organizations all have been properly called control forces.

The Agitation Process and Press Bias--
A Theoretical Perspective

The mass communication system is a complex one. As such, in order to structure and give meaning to the system and to provide a framework within which an experiment can be conducted, it is helpful to construct a model and approach the problem from a theoretical perspective.

Understanding the complexities of the mass communication process can be facilitated by using the Westley-MacLean model; it isolates the important elements of the system which need to be considered when analyzing the relationship of any one part of the system to another.
The Westley-MacLean model appears particularly useful because it utilizes both the concepts of "field theory" and "feedback." It also distinguishes between "purposive" and "non-purposive" communicators. This helps the researcher isolate the agitator as a "purposive" communicator.

Westley-MacLean place both the "purposive" and "non-purposive" in the same position in their model. In order to facilitate the isolation of agitation elements ("purposive" communicators), it is necessary to take the model one step further, and separate the "purposive" from the "non-purposive" communicator.

Where the X's are events or people, the A is either a "purposive" or "non-purposive" communicator selecting from among the X's and transmitting through a channel (C) to the receiver (B).

If the X's are an event or events in the agitation process, then they can be viewed as potential messages from the agitator to the society at large. Consequently, the model could be changed to express the division between "purposive" and "non-purposive" by adding another element, "D":

"X1" -- "A" -- "C" -- "B"

Where the X's are events or people, the A is either a "purposive" or "non-purposive" communicator selecting from among the X's and transmitting through a channel (C) to the receiver (B).
The most important feature of the altered model is the feedback link between B and D, because the X's become, through inferential feedback, dependent upon message "X".

Applying the model directly to the situation in Northern Ireland, D becomes the agitator, X's become events controlled by the agitator (a message from the agitator to B), A is the reporter, a "non-purposive" communicator who uses the channel (C) of the newspaper to get a message to the population (B).

It is important to note that the survival of the C role is dependent upon how appropriate the X's chosen by C for transmission to B or to B's needs and problem solutions. B is still a selector among the offerings of various C's and this means that C's are competitors for the attention of B's. C's therefore survive only to the extent that they satisfy the needs of B's. And B's, on the basis of the most obvious propositions of learning theory, will tend to return to those C's which have provided past need satisfactions and problem solutions.
In the situation being studied in Northern Ireland, the C's are newspapers. Consequently, it is important to note that while the system outlined above does operate, the population served by each of the C's (newspapers) was different; consequently, each newspaper tried to meet the needs of its particular constituency.

The different contents of the Belfast Telegraph, the Newsletter and the Irish News were expected, considering that one newspaper is locally known as the voice of the Loyalist-Protestants (the Newsletter), another is the voice of the Catholics (the Irish News), and the third is the voice of the moderate Protestants (the Belfast Telegraph).

The mass communication system is such that each element, whether a single person or organization, has a different and oft times incompatible role. The role of the agitator D was to get his message X carried fully and favorably by the channel-gatekeeper C. The goal of channel-gatekeeper C was to remain C by providing B with information relevant and useful so that B will continue to come to C for information. The inferential feedback between B and D, and between C and D has a consequent effect on message or event X. Thus, how an event was reported could affect subsequent events. Agitator D receives and processes feedback from C and B. He learns what message or events are most appropriate to his goal and alters his message X accordingly. In terms of press function, the goal of D is to get his message carried fully and favorably, but this is not always
possible, as noted by Bowers and Ochs:

... agitators have a problem obtaining full coverage from the media, they have an even greater problem obtaining favorable coverage. The reason is not difficult to infer. The principal media organizations... are businesses, profit-making organizations. They are factories. They take raw materials, events and reports of events and manufacture them into news, which they sell. An important mediator in the process of manufacture is the advertiser whose dollars sponsor the processes of printing and distributing the finished product.

To succeed, the media must please these groups:
(1) those on whom they depend as sources of news;
(2) those on whom they depend as sponsors; and
(3) those on whom they depend as consumers.

Much of their news comes from the establishment, government at all levels, including the enforcement branches, the police, and the military. This establishment is unlikely to be happy with favorable treatments of attacks upon itself by agitators. The second group, the sponsors or advertisers, are notoriously conservative, especially in economic matters. This group probably would withdraw support from any mass communication medium that seemed to advocate (by favorable treatment of an agitation ideology) a new or altered system. Finally, the media depend on their consumers. Most of the consumers are conditioned to accept the dominant value system of the culture, the value system of the establishment. Attacks on that value system make them uncomfortable and they are likely to begin ignoring the medium that continually carries such attacks.69

As a consequence of this systematic denial of goals, the agitator may seek to pressure the media into increasing coverage and/or favorably slanting coverage. There are two basic ways to study the extent to which agitation elements can influence the press. The first way is to simply ask them. In Northern Ireland, this is particularly
difficult because the agitator groups are all outlawed by statute, and anyone who admits membership can be jailed without trial. Another method is to content analyze the local press to determine if news coverage is affected, in what direction and to what extent.

Statutory and Legal Prejudice in Northern Ireland

Every society has sought to protect itself from dangerous or unpopular ideologies by legislating restraints on the freedom of information. This is particularly true in Northern Ireland. As the number and force of the messages from the agitator to the society at large increases, the society will often attempt to protect itself by limiting the expression of the agitator. These limitations take the form of statutory limitations on the press. 70

English laws relating to the press fall into the three general categories: censorship of the obscene, censorship of advocacy of violent acts, and censorship in time of national emergency. The statutes relating to the political situation in Northern Ireland fall into the latter two categories.

In a democratic state, censorship is anything that systematically, legally or extralegally, denies the press, prior to publication, the right to perform its function. Thus the libel and slander laws, because they approach the problem of press restraint after the fact, do not constitute censorship. However, if the effect of these laws is to
cause the press to alter a publication prior to dissemination, then the effect of the laws may be said to constitute censorship, creating a "chilling effect."

Certainly it would be unfair to say that all the English censorship laws were passed for the purpose of controlling the situation in Northern Ireland. Many of the laws have their roots in English common law, which is demonstrably different from the base of American jurisprudence. Presented below is a compilation of those laws which were passed specifically to deal with the situation in Ireland or Northern Ireland. In that sense, all of these laws are evidence of establishment anti-Catholic bias in Northern Ireland because they apply only to Catholics. It should be noted that the laws chronicled here are only the most recent and if one were to go back beyond 1920 to the infamous penal laws, which applied to all Ireland, a more clear picture of British anti-Irish bias is painted. One has only to note that at one point, it was literally illegal to be Irish in any County of Ireland except Connaught. To this day, the Irish have a saying, "Hell or Connaught," referring to the fact that those Irish who refused to leave their homes to travel to the poorest of the Irish provinces, Connaught, were often killed by British dragoons. This happened in the 1750's, just over two hundred years before the time discussed here.

The following is a breakdown of specific laws which affect the functioning of the press in Northern Ireland.
It is the application of restraints on the press and the results of those restraints that are of concern here. Therefore, the laws are listed as they have been applied, rather than according to their historical enactment. Possible implications of these statutes for the activities of the press are explored below.

--The Constitution of Northern Ireland
--Acts of Parliament
--Civil Authorities Act (alteration of Section 8, 1971)
--Incitement to Hatred Act (1970)
--Grand Jury Abolition Act (1969)
--Official Secrets Act

The Constitution of Northern Ireland provides the loophole through which either the Stormont or English Parliament can force censorship laws:

1. Excepted matters. The Imperial Parliament retains of its own hands (by virtue of Section 4 of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920) the power to make laws in respect of matters 'arising from a state of war' and 'defense of the realm.'71

The phrase "defense of the realm" has had a long history in English law. It has been used against political enemies of the realm since the reign of Henry VIII.

From the union of Great Britain and Ireland in 1800 to the present date, "all acts of Parliament extend to Ireland."72 Thus, all statutes designed to deal with national security in time of war in England also apply to Northern Ireland. Concerning press censorship, there are a number of statutes in Northern Ireland designed specifically to deal with matters arising out of the "troubles."
Civil Authorities Act

The Civil Authorities Act was the first of these censorship laws. Sections 2, 3, 4 and 6 state:

(2) Any person who attempts to commit, or solicits or incites or endeavors to persuade another person to commit, or procures, aids, or abets, or does any act preparatory to the commission of, any act prohibited by the regulation, or any order, rule or other instrument made thereunder, or harbors any person who he knows, or has reasonable cause for supposing to have acted in contravention of the regulations, or any order, rules or their instrument made thereunder, shall be guilty of an offense against the realm.

(3) It shall be the duty of any person who knows or has good reason to believe, that some other person is acting or has acted or is about to act, in contravention of any provision of the regulations, to inform the civil authority of the fact; if he fails to do so, he shall be guilty of an offense against the regulations.

(4) If any person does any act of such a nature as to be calculated to be prejudicial to the preservation of the peace and order in Northern Ireland, he shall be deemed to be guilty of an offense against the realm.

(6) Whereunder the regulations any act if done without lawful authority or excuse is an offense against the regulations, the burden of proving that the act was done with lawful authority shall rest on the person alleged to be guilty of the offense.73

In addition to the above restrictions, the Civil Authorities Act provided for the suspension of trial by jury, and granted to the local magistrates the power to inter without bail.

The regulations listed above were not passed specifically to deal with the press. However, note that Section 2
prohibits anyone from attempting to persuade another person to commit an act. This provision may have serious implications for the Republican press.

Section 3 provides that it is a punishable offense not to turn in a person who has committed an act in contravention of the regulations. For the press, in terms of confidentiality of news sources, this provision may represent a real threat.

Section 4 provides that a person who is not guilty of an offense if he does any act of such a nature that it might be prejudicial to peace and order. For the press, this could mean that it is illegal to publish information which could affect the peace and order.

Section 5 provides that the officers of a corporation are guilty of the offenses of that corporation. The wording of this section, in light of Sections 2, 3 and 4, could have a "chilling effect" on publication of inflammatory views, or even published reports concerning radical groups. Certainly it could lead the officers of a corporation to keep a tight rein on their employees.

Finally, Section 6 provides that it is the duty of the accused to prove his action was taken within the law. Court costs are high, and again the "chilling effect" is a possibility.

The Civil Authorities Act also provides that any person authorized by the civil authority has the power to make an arrest without a warrant. For the reporter in the field,
the prospect of being arrested by a zealous British soldier or constable could be a real one. Investigative or undercover reporting could be especially susceptible to this kind of statute.

There is one section of the Civil Authorities Act that deals directly with the press. Under Regulations for Peace and Order in Northern Ireland, it states:

If it appears to the Minister of Home Affairs for Northern Ireland that the publication or continued publication or distribution of any newspaper, periodical, book, circular, or other printed matter is prejudicial to the preservation of the peace and maintenance of order in Northern Ireland the Minister of Home Affairs for Northern Ireland may by order prohibit for any specified period the publication and distribution of any such newspaper, periodical, book, circular, or other printed matter.

If any person shall within such specified period print, publish, circulate, or distribute or be in any way concerned in the printing, publication, circulation or distribution of, or have in his possession, without lawful authority or excuse, any newspaper, periodical, book, circular, or other printed matter the publication and distribution of which has been prohibited under this regulation, he shall be guilty of an offense under these regulations.

Where any person is charged with having in his possession any printed matter as aforesaid and such printed matter was found on premises in his occupation, or under his control, or in which he is found or has resided, it shall be presumed to have been in his possession, unless the contrary is proved.74

These direct controls and another section prohibiting the membership in or possession of documents relating to any unlawful association, including all Irish Republican organizations, constitute at least an indirect control on the Republican press, as well as direct evidence of anti-
Irish bias reflected in law.

The Civil Authorities Act was amended a number of times over the years, but it was not until 1971 that the specter of censorship was raised. Section 8 of the original Act was altered to read:

It shall not be lawful for any person to print, publish, circulate, distribute, sell or offer or expose for sale or have in his possession for the purpose of publication, circulation, distribution or sale any document advocating:
(a) the procuring by force, violation, or other unlawful means, of an alteration of the constitution or laws of Northern Ireland, or
(b) the unlawful raising or maintaining of a military or armed force, or
(c) the obstruction of or interference with the administration of justice or the enforcement of the law, or
(d) support for any organization whatsoever which carries out any activities specified in the above.75

The threat to the freedom of the press is obtuse, but the effect in terms of radical publications is to virtually outlaw them. Later, in 1971 the Act was again amended to make it an offense to behave in such a way as to arouse apprehension regarding membership in the Irish Republican Army.76 Again, the danger to the press is not direct unless the journalist is aligned with the IRA. This may mean that the absence of stories biased against the establishment is evidence of a successful establishment tactic.

These laws could not be applied to anyone except members of Irish Republican organizations. I would argue that any law that is that clearly focused at one minority group is evidence of social bias.
Another direct restraint on the press in Northern Ireland is the Incitement to Hatred Act of 1970. The Act was designed to impose penalties upon persons who circulated false statements or false reports to incite hatred. The Act provided that:

1. A person shall be guilty of an offense under this Act if, with intent to stir up hatred against, or arouse fear of any section of the public in Northern Ireland:
   (a) he publishes or distributes written or other matter which is threatening, abusive or insulting, or
   (b) he uses at any public place or at any public meeting words which are threatening, abusive or insulting.

2. A person shall be guilty of an offense under this Act if, with intent to provoke a breach of the peace, whether immediately or at any time thereafter, he publishes or circulates in any way whatsoever any statement or report which he knows to be false or does not believe to be true, being a statement or report to stir up hatred against, or arouse fear of, any section of the public in Northern Ireland, on the grounds of religious belief, color, race or ethnic or national origins.

It would seem that the only influence of the above laws would be upon the unpopular revolutionary press. However, when the Grand Jury Abolition Act was passed in 1968, the right to determine what activities are unlawful reverted to the local magistrates. In most cases, the local magistrates are members of the Protestant majority and would be unlikely to view with pleasure writings referent to union with the Republic of Ireland, or anti-Unionist publications.

The Official Secrets Act provides for direct prior censorship. The "D" Notice System, under this Act, operates as a government censor. The "D" Notice is a "request"
issued by a Ministry of Defense that a newspaper not publish
information. The "D" Notice does not prohibit publication;
it serves to notify the publisher that if certain material
is published, he is liable for prosecution. According to
Donald Thomas in Long Time Burning:

The most common objections to the Official Secrets
Act and the "D" Notice System are that they may be
applied to information which is not really a matter
of security, and that they may be used to inhibit
the discussion of material which is political as
well as military. 79

Direct restraints upon the press constitute censorship.
In England, the "D" Notice System of the Official Secrets
Act provides the government with the opportunity to stop
information before it is published.

Finally, it should be noted that it was only in 1975
that it became illegal in Northern Ireland to discriminate
against Catholics. Prior to that time, it was legal for
employers to ask a prospective employee about his religion,
about his politics, about his social attitude, and to dis-
criminate. The difference between bias and prejudice is
highlighted by the passage of a law which makes it illegal
to discriminate against Catholics because in essence the
passage of that law shows that until 1975, discrimination
against Catholics had the weight of law in Northern Ireland.
Clearly Catholics were living in a situation in which they
were pre-judged and found wanting by the establishment.
Since that law was passed in 1975, there has been little
social change. Note that while systematic discrimination or
prejudice is illegal, the general social situation of the
Catholics has remained the same, much as the Emancipation Proclamation failed to change the lot of American Blacks. The comment by an Irish-Catholic worker in Belfast who has not had a steady job in twelve years illustrates the impact this new law had on the Catholics.

The only difference these laws have meant for me is that I don't have to write down my religion when I go apply for a job. But it doesn't make any difference in the end. A Protestant employer only has to see my name to know which church I go to on Sundays.80

The problem is pointed out particularly well when you note that only nine hundred employers in Northern Ireland have formally agreed not to discriminate in whom they hire. There are another fifteen hundred employers that have not yet agreed not to discriminate.81 The chairman of the government-sponsored Fair Employment Agency, David Cooper, noted that "there are workers here who don't bother to apply to certain firms because they are regarded as Catholic or Protestant firms. It is a fact in Northern Ireland, a fact of life which we have got to try and break down."82 Mr. Cooper's attempt at breaking down that fact of life notwithstanding, discrimination against Catholics continues to be a way of life in Northern Ireland.

The focus in this study is on the connection between the agitation process and the press bias. We know that the press is influenced by the presence of the agitators, if only due to anti-agitator press regulation or legislation such as that mentioned above. But, another question far more important in its implication for a free press is: Are
reporters intimidated by threats from the various combatants against their lives or their families' lives, and does that intimidation result in biased copy? Has the climate of violence in Northern Ireland rendered it impossible to report fairly. One effective method of understanding the extent to which, if any, agitation elements can influence press function is through content analysis of press reports of agitation events and individuals.

The purpose of this study was not to identify the causes of bias. That would be an incredibly complex task. Rather, the purpose was to determine if there was press bias as measured by statistically significant number of evaluative terms weighted toward one or another of the combatants during one period of chaos, 1968-1975, in Northern Ireland, and if that bias changed during the process.

**Content Analysis Methodologies**

A useful definition of content analysis was provided by Bernard Berelson in 1952. He said, "Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." Holsti further refined that definition in 1969 by adding the requirement of generality to the definition of content analysis. It is this definition that we will use here.

Traditional newspaper content analysis provides the researcher with statistical information about the length, theme, headlines, placement, size, and number of column
While traditional methods have some validity for determining the effect of the agitator on press functions, particularly with regard to the amount of importance a given newspaper gives to a story, as measured by the placement of that story, the data gathered through this method does not help in understanding how the press functions in relation to agitation events, nor does it offer an explanation as to the effect of agitator attempts to influence the function of the press. Rather, these forms of content analysis provide the researcher with numerical data from which inferences about press function can be made. Few researchers have attempted to understand the problem of press function in terms of how the press evaluates an agitation event, except thematically.

Many scholars have attempted to understand how to analyze bias in communication. The bulk of their research has dealt with literature, textbooks and the like, and with racial and sexual stereotypes therein, but the method could be applied to analyze any form of bias, including presumably bias against a given group as evidenced by press stories about that group. For the most part, however, these attempts have been descriptive and/or historical in nature. Other scholars have attempted to look at the social change by analyzing newspaper content, including thematic analysis of editorials, and frequency of mention of various topics.

William Joyce, Elizabeth Burr, Susan Wiik, Barbara G. Chasen and Sharon Weinberg, Barbara Green and
Leon Hurwitz, and Van Allen have all tried to deal with bias. Their studies were historical/descriptive. The need in their study was for a research instrument which would provide information about how a piece of literature was biased, not merely a description of biased literature.

James Banks tried to get at the problem of bias by using the jury method to analyze the thematic content of textbooks. His research came closer to getting at the bias of content using empirical methods than any other research.

One study that used empirical methods to get at the problem of bias is David Pratt's ECO-analysis, a method used to find a measure of bias in textbooks. The key word in Pratt's work is "measure." He has developed a method by which the evaluative content of communication can be measured. Pratt focused on the evaluative terms in a communication, and weighted them either positively or negatively. Then, through a relatively simple statistical procedure he arrived at what he termed evaluation coefficient of the communication. With regard to newspapers, evaluative statements are particularly important in understanding bias. The news story that merely states the facts, which may be positioned or headlined in a biased manner, cannot be said to be internally biased unless the evaluation of the facts is slanted. Pratt provided a tool to measure the internal bias.
In studying news stories about Northern Ireland, Pratt's method seemed particularly useful. The theme of a story may often be determined by the subject of the story, and as long as the subject is legitimate news, a thematic approach to newspaper bias would be skewed against agitation groups for reasons explained in this last section. Position and size alone are often determined by editorial values; consequently, this method could also be slanted against agitation groups. The direction in which the evaluation terms are weighted, however, is determined primarily by the reporters and editors. Evaluation is a function of the "gatekeeper." As such, it may provide insight about the nature of the relationship between the agitator and the press.

Summary of Review of Literature

The basic question addressed in the present research was: What are the relationships between press bias as measured by the use of evaluative terms in three Northern Ireland newspapers and the agitation process? It would seem evident that the press has an effect on the agitator. The press is a "gatekeeper" and as such can pick and choose what it will communicate and how it will communicate. The impact of the agitator on the press is more difficult to discern. If there is an effect, it was characterized by an increase in coverage of agitation events, and a change in the slant or bias of the copy toward the agitator's point of view, but it may be influenced by other things.
Research Questions

In this study the focus is on progressive change an evaluative term used in reportage evidenced in three Northern Irish newspapers, paralleled with the development of the agitation movement as outlined by Bowers and Ochs, in the content of stories relating to the Catholic agitation process in Northern Ireland. In terms of the altered Westley-MacLean mass communication model, the question is, does a D, or agitator, affect the evaluative term use of B, the newspaper? One would expect that as the reporter becomes more and more threatened, his writing bias will reflect his fear. The resultant bias may take two forms: (1) lack of unfavorable biases or value judgements, or (2) inclusion of favorable biases or value judgements. In addition, there may be some correlation between one form of traditional content analysis, column inches, and the number and direction of evaluative terms; in that as reporter dissonance increases, the ratio of negative biased terms to column inches might be altered.

The overall question is what is the relationship between press bias as operationalized in Northern Ireland and the Catholic agitation process? This may be broken down into three parts:

1. What is the relationship between the number of evaluative terms in newspaper stories relating to the Catholic agitation process and the various stages in the agitation process?
In order to answer this question, two tests must be completed. One, analyzing references to Catholic agitators and the other, for control elements.

2. What is the relationship between the size and placement of newspaper stories relating to the Catholic agitation process in Northern Ireland?

Two sets of data must be analyzed to answer this question, one focusing on the agitation process and the other on the three variables of headline size, story size, and story placement.

3. What is the relationship between the number of and direction of evaluative terms and the various stages in the agitation process?

This question can be answered only after the first two. It will indicate whether the effect of the agitator on press bias is expressed in terms of a lack of evaluative terms or perhaps a change in general direction of evaluative terms.
CHAPTER II
METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Methodology

The initial problem inherent in content analysis, determining the size and scope of the sample, was made easier by the fact that Northern Ireland is a relatively small area, with a population of around three million. The press is centered in Belfast, the capital, at the three largest newspapers; the Irish News, the Newsletter and the Belfast Telegraph. In addition, the BBC and the foreign press in Northern Ireland also have their headquarters in Belfast. The three newspapers are also relatively representative of the population. The Telegraph has moderate Unionist (Protestant) leanings. The Newsletter is Unionist (Protestant). The Irish News is anti-Unionist (Catholic).

The content analysis focused on these three large newspapers during the stages of agitation. Rather than a conventional single sampling unit, there were five units corresponding to the five relevant stages in the agitation process as outlined by Bowers and Ochs: promulgation, polarization, non-violent resistance, escalation-confrontation, and guerrilla-ghandi.

The stages of petition and solidification were excluded from the study since petition is difficult to document and
usually not the subject of press reports, and solidification takes place within the agitation movement, and as such, should have little effect on press bias.

The evaluation coefficient analysis was the method used to determine bias of newspapers. ECO-analysis does not analyze every component of a news story; biased illustrations, factual inaccuracies, omissions, position bias, etc., were all excluded. Pratt noted that ECO-analysis focuses on value judgements and assumes that: (1) the expressed value judgements are the main vehicle for the communication of attitudes; (2) value judgements are the attitudinal element least apparent to the casual or subjective reader; and (3) value judgements represent a gratuitous evaluation (i.e. an obligation independent of the obligation to state facts.)

Thus, for the purpose of this study, the independent variables are the newspapers and the time periods, the dependent variables, weighted evaluative terms, column inches, headline column inches, date and page number.

Procedure

The first step in the analysis was to define the source, in this case, the three Belfast newspapers from October, 1968 to May, 1974. The reason May, 1974 was chosen as the cut-off date is essentially arbitrary. The situation in Northern Ireland has remained static for the past seven or eight years. The Irish Republican Army has continued its campaign of violence, the various Protestant paramilitary groups have
continued to perpetrate acts of reactionary violence and
British military forces remain as the buffer between the
two groups. The assassination of Lord Mountbatten in 1979
as well as numerous bombings attest to the unchanging or
perhaps ever changing nature of the situation.

The strategies of promulgation, polarization, non-
violent resistance, escalation-confrontation and guerrilla-
gandhi lend themselves to a generalized chronological
interpretation as follows:

1. Promulgation October 1968-February 1969
4. Escalation-confrontation April 1971-January 1971
5. Guerrilla-gandhi January 1972-May 1974

It is important to know that while the strategies are
not linear, they follow a general pattern, and the dates
listed above are general indicators rather than specific
time periods. For the purposes of this study, one week in
each time period, representative of that time period as
defined by evidence of the use of "tactics" peculiar to that
strategy, was chosen at random from all of the weeks within
the period.

The use of selected newsweeks is advantageous for two
reasons. First, by selecting a week during which an event
happened that clearly falls within one of the agitation
strategies, as defined by the use of certain "tactics" by
the agitators, it is possible not only to understand how the
press functioned with regard to the specific event, but also
the follow-up and subsequent stories. Second, using the newsweek insures that any differences in the content of newspapers due to size (size of newspaper is related to the day of the week; for example, the Sunday edition is usually larger and more comprehensive than the Monday edition). Also, using a complete week controls the differences in publication time. For example, a morning paper contains different information than an afternoon paper.

The newsweeks used were:

1. Promulgation October 3-9, 1968
2. Polarization February 25-March 2, 1969
5. Guerrilla-ghandi March 27-April 2, 1972

Defining this population is not so simple as it seems because many of the stories require some judgement before it can be determined whether they relate to the agitant process or relate to other events that would happen in this society. Gathering the data from the newspapers necessary for the content analysis proved to be the most difficult aspect of this study. Originally the plan was to get all of the requisite newspaper articles and newspapers from the Library of Congress, as the Interlibrary Loan Librarian at Ohio State suggested. The first problem arose when the Library of Congress refused to release more than one reel of microfilm at a time. As this would have greatly increased the amount of time necessary to complete data gathering, a trip to Washington and the periodical room at the Library of
Congress was necessary. It was a surprise to find that although the Irish News and the Belfast Telegraph were both in the card catalogue with an indication that complete files of the newspapers were available, in fact, there were large numbers of issues missing from the files. So many, in fact, as to predispose against using the Library of Congress files as a data pool. The periodical librarian at the Library of Congress suggested that the public library in Boston received copies of the Newsletter and the Irish News. Once more, however, the files were incomplete. As the Library of Congress and the Boston Public Library were the only two United States libraries which subscribed to the newspapers, the only other means of gathering the data was to gather it on-site from newspaper files in Northern Ireland, or to engage in lengthy correspondence with one or another of the Northern Ireland libraries.

In Belfast the work proceeded fairly smoothly. However, due to problems with a Xerox machine and a lack of funds associated with a per-copy price of fifteen cents American, it was impossible to make copies of all the stories in the population, but that meant that the coding had to be done on-site in the Belfast Libraries. I didn't have the time to complete all the coding on the first trip. I had to be back to teach after my spring break 1976, so I resolved to return and do the work when I had the time and money. Two years later, in 1978, I returned and coded the material at desks in three libraries using the actual newspapers.
The procedure for coding the information in the newspapers was similar to that used by Pratt in his work on ECO-analysis. When ready to begin the analysis, the analyst read each source for references to the subject. In this case, the researcher coded the material. Each time a word was used in the sources which expressed a favorable or unfavorable value judgement, the word was listed and evaluated on the score sheet. A separate sheet was used for each source. Two analyses were conducted on each source; one to analyze references to agitation elements and one for control elements.

Words which expressed a favorable or unfavorable value judgement were most commonly adjectives, but were also adverbs, nouns or verbs. Words that are descriptive rather than evaluative are not listed. To determine whether a word was descriptive or evaluative, a "congruency" test was used:

that is, to ask whether the word would be most appropriately applied to "saints" or "heroes," or alternatively to "sinners" or "villains." Let us suppose that an analyst is uncertain whether the word contemptible is evaluative: use of this test would suggest that one is more likely to speak of a "contemptible" sinner than of a "contemptible" saint. Hence, "contemptible" is an evaluative term. But, words like tall or powerful could be applied equally appropriately to saints or sinners, heroes or villains, and hence are descriptive or neutral, and not the concern of this analysis.

The verb "to kill" is not evaluative; it simply states a fact. "To murder," on the other hand, implies guilt, and is evaluative. If an analyst was in doubt about a term, he consulted the ECO-word list. If the word did not appear,
he looked for synonyms. For the purpose of consistency, terms were listed on the score sheets as adjectives, nouns and participles. Thus, the term "carelessly" appearing in the source was listed on the score sheet as "careless," and the term "stole" as "stealing."

Sometimes a term was negatively applied to the subject (i.e. "the IRA is not strong"). In this case the assertion was reversed (i.e. "the IRA is weak"). The cardinal rule for the analysis was never to violate the original meaning of a word. Irony must also be recognized.

When all the terms referring to the subject of interest were listed and each term was weighted as positive, negative, or neutral, the researcher planned to compute the coefficient of evaluation described below, but there weren't enough terms to do an ECO-analysis, so this plan was dropped. Included here is the description and an example of ECO-analysis to show how the stories were coded. This was done by counting the number of plus signs, multiplying that figure by one hundred, and dividing the product by the total number of plus and minus signs.

The coefficient fell between zero and one hundred, with fifty representing neutrality. To insure a necessary degree of reliability, a minimum of ten evaluative terms should be used.

Each story analyzed was also measured as to length in column inches, to the nearest column inch.
An Example of ECO-Analysis

Subject--Catholic agitators

Newspapers--Irish News

State in Agitation Process-Guerrilla-ghandi

IRA extremists attacked the R.U.C. outpost at Enniskillen last night, in a daring attempt to free Seamus Twomey, an IRA official who is imprisoned there. The well-organized defense by local constables was led by a courageous eighteen-year-old youth from Belfast, William Boyle.

The constables were asleep when the terrorists, hidden in a hijacked milk truck, entered the compound. Boyle had just been relieved of his watch and was walking back to his barracks, when he noticed someone lurking in the back of the milk truck and raised the alarm. The terrorists panicked and jumped from the truck. Six shots were fired as the gunmen fled on foot to a fellow conspirator waiting nearby with a car.

Ralph McKenna, head constable in the barracks, described the situation:

'These murderous attacks must be stopped. If the extremist thinks he can gain his ends through brutality, he will do so.'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TERM</th>
<th>DIRECTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Extremists</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Daring</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Terrorists</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Lurking</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Terrorists</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Panic</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Gunmen</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Conspirator</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Murderous</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Extremist</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Brutality</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The coefficient of evaluation is:
\[
\frac{1 \times 100}{1 + 100} = \frac{100}{11} = 9.104
\]

Coder reliability was determined by using three coders to check the researcher, each coding one newspaper, with ten stories from each paper coded by all three in order to allow a reasonable inter-coder reliability estimate. Each coder was provided with a supply of score sheets and a copy of the ECO-word list. The ECO-word list is a compilation of the most commonly used evaluative terms and their direction (positive or negative). Then they coded the stories and the results were compared with the other coders and with the researcher.

An ECO-analysis was planned for each story in each newspaper as described above. After the preliminary data was viewed, it became evident that ECO-analysis was not possible, because there were so few terms and ECO-analysis demands at least ten terms to be valid, so the attempt at ECO-analysis was abandoned and the evaluative terms used were analyzed for difference among the newspapers as well as across time periods.

With regard to the ordinal measurements called for (headline size, column inch, story size), these were done with a ruler on the actual newspaper copy.

**Procedure for Data Analysis**

The first research question about the relationship between the number of evaluative terms in newspaper stories
related to the various stages in the agitation process was addressed by analyzing evaluative terms in newspapers over time. Here it was broken down into a number of categories. First, it was divided by newspaper, second it was divided in groups related to the agitant or control element. Finally, it was broken down into the positive or negative terms relating to either agitant or control elements. Using these data, a chi-square test was performed which indicated inter-newspaper and inter-time period relationships of the total number of terms in each category (agitant and control, positive and negative).

The second research question had to do with the importance of a story as measured by size and placement. The first step in the process was to establish the time periods and sample stories in each time period. Then each story was coded for the number of terms in each of the following categories: agitant positive, agitant negative, control positive, control negative, and also for headline size, story size and page number.

The reliability of the coding was checked (see Coder Reliability Study, Table 1, page 56), and finally, the mean for standard differences for each variable in each time period for all papers was computed. Then seven one-way analyses of variance (one for each variable) were performed to determine if any of the differences were statistically significant. Scheffe' comparisons for each variable in each time period were compared with every other time period to
see if they were statistically different. And finally each variable was analyzed to see if there was any significant difference among the papers.

The procedure outlined above showed far fewer differences than expected and indicated the possibility that given the political nature of each of the newspapers, differing trends in reporting from paper to paper had confused the aggregate progression. So I repeated the analysis of variance with a two-way design, this time using both time period and papers as the independent variables.

**Coder Reliability**

The main thing that isn't apparent from Table 1 is the fact that in the majority of the cases, all the coders agreed that there was no evaluative terms. The wide variance in significance from coder to coder in comparison to the researcher in the final analysis is explained in every case by no more than a two-word difference between the researcher and the other coders.

For instance, in agitator positive, all three coders are in basic agreement with the researcher; in fact, the composite level of correlation is .86.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODER NO.</th>
<th>AGITANT POSITIVE</th>
<th>AGITANT NEGATIVE</th>
<th>CONTROL POSITIVE</th>
<th>CONTROL NEGATIVE</th>
<th>AVERAGE CORRELATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.96</td>
<td>.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>.97</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>.89 (underlined)</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>.94 (underlined)</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>.96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All three coders and the researcher would have agreed completely if it were not for the fact that Coder One gave one story a score of one, and Coder Two gave the same story a score of zero. On another story, Coder One gave a score of two, and Coder Two gave a score of one. These two stories represent all of the variance. It should be pointed out that the amount of material that had to be read in order to find a total of five agitant positive terms was considerable, and the variance could be explained simply through oversight, engendered by boredom.

The variance between the researcher and Coder Three is insignificant; in fact, the researcher coded one more term than did Coder Three. Once more, the data suggests that the reason for this oversight is that the amount of the material with no terms whatsoever is quite large, and after reading if for a long period of time and finding nothing, it is easy to overlook one term.

The correlation between the researcher and the coders for agitant negative terms was poor, at least with regard to Coders One and Two. Coder Three, on the other hand, agreed virtually every time with the researcher. The reason for this wide swing in significance of correlation may be that the researcher overreacted to the fear that his Irish background and sympathy for the people involved would color his coding. Thus, the researcher may have simply failed to code terms as negative because he felt that perhaps someone other than a sympathetic Irish-American wouldn't find them to be
negative evaluative terms. This is supported by the fact that Coder Two, who is a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant Ph.D. from Harvard, coded four cases as having one term, two terms, three terms and four terms respectively, while the researcher coded them as having no terms. The reason the correlation with Coder One is so poor is simply that Coder One saw virtually no negative terms. I would refer you to the above-mentioned explanation for the reason that Coder One would show no terms. The correlation coefficient was only .42 for agitant negative; however, it should be noted that in the vast majority of the cases, all of the coders agreed. All the differences between the coders and the researcher are in four stories. All the rest of the stories were coded as having no terms by four people.

In coding for control positive terms, there was a fairly high correlation coefficient. Once more, Coder One correlated most poorly with the researcher, and once more the total of all stories in which there was a difference between Coder One and the researcher was three. The composite correlation for control positive is .74. This is a fair correlation when you consider that Coder One was responsible for most of the variance and that variance was explained in just three stories. Again, even an oversight can result in misleading numbers because of the extremely small total number of terms.

The level of correlation in control negative between the researcher and the coders is significantly above the .95
level. This seems to me to be particularly important and a particularly gratifying result, because while there is some question about whether an evaluative term, there is no question about the nature of these terms when they are applied to the control elements. The reason for this is that the control elements began the drama wearing the white hat, while the dissidents began the drama wearing the black hat. Thus, the establishment newspaper would simply assert that it was telling the truth when it referred to the IRA as "terrorists" and the military as "public defenders." Most people have come to accept these rather weighted ways of referring to these groups as the simple truth. Consequently, when the establishment is referred to in negative terms, it presents such a contrast with what is generally said about establishment forces that neither the researcher nor the coders could fail to notice. The Dictionary of Evaluative Terms contains adequate examples. Certainly, it is interesting to note that while the establishment press calls the dissidents "terrorists," they are rarely referred to by the negative evaluative term most often used with regard to the police, "brutal." At any rate, at least with regard to negative terms relating to the control elements, the researcher and all three coders agreed virtually all of the time.

One other way of looking at this coder reliability study is to compare each coder's average correlation with the researcher for all four categories of terms. I found
this test particularly revealing. Coder One's average correlation was .53. Coder One was an undergraduate student in a technical field. Coder Two, as mentioned before, was a WASP Ph.D. from Harvard, with an average correlation with the researcher of .78. Coder Three was a college sophomore in the social science field who was paid to do the coding. That correlation with the researcher was .92.

In conclusion, there is enough significance here to complete a valid study with some reservations. Those reservations have to do primarily with agitant negative terms. With regard to the other three categories of terms, there was general agreement at a fairly high level of correlation. Agitant negative terms, it seems, prove simply too elusive to get general agreement.
CHAPTER III
DESCRIPTION OF DATA

The first thing which became apparent when all of the data were viewed is that there was a paucity of stories relating to the agitation process in general, and further, there was a substantially smaller number of agitator terms than anticipated during the period 1968 to 1974 in the Belfast Telegraph, the Irish News and the Newsletter. The consequence of this lack of data is that the originally planned ECO-analysis was not possible. ECO-analysis, as stated earlier, requires ten terms per story for an accurate measurement. With these data we are faced with a large number of stories that have no evaluative terms at all, and in general, the rest of the stories have a small number of terms. For instance, in time period one, the Irish News has the largest number of stories, thirty, but the total number of terms for the entire time period was only nine, leaving less than one-third of a term per story. Any attempt at ECO-analysis under these circumstances would prove futile.

The first thing that is readily apparent when looking at Table 2, which expresses the total and mean number of stories per paper by date, is that there were few agitation-related stories in any of the time periods. In the period of polarization there were a total of seventeen stories relating to
## TABLE 2

**TOTAL AND MEAN NUMBER OF STORIES PER PAPER BY TIME PERIOD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Belfast Telegraph</th>
<th>Irish News</th>
<th>Newsletter</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Promulgation</td>
<td>12 (26%)</td>
<td>30 (65%)</td>
<td>4 (8%)</td>
<td>15.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polarization</td>
<td>10 (58%)</td>
<td>6 (35%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
<td>5.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-violent resistance</td>
<td>5 (7%)</td>
<td>36 (54%)</td>
<td>25 (36%)</td>
<td>22.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escalation-confrontation</td>
<td>43 (20%)</td>
<td>104 (48%)</td>
<td>67 (31%)</td>
<td>71.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guerrilla-ghandi</td>
<td>18 (22%)</td>
<td>40 (50%)</td>
<td>22 (27%)</td>
<td>26.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>88</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

X^2 = 32.53

DF = 8

P ≤ .01
the agitation process in Northern Ireland. Fifty-eight percent, or ten of the stories, were in the Belfast Telegraph, a rather dramatic change from the previous time period. Thirty-five percent, or six of the stories, were in the Irish News, and only five percent of the stories (in fact, only one story) were in the Newsletter.

During the period of non-violent resistance, there were sixty-six stories relating to the agitation process in Northern Ireland. The Irish News was once again the paper with the largest number of stories. Of the sixty-six stories, thirty-six, or fifty-four percent, were in the Irish News; the Newsletter had twenty-five stories, or thirty-six percent; while the Belfast Telegraph had five stories, or seven percent.

During the period of escalation-confrontation, there were 214 stories relating to the agitation process. Once again, the Irish News had the largest number of stories with 104, or forty-eight percent of the total. The Newsletter once again had the second largest number of stories with sixty-seven, or thirty-one percent of the total. The Belfast Telegraph had forty-three stories, or twenty percent of the total.

During the latest time period, guerrilla-ghandi, there were eighty stories with the Irish News once again having the largest number of stories, forty, which is fifty percent of the total. The Newsletter had twenty-two stories, for twenty-seven percent of the total; and the Belfast Telegraph
had eighteen stories, or twenty-two percent of the total.

The total number of stories for each paper for all time periods is as follows: **Irish News**--216 stories; **Newsletter**--119 stories; and **Belfast Telegraph**--88 stories.

A chi-square of these data reveals that the difference in total number of stories per paper is significant at the .01 level, where chi-square is 32.53 and the degree of freedom is 8. This indicates that there is a significant difference when the total number of stories in each newspaper in each time period are compared. In other words, papers did treat the agitation process differently from time period to time period, as well as between papers.

Table 3 shows the total and mean number of evaluative terms per category by paper and by date. When we look at the total number of terms for all categories in Table 3, by paper and by time period, the figures indicate the following: During the period of promulgation, the **Belfast Telegraph** and **Newsletter** each had a relatively small number of stories. The total number of evaluative terms for each paper was also small. The **Newsletter** had only one evaluative term; the **Telegraph** had only two. In contrast, the **Irish News**, which had a larger number of stories, also had a larger number of evaluative terms, nine. (The ratio of evaluative terms to stories will be explained in a later section.)

During the period of polarization, in contrast to the period of promulgation, the **Irish News** had a substantially smaller number of stories, six, and also had a substantially
### TABLE 3

TOTAL AND MEAN NUMBER OF EVALUATIVE TERMS (ALL CATEGORIES) PER PAPER BY TIME PERIOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Belfast Telegraph</th>
<th>Irish News</th>
<th>Newsletter</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Promulgation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polarization</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-violent resistance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escalation-confrontation</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>43.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guerrilla-ghandi</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL**

\[X^2 = 42.00\]

\[\text{DF} = 8\]

\[P \leq .01\]
smaller number of evaluative terms, only two. The Telegraph, on the other hand, had a larger number of weighted terms, four. The Newsletter remained constant from promulgation to polarization with only one story and only one evaluative term.

During the period of non-violent resistance, there was an upswing in the number of terms. The Irish News had the largest number of weighted terms, twelve. The Newsletter jumped dramatically from having only one evaluative term in each of the previous two time periods up to seven for the Newsletter in twenty-five stories for the period of non-violent resistance. The Telegraph actually fell to only one evaluative term for all of the five stories during the entire period of non-violent resistance.

During the period of escalation-confrontation, each of the newspapers evidenced a rise in the total number of evaluative terms as well as a rise in the total number of stories. The Irish News had sixty-six evaluative terms in its 104 stories. In sheer volume, this number stands out, although the Newsletter, with a total of forty-six evaluative terms in its forty-three stories, exhibited a high percentage of evaluative terms per story. The Telegraph was once again a distant third with only eighteen evaluative terms in its forty-three stories.

During the period of guerrilla-ghandi, or the current period, the Irish News had the largest number of evaluative terms, seventeen, for its forty stories. The Telegraph and the Newsletter each had eighty evaluative terms in their
eighteen and twenty-two stories respectively.

Table 4 indicates there was, for all practical purposes, no indication of statistical significance with regard to the number of terms relating to the agitant process in each period. More than that, when each of the papers was looked at separately, in each of the first three time periods, while the *Irish News* is clearly evaluating more stories with more terms. It is only during the period of escalation-confrontation that the pattern which we will see repeated again and again appears. The *Irish News* takes the lead in number of terms per story; the *Newsletter* follows and the *Telegraph* is third. This first, second and third placement is repeated often later in the study. Finally, during the period of guerrilla-ghandi, the number of terms as well as the number of stories falls sharply. The *Irish News* still maintained its lead in total number of terms but the *Newsletter* and the *Telegraph* fell to a more or less equal number. The reader will observe this pattern repeating itself, as the *Irish News* consistently leads in total number of evaluative terms as well as mean number of evaluative terms. The *Newsletter* and *Telegraph* are so close to each other by each measure as to be counted as one.

A chi-square of these data indicates that chance can explain the difference among the three newspapers in total number of terms in each category only .01 percent of the time. This indicates very clearly that there is a significant difference among the newspapers in total number of terms
**TABLE 4**

**MEAN NUMBER OF TERMS PER STORY BY PAPER AND TIME PERIOD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Belfast Telegraph</th>
<th>Irish News</th>
<th>Newsletter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Promulgation</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polarization</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-violent resistance</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excalation-confrontation</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guerrilla-ghandi</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
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</table>
used in each time period, but that difference is due primarily to the small size of the data available.

Table 4 presents the mean number of terms per story by paper and date. It is a particularly revealing table because it shows that in no case is there a newspaper in which there was more than one term per story per time period. In fact, for the most part, there was less than one-half term per story on an average. It is probably interesting to note, however, that the Belfast Telegraph consistently averaged the lowest number of terms per story per time period, while the Irish News consistently averaged the highest number of terms per story per time period. The Newsletter, because it had so few stories during the first three time periods, is somewhat misleading. During the last two time periods, escalation-confrontation and guerrilla-ghandi, the Newsletter averaged roughly the same amount of stories as the Irish News. During the final time period, the Belfast Telegraph and the Irish News had roughly the same number of terms per story, about one-half term per story, while the Newsletter had about one-third term per story.

A more refined breakdown of the evaluative terms in each time period for each paper reveals whether the terms are positively or negatively evaluated, as well as whether agitator or control is the subject of the term. Table 5 presents these data, as well as the mean number of positive and negative agitator and control terms by paper and by date. Taking the number of positive agitator terms by papers and by time
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BELFAST TELEGRAPH</th>
<th>IRISH NEWS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agitant</strong></td>
<td><strong>Control</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Pos.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Neg.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promulgation</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polarization</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-violent resistance</td>
<td>0 .0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escalation-confrontation</td>
<td>1 .02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guerrilla-ghandi</td>
<td>1 .06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Analysis of Variance**

<p>| | | | | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
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<td>X^2</td>
<td>12 .57</td>
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<td>.48</td>
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<td>DF</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>DF</td>
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<td>P</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>P</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Control</td>
<td>Agitant</td>
<td>Control</td>
<td>Agitant</td>
<td>Control</td>
<td>Agitant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>0.17</td>
<td>0 .0</td>
<td>1 .08</td>
<td>0 .0</td>
<td>1 .03</td>
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<td>8 .83</td>
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<td>0.20</td>
<td>0 .0</td>
<td>2 .20</td>
<td>0 .0</td>
<td>0 .00</td>
<td>0 .0</td>
<td>2 .33</td>
<td>0 .0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0 .0</td>
<td>1 .00</td>
<td>0 .0</td>
<td>0 .00</td>
<td>0 .03</td>
<td>11 .56</td>
<td>0 .0</td>
<td>4 .28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 .95</td>
<td>5 .33</td>
<td>10 .17</td>
<td>23 .36</td>
<td>1 .04</td>
<td>53 1 .94</td>
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<td>DF = 4</td>
<td>DF = 4</td>
<td>DF = 4</td>
<td>DF = 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>.02</td>
<td>P &gt; .96</td>
<td>P &gt; .96</td>
<td>P &gt; .98</td>
<td>P &gt; .98</td>
<td>P &gt; .98</td>
<td>P &gt; .95</td>
<td>P &lt; .01</td>
<td>P &gt; .99</td>
<td>P .82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
period, first we find that during the first three time periods there were no positive terms relating to the agitants in any newspaper. It was only during the period of escalation-confrontation that the agitants were referred to at all. The Irish News was the newspaper that was doing the evaluation, but even in this case they had only ten evaluative terms for over one hundred stories. The Newsletter had three terms that positively evaluated the agitants in its sixty-seven stories; the Telegraph had only one positive term relating to the agitants in its forty-three stories.

Positive Terms Relating to the Agitants

In the latest period, guerrilla-ghandi, the newspapers once again did not evaluate the agitants positively. The Telegraph had one positively evaluative term, the Irish News had one positively evaluative term, and the Newsletter had none at all. The number of stories for each paper was eighteen, forty and twenty-two respectively.

The overall message which Table 5 conveys with regard to positive agitant terms is that none of the newspapers evaluated the agitant process, at least if the number of evaluative terms is evidence of evaluative stories. The Irish News used only eleven terms positively relating to the agitants, while the Newsletter and the Belfast Telegraph had virtually no terms relating to the agitants.

Obviously a Scheffe' of the mean number of positive terms relating to the agitants for each newspaper for each time period revealed nothing, because there were so few terms.
In fact, in the first three time periods, there were none at all. In subsequent time periods, there was less than one-tenth positive agitant term per story on an average.

A chi-square of the total number of positive terms relating to the agitant in the Belfast Telegraph by time period indicated that the degree of probability is more than .75, where chi-square equals 1.85 and the degree of freedom is 4. In short, this means that the Belfast Telegraph did not vary significantly over time when positive terms relating to the agitants are considered.

In the Irish News, a chi-square of the total number of positive terms relating to the agitants indicated that the probability is .99, where chi-square equals .01 and the degree of freedom is 4, once more indicating no significant interaction over time.

The chi-square of the Newsletter indicated likewise, where chi-square equals .65, degree of freedom equals 4 and the probability equals more than .95.

In positive terms relating to the agitants, where chi-square equals 2.1, the degree of freedom is 8, the probability is greater than .97 that the distribution of agitant positive terms over the time periods is explainable by chance a great deal of the time.

**Analysis of Variance**

Taken together, the main effects account for only 1.5 units of variance, which is statistically nonsignificant. In addition to the main effects, there was also interaction
between paper and date but that accounted for only an additional .5 units of variance. Thus, of the fifty-four units of variance, only two units, or 1.5 percent of the total, are explained by paper and date.

**Negative Terms Relating to the Agitant**

During the period of promulgation, the Irish News, the Belfast Telegraph and the Newsletter each had one negative term relating to the agitants. The number of stories for each newspaper was twelve, thirty and four respectively.

During the period of polarization, the number of negative terms relating to the agitants rose to two for the Telegraph, but fell to zero for the Newsletter and the Irish News. The Belfast Telegraph had ten stories, the Irish News six, and the Newsletter, one.

During the period of non-violent resistance, the number of evaluative terms in the Newsletter jumped from none to four. The number of evaluative terms relating negatively to the agitants in the Telegraph fell from two to one, and the Irish News once again had no negative terms relating to the agitants. The Telegraph had five stories during the time period, the Irish News had thirty-six stories, and the Newsletter had twenty-five stories during the time period.

During the period of escalation-confrontation, the number of evaluative terms relating negatively to the agitants jumped dramatically. The Newsletter had forty-two negatively evaluative terms relating to the agitants in sixty-seven stories. The Irish News had 104 stories containing a total
of twenty-three negative terms relating to the agitants. The **Telegraph** had fourteen negative terms relating to the agitants in its forty-three stories.

During the latest time period, guerrilla-ghandi, the **Telegraph**, the **Irish News** and the **Newsletter** each had six terms negatively evaluating the agitants. The newspapers had eighteen, forty and twenty-two stories respectively.

Table 5 indicates an almost total failure of the newspapers to negatively evaluate the agitants during the first three time periods. The large jump in numbers of stories as well as number of agitant terms for each paper during the period of escalation-confrontation, however, is significant, particularly so when it is noted that the newspaper which negatively evaluated the agitants most often was the **Newsletter**. The **Irish News**, supposedly the most agitant-leaning newspaper, also had a fairly large number of negative terms relating to the agitants. The **Telegraph**, in contrast, had very few terms negatively evaluating the agitants. One pattern that should be pointed out is that the **Telegraph** consistently had the smallest number of stories as well as the smallest number of terms. It should be remembered that the **Telegraph** is the largest circulated newspaper in Northern Ireland.

It is important to note that there was little agreement among the coders over what constituted a negative agitant term. Consequently, the data here are less reliable. On the other hand, that there was a dramatic jump in terms
during the period of escalation-confrontation cannot be denied.

The chi-square frame comparing the number of negative terms relating to the agitant for each newspaper to the aggregate distribution is revealing. In the Belfast Telegraph, chi-square equals 12.57, the degree of freedom 4, and a probability of less than .02, indicating clearly that the difference between the Telegraph and the other two papers is not explainable by chance. Evidently there is some other factor operating.

In the Irish News, a chi-square of the number of negative terms equals .48, with a degree of freedom of 4, where probability equals less than .97, which indicates very clearly that the differences between the Irish News and the other papers can be explained by chance or by random distribution. In fact, almost all of the distribution can be explained by chance, according to this chi-square.

A chi-square which compared time periods to the aggregate distribution over the time periods was also somewhat revealing. Table 4 displays this information. Where chi-square equals 16 and the degree of freedom is 8, and probability is less than .05, then the difference among time periods can be explained by chance.

Considering the main effects, we find both paper and date to be significantly related to the tendency to evaluate agitants negatively. Of the 817 units of variance, date accounted for fifty-five units of variance, or forty-two
percent of the accounted for variance.

Differences between papers were more pronounced, accounting for 66.9 units of agitant evaluation variance, or fifty-one percent of the total accounted for variance.

Taken together, the main effects account for 130.9 units of variance, which is statistically significant. In addition to the main effect, there is also a significant interaction between paper and date which accounts for an additional 32.5 units of variance. Thus, of the original 816.9 units of variance, 163.3 or nineteen percent of the total are explained by paper and date.

**Positive Terms Relating to the Control Element**

Table 5 indicates during the first three time periods none of the newspapers had any positive terms relating to the control elements. One of the newspapers, the Telegraph, had no positive terms relating to the control elements in any time period.

During the period of non-violent resistance, the Irish News had one evaluative term relating positively to the control elements in its 104 stories. The Newsletter had two evaluative terms relating positively to the control elements in its sixty-seven stories.

During the period of escalation-confrontation, the Irish News had three evaluative terms relating positively to the control elements in its forty stories. The Newsletter also had three evaluative terms in its twenty-two stories.
According to the data in Table 5, the newspapers in Northern Ireland did not positively evaluate either the control elements or the agitant elements. During the first three time periods there were no positive terms to speak of relating to the control elements, although it is probably important to note that the Newsletter, which is the most reactionary and pro-British newspaper, did have a few positive terms relating to the control elements that show up during the period of guerrilla-ghandi. It is also interesting to note that the Irish News was close behind the Newsletter during the period of guerrilla-ghandi in terms of number of positive terms relating to the control elements.

For the Irish News, the chi-square of the total number of positive terms relating to the control element by date indicates that chi-square equals .24, with a freedom of 4 and a probability of more than .98, indicating very clearly that the distribution of positive terms relating to the control elements is almost completely by chance.

Analysis of Variance - Positive Terms Relation To Control

Considering the main effects, we find neither paper nor date significantly relate to the tendency to evaluate controls positively. Of the eighteen units of variance, date accounts for only .2 units of variance, or fifty-one percent of the accounted for variance. Differences between papers were even less pronounced, accounting for only .12 units of control evaluation variance, or thirty-one percent of the accounted
for variance.

Taken together, the main effects account for .39 units of variance, which is not statistically significant.

In addition to the main effects, an interaction between the paper and date which accounted for an additional .23 units of variance, thus of the original 17.6 units of variance, .61 units or .3 percent of the total were explained by paper and by date.

**Negative Terms Relating to the Control**

During the period of promulgation, the *Telegraph* had only one negative term relating to the control elements in its twelve stories. The *Irish News* had eight negatively evaluative terms relating to the control elements in its thirty stories. The *Newsletter* had no negatively evaluative terms in any of its four stories.

During the period of polarization, the *Telegraph* had two negatively evaluative terms in its ten stories. The *Irish News* had two negatively evaluative terms in its six stories and the *Newsletter* had one negatively evaluative term in its one story.

During the period of non-violent resistance, the number of negatively evaluative terms in the *Irish News* changed from two terms for six stories to eleven evaluative terms for thirty-six stories. The *Telegraph* had no evaluative terms for any of its five stories, and the *Newsletter* had one negatively evaluative term relating to the control group in its twenty-five stories.
During the period of escalation-confrontation, the Irish News once again led in total number of negatively evaluative terms relating to the control elements with fifty-three terms for its 104 stories. The Newsletter had six negatively evaluative terms relating to the control elements in its sixty-seven stories. The Telegraph had five negatively evaluative terms relating to the control elements in its forty-three stories.

In terms of statistical significance of the data, the category of negative control terms probably provides the most useful information. The tendency to negatively evaluate control terms is significant when papers are compared. The Irish News has a tendency to negatively evaluate control terms in all time periods. The Newsletter and Telegraph follow an almost perfectly charted course across a graph, in direct contrast to the plot of the Irish News. In short, neither the Telegraph nor the Newsletter negatively evaluated the control elements except during the period of escalation-confrontation. The Irish News, on the other hand, began with a large number of negative terms relating to the control elements during the period of promulgation. The number fell during the period of polarization and climbed rapidly during the period of non-violent resistance and escalation-confrontation. During the period of guerrilla-ghandi, the mean level of terms relating to the control elements fell back to a point comparable to the level of the period of non-violent resistance.
In the newsletter, a chi-square of the total number of negative terms relating to the control elements over time indicates chi-square equals .13, the degree of freedom is 4, and probability equals .99, once more indicating very clearly that the distribution of positive control terms across time is random.

A chi-square of the number of negative terms relating to the control element in each newspaper in each time period indicates that for the Belfast Telegraph, chi-square equals .88 with a degree of freedom of 4 and probability equals 2.96. The indication is that the distribution of negative terms relating to the control elements can be explained by chance, at least in the Telegraph.

In the Irish News, for negative terms relating to the control element, chi-square equals 1.18 with a degree of freedom of 4 and a probability of more than 2.88, also indicating that the difference between the Irish News and the other newspapers can be explained by random distribution or chance.

Analysis of Variance - Negative Terms Relating to Control

Considering the main effects, we find both paper and date to be significantly related to the tendency to evaluate control elements negatively. Of the 1,762.9 units of variance, date accounts for 62.4 units of variance, or four percent of the accounted for variance. Differences between papers were more pronounced, accounting for 122.9 units of
control evaluation variance, or seven percent of the total accounted for variance.

Taken together, the main effects account for 178.3 units of variance, which is substantially significant. In addition to the main effects, there was also an interaction between people and date which accounted for an additional thirty-seven units of variance; thus, of the original 1,762.9 units of variance, 216 units are explained by paper and date.

**Primacy**

Tables 6, 7 and 8, which report a measure of mean story size, head size and page number per newspaper, represent a measure of the relative importance given to stories dealing with the agitation process for the three newspapers. This combination of variables will be referred to as primacy. One would expect that the larger a story and the larger the headline, as well as the closer a story is to the front of the paper, the more important the story. As noted in the previous chapter, the differences between the papers and among time periods with regard to story size were nonsignificant.

**Story Size**

The mean story size by paper and by date varied very little. One has only to compare the mean or the average story size for all papers by date to the actual average of each newspaper to see that, for the most part, the newspapers had similar sized stories in each time period and, in fact,
TABLE 6
MEAN STORY SIZE BY PAPER AND TIME PERIOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BELFAST TELEGRAPH</th>
<th>IRISH NEWS</th>
<th>NEWSLETTER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Promulgation</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polarization</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-violent resistance</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escalation-confrontation</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>18.4</td>
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<td>Guerrilla-ghandi</td>
<td>14.8</td>
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<td>12.2</td>
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Analysis of Variance:

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<td>Date Difference</td>
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<td>DF = 4</td>
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<td>Interaction</td>
<td>F = .58</td>
<td>DF = 8</td>
<td>P ≥ .79</td>
</tr>
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<td>BELFAST TELEGRAPH</td>
<td>IRISH NEWS</td>
<td>NEWSLETTER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promulgation</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polarization</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-violent resistance</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escalation-confrontation</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guerrilla-ghandi</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis of Variance:
- Paper Difference: $F = 37.14$, $DF = 2$, $P \geq .00$
- Date Difference: $F = 1.95$, $DF = 4$, $P \geq .1$
- Interaction: $F = 1.80$, $DF = 8$, $P \geq .07$
TABLE 8
MEAN PAGE NUMBER BY PAPER AND TIME PERIOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BELFAST TELEGRAPH</th>
<th>IRISH NEWS</th>
<th>NEWSLETTER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
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<td>Polarization</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-violent resistance</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escalation-confrontation</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guerrilla-ghandi</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>2.5</td>
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</table>

Analysis of Variance
Paper Difference: \( F = 5.55 \) \( DF = 2 \) \( P \leq .01 \)
Date Difference \( F = 2.92 \) \( DF = 4 \) \( P \geq .02 \)
Interaction \( F = 3.34 \) \( DF = 8 \) \( P \leq .01 \)
had similar sized stories when compared with each other. A Scheffe' of these means indicates that there is no significant difference between either the newspaper or the time periods when considering the size or column inches of the story.

**Head Size**

There is a significant difference among the papers when comparing head size; in fact, the difference in head size is significant beyond the .01 level. This leads to the conclusion that the difference is completely explained by differences in newspaper policy with regard to headline size. I might add, this is supported by my observation that the Irish News consistently uses small headlines while the Belfast Telegraph consistently uses rather large headlines. I suspect that most of the differences among the newspapers can be explained by the very wide fluctuation in headsize in the Newsletter, although even this difference in the Newsletter is mitigated somewhat by the fact that the average headsize of twenty during the period of promulgation represents only one story.

**Page Number**

The differences among the papers were significant at the .01 level, indicating a very high probability that chance cannot explain the difference in page number among the papers. Once more, the differences could be explained by the policy of the papers. For instance, the third page in the
Irish News is almost always the editorial page, while the editorial page in the Belfast Telegraph and the Newsletter fall further back.

Moreover, the Telegraph has, because of its size, separate sections for national, international and local news. Consequently, because of the location of these sections and because each section has at least six pages, it is to be expected that stories in the Telegraph, at least, would fall further back in a given issue simply because with a greater number of pages available it is more likely a story will be placed on a latter page.

An analysis of the placement of stories in the Irish News, however, does require some explanation. During the first three time periods the page number varied very little, less than four-tenths of a page. During escalation-confrontation, however, the mean page number of stories relating to the agitation process in Northern Ireland in the Irish News fell back from a mean page number of 4.0 during non-violent resistance to a mean page number of 5.2 during escalation-confrontation. This difference can be explained primarily by the sheer volume of stories. Stated simply, if you have 104 stories during escalation-confrontation, space requirements dictate that the average page number will be lower. With regard to the Newsletter, the only time periods that show a dramatic difference when compared to the other time periods are polarization and escalation-confrontation. With regard to polarization, the difference is minute because in
the Newsletter there was only one story during that time period. The fact that during the period of escalation-confrontation the average story in the Newsletter moved toward the back of the paper can be explained using the same reasoning applied in the case of the Irish News. With the large volume of stories, space requirements dictate that the average story move back at least somewhat. It should also be pointed out that while a difference of two-tenths or three-tenths of a page number may be statistically significant, there is no such thing as a tenth of a page. So many of these small differences can be explained by deleting extreme cases.
CHAPTER IV
INTERPRETATION OF DATA

General Review of the Data

The most obvious general interpretation of these data is that if bias is operationalized as presence of statistically significant numbers of evaluative terms in newspaper stories relating to the Catholic Agitation process found in three Northern Irish newspapers, there is hardly any bias. This study is an exercise in how not to measure bias, more than anything else. It is important however, to emphasize that these results do not evidence a lack of bias in the Northern Irish press, rather a lack of bias as operationalized here. The most obvious explanation is that the wrong tool was applied to the problem.

The very small number of evaluative terms was somewhat confounding until a re-examination of Bowers and Ochs provided a possible explanation for the paucity of data. If the Newspapers Belfast are seen as an extension of the establishment or are thought to be manipulated by the establishment, the lack of terms can be explained as evidence that the establishment is engaging in the tactic of avoidance. 105
A Local Reporter Comments

The average number of terms in each story relating to the agitation process in Northern Ireland was small. In fact, as noted earlier, the ten terms per story necessary to do an accurate ECO-analysis were not available in ninety-five percent of the stories.

Each newspaper building in town had been bombed a number of times. The steel plates were in evidence everywhere. The attitude of the reporters toward my questions further evidenced concern for security. The morning I arrived a Belfast Telegraph delivery truck had been hijacked and used in a bombing. Further, none of the reporters were willing to volunteer information unless given a long dissertation on the reason for the questions. In any event, neither the Belfast Telegraph nor the Newsletter was able to locate a reporter who would claim credit for a story he wrote about the "troubles." This seemed to me to be evidence that there is a "chilling" effect operating on the press in Northern Ireland, a "chilling" effect which prevents a reporter from accurately reporting an event for fear of his own life or the lives of his family. I offer this as merely one explanation for the lack of terms available for coding.

One other possibility is that the formalized nature of the social system in Northern Ireland insures that everyone understands his/her relative position in the social structure. The consequence of this formalized aspect of the social system is that because everyone knows where they stand and
where everybody else stands, there is no reason to capitulate the matter in the press. This could be one reason for the lack of data available for this study.

Of course, one other possibility is that there is no bias in the press and the press was simply reflecting what was, in essence, no problem, although this seems highly unlikely.

Major Empirical Data--The Use of Evaluative Terms in Belfast Newspaper Stories Relating to the Catholic Agitation Process in Northern Ireland

The first thing that must be understood is that only very general kinds of statements can be made because there is so little data for some of the reasons contained above.

During the first three time periods there were very few coded terms per story. In short, during the first three time periods, the press in Northern Ireland simply did not interpret the situation using evaluative terms. Probably the most interesting factor apparent during the first three time periods was that in the first time period, the Irish News had by far the largest number of evaluative terms. The Belfast Telegraph and the Newsletter, on the other hand, had significantly fewer stories during that time period and significantly fewer terms. It would seem to me that this is an expected pattern, at least Bowers and Ochs would certainly predict this as a possible establishment tactic, avoidance.

As Bowers and Ochs noted if the lack of terms is evidence of establishment avoidance then as a tactic of avoidance
however, denying believers in an opposing ideology the physical means of making their grievances public can weaken, if not eliminate, an agitative movement. Senator Eugene McCarthy's supporters in many cases were denied attendance at the Democratic Convention in 1968; Martin Luther was denied his pulpit for a period of time; and for many years, in parts of the South, Negroes were not allowed to attend political caucuses. On a superficial level, denial of means may seem to be a low-order tactic. It is not always so. When agitators use strategies of nonviolent resistance to call attention to their grievances, establishments have a ready-made rationale for creating new policies bordering on suppression. In the wake of the student protests, confrontations, and guerrilla activities in 1968-69, many state legislatures passed resolutions to deny future agitators the means of advancing their causes.

If Bowers and Ochs were correct, then all of the repressive legislation outlined in Chapter II is further evidence of avoidance on the part of the establishment. Because, in Northern Ireland the possibility of violence was used as the rational for "policies bordering on supression. . ."\textsuperscript{107}

Bowers and Ochs would argue that there is at least some evidence that the establishment may be engaging in the tactic of avoidance, at least if it is assumed that the press in Northern Ireland interreacts with legitimate authority in the same way that the press interreacts with legitimate authority in the United States. The control forces are the ultimate
source of many stories used by the media. Consequently, if the establishment control forces are consistently recording very few incidents and passing those few incidents along to reporters, the tactic of avoidance will be reflective as a smaller number of stories in the press.

The Newsletter, for instance, which is the most Protestant-oriented paper, had only four stories with one term. Certainly if the Protestants were relying on this newspaper for their information, they could conclude that there were no problems between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. The Belfast Telegraph fared little better. The effect of the relatively large number of terms in stories in the Irish News would logically be to increase Catholic awareness and formulate opinions.

The paucity of evaluative terms is particularly important when the fact that the strategy of petition had already reached its conclusion is considered. Consequently, one way of interpreting these data is to simply conclude that the petition was denied, and denied as Bowers and Ochs have suggested, by ignoring the problem.

Another point of interest apparent in Tables 2 and 3 that demands some interpretation is that during the period of polarization, the Belfast Telegraph had the largest number of stories with the largest number of terms. The number was still relatively small. Polarization was the only period during which the Telegraph led both categories, stories and terms. This may be important simply because the Telegraph is
by far the largest newspaper in terms of circulation. Their evaluation contrasts sharply during this period with that of the Irish News, which is the Catholic newspaper. One would expect that the Catholic newspaper would be most prone to making polarizing statements, or at least to using evaluative terms. In fact, polarization was the only time period in which the Irish News did not lead in both categories, stories and terms. It would be misleading to claim that the Belfast Telegraph jumped into the lead in number of stories and terms during polarization. In fact, what happened was that the Irish News dropped off considerably in both categories. In contrast, the Telegraph remained at basically the same level, with twelve stories during promulgation and ten during polarization.

So here is a condition in which the Telegraph did not increase coverage or evaluation; rather the other two papers dropped off, leaving the Telegraph as the leader during polarization. The difference between polarization and promulgation is not significant, at least within in the Belfast Telegraph. This supports the observation about the Telegraph's preeminence in evaluative term use during polarization.

The drop in number of stories apparent in the Irish News from promulgation to polarization, however, does require some explanation. It could be that legal sanctions, especially the "D" notice procedure outlined in Chapter One, sufficiently frightened editors into believing that the
reporting of activities that would help to polarize the population were simply not recorded out of fear of judicial action. One other, and perhaps more logical explanation, is that those "activities designed by the dissidents to polarize the population took place entirely within the dissident community," as Bowers and Ochs suggested. The members of the dissident groups in Northern Ireland live in a tightly woven social system, in which they all belong to the same church, clubs, and athletic teams. During the Irish Civil War, the Gaelic Athletic Association (G.A.A.) was used as a training ground for IRA volunteers. The British recognized this propensity for political dialogue in what was purportedly not a political organization and outlawed all so-called "Republican" organizations, including the G.A.A. It is currently illegal to be a member of any of these organizations. The suggestion that making membership illegal results in a lack of discussion seems to this researcher to be absurd. The discussions will take place at any location that Catholics can gather without fear of Protestant harrassment.

It is most likely that a combination of the above explains the data. The establishment was attempting to avoid the problem while the agitants were engaged in ingroup communication consequently, little evidence of agitation could be expected.

The Newsletter, during the first two time periods, provides an interesting counterpoint to the Telegraph and the
Irish News. In the Newsletter, which is a conservative paper favored by the most reactionary of the Protestants, there were simply no stories with no terms. For the Newsletter, neither the Catholic nor the Protestant dissidents existed. During the third time period, non-violent resistance, there was a jump in the number of stories as well as the number of terms for both the Irish News and the Newsletter. During this time period, the Telegraph provides the counterpoint. The number of stories as well as the number of terms fell precipitously for the Newsletter. People were marching in the streets; British soldiers were in evidence everywhere. The Northern Ireland Parliament was in danger of being closed. The attention of the world was focused on Northern Ireland, and yet the largest newspaper in Northern Ireland, the Belfast Telegraph, had one evaluative term in just five stories relating to the troubles. If Belfast newspapers failed to even discuss the issue to any extent, then the small number of stories demands explanation. The only plausible explanation, unless the Northern Irish have different standards of reporting than the United States, and they may, is that the establishment, through the largest establishment newspaper, the Belfast Telegraph, was continuing the tactic of ignoring the dissidents and in effect hoping that the movement would burn itself out. This editorial position taken by the Telegraph stands in contrast to the Irish News and the Newsletter. The editorial positions of the Newsletter and the Irish
News represent a position closer to the extremes at each end of the political spectrum in Northern Ireland. The consequence is that these newspapers not only had a significantly larger number of stories during this time period than they had in any previous time period, but they also had a significantly larger number of terms per story. If the Irish News can be seen as a newspaper representative of the dissident or anti-establishment point of view, the reason the Irish News leads the way in both number of stories as well as number of terms is evident. The newspaper has an audience of dissidents. It is also important to note that the activities of the dissidents during the period of non-violent resistance are particularly threatening to the status quo. This threat seems to have been picked up by the Newsletter. And this is to be expected because the Newsletter's audience is basically more conservative-reactory and thus more threatened by change than the audience of the other papers.

The tendency of the most establishment newspaper, the Telegraph, to ignore or at least give less coverage to stories about the agitator process would certainly be expected by Bowers and Ochs. Here is yet more evidence of the use of the avoidance tactic of "denial of means." If this assumption is incorrect, then the increase in number of stories evidenced in the Newsletter and Irish News is inexplicable, using this measure, given that both the Newsletter and the Irish News are significantly smaller than the
Belfast Telegraph in terms of total number of pages.

The period of escalation-confrontation is characterized by a dramatic leap in number of stories and terms for each newspaper. As expected, the Irish News led the way with the largest number of stories as well as the largest number of terms. It is probably important to note that the majority of the stories in this period related to "Bloody Sunday," January 31, 1971, which is a date indelibly printed on the Irish consciousness. On that date, what was by all accounts a peaceful demonstration in Londonderry was reduced to a slaughter, in which thirteen men, women and children were killed by British Army Regulars. The newspaper accounts of this event comprised the largest body of coded stories within this time period. The most interesting factor apparent is that the Telegraph was responsible for only twenty percent of the stories and less than twenty percent of the terms. Once more it seems the majority, as far as was practical, ignored the situation. Both the Newsletter and the Irish News, on the other hand, gave substantial coverage to the dissident movement during this period. This is particularly important because when the fact that the Newsletter and the Irish News are about half the size of the Telegraph in terms of average number of pages is considered, the percentage of stories in the paper relating to the "troubles," at least for the Irish News and Newsletter, was very high in comparison to the Telegraph. The reasons for this large amount of information in the smaller papers are constant with the
reasons outlined for a similar pattern during the period of non-violent resistance. In short, the Irish News chose to report events and evaluate events because their audience is comprised primarily of people sympathetic to the dissidents and the Newsletter chose to report and evaluate events simply because their audience was the most radical of the Protestant reactionaries. The Telegraph, on the other hand, did what was expected of an establishment newspaper operating within an establishment bent on avoiding the issue. It failed to print many stories at all.112

In short, it could be that the establishment meets with different degrees of success when attempting to get the press to "avoid" the issue. Further, there is some evidence to suggest that the degree of success is primarily determined by the extent to which the constituency of the newspaper conforms to the establishment's political position, because newspapers in a competitive environment must, of economic necessity, reflect the attitudes of their readers.

While the dissidents were engaged in the strategies of guerrilla-ghandi, the numbers of stories as well as the number of evaluative terms per story fell in each paper, although the Irish News, as expected, remained the newspaper most likely to cover an event and most likely to evaluate that event. The Telegraph and the Newsletter had about the same number of stories and terms, though very few. In fact, the Newsletter had even less evaluation than did the Telegraph during this time period. The difference between
the papers was only one term. It is probably important to note that the establishment newspaper and the reactionary newspaper had sparse coverage, with little evaluation. The Irish News was the clear leader in number of stories and terms. More than half of the evaluative terms in the stories during this period, guerrilla-ghandi, were in the Irish News.

Evaluative Term Use in Three Northern Ireland Newspapers

The Newsletter and the Telegraph each had about one-fourth of the stories and one-fourth of the terms. The meaning of this pattern becomes a little more clear when the fact that the Telegraph is a much larger paper in terms of total number of pages than either the Newsletter or the Irish News is considered. The consequence is that on a percentage basis, they are devoting even less space to the movement than is apparent by viewing the data. The most simple explanation is that they chose to continue to engage in the tactic of ignoring the movement. It stretches the arguments of Bowers and Ochs somewhat, but I think it is fair to assume that an establishment newspaper reflects at least to some degree the needs, wants and desires of the establishment. Consequently the relative position of the Newsletter, the Telegraph and Irish News are understandable. The Telegraph was simply aiding the establishment in its tactic of avoidance. As anti-establishment newspapers, however marginally so, the Newsletter and Irish News are not conforming to the pattern, and should not be expected
to conform.

Another possibility is that because the newspapers received criticism for the way they reported the confrontation on "Bloody Sunday" and because the internal security situation was exacerbated so greatly by the actions taken by security forces, the newspapers simply did not want to be accused of lighting the fuse to the powder keg which would blow up all of Northern Ireland. The Irish News, on the other hand, seemed more than willing to accept the events that took place during the period of escalation-confrontation, to evaluate and report them. The message is clear. For the dissident newspaper, the story had great news value. The Newsletter and the Telegraph didn't cover the events, perhaps in hope that the movement would go away, perhaps because the events had become old news. Had they looked to the Irish News, they would have concluded that the movement would not go away. Indeed, the data indicated a general upward movement in number of terms and stories when all time periods and all papers are considered together.

The larger number of stories during the period of polarization evidenced in the Belfast Telegraph challenged the assumptions made by Bowers and Ochs, at least to a certain degree. Bowers and Ochs would predict that the agitants would make attempts at manipulating the media in order to get their message carried "fully and favorably." Presumably if these attempts were made, there would be some means of measuring the success. Attempts at manipulating
the media are particularly useful during polarization, as Bowers and Ochs suggested when they wrote, "it is, after all, particularly difficult to develop flag individuals and flag issues without the assistance of the press." All of the above fits nicely with what would be expected after reading Bowers and Ochs on the subject. Unfortunately, it is contradicted by what happened in the Irish News, because in the Irish News there were only six stories during this time period.

One would expect that the newspaper most sympathetic to the agitants' cause would be most prone to publish material favorable to them. The Newsletter, as expected, had very few stories; in fact, only one. The first two time periods provided a total of five stories in fourteen issues in the Newsletter. During these periods, there was a great deal of agitation activities in the streets, in the courts, as well as in the Northern Ireland legislature. In the period of non-violent resistance, the Belfast Telegraph had only five stories while the Irish News and Newsletter had thirty-six stories and twenty-five stories respectively. The larger number of stories in the Irish News and Newsletter again is perhaps indicative of their position as newspapers of the most extreme elements. They were more clearly prone to cover events during this period than was the establishment newspaper, the Telegraph, which had only five stories. The larger number of stories in the Newsletter and the Irish News was expected; the extremely small number of stories in
the Telegraph was unexpected. Perhaps this is indicative of a possible attempt by the establishment to use a blackout as social control. Morris suggested this sort of blackout has been used against the new feminists and it is possible that the Northern Ireland establishment would attempt a similar tactic.

Bowers and Ochs discuss another and less subtle kind of avoidance strategy. However, the tactic of avoidance, whether legal or de facto, is nonetheless effective.115

During escalation-confrontation, the Newsletter had by far the largest number of stories with 104, followed by the Irish News with sixty-seven and the Telegraph with forty-three. This pattern was to be expected. The newspapers more representative of extremist viewpoints or socially deviant viewpoints have the largest number of stories about a conflict involving their constituencies. The Telegraph, as the voice of the Protestant middle-class, has fewer stories and presumably their constituency is less interested in reading about the activities of the here-labelled extremists.

The Belfast Telegraph had only about 2.5 stories per issue average over all time periods. In contrast, the Newsletter, in spite of having only five stories in the first two time periods, averaged 3.4 stories per issue. The Irish News had a relatively phenomenal 6.1 stories per issue about the "troubles." It should be noted, however, that while the Irish News had a large number of stories, it didn't differ significantly in any other way from the other
two papers.

**Primacy**

As noted in the previous chapter, the differences between time periods for the variable of story size was non-significant. In essence, the data are telling us here that there is no relationship between the stages in the processes as designed here and this variable. This contrasts with expectations. One would expect that as events in the agitation process become more and more newsworthy (read "violent") that the story would be given increasingly greater space in the paper.

Another explanation as Bowers and Ochs have suggested is that the agitators become increasingly intent upon manipulating the media to give them full and favorable coverage, and they met with some success. Divining the differences between a news value judgement and a success or lack of success of manipulative agitators is a difficult chore. Some work would have to be done in order to prove the hypothesis that newspapers generally give more play in the later stages of an agitation movement.

One possible reason for the lack of change in size and page number of stories relating to the agitation process in Northern Ireland is that their readers simply don't want to read about it. In short, that it isn't news. The situation in Northern Ireland is such that all the actors in this drama know their relative positions and for the newspapers to recapitulate every event ad nauseum would simply cost
the newspapers readers.

Consequently, none of the above explains why it is that similar situations in other countries result in observed increased media attention. The only explanation to be garnered from rereading Bowers and Ochs is that the Irish agitators are not successfully manipulating the press.116

One final explanation could be that the newspapers, in their desire not to be manipulated by the agitants, have reacted by formalizing their presentation of stories about the conflict. This explanation is supported by the lack of evaluative data evidenced earlier. If the newspapers have adopted a form for dealing with the "troubles," then the explanation for the lack of differences when looking at primacy factors is simply that the newspapers molded the stories to the form they had adopted for presenting the "troubles" and consequently, the similarities are explained by the fact that each newspaper used the same form for all stories relating to the "troubles." There are a number of possibilities why a newspaper would choose to present material in a formalized fashion. It could be an editorial decision; it could be part of the socialization process in the newsroom. It could be that by retreating to a formalized presentation, newspapers do not have to be concerned that their reportage will be misinterpreted and consequently precipitate some act by one or another of the violence-prone groups. Finally, it could be that the papers have been intimidated by the various factions into understanding the facts.
Number of Evaluative Terms All Categories

Herein lies the most important information, or lack of information, found in this study. The data show that three Belfast newspapers didn't use evaluative terms very often when referring to either the control or the agitator elements of the agitation process in Northern Ireland. The only time period that has any significant number of terms at all is the period of escalation-confrontation, and it should be noted that through chance or whatever other capricity of fate, the weeks selected as examples of escalation-confrontation included "Bloody Sunday," mentioned earlier. The vast majority of the evaluative terms evidenced during the time period of escalation-confrontation came in stories directly relating to "Bloody Sunday." It could be argued that relatively large numbers of terms used to evaluate actions on both sides during that one day skewed the results. If you subtract the terms directly attributable to reports about "Bloody Sunday," the numbers of terms used during escalation-confrontation remains higher than the other time periods, but not significantly so. In short, while the higher numbers of terms associated with escalation-confrontation would lead one to believe that the numbers of terms increased as the level of agitator activities increased, that cannot be inferred from these data, especially so when the figures from the time period guerrilla-ghandi are considered. Even apart from these admittedly somewhat artificial time periods, there is no trend over time by the
newspapers to do more evaluation.

The only other aspect of this which requires interpretation is why the Irish News consistently used more evaluative terms than the other two newspapers. First, it should be noted that the Irish News is the Irish-Catholic oriented newspaper. I suppose many Irishmen would allow that the Catholic newspaper would be more prone to use the famous Irish gift of story-telling while their more reticent Scot counterparts would reflect their heritage. In short, a cultural difference in reporters could explain the greater frequency of terms in the Irish News. It could also simply be editorial policy or socialization in the newsroom.

To help give me insight into this issue, I sought out Tom Samways, who was the political correspondent for the Irish News. Mr. Samways was the only local reporter who allowed his byline to appear on stories dealing with the "troubles." I met Mr. Samways in a pub across the street from the Irish News building. When I arrived at the pub, I thought Mr. Samways had made a mistake, because the entire ground floor was blocked off with steel plates. The building had the appearance of a building that had recently been bombed. There was a small door that still seemed to be operating. I tried it and found it was the entrance to the pub, but that the pub was now on the second floor. I was checked by the security guard at the bottom door and allowed to proceed through a number of corridors to the upstairs pub. There were no windows in the pub. The windows that
had been there were all broken and covered with three-fourth inch steel plates. The room had the appearance of a cave. Mr. Samways was seated at the end of the bar. He was a heavy-set man with a large nose and a quick laugh. I asked him why he was one of the only reporters who took credit for his stories dealing with the "troubles." Mr. Samways responded, pointing out the steel-plated windows and asking me if I had seen the Irish News building. I had; the entire ground floor of the building was demolished and all of the windows had the same steel plates used in the pub. The reason few other reporters take credit for their stories, according to Mr. Samways, is because they fear for their lives and for the lives of their families should they offend one faction or another. Now this statement prompted me to wonder if this could be the reason for the lack of evaluative terms. Could it be that the situation in Northern Ireland is such that any interpretation put on an event is seen as partisan? Mr. Samways answered yes. I questioned him further. I wanted to know why he did not fear for his life. And he told me that he lives in the center of the Falls Road, which is a Catholic ghetto. He further intimated that he was armed. His assertion was that any Protestant extremist who came into the Falls Road bent on troublemaking would never get out. Consequently, he felt safe as long as he stayed near his home.

Another feature which may have influenced the number of terms used by the Irish News is the fact that it is the
Irish-Catholic newspaper and as such, has the journalistic responsibility and accepts that responsibility, at least to a certain extent, to champion the cause of the people. Finally, it could be said that the more flowery prose used by the Irish News simply sells more papers. I suspect the latter reason is the real one, although I am certain the cultural background of the reporters has some effect. In any event, even the Irish News used very few terms.

Weights and Measures of Terms
(Positive, Negative, Agitant, Control)

These results were somewhat surprising. The first thing apparent is nobody had anything good to say about the agitants. Even the Irish News, which is the pro-agitant newspaper (if it is possible for a newspaper operating within the establishment to be pro-agitant) had only twelve terms and ten of these came during the period of escalation-confrontation. All of those ten referred to "Bloody Sunday," consequently, while they can't be dismissed, that larger number should probably be taken with a grain of salt. In short, there is no relationship between the number of agitant positive terms and either paper or time period. That result is meaningful if seen as evidence of avoidance. Much of the activity in Northern Ireland perpetrated by the Catholic agitants was peaceful in nature--marches, sit-ins, picketing and the like. Some of it was constitutional--such as Bernadette Devlin's election to Parliament. Some of it took the form of speeches and rallies. Surely some of these
events or some of the people involved in these events deserved positive evaluation, and yet virtually none was present in any paper.

Once more, the reasons for this lack of evaluation could be stated editorial policy or it could be the unwritten editorial policy that comes from socialization in the newsroom, as suggested in my interview with Mr. Samways. It could be that the reporters feared to use evaluative terms because they didn't want to become associated with positively evaluating one group or person over another. It should be noted that there are what could be legitimately termed "terrorist organizations" on both sides of this political fence. It could be that the reporter is simply attempting not to take sides and in so doing, lets the agitants or events speak for themselves rather than providing an evaluation. One other possibility is that it is dangerous to be known as one who positively evaluates one group or another and reporters shy away from this sort of evaluation out of fear.

Statistical data for the control elements contrasts rather sharply with those of the agitants. When the data are compared side by side, it is most obvious that while these newspapers evaluated actions taken by the agitants negatively a fair amount of the time, they evaluated the actions of the control elements as well as the control elements themselves fairly negatively if they evaluated them at all. It should be noted, however, that during the first
three time periods there were very few negative terms to relate to the agitants. Once more the results are skewed because of the inclusion of "Bloody Sunday" and there does seem to be an upward trend in the number of negative terms when the period of guerrilla-ghandi is considered. In any event, one cannot infer from these data that the newspapers evaluated the agitants negatively to any degree; in fact, if "Bloody Sunday" is excluded, the largest number of terms per seven issues (one week) for any one newspaper in any time period was only six, less than one term per issue. This contrasts sharply with the larger number of negative terms used in relation to the control elements. Although the larger number of negative control terms can be explained primarily by the fact that the Irish News, the most anti-establishment of the three papers, is responsible for almost all of the negative control terms, and the Irish News, with its basically Catholic constituency, would be expected to negatively evaluate control elements. The other two papers have more or less the same number of negative control terms as they have negative agitant terms. The starkest contrast among the papers is during escalation-confrontation. Here the Irish News had fifty-three negative terms relating to the control elements while the other two papers, the Telegraph and Newsletter, had five and six terms respectively. The large number of terms in the Irish News is expected. The paper is clearly sympathetic to the Catholic civil rights movement and the events on "Bloody Sunday,"
much like the events in front of the Hilton Hotel and at Kent State referred to by Bowers and Ochs would be expected to increase negative evaluation of the control elements. What is interesting is that the increase in negative evaluation of the control elements agitation in the Telegraph and Newsletter is very small. Even including all the stories about "Bloody Sunday," the Telegraph and Newsletter each have only ten terms in all time periods together. This is less than twenty terms in seventy total issues. It would be difficult to argue who was responsible for the events on "Bloody Sunday," and who were the victims is also difficult to ascertain. But one fact cannot be denied. Thirteen Irish-Catholics were shot during a political rally by British paratroopers and no paratroopers were injured. In similar events in the U.S., the killings at Kent State and the Chicago riots of 1968, and the Watts riots, according to both control and agitator forces, there was increased coverage. In Northern Ireland, however, there is statutory explanation for this lack of negative evaluation of control elements in addition to a number of other possibilities. The "D" notice system holds that any newspaper report which might negatively affect the security can be declared, after the fact of publication, a violation of the law. One would assume that newspapers recognize this capacity of the security forces and seek to avoid violating the law by avoiding the use of negative evaluative terms which might anger those in control. Another explanation could be that
the control forces represent a news source and consequently are treated deferentially. And finally, it could be a result of socialization in the newsroom or the other factors mentioned with reference to the scarcity of terms in general. These factors mentioned above would also explain why the Irish News consistently evaluated the control elements more negatively than did the other two papers.

The above mentioned observations are supported even more strongly by a look at the mean number of positive and negative terms for both control and agitant groups. The largest number of positive terms in either category is expressed in tenths of a term per story, and with the exception of three time periods, the number of positive terms for either category is expressed in hundredths of a term per story. If all the terms used in stories from the issues which reported "Bloody Sunday" are excluded, all of the time periods would have either no positive terms at all per story as is the case during the first two time periods with regard to control, or they would have a few one-hundredths of a term per story. It could be argued from these data that the few positive evaluative terms referring to the agitant and control elements were mistakes. Perhaps there weren't supposed to be any at all. In any event, the mean number of terms is such that for whatever reason, these three newspapers do not positively evaluate either side in this agitation process. The mean number of negative terms is larger than the mean number of positive terms. At first glance it
would seem that newspapers are more willing to negatively evaluate than they are to positively evaluate. This is somewhat negated, however, by the lack of complete agreement among the coders with regard to what is and what is not a negative term. It should also be noted that with the exception of the time period of escalation-confrontation, all the newspapers except the Newsletter had fewer than one negative term per story. The only exception here is the Newsletter, during polarization, referent to the control elements. During that period in the Newsletter there was fewer than an average of one negative term relating to the control elements per story.

The simplest explanation for the lack of positive terms is quite probably that happy news is no news. The "brutal" policeman simply gets more press than the "brave" one.

In attempting to understand the motives behind the portrayal of control forces as brutal, one need only refer to Bowers and Ochs. They offer the explanation that as the agitation process continues, the agitants are more likely to attempt press manipulation. If this is the case, then one way of seeing the portrayal of control forces as brutal is as evidence of success on the part of the agitants. It could also simply be an accurate characterization.

An analysis of the Newsletter's evaluative terms emphasizes this point. The Newsletter is a pro-Unionist, pro-establishment newspaper, presumably sympathetic to the police. In fact, the Newsletter had only one story during
that time period and that story only had one term; thus, the average of one term per story. Perhaps because they had nothing good to say, they said nothing.

Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research

The major contribution of this study is in how not to measure bias. The first thing that must be questioned is the importance of evaluative terms in measuring bias in the newspaper or at least in a situation in which an establishment can avoid an issue by pressuring the press into lack of coverage. It is likely that newspapers in general and newspapers in Northern Ireland in particular avoid the use of evaluative terms out of concern for journalistic standards of fairness and impartiality or because the establishment meets with success in attempting to get the press to avoid the issue. A third explanation is that reporters are afraid to use evaluative terms because one or another of the participants may see such use as evidence of bias on the part of the reporter. A reporter, thought to be biased would, in my judgement, be subject to threats, and or physical abuse in Northern Ireland. It follows that few reporters are willing to evaluate at all. Consequently, a research tool which measures bias as use of evaluative terms will find no bias. A pro-establishment bias or the part the press is exiomatic. The efficiency of measuring bias through evaluative term use in fields other than journalism must also be questioned. In short, bias may be contained in evaluative word content, but to use evaluative term content as the
primary measure of bias in textbooks, as did Pratt to ignore the other and often more damaging kinds of bias evidenced in print.

It may be that evaluative term use could be used to measure bias in Northern Ireland, but the sample would have to be much larger to provide enough data for analysis. That volume of data would require an enormous amount of time, unless the data could be fed directly from the newsroom into a data pool.

L. Carol DeWeese describes one such content analysis which utilized a computer content analysis, coupled with computers and video display terminals in the newsroom. It would seem logical to expand research in this area because the data are so readily available in the form of day-old computer records.\footnote{119}

Another solution to that problem is offered by the Trend report of the Center for Policy Processes, which involves itself in mass content analysis of two hundred newspapers on a constant basis.\footnote{120} The possibilities for an expansion of this sort of data-gathering tool are manifest, considering the increasing use of video display terminals connected with computer networks in the newsroom. The problem is that even this sort of approach fails to consider cultural differences and in fact, this particular research is exclusive to American newspapers.\footnote{121}

Finally, it seems to me that we need to find a way to get at the motives of the primary actors. The dominant
values of the audiences of the newspapers, it would seem to
me, is an integral part of this system and consequently they
need to be considered. Perhaps Spates' orientation should
be explored.122 His was a long-term study analyzing the
acceptance of counter-cultural values by the dominant cul-
ture in Western society. He used underground newspapers in
the U.S., Canada and Great Britain and contrasted their
writings with each other as well as internally over time.
Perhaps this could also be a means of getting at the motives
of the dissidents or agitants because one of the primary
problems in dealing with data in this nature is that iden-
tifying motives is particularly complex.123 It is probably
important to note that Mr. Spates analyses underground news-
papers which are more prone to extremist language because of
the nature of their audiences.

It is particularly difficult to get the dissident side
of the issue, because the dissident group is usually out-
lawed. There is no way to contrast reporting about the dis-
sident as a measure of effectiveness of the dissident's
media strategy, unless we can deal with the motives of the
dissidents. If Underground Northern Ireland newspapers
were used, the number of terms per story may very well have
been much greater.

One final possible solution for the paucity of data
presented herein is that the researcher has been "fishing in
Chairman's sea" and has only pulled out a few fish, and from
those fish, tried to discern the nature of a whale. It
could be that the stories were coded by three Americans who simply failed to perceive the information presented to the people of Northern Ireland through their newspapers. There is a level of information to press reports in Northern Ireland that comes from a kind of code inherent in the names of the people involved, the nature of the incident, as well as the location of the incident and addresses of the principals. In Northern Ireland, a person's last name and in many cases, his first name, are labels which imply a whole set of values. When a Northern Ireland newspaper prints that "Patrick Mahoney was found shot yesterday in the Falls Road Section of Belfast," a knowledgeable reader translates the story to "IRA informer Patrick Mahoney was knee-capped for talking too much." "Knee-capping," in short, means to cripple him but not kill him. It is a traditional punishment for Irish informers.

It would be difficult to interpret these data without some understanding of the situation in Northern Ireland, particularly Belfast. In order to gather the data necessary to complete this study, it was necessary to make three trips to Northern Ireland. Travels to Northern Ireland were particularly interesting to me, because I have a grandfather who was born in Belfast and whose sisters live there today. I used to listen to my grandfather talk about life in Ulster when he was a boy. He talked about the green of the hills, the beauty of the lough he passed by every day on his way to work. He also spoke of the night his father's house was
burned to the ground by the IRA. During the years since my grandfather's death, I have come to remember his reminiscing about Ireland in the way I am sure many Irish-Americans think of the old sod. I had forgotten the descriptions of the fear that had led him to emigrate to Canada and spend a very happy forty years as a policeman in Winnipeg, Manitoba. When I arrived in Northern Ireland, I had expected evidence of the "troubles," but I also expected the peaceful country and people my grandfather described.

The Road to Belfast

My introduction to Ulster jarred whatever idealistic notion about Northern Ireland still harbored. Hitchhiking up from the Republic, I came to the border riding with a man who said he was a tourist. We stopped at the border and had some tea in a small cafe just inside the Republic. During tea, the conversation turned to the "troubles." The man seemed somewhat uncomfortable with the direction of the conversation, but I forged ahead anyway. When we got up to leave, he told me that he wouldn't be able to take me across the border. He was concerned about my study of the "troubles," concerned that I might draw attention to him. So he left me there to walk across the bridge and begin hitchhiking toward Belfast. I got about three-fourths of the way over the bridge when I heard a voice tell me to stop. I stopped and looked around and didn't see anyone, so I kept walking. After another ten paces or so, once more, this
time much louder, someone yelled "stop." I stopped and looked around again, and then realized there was a man standing on a small platform under the bridge, peering out and up at me. He was wearing the uniform of the British Army. He asked me where I was going, and I told him. Then he told me I would have to be searched by the lieutenant. He motioned me to a block house that was on the Ulster side of the bridge, where three or four soldiers lounged about inside with one man who was clearly in charge. He was nice and polite, although he seemed very interested in what kind of research I was doing. After we had talked a bit, I asked if I could go on. He said of course, but would I please open up my backpack for a routine search. I was aware of the reason for the search and opened my pack. He had one of the sergeants search it while he continued to talk with me. After a minute, the other sergeant called the lieutenant. In his hand was a copy of An Phoblacth, which is an Irish Republican newspaper published in the South. I had picked it up because it had a number of articles about Ulster from the IRA's point of view and I thought it might be interesting to include that information in the study. I had no idea that the publication was an outlawed publication in the North or that I had committed a criminal act, as the lieutenant explained to me, by bringing the paper into the country. Immediately the lieutenant's attitude toward me changed considerably.
At the time I was stopped, I didn't consider the implications of the soldier's action. In retrospect, I must admit that it was during this incident at the border that I first began to see the discrimination against Irish-Catholics first-hand. Once my copy of An Phoblach was found, I was viewed as a threat, perhaps even a criminal. I was not treated with either respect or civility. Bowers and Ochs would say that the establishment was engaging in the tactic of "denial of means" when the soldiers confiscated my newspaper. More evidence is provided by the Northern Irish laws against Republican newspapers and mass meetings. I am confident had there been no indication of a connection with Irish-Catholicism and/or the IRA, I would have been treated as a tourist and welcomed into the North; in fact, later in my trip, when I later went to the Irish Tourist Office to find a place to stay, I was treated with all the respect and civility one would expect.

The soldier at the border told me that I would have to wait for a higher ranking officer and answer a few more questions before I would be allowed to continue my journey. He even intimated that they had had "a lot of trouble" with Irish-Americans helping the IRA. He made his distaste for "professional Iris-men who don't know what they're doing when they give support to the IRA" known. He implied that I was one of those "professional Irishmen." In ten minutes or so another officer, a captain this time, came into the block house and spoke with me for a few minutes, and gave me back
my copy of *An Poblacth*, and told me I could be on my way. My guess was that the lieutenant had been overzealous or that they had some means of checking my identity about which I was ignorant.

**Banishment and Persecution in Northern Ireland**

Upon reflection, it must be noted that the activity of the soldiers and citizens outlined above are indicative of banishment tactics on the part of the establishment. As Bowers and Ochs noted, banishment is the most effective of the tactics available to the establishment. Bowers and Ochs assert that banishment is used not only to remove an agitator organization's leadership, but as an exemplary deterrent to members of the agitator group. In this case, the lieutenant, as well as the soldier who stopped me originally, each evidenced some concern that I might be some kind of politically oriented American. It should be pointed out that in spite of an American passport and clear credentials indicating my purpose in Northern Ireland, I was detained for a considerable period of time and was questioned in spite of the fact that I could prove my identity. Internment, as I have mentioned before, is in effect in Northern Ireland. Consequently, when you are stopped by a soldier or other control personnel you simply must treat these people with appropriate deference because they, quite literally, have the power to have you interned without cause. This internment has been used by the British to arrest many IRA leaders and others without appropriate judicial cause. In short,
the existence of internment laws is the best evidence that the tactic of banishment is used in Northern Ireland. It can also be dangerous to the control forces, however, as Bowers and Ochs noted, "when the banishing establishment violates its own regulations, they erode their own legitimate power." In the instance outlined above, because I had a banned publication it was assumed that I might be an individual that the State would wish to bar from the country. Consequently, those soldiers detained me in a mild contravention of English common law. To the extent that I began to understand how the control forces in Northern Ireland function to control the agitant population, the establishment's legitimate power was indeed eroded, at least in the eyes of one scholar.

Once more, in retrospect, it is quite probable that the reason I was not picked up while I was hitchhiking was simply because I had a beard. A beard identified me as a member of the Irish-Catholic minority for people who are familiar with the social system in Northern Ireland. In fact, my experiences hitchhiking in the North were in direct contrast with my experiences hitchhiking in the Republic of Ireland, where a car rarely went by without picking up a person trying to "cage a ride." After four hours in the same border town, with tens of cars passing by every hour, I came to the conclusion that I was not going to get to Belfast on my thumb, so I inquired about a bus. Fortunately, there was one. The price seemed a bit steep; I later found
out that in Ireland all tickets are round-trip tickets, so I was paying for a trip to Belfast and a trip back to Newry, which was the border town.

In any event, the bus was fairly comfortable and it went along the coast road north. After riding for about twenty minutes, the bus was stopped by a roadblock and everyone was asked to get out. We all got out and stood around while more British soldiers searched all our luggage and suspiciously eyed those passengers among us who evidenced any resentment over the inconvenience. We were stopped two more times and searched before we got to Belfast, but the ride into Belfast from the outskirts of the city proved to be the greatest shock to my grandfather's remembrances. Here was a city in which every third car was either a Sarasan (armored car) or a "pig" (tank-like personnel carrier) loaded with British soldiers armed with automatic weapons. Outside every government building there was a cinderblock pillbox and more armed guards. In the downtown area every intersection had four gates completely closing off the streets. The gates resembled the entrance to a subway. There were fences about nine feet high shaped like shepherd's staffs with the hooked side pointing toward the intersection and topped with barbed wire. The gates were steel turnstiles which allowed one person through at a time and which could only be moved in one direction. Outside each of these gates was a long line of people waiting to be searched by the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC).
Every street corner looked the same. The same line of people, the same "click, click, click" as the people pushed through the turnstiles, the same British soldiers, always with their backs turned to the walls and their guns ready.

The re-examination of Bowers and Ochs upon my return gave a note made during these first few days particular significance. According to Bowers and Ochs, "one principle governs the rhetorical stance taken by any establishment: Decision-makers must be prepared to repel any overt attack on the establishment."¹²⁶ Here is evidence of that establishment position. In Northern Ireland evidence of security forces is everywhere. Yet in spite of this pervasive presence of security forces, both IRA and UVF (Ulster Volunteer Force) members have proved that they can penetrate establishment control lines with impunity. The simplest way of documenting this ability on the part of the agitants to penetrate the line of defense set up by control forces is simply to look around downtown Belfast. For all practical purposes, every building has been bombed, and in spite of the presence of security forces. For example, working at the center of town, inside the barricades, I was forced to leave the library twice because of bomb scares.

My trip to Belfast had become an odyssey of Northern Ireland-English relations, and I think I began to glimpse, for the first time, the conditions under which the reporters in Northern Ireland are forced to gather and write the news. The only way of describing the mood of the people I met was
reserved and apprehensive. If this were carried over to the members of the press, certainly there would be an affect on their writing.

The Tourist Office and Bus Station

When we arrived at the bus station, I asked the man at the cashier's window where the nearest tourist office was. He looked up in surprise and told me that it was about ten blocks across town. It took me two hours to walk that ten blocks because I was stopped and searched at every street. It took so long because I was carrying a backpack and at each intersection the officer who was doing the searching had to call for a "sniffer," which is a device which detects the presence of explosives in packages.

It is important to note at this point that the walk across town began to engender a certain amount of resentment in me because I was uncomfortable carrying the heavy backpack and all my dissertation materials and it was an inconvenience to explain the papers at each stop and have my backpack checked, particularly when it was evident from the bombed buildings that the security forces were incapable of stopping a bombing in the center city. In fact, I asked the RUC at one gate if he ever caught anybody at the gate and he said no, "the really bad ones never come into town." I must admit I didn't let him see my amusement, but if the "really bad ones" aren't able to get into town, how is it that every street has numerous buildings flattened by bombs? Could the good citizens of Northern Ireland be doing this?
At the tourist office, I went in and found I was the only customer. According to the woman behind the counter, I was the first tourist who had come to ask for help in two weeks. They gave me a list of the bed-breakfasts in town and then advised me to stay in the University area, if I were going to do research, because in the language of Northern Ireland, "where you are staying and who you are staying with can make a great deal of difference if you choose unwisey." What she meant was that I couldn't stay in an identifiably Catholic or Protestant area because it would cast suspicion upon me. I took her advice and moved into a bed-breakfast near Queens University.

Once more, however, given the focus of my study, I couldn't help but consider the implications of her statement for reporters in Northern Ireland. If it can make so much difference where a scholar stays when he visits to do scholarly research, it must make a great deal of difference to a reporter who is born and grows up in an area that is easily identifiable as either Catholic or Protestant. Certainly the tourist office woman would lead one to believe that people would hide things from you if they suspected you belonged to an opposing faction. Considering that the three newspapers in Northern Ireland are roughly equated with the three basic political constituencies of Northern Ireland, with the Telegraph middle of the road, the Catholic-Irish point-of-view represented by the Irish News, and the more militant Protestant view represented by the Newsletter, one
can only speculate about the impact a reporter's employer
has on his ability to gather or write news, given the fact
that each reporter carries a political "label" present in
the name of his employer.

On my first free day in Belfast, I took a bus to see a
maiden aunt of mine who lives in Lisburn. This time I got
to use the return part of my ticket. As we were traveling
to Lisburn, we were stopped by a British security patrol.
All the luggage was checked and the identification of each
passenger was checked, as it had been on the trip from
Newry. When I asked why we were being stopped, the lieu-
tenant in charge of the patrol told me that we were the last
bus to leave the bus station before a bomb went off. The
British felt that the bomber might have been on the bus. I
mention this because it was my closest call in Northern
Ireland and because it provides support for the earlier con-
tention that forces, at least in Belfast, are incapable of
stopping a bomber from planting his bomb. If this is true,
then the elaborate security precautions mentioned earlier
with shepherd crook fences and turnstiles and pillboxes
outside government buildings serve another purpose. Perhaps
it is as important for the establishment to be seen doing
something as it is for the establishment to actually do
something. In short, if the security force provides no
security, they must be either symbolic or anachronistic.
The Belfast Libraries

The focus of my attention in Belfast was the Linen Hall Library, which is a private, membership-only lending library in downtown Belfast. The head librarian was kind enough to allow access to their files, which included complete issues of the Irish News and the Belfast Telegraph. The next ten days was spent at a desk in front of a second-story window reading and coding newspapers. Just below the window, there was a British security checkpoint, which provided the opportunity to observe, first-hand, the way British security forces interacted with the public. There were never any incidents during the ten days at the checkpoint, however, a number of men, all with red hair, were detained. These men were taken aside and held at gunpoint. Later a "pig" (the local people call an armored personnel carrier a "pig," probably because it looks like one) came and took these men away. I don't know what happened with these men or what they had done, and when I asked, no one would answer.

I found this scenario particularly interesting in light of a comment made by one of the characters in Leon Uris' novel Trinity. The character was an Irish-Catholic caught in a Protestant section of town and concerned that his red hair would give him away. On this day, security forces were clearly singling out people with red hair for no apparent reason beyond the fact that they must have been looking for someone with red hair. It seemed to me that this would be akin to arresting all black people and holding them until
you found the one black person who had committed a crime.

Every day I arrived at the library at 9:00 a.m. to begin my work. Every day I was checked as I entered the building and again as I left. Twice during the ten days the building had to be evacuated because of a bomb threat.

The requisite copies of the Newsletter were located at the Belfast City Library, Shankill Road branch. I was very concerned for my safety in the Shankill Road. It is the most famous of the Protestant "no-go" areas (a "no-go" area is one in which even the British soldiers will not venture out of fear for their lives). The distance from the Linen Hall Library to the Belfast City Library on the Shankill Road is about two miles. I decided to walk. I arrived at the Library at 11:00 a.m. A sign indicated it would not open until noon. I resolved to sit on the steps, have a Coke, and observe as much as I could. Unfortunately, within minutes of the time I sat down, a group of young men appeared on the street corner opposite. They didn't speak to one another, nor did they speak to me. They leaned back against the building then just stared at me. After about ten minutes, an old woman came out of the grocery store next to the Library and walked up to the corner where I was standing. She saw my clothes and assumed I was an American. In a very quiet voice she informed me that it would be wise for me to leave as quickly as I could. When I asked her why, she said it was because I had a beard, and in Northern Ireland, only Catholics had beards. I had unwittingly
labeled myself as a Catholic and then walked into the worst of the Belfast Protestant areas. Her advice to leave seemed warranted, so I left.

I must say that as I walked back from the Shankill Road Library toward downtown, I think I experienced for the first time the kind of siege mentality that black people must feel in this country and that Irish-Catholics must feel in Northern Ireland. I felt as if I were wearing a large sign that identified me as a member of the political opposition. More than that, I began to notice the little things people would do in shops, on the streets, even in the Library, that would indicate they did not want to be near me. Once more I have to assume it is because the beard identified me as an Irish-Catholic. I am sure the feeling is similar to the feeling black people get when they are confronted by a racist who won't admit his racism, but still expresses his biases through his actions, however subtle.

I came back to the Library the next day at noon by cab and went directly into the Library and upstairs to begin work. The rest of my time at the Shankill Road Library was without incident, but I must admit to a certain uneasiness during my tenure on the Shankill Road.

Again, it is only speculation, but I have to wonder what would happen to a reporter from, say, the Irish News, who ventured onto the Shankill Road. I doubt he would do so and return healthy.
I have outlined above the first two days of the first trip to Ireland. On two other trips my experiences were similar. Every act committed by any person in Northern Ireland is in some way influenced by the "troubles." You can't go to school, read a book, argue politics, talk religion and you can't even get married or hold a job without deference to the "troubles." It is a pervasive aspect of Ulster that touches everyone, some harder than others, but nevertheless it touches everyone.

The comment the old lady made to me in front of the Shankill Road Library is another example of the kind of label which imparts information but more than that, because Republican organizations in particular and dissident groups in general have not been tolerated by the English in Ireland as a matter of history. The best example comes from Irish traditional music. The anti-British songs contained in this music were outlawed through much of Irish history and consequently, a number of songs were written using coded words. The famous nineteenth century ballad, "Nell Flaherty's Drake," is a perfect example. "Nell Flaherty's Drake," according to Patrick Clancy of the Clancy Brothers, is a secret or code name for Robert Emmett who led a small uprising in Dublin in 1803.127

The song is rife with explicit detail about what will be done to the man who "killed Nell Flaherty's drake" (informed on Robert Emmett.)
In the final analysis, Patrick Galvin best characterized the relationship among song, code and politics. He said:

The Irish are famed as a nation of singers: not choral singers like the Welsh, but soloists— for folk memories are long, and there was a time when for Irishmen to meet together, and to attract attention to themselves by singing their national songs in a chorus, was to court imprisonment or death. For that matter, solo singing, or even whistling, if certain Irish airs has been a punishable offense within living memory.

It is difficult to use the term "folk-song" about what the Irish call "national ballads." In England it is only few of the songs of the people, surviving from earlier times, that deal with current events and real people in straightforward narrative form, nor are there many composed songs that both express the feelings of a powerful movement and belong to the people in that they are as familiar as household words. The vast bulk of Irish songs, however, are either anonymous reports of actual events, or else epic appeals to nationhood and love of liberty, composed by men of letters and other public figures, and universally known and sung all over the country.

Ireland's national songs are doubly unique. For one thing, the tradition of writing ballads, of selling broadsheets and singing ballads at the street-corner or in the marketplace, has never died out in Ireland; it is still a living tradition to this very day. In addition, the fact that this tradition has been alive continuously for a score of generations means that Ireland's songs reflect Ireland's history with a fidelity probably unparalleled in the world.

It should be noted here that Bowers and Ochs have discussed the impact of song on agitant movements. Bowers and Ochs note that songs, plays, esoteric symbols and the like are often used to serve the function of solidifying the group. That is clearly one of the functions of Irish songs, but in this case, and Bowers and Ochs note, songs are not
strictly limited to solidifying. They can serve polarization functions, at least in Ireland, given the examples of Irish songs reproduced above. Thus, it is fair to assert that at least in Ireland, songs do serve to polarize as well as solidify.

Mr. Galvin's reference to the living tradition of Irish music is important because these songs are sung today in Protestant and Catholic pubs all across Northern Ireland. This system of constant historical reminders is such that Irish myth and political rituals have become inseparable from reports about current events. Consequently, a reference in a news story about an individual with an identifiably Catholic or identifiably Protestant name conjures up all the other historical figures with the same name; thus a Seamus becomes representative of all the other Seamus' throughout Irish history who have given their lives for the cause of Ireland's freedom and who have been honored with a ballad. More to the point are attempts by the IRA and others to manipulate even the nature of their names in order to have maximum impact in the press, thus Sean McStiophane, who is the chief of staff of the IRA in Belfast, was born John Stevenson, and Ruairi O'Bradaith, who is the defense minister to the IRA in Northern Ireland, was born Rory Brady.

The interrelation between myth and political discourse and the way the media covers political discourse provides me with some of my worst problems. Because, as W. Lance Bennett pointed out in his article on "Myth, Ritual and Political
"Control," very often similar sorts of political ideas are put forth by opposing politicians. If one falls inside the framework of the existing social and political myth and the other falls outside the framework of the prevailing political and social myth, according to Bennett, the public will predictably reject the political idea that is not couched in the appropriate mythical framework. The problem in Northern Ireland is that the two cultures are completely separate and distinct with different mythical traditions. The Protestant-Scots, on the one hand, have a tradition of myths and legends that stem from a genesis in Scotland, and more recently comes from a Scot-Presbyterian wellspring. On the other hand, the Irish-Catholics have a separate set of cultural legends, a distinct set of ancient gods who are demonstrably different from the ancient Scot gods and they have a tradition of Roman Catholicism that has been unchanged for about one thousand years.

One has only to note that in Irish myth, the only king who was ever deposed lost his crown because he failed to provide for his kingdom's bards and scholars as he was required to do under the Brehon laws. He was chased out of Ireland and into Scotland by his people. The Scots, upon his arrival, welcomed him and made him their king.

I think Mr. Bennett got at the root of the problem when he said:

Perhaps the most significant consequence of the failure to understand the role of myth and ritual in political processes is the tendency to dismiss
the most enduring and important features of politics as trivial. For example, a cultural analysis of political communication suggests that the real characteristics of elections are the recurring themes, the banal appeals, the dramatic incidents, and the personal images. Conventional criticisms dismiss such things as unworthy of attention. Whereas a cultural perspective shows that voter choices are limited to the vague and fleeting alternatives that appear in campaign rhetoric and disappear after the election, conventional criticisms insist on looking elsewhere for the real choices or the factors that displace them. In a similar fashion, a perspective on elections as communications rituals shows that the "cult of personality" is a central means of dramatizing popular concerns and structuring voter choices. In contrast the traditional criticisms dismiss the images and postures of candidates as versions of true campaign standards. The dynamics of myth and ritual show how public thought and action in elections and other political processes are structured in ways that limit the scope of possible outcomes while organizing support for the government and reinforcing particular images of politics and society.129

Obviously, Mr. Bennett has an assumption that in the society there will be homogeneity of social and political myth, as well as ritual. Unfortunately, in Northern Ireland that is not the case. The consequence is that anything that fits with the cultural heritage of the Catholics is, of necessity, in direct contrast to that of the Scot. More than that, anything couched in acceptable terms to one group is in effect biased against the other group. This sort of bias, the bias contained in the names of the actors, the bias contained in the places and events conjured up by current actions are for all practical purposes not measurable, but to any Irishman, they are real. Perhaps these differences go further toward explaining the reasons for an
apparent lack of bias in the press than the systematic qualification of evaluative terms. Surely a people who are capable of creating songs still sung today which contain culturally coded material would transfer that propensity, at least to a certain extent, to the newspapers.

The "cultural code" may offer the best explanation for the apparent lack of evaluative terms used in Northern Ireland. It is not that the Northern Irish press didn't evaluate the troubles, only that the evaluation is contained in something other than evaluative terms, something not readily apparent to a cultural visitor.
FOOTNOTES


3Ibid., p. 4.


8Ibid.


21 Crawford dissertation.


23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.


27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., p. 20.
33 Ibid., p. 27.
34 Ibid., pp. 28-30.
35 Ibid., p. 36.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid., p. 37.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid., p. 47.
41 Ibid., p. 49.
42 The Times (London), October 25, 1976, p. 2E.
44 The Times (London), November 23, 1968, p. 2B.
45 Ibid., February 27, 1969, p. 2E.
46 The Sunday Times Insight Team, *Ulster*, p. 49.
47 Barbara Oney, "Bernadette Devlin as a Communication for Social Change in Northern Ireland" (master's thesis, Ohio State University).

49 The Times (London), July, August, September, November, December 1971.

50 Ibid., May 26, 1971, p. 1B.

51 Ibid., July 9-10, 1971, pp. 1C, 1A.

52 Ibid., August 7, 1971, p. 1G.

53 Ibid., August 9, 1971, p. 1B.

54 Ibid., July 31, 1981, p. 1D.

55 The Sunday Times Insight Team, Ulster, pp. 263-264.

56 The Times (London), August 12, 1971, p. 3D.

57 Ibid., September 25, 1971, p. 1C.

58 Newsweek, June 7, 1971, p. 46.


60 The Times (London), January 31, 1972, p. 1A.


63 The Times (London), February 25, 1972, p. 1A.

64 Ibid., March 28, 1972, p. 2A.

65 Ibid., May 31, 1982, p. 1G.


68 Ibid., p. 49.

69 Bowers and Ochs, The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control, p. 49.


74 Regulations for Peace and Order in Northern Ireland, Schedule A., p. 23.

75 Public Order Amendment Act, Northern Ireland, 1971.

76 The Statutes Revised, 1971, Chapter 12, p. 1.


81 Ibid.

82 Ibid.


95. Ibid., p. 14.

96. Ibid., p. 27.

97. Ibid., p. 19.
107 Bowers and Ochs, The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control, p. 60.

108 Ibid., p. 46.

109 Ibid.


111 Bowers and Ochs, The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control, p. 45.

112 Ibid., p. 47.

113 Ibid., p. 27.

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid., p. 18.

116 Ibid.


121 Ibid.


123 Ibid.


125 Ibid., p. 52.

126 Ibid., p. 40.


APPENDIX A

EVALUATIVE WORD LIST

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- [lurking](#)
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- [magnificent](#)
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- [mean](#)
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APPENDIX B

SCORE SHEET AND INSTRUCTIONS

NAME OF CODER: ________________________________

NUMBER OF STORY: _____________________________

Evaluative Terms

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APPENDIX C

INSTRUCTIONS FOR ANALYST

1. When ready to begin the analysis, the analyst first carefully peruses each source (books, article, etc.) for references to the subject (each time, for instance, Blacks are referred to as "a problem," or Southerners as "hostile," or Indians as "savage"), the word should be listed on the score sheet in the "term" column. A separate sheet is used for each subject in each source. The analyst should work slowly and carefully; the major cause of inconsistency among analysts tends to be omission of relevant terms, rather than disagreement as to interpretation or scoring.

As a rule it is advisable to read sources through in their entirety, reading rapidly through irrelevant sections, rather than relying on indexes, tables of contents, or subheadings to indicate relevant material. Evaluative references to minority groups, for example, often occur incidentally, at points where the group is not the main focus of discussion. Indexes in school textbooks are rarely so exhaustive that they list all references to a specific group or subject of interest.

2. Words which express favorable or unfavorable value judgements (i.e., evaluative terms) are most commonly adjectives, but may also be adverbs, nouns, or verbs. A few examples are given below:

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<th>Favorable</th>
<th>ADJECTIVES</th>
<th>ADVERBS</th>
<th>NOUNS</th>
<th>VERBS</th>
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</thead>
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<td></td>
<td>good</td>
<td>bravely</td>
<td>genius</td>
<td>dare</td>
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<td></td>
<td>honest</td>
<td>carefully</td>
<td>hero</td>
<td>endure</td>
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<td></td>
<td>polite</td>
<td>well</td>
<td>saint</td>
<td>inspire</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>badly</td>
<td>barbarian</td>
<td>betray</td>
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<td></td>
<td>lazy</td>
<td>meanly</td>
<td>crime</td>
<td>steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reckless</td>
<td>roughly</td>
<td>thief</td>
<td>waste</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Words that are purely descriptive rather than evaluative should not be listed. One way of deciding whether or not a word is evaluative is to apply the "congruency" test; that is, to ask whether the word would be most appropriately applied to "saints" or "heroes," or alternatively to "sinners" or "villains." Let us suppose an analyst is uncertain whether the word "contemptible" is evaluative; use of this
test would suggest that one is more likely to speak of a "contemptible sinner" than of a "contemptible saint." Similarly, a word like "cooperative" is more likely to be applied to a saint or hero than to a sinner or villain. Hence, "contemptible" and "cooperative" are evaluative terms. But words like "tall" or "powerful" could be applied equally appropriately to saints or sinners, heroes or villains, and hence are descriptive or neutral, and not the concern of this analysis. The verb "to kill" is descriptive, as it simply states an objective fact (whether the statement is true or false is irrelevant to this kind of analysis); but the verb "to murder" is evaluative because it implies a blameworthy kind of killing.

4. If an analyst is in doubt as to whether or not a word expresses a value judgement, he should first consult the ECO word list. If the word is not listed, he will have to look for synonyms in the list, and use his judgement.

5. Most evaluative terms are applied to subjects by use of the verb "to be," as for example, in the statement, "Joe was good," or "Betty was foolish." But evaluative terms should not be overlooked which are applied in a positive way to subjects by means of other forms of syntax. Several examples follow. If "X" were the subject of interest, the terms listed on the score sheet would be those underlined in the examples.

X admired bravery  X ruthlessly took the money
X assisted in the crime  X seemed to be insane
X became more modest  X's personality was stable
X committed an offence  X's prejudice was obvious
X did a dishonorable action  X talked disloyally
X had courage  X threatened Y
X had very civilized ways  X told a lie
X lived a good life  X tried to be charitable
X may have been foolish  X was known to be very wise
X murdered Y  Y disliked X's dishonesty

6. The analyst should take care to list only the evaluative terms, and not to list descriptive terms which happen to be juxtaposed. For example, in the statement, "Bill was responsible for the crime," only the word "crime" would be listed; "was responsible for" is simply a descriptive verb-form. In the statement, "Jim showed considerable courage," only the term "courage" is evaluative; "considerable" is a descriptive modifier, like "very" or "much," and should not be listed.

7. For purposes of consistency, terms may be listed on the score sheets as adjectives, nouns, and participles. Thus, the term "carelessly" appearing in the source could be listed on the score sheet as "careless," and the term "stole" as
"stealing." Comparatives and superlatives may be listed as simple adjectives. Thus, "weaker" and "weakest" would be listed as "weak."

8. Sometimes an evaluation term is negatively applied to the subject; for example, "Frank was not intelligent." In this example, the assertion could be reversed--"Frank was unintelligent"--without interfering with the meaning; so the word "unintelligent" would be added to the score sheet. Similarly, "Jack was no fool;" the word "clever" or "astute" could be listed. If the statement could not be reversed, for example; "John was not a murderer" or "Peter denied the crime," it would be ignored. Inclusion of phrases and substitution of words should be avoided as far as possible.

9. The cardinal rule in this kind of analysis is, never violate the original meaning. Occasionally is it necessary to change a word before adding it to the score sheet in order to preserve the original meaning. Thus, in the statement, "The Japanese are good engineers," skill, nor moral goodness, is meant, so that the term "skillful" would be listed. The word list should be followed except where to do so would clearly misrepresent the author's intent. Thus, in the statement, "Washington has been an active soldier for several years," the word "active" should not be listed as an evaluative term, because it is in this case merely part of a descriptive expression. If a writer said, "Lincoln was incapable of failure," it would violate the original meaning to list "incapable." And if a text stated that "Benedict Arnold was the greatest traitor in American history," "traitor" would be listed, but "great" clearly would not be.

10. The analyst should also be alert for instances of irony. In the statement, "Nero generously allowed Seneca to commit suicide," the author does not actually mean that Nero was generous, so the statement would not be scored. A similar example is the word "gentle" in the statement, "As Guy Fawkes would not talk, King James ordered the use of gentle persuasion."

11. Statements within direct and indirect quotations are treated as ordinary statements, unless explicitly rejected by the source. Thus, if a text stated simply that "Stanley reported that the African natives were primitive and savage," the terms "primitive" and "savage" would be listed on the score sheets. But nothing would be listed from a statement such as "the white man has slandered the Indian by calling him a savage," or "Mexicans have been described as lazy, but this is not true." The reason for this rule is that a writer may convey an attitude as much by the quotations he selects as by the statements he makes himself.
12. When all the evaluative terms referring to the subject of interest in the source have been listed on the score sheets, each term is scored as favorable (+), unfavorable (-), or neutral (0), in the "direction" column. Many of the words will be found in the ECO word list. For the remainder, the analyst may look for synonyms in the word list and use his own judgement. To ensure consistency, he should keep a record of values assigned to such words which occur frequently in the sources.
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