

NEWS ANALYSIS

CASE STUDIES OF INTERNATIONAL
AND NATIONAL NEWS IN THE PRESS

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News as Discourse

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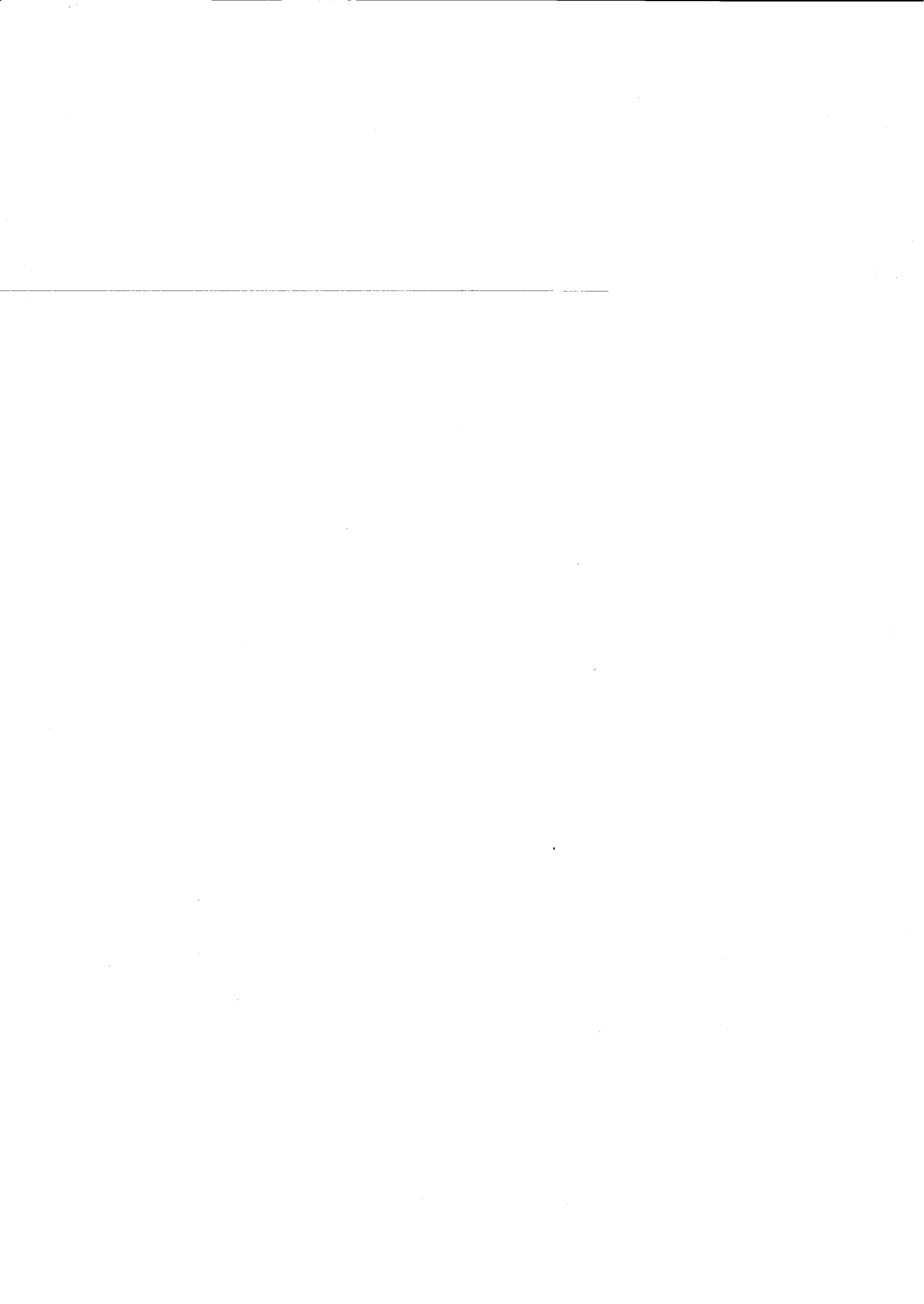
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PREFACE

This book presents a series of case studies that illustrate the structures of national and international news in the press. It first summarizes our discourse analytical theory of the processes and structures of news reports as it has been developed in the last five years. Then, this theoretical framework is applied to an analysis of the structures of international news, based on a case study of world press reporting of the assassination of president-elect Bechir Gemayel of Lebanon in September 1982. In this study, which summarizes the result of a longer report written for UNESCO, hundreds of news reports that appeared in more than 260 newspapers from some 100 countries were analyzed and compared. One question addressed in that study is whether newspapers from different countries and regions of the world, and produced in different political and ideological contexts, would also provide equally variable types of description of such a world event. We hope that the answer to this and related questions may contribute to the ongoing debate, stimulated by Third World countries, about the perceived imbalance in international news sources, topics, and distribution. This study is embedded in a more general analysis of possible differences in international news coverage among 15 First World and 15 Third World newspapers during three days in September 1982.

Although the study of Lebanon has particular relevance for our insight into world press reporting on a stereotypical news event in a Third World

country, the other studies focus on marginalized groups in national news reporting—ethnic minorities, refugees, and squatters. Data from these studies are based on an analysis of the Dutch press, but the results and our discussion suggest that they provide a more general picture of the coverage of nondominant groups in Western societies. Thus, parallels can be made between the access and portrayal in the Western press of geographically or ideologically distant Third World nations and actors abroad and the socially distant immigrants or minorities (often of Third World origin) at home. Since most press studies in English deal with the American and the British press, the analyses of Dutch newspapers are also intended to complement this earlier research with insights in the press of another European country.

Besides its theoretical and descriptive goals, this book also has a critical dimension. The topics in this study cannot simply be treated in a traditional academic fashion; rather, they have important moral and political implications that need to be spelled out explicitly. In this regard, journalists are considered part of a dominant, cultural elite who often contribute unwittingly to the expression and legitimation of the national and international power structures. We try to show how the press, through subtle discursive means, thus reproduces this power.

One of the methodological aims of this book is to stimulate a new, more explicit and systematic, approach to the study of mass media discourse in general and to news reporting in particular. Discourse analysis thus hopes to complement, more qualitatively, the traditional methods of quantitative content analysis. It allows us to inquire into abstract formal structures of news reports as well as into their subtle underlying meanings, in a way usually ignored in content analysis. Yet, as long as computer programs cannot take over such precise microanalyses, this method is still limited to small amounts of data. Large-scale investigations of hundreds or thousands of media texts must still be complemented with a more superficial and more limited type of content analysis, such as presented in this book. Nevertheless, we hope that the theoretically more adequate discourse analysis of news will stimulate a new, more qualitative orientation in the study of mass communication.

The first version of this book was written as part of a larger study on *News as Discourse*, which also contained chapters on the structures, the production, and the comprehension of news in the press. That study was so large that we divided it into the present, more descriptive book, and another theoretical book on the discourse analytical approach to news processing and mass communication. The latter retained the original title and is published as a companion volume in this series.

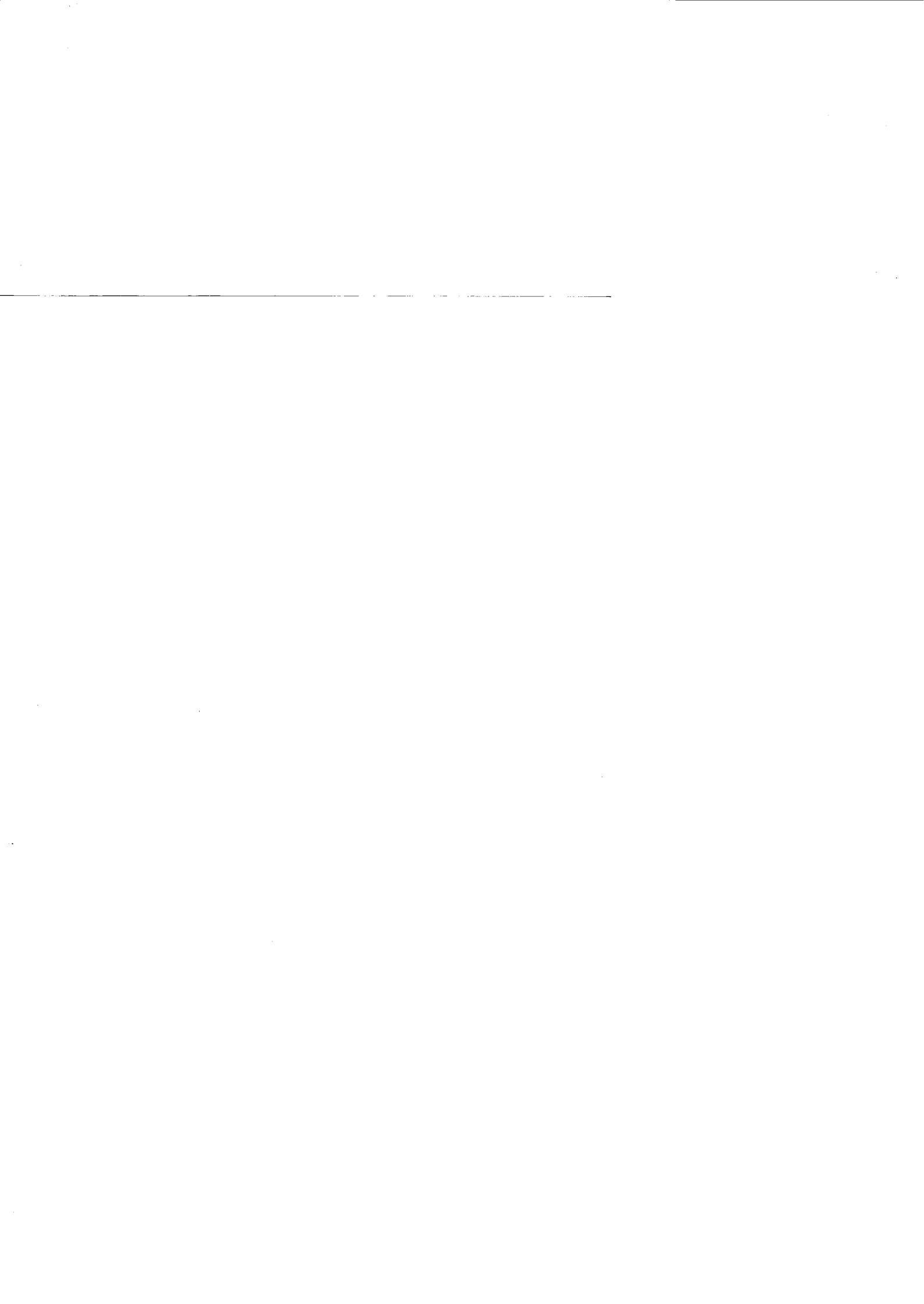
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THE ANALYSIS OF NEWS AS DISCOURSE

NEWS AS DISCOURSE

One of the most obvious properties of media news, ignored or neglected in both traditional and more recent approaches to media reporting, is that news reports, whether in the press or on TV, constitute a particular type of discourse. The prevailing influence of the social sciences in the study of mass communication has led to a nearly exclusive focus on the economic, political, social, or psychological aspects of news processing. This orientation provided important insights into the (macro) conditions of news production and into the uses or effects of mass media reporting. The message itself in such studies tended to receive attention only as far as it could provide information about the factors of its various contexts. Traditional, as well as more recent, forms of content analysis aimed at a methodologically adequate description of selected properties of such media messages with the primary goal to be able to make contextual inferences. The adequacy of this approach resided more in the reliability of scoring categories and in the sophisticated nature of the statistical treatment of the results than in the systematic analysis and understanding of the media messages in their own right.

Against the background of current developments in the new interdisciplinary study of discourse, we are now able to take a different approach.

Central to this new orientation is its perspective on the very core of the process of mass communication, viz the mediated discourses themselves. No longer are these discourses merely analyzed in terms of practical, while observable and countable, intermediary variables between properties of sources or production conditions and characteristics of media users or effects. Media discourses in general, and news reports in particular, should also be accounted for in their own right, e.g., as particular types of language use or text and as specific kinds of sociocultural practice.

This means, first of all, that such media discourses should be analyzed in terms of their structures at various levels of description. Such a structural analysis is not limited to the grammatical description of phonological, morphological, syntactic, or semantic structures of isolated words, word groups, or sentences as it is customary in structural or generative linguistics. Discourses also have more complex, higher-level properties, such as coherence relations between sentences, overall topics, and schematic forms, as well as stylistic and rhetorical dimensions. Both as monological, printed, or spoken, text and as dialogical interaction, media discourses thus receive an integrated account of their more general as well as their more distinctive organization. In this way we are able, for instance, to describe the structures and textual functions of headlines or leads of news reports in the press, as well as the style, ordering, and thematic organization of such media stories. Similarly, news interviews or talk shows can be analyzed in terms of turn taking, sequencing, or strategic moves in publicly communicated verbal interaction.

Yet, this is not all. The study of discourse is not limited to an explicit account of structures per se. Developments in the study of discourse in such diverse disciplines as speech communication, cognitive psychology, social psychology, microsociology, and ethnography have shown that discourse is not simply an isolated textual or dialogical structure. Rather it is a complex communicative event that also embodies a social context, featuring participants (and their properties) as well as production and reception processes. Although a sound structural analysis of media discourse would already provide important contributions to the study of mass communication, it is this wider, contextual perspective on discourse that makes it particularly relevant for the study of media discourse. In this way, discourse analysis can also yield new insights into the processes of production and uses that are justifiably found to be of paramount importance in mass communication research. New in this approach is that the many factors or constraints in production, from economic conditions to social and institutional routines of newsmaking, can now be related explicitly to various structural properties of news reports. The same is true for reception processes: Understanding, memorization, and reproduction of news information can now be studied as a function of both textual and contextual (cognitive, social) properties of the communication process.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The application of discourse analysis in mass communication research is relatively new; therefore, a brief introduction is necessary to discuss the backgrounds and developments of this new approach (see van Dijk, 1985c, for details). At the same time, this historical sketch may show the multi-disciplinary roots as well as the theoretical and methodological diversity of the field of discourse analysis.

Although the history of the new cross-discipline of discourse studies (in German "Textwissenschaft") can be traced back to ancient treatises of rhetoric and poetics of more than 2,000 years ago, its modern development dates from the mid-1960s. Parallel to, and methodologically often inspired by, the development of both structural and generative grammars in linguistics, the present study of discourse has one of its roots in anthropology and ethnography and in the relationships of these disciplines with poetics and semiotics. Against the historical background of the movement of Russian formalism that accompanied the Soviet Revolution, anthropologists, linguists, and literary scholars provided the first elementary structural analyses of various types of discourse (Erich, 1965). Until now, perhaps the most influential of these analyses across many disciplinary boundaries has been the morphology of the Russian folktale proposed by Vladimir Propp 60 years ago (Propp, 1928/1958).

Structuralism, Semiotics, Narrative Analysis, and Ethnography

Unknown in the West for decades, Propp's study and those of other early formalists inspired the structural anthropology of Claude Lévi-Strauss (1958, 1960) in the 1960s. Together with new developments in structural linguistics, his work on the analysis of myths and the first French translations of the Russian formalists (Todorov, 1966b) stimulated the growing movement that is now known as French structuralism. One major characteristic of this structuralist approach is its interest for the analysis of narrative. Both literary and everyday stories, followed by accounts of film and social myths, thus received a linguistically inspired description by such scholars as Barthes (1966), Greimas (1966), Todorov (1966a, 1969), Kristeva (1969), Eco (1966; 1976), Metz (1966), and Bremond (1964, 1973), among many others (Communications, 1964, 1966; see Culler, 1975, for an introduction). Although these initial studies started around 1964, their sociocultural context and especially their influence was not independent of the student movements and their consequent academic transformations in and after 1968. The 1970s saw a quickly spreading influence of this type of structuralism both in Europe and in the United States, although its major

and most lasting impact can be seen in the Latin countries of Europe and the Americas.

One binding element in this very diverse set of approaches was the rebirth of a new discipline, viz. semiotics (in French, *sémiologie*), from several parent disciplines in the social sciences (Morris, 1938) and the humanities (Barthes, 1964; Eco, 1976). As the general study of signs, it enabled anthropologists, literary scholars, linguists, and sociologists alike to study meaning and signifying practices in a terminology that allows cross-disciplinary comparison and coherence. Besides the well-known study of myths, stories, and poems, it also spawned increased interest in the analysis of cultural objects or practices that hitherto had been neglected in the traditional disciplines, e.g., gestures, national flags and symbols, movies, advertisements, comics, and other media messages. (Many of these studies were first published in the well-known journal *Communications*.) This semi-otic approach later also influenced work in the analysis of media messages and news (Bentele, 1981; Hartley, 1982).

At the same time, on the other side of the ocean, structural anthropology had also given rise to systematic analysis of myths or folktales (Dundes, 1964; Köngas-Maranda & Maranda, 1971). Yet, it was linguistic anthropology in the United States that provided the background for a broader study of discourse and communicative events. Initiated by people such as Hymes and Gumperz, the mid-1960s also witnessed the emergence of the ethnography of speaking or ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1964; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972). Besides structural analysis of myths, tales, storytelling, songs, and several type of everyday discourse, this orientation examined the full ethnographic context of such discourses, including their actual performance or the social and cultural conditions of their uses (Bauman & Sherzer, 1974; Saville-Troike, 1982; Gumperz, 1982a, 1982b).

Conversation Analysis

The second major source of current discourse analysis can be found in microsociology. Against the background of various interpretative or phenomenological orientations, sociologists as diverse as Goffman (1959, 1967) Garfinkel (1967), and Cicourel (1973) focused attention on everyday interactions and their underlying meanings and interpretations. This framework soon led to special interest in one of the most mundane yet at the same time perhaps most fascinating types of everyday interaction: talk (Sudnow, 1972; Schenkein, 1978). Under the initial impetus of the work by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) on turn taking, this conversational analysis rapidly spread to other disciplines such as sociolinguistics and ethnography and is now one of the dominant paradigms in the wider field of discourse

analysis. Besides the continuing attention on informal talk, it also influenced or was paralleled by the analysis of other types of dialogical interaction, such as doctor-patient discourse, classroom interaction, meetings, or job interviews (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Labov & Fanshel, 1977; Mehan, 1979; see also van Dijk, 1985c, vol 3; Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; McLaughlin, 1984).

Pragmatics and Sociolinguistics

The third direction of research that was important for the development of discourse analysis was inspired by philosophical studies, also during the 1960s, of speech acts (such as promises or threats) by Austin (1962), Searle (1969) and Grice (1967/1975). They provided the basic conceptual framework of the pragmatic account of language use and thus enabled the construction of the necessary link between verbal utterances analyzed as linguistic objects on the one hand and the accomplishment of social action on the other hand (Sadock, 1974; Parret, Sbisà, & Verschueren, 1981; Leech, 1983; Levinson, 1983). Although much of this work was initially limited to isolated one-sentence utterances, this pragmatic missing link between linguistic structures and social action also appeared to be relevant for the analysis of discourse as a sequence of speech acts and for the relationships between text and context (van Dijk, 1981).

The fourth influence on discourse analysis was the emerging discipline of sociolinguistics in the mid 1960s (Fishman, 1968). Instead of the more abstract and context-free study of language systems in terms of structural or generative grammars, sociolinguistics proposed a more empirical study of actual language use in its social context (Giglioli, 1972; Dittmar, 1976). It focused on the impact of social factors (class, gender, ethnicity, etc.) on linguistic variation and rejected the currently prevailing assumption of a homogeneous speech community sharing the same grammar. Under the inspiring influence of people such as Ervin-Tripp (1969) and Labov (1972a, 1972b), this study of the actual uses of language naturally led to the analysis of stylistic variation and various types of discourse, such as parent-child discourse, everyday stories, and verbal duelling among black youths. As with the other disciplines mentioned, much contemporary sociolinguistics merges with social discourse analysis (Stubbs, 1983).

Text Processing in Psychology and Artificial Intelligence

Fifth, the late 1960s and early 1970s also produced a paradigm shift in psycholinguistics, cognitive psychology, and artificial Intelligence. After its too-close encounter with generative sentence grammars, psychology soon

discovered the fascinating field of text processing, with its obvious applications in educational psychology (Freedle & Carroll, 1972; Kintsch, 1974). Comprehension, storage, memory representation, and reproduction of textual information were the major processes analyzed in this fruitful research orientation (see van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983, for survey and further references). Stories were the major discourse type for which these processes were investigated, due at least in part through American transmitters inspired by the structural analysis of narrative (van Dijk, 1980b). The contribution of Artificial Intelligence (AI) to this field also focused on stories and proved to be especially important in the computer simulation of the vast amounts of knowledge (organized in scripts) necessary for the interpretation of discourse (Schank & Abelson, 1977).

Text Linguistics

Finally, linguistics itself, partly under the influence of work in the structural analysis of narrative, started to grow out of its self-imposed sentence boundary. Especially in Western Europe, research starting at the end of the 1960s produced first proposals for the elaboration of text grammars and text theories (Petöfi, 1971; Dressler, 1972; van Dijk, 1972; Schmidt, 1973; see de Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981, and Beaugrande, 1980, for introduction). These were designed to capture linguistic regularities of sentence sequences and higher level semantic interpretations in terms of macrostructures (van Dijk, 1980a). In the United Kingdom, this attention for discourse structures has been characteristic of many linguistic studies inspired by so-called systemic grammar, developed by Halliday (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Benson & Greaves, 1985). It was found in this textlinguistic work that not only the interesting linguistic properties of sequences and whole text fragments, but also the very phonological and syntactic structures, as well as the semantic interpretations of sentences, depend on their position and function in discourse. Similar observations were made in the discourse grammars developed in the United States (Givón, 1979). These different forms of linguistic discourse analysis also allowed for the first time the specification of explicit relationships between grammatical structures of a text on the one hand and other discourse structures, e.g., narrative structures, on the other.

Integration of Discourse Analysis as New Cross-discipline

In the early 1970s, these various orientations of discourse analysis all resulted in monographs, special journal issues, conferences, and other institutional models. In the beginning, however, these developments were still relatively independent. Not until the end of the 1970s, did increasing cross-

fertilization and integration take place among several of these subfields. What first started as a more or less autonomous development in various disciplines, increasingly appeared as different orientations of a newly emerging discipline, variously called discourse analysis, discourse studies, or textlinguistics (see van Dijk, 1985c). This new cross-discipline now has two international special journals, *Text* and *Discourse Processes*, and regularly appears as a special section in many of the conferences in the different disciplines of the humanities and the social sciences. Besides the original founding disciplines, others, such as the studies of history and law (both basically concerned with texts of all kinds) and finally speech communication and mass communication, soon joined this new field of research.

This presentation of the emergence of discourse analysis as a discipline consisting of different fields, largely defined by their original parent disciplines, provides only a partial picture of ongoing research. More work may be occurring on speech acts in linguistics than in the original discipline, namely, philosophy, where the theory of speech acts was first developed. Similarly, the debate on the theoretical, methodological, and empirical usefulness of so-called story grammars has been fiercer, more extensive, and even more fruitful in psychology and AI than in literary scholarship, semiotics or anthropology together, the originators of the notion of a story grammar. In other words, the new discipline can also be viewed in terms of its problems or phenomena of research, and these will often cross original disciplinary boundaries.

Similarly, there are also differences among what might vaguely be termed types of discourse analysis in various countries. That is, style of theory formation, analysis, and writing, together with philosophical and even political differences, distinguish, for instance, much Anglo-Saxon discourse analysis from current French and Latin discourse analysis, although there are increasing crossovers, overlaps, translations, and hence mutual influences. Broadly speaking, Anglo-Saxon discourse analysis combines continuing influences from structural or generative linguistics, cognitive psychology, pragmatics, and microsociology. Unlike their own structuralist predecessors of the 1960s and early 1970s, some currently influential French schools (influenced by Althusser, Foucault, Derrida and/or Lacan) have a more philosophical style of discourse analysis, with frequent references to ideological, historical, psychoanalytical and neoMarxist work and applications especially in the field of literary studies (Culler, 1980). The writing style of some of these orientations is also more metaphorical and, therefore, sometimes difficult for the noninitiated.

This French discourse analysis, because of its historical and political background, also inspired the well-known cultural and ideological analyses of sociologists and media scholars in Britain, e.g., those of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in Birmingham (Hall, Hobson,

Lowe, & Willis, 1980). For application in the analysis of news, see Hartley (1982).

This broad distinction among different styles of research is merely a rough one. For instance, within the more Anglo-Saxon style, a distinction should be made between those researchers who work within a strict conversational analytic framework and other discourse analysts. The first group rather closely follows the original microsociological methods derived from phenomenological sociology; and the latter more freely borrow from both conversational analysis, linguistics, psychology, and the social sciences. Since news in the press especially is a form of written or otherwise fixed and planned discourse, we shall focus on theories that account for the structures of written texts. Within that perspective, however, we mention work from different approaches and styles when they deal with the same phenomena or problems.

DISCOURSE STRUCTURES AND NEWS REPORTS

In our case studies of national and international news in the press, we make use of a series of theoretical notions from discourse analysis that need introduction. We suggested above that the analysis of text and dialogues, both within and outside of discourse analysis, varies relative to different theories, methods, schools, or even individual scholars. In this respect, discourse analysis is hardly different from most other disciplines in the social sciences and the humanities. Still, without aiming at a consensus or common denominator, this introduction mentions some of the basic theoretical and analytical notions that have been effective as well as widely shared. Some of these notions, and the unifying framework that forms the background of this introduction, have been developed in our own work on discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1972, 1977, 1980a, 1981).

Discourse as Communicative Event

We have mentioned earlier that discourse, in a wider sense, is a complex unit of linguistic form, meaning, and action that might best be captured under the notion of a communicative event or communicative act. The advantage of such a conception is that discourse, unlike more intuitive and linguistic approaches, is not limited to the actual verbal utterance, that is, to the text or dialogue itself. Especially for the analysis of talk, it is obvious that the speaker and the hearer, their personal and social properties, and other

aspects of the social situation belong to this event. In this sense, a conversation, a meeting, a courtroom session of a trial, or a classroom lesson are all examples of such complex communicative events. These might further be analyzed into smaller communicative acts, such as a story in a conversation, a plea by a defense attorney in a trial, or an explanation of a subject by a teacher in class. And some of these, for example, stories or argumentations, may exhibit properties similar to communicative acts or discourse types of other social settings.

For written or printed discourse types, this interactional nature of discourse appears less obvious: The writer, the text, and the reader are less closely participating in one spatiotemporally identifiable situation. Yet, even in this case, it may be appropriate to account for texts in the more dynamic terminology of discourse use in production, understanding, and action. For instance, the very important account of discourse meaning may up to a point contain an abstracted description of the meaning of the text itself, but empirically it is more accurate to speak of meanings expressed by or produced with the utterance, or publication of a text by a writer, or of meanings that are assigned to or inferred from a text by a reader. In that case, shared meanings, knowledge of the language, knowledge of the world, and other beliefs must be taken into account in such a characterization of discourse meaning. In addition, writers produce forms and meanings that are presumed to be understood to the readers, or that may explicitly address the readers, provoke reactions, and generally be recipient designed like conversations. In written communication, writers and readers are engaged in a form of sociocultural practice.

These characteristics are also true for news discourse. In a narrow sense, we may give an abstract analysis of the structures of news reports as a specific type of public discourse. Yet, at the same time, as we shall see in more detail later, such structures of news reports can be understood adequately only if we also analyze them as the result of cognitive and social processes of discourse and meaning production by journalists, or as related to the interpretation processes and media uses by newspaper readers or TV viewers.

For analytical reasons, however, it may be useful to distinguish between cognitive processing or social practices of textual communication and the structures of media texts themselves. In our study, we focus on the textual structures of news reports and only occasionally relate them with their cognitive, social, or political contexts, which have received most attention in other work on news and the news media (Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978; Fishman, 1980). For further theoretical analysis of news structures and cognitive processing in news production and understanding, we refer to van Dijk (1987e).

Grammatical Analysis

Within a structural perspective, the abstract nature of the analysis allows us to make distinctions among different levels or dimensions of discourse. In real production and comprehension by language users, such levels may be processed more or less at the same time or used strategically in different ways to draw as much information from each level as possible. Part of these abstract levels of discourse are traditionally described by linguistic grammars, that is, systems of rules and categories for the abstract analysis of sounds, word and sentence forms, and their meanings. In this way, we obtain respectively a phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic description of sentences. In discourse grammars, accounting for sequences of sentences, such descriptions are relative: Properties of the sentence form (e.g., word order) or of sentence meaning may depend on properties of other sentences in a discourse. For instance, the use of a pronoun like *she* is often appropriate only if it refers to a female who has been referred to earlier in the text, for example, by a phrase like *my girlfriend* or *an actress*, or who is known or identifiable to the hearer on the basis of other information. It is the task of linguists to specify such structures in explicit detail and especially to provide a theoretical description and explanation of the possible grammatical structures of a specific natural language.

When we analyze specific discourse types such as news reports, our goal is focused not merely on the possible but on the preferred or the typical grammatical structures that characterize language use in such a form of discourse. This means that we implicitly compare them to language use in other types of discourse or context, which again presupposes the possible variation of grammatical structures in different contexts. It is this variation that is the province of stylistics, a discipline that not only describes possible variations for different discourse types, but which in particular aims to account for the relationship between such variations and the personal and social contexts of language use. Thus, in formal situations and in written language, we tend to use formal words and more complex, more complete, and more grammatically correct sentences than in informal conversations. Similarly, social factors like gender, status, power, or ethnicity will also influence stylistic variation (Sebeok, 1960; Sandell, 1977; Scherer & Giles, 1979).

Especially for the quality press, this is also true for news reports, which tend to have long, complex sentences; many nominalizations, such as *disruption* instead of *they disrupted . . .*; and formal jargon borrowed mostly from politicians. Sometimes, news reports exhibit syntactic structures that are rare in other discourse forms, such as the inverted declarative sentence structure: Instead of saying, "Reliable sources declared that Libya has been attacked by the US Air Force", it may state "Libya has been attacked by the

US Air Force, reliable sources declared." Later, we shall see that this fronting of important information is a general structural property of news reports in the press, a property which we summarize under the general label of relevance structuring.

Grammatical analysis of language use in the press may also reveal the perspective of the journalist or newspaper. Sentence syntax expresses the semantic roles of participants in an event by word order, relational functions (subject, object), or the use of active or passive forms. A headline like "Police kills demonstrator" puts police in first, subject position and expresses that the police has agent role. In the passive sentence "Demonstrator killed by police", the police is also agent, but in this case, the phrase referring to the demonstrator is in first, subject position, which means that police is assigned a less prominent role. Finally, the headline "Demonstrator killed" may make the role of the police implicit. At the same time, the headline becomes syntactically ambiguous: It could also be read as a description of an event in which the demonstrator was the killer or more generally associate demonstrators with killing. Grammatical research on newspaper syntax has shown that this is indeed the case: Negative roles of the elite tend to be dissimulated by this kind of syntactic downgrading and implicitness (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979).

Similarly, perspective in television news may also be expressed by camera shots in news film, which may be taken from the point of view of the police from its opponents such as demonstrators, strikers, or squatters. In the studies of the Glasgow University Media Group (1976, 1980, 1982), attention is also given to the implied perspective and evaluation in the use of words such as "strike" or "disturbance" (see Halloran, Elliott, & Murdock, 1970, for an influential study of a demonstration and the uses of words designating demonstrators).

Discourse as Coherent Sequence of Sentences

Discourse, and hence news reports, do not consist of isolated sentences, however. Beyond traditional sentence grammars and linguistics, other important discourse structures have been postulated. A first and obvious step in such an analysis is to study the structures of sequences of sentences. This means, among other things, that the syntax or semantics of a sentence in discourse is described in terms of the sentential structures and interpretations of surrounding, usually preceding, sentences in the same text. The order and functions of words, or their underlying semantic roles, may depend on such a discourse environment (Givón, 1979). If a sequence is primarily about the activities of demonstrators, for instance, it is more adequate to put "demonstrators" in first, subject position, indicating topic role, and continue with a passive sentence like "They were harassed by the

police”, rather than with “The police harassed them.” In other words, the ideologically-based point of view is expressed not only by sentence structures but also by a textual dependence of syntax and semantics. Similarly, once we have introduced a discourse participant, the rest of the text may further refer to such a participant with a pronoun (“they”), with demonstratives (“those people”), or with a full, repeated or new description (“the demonstrators”, or “the hooligans”). These and other surface structures that may be used to signal underlying semantic coherence are usually described as properties of cohesion (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). There are rules and strategies for the establishment of cohesion, and it is important to find out whether news reports in general, or specific types of news topics, display special preferences in the application of or deviation from such rules.

At the semantic level, the analysis of discourse as a sequence of sentences provides an account of relative interpretations: The meaning or reference of words, clauses, or sentences is studied as a function of those assigned to previous sentences. This aspect of discourse is often described in terms of local or sequential coherence (van Dijk, 1977). A simplified basic rule of coherence is that sentence *A* is coherent with sentence *B*, if *A* refers to a situation or an event that is a possible (probable, necessary) condition of the situation or event referred to by *B* (or vice-versa). Thus, the sequence “We went to the beach yesterday. We did a lot of surfing” is coherent according to that rule (going to the beach enables you to do surfing), whereas the sequence “We went to the beach yesterday. The price of the dollar dropped by 10% last year” is not coherent, since our visit to the beach is not the kind of event that influences the exchange rate of the dollar. Therefore, we may rephrase this coherence rule in even simpler terms: A text is coherent if it describes a possible sequence of events (acts, situations). Hence, coherence depends on our knowledge and beliefs about what is possible in the world.

The Role of Knowledge in Interpretation

This information coherence rule also shows that discourse semantics is not autonomous in the sense that we only have to know the lexical meanings of words and their combinations. We also need knowledge of the world and, hence, a cognitive and social analysis of what people in a given culture know, and how they use such knowledge in the interpretation of discourse in general and the establishment of coherence in particular. It was the recognition of this important fact that stimulated the important role of cognitive psychology and Artificial Intelligence in the account of discourse interpretation. In this research, the analysis of the organization and the application of knowledge and beliefs in memory became just as important as the description of the role of discourse structures during comprehension processes. It

was shown that such knowledge must be efficiently organized in special clusters, so-called scripts, which contain all we know in our culture about a specific stereotypical type of episode. People may share scripts about shopping in the supermarket, having a birthday party, or demonstrating (Schank & Abelson, 1977). As with any other discourse type, the media rely heavily on such socially shared knowledge and beliefs in the coherent and comprehensible account of special events that require knowledge or beliefs organized in scripts, for example about civil war, terrorist attack, political meeting, voting, or 'revolution'.

Since many political scripts also involve group-based evaluative beliefs or opinions, they may also qualify as social attitudes. It follows that our subjective understanding of the coherence of a news report may depend on whether or not we share a particular knowledge script or sociopolitical attitude (Carbonell, 1979). This may be especially relevant in the understanding and evaluation of causes of events or reasons for action. With this kind of conceptual instrument, we are better equipped to study ideologically-based differences in the relevant application of scripts or attitudes in news reporting when, for instance, reasons are given for the invasion of Grenada by U.S. troops, as compared to their nonintervention in other countries in the Americas, such as Chile or Paraguay.

Macrostructures

The next step in the analysis of discourse operates at higher or more global levels than the microlevel of words, sentences, and sentence connections. If we say that a news report is about the U.S. attack on Libya, we do not merely refer to individual sentences or a sequence of sentences but to the report as a whole. This means that intuitive terms such as "is about" or "the topic (or theme) is" must be accounted for at this overall, global level. The theoretical term *semantic macrostructure* was introduced to capture that important aspect of discourse and discourse processing: It makes explicit the overall topics or themes of a text and at the same time defines what we could call the overall coherence of a text as well as its upshot or gist (van Dijk, 1980a). Apparently, many words in English render more or less this same notion of most important information, and this suggests that language users frequently rely on such macrostructural information. Macrostructures are derived from sentence meanings (propositions) of a text by a set of rules in an abstract, e.g., linguistic, theory, by operations such as selection, generalization, and construction. In a cognitive theory of discourse processing, these rules operate as tentative but effective macrostrategies that enable readers to derive the topic from a sequence of sentences (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983). These operations also depend heavily on our knowledge of

the world (scripts). They allow us to subsume proposition sequences like "U.S. planes flew to Libya. They bombed the harbor of Benghazi . . ." under a macroproposition or topic like "The U.S. attacked Libya" because we know that military attacks may involve planes, that planes usually can fly and throw bombs, and that throwing bombs is a way of attacking. Through our shared script of a military air attack, we are able to comprehend newspaper reports about such an attack and to assign them global coherence and a global topic or theme.

Macrostructures and the cognitive operations in which they are used are crucial in news production processes by reporters and editors and for comprehension, storage, memorization, and later reproduction by media users. They explain how newsmakers continuously and routinely summarize the myriad of source texts (other media messages, wires, interviews, reports, or press conferences) that are used in the production of a specific news report. Without a theory of macrostructures we would be unable to account for the special properties of headlines and leads, which subjectively summarize the rest of the news report (van Dijk, 1985d). And finally, macrostructures explain why most readers usually only remember the main topics, that is, the higher levels of the macrostructure of a news report (Höijer & Findahl, 1984; van Dijk, 1987e).

Superstructures, News Schemata

In the same way that we need a syntactic form to express and organize the meanings of a sentence, we also need form to organize the overall meaning or macrostructure of a text as a whole. The schematic superstructure fulfills that need. Such a schema can be defined by a set of characteristic categories and by a set of rules or strategies that specify the ordering of these categories. Thus, people in our culture share a narrative schema—featuring categories such as Summary, Setting, Orientation, Complication, Resolution, Evaluation and Coda—which may be used even for simple, everyday storytelling (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Labov, 1972c, 1982). If one of the obligatory categories is lacking, people can conclude that the story is not finished, has no point, or simply is no story at all. Many routinely used discourse types also exhibit their own characteristic superstructure because it facilitates production and comprehension processes. If we know or guess that an oncoming text is a story, we may activate our conventional knowledge about story schemata in our culture. This will facilitate the assignment of the specific narrative functions to the respective episodes of the text ("this must be the Complication"). Without macrostructures and superstructures, we would have to interpret and establish coherence only at the microlevel and construe ad hoc higher level structures. Experimental research has shown

that this is very difficult if not impossible for language users. Hence, global structures, both those of thematic content as well as those of schematic form, are crucial for theoretical analysis and for the actual production and understanding of a text.

News reports, which each day are produced by the thousands and under heavy constraints of professional routines, available personnel, time, and deadlines, must also be organized by such a schema, viz. a news schema (van Dijk, 1986). That is, parts of the news text may have conventional functions that are used as obligatory or optional categories for its formal organization. Well known for instance is the Summary category composed of Headlines and Lead, respectively. The body of the text also exhibits such different schematic functions, such as Main Events, Backgrounds, Context, History, Verbal Reactions, or Comments, each of which may be further analyzed into smaller categories. For example, the Comments category may be composed of Evaluation and Expectations in which the reporter or editor may evaluate the news events. Journalists also routinely, though implicitly, search for information that may fit into such categories, as for instance when they are looking for backgrounds of the actual events. In other words, news structures such as formal conventional schemata may be related to, or even have developed from, contextual routines of news production.

An interesting feature of news reports is that both macrostructures (topics) as well as the news schema that organizes them do not appear in the text in a continuous fashion. Rather, they tend to appear in an installment-type, discontinuous way. The top of the macrostructure of a news report generally tends to be expressed first; that is, first the headline (the highest macroproposition), then the Lead (the top of the macrostructure), and subsequently the lower macropropositions of the report, with details of content and the less prominent schematic categories (e.g., History or Comments) towards the end. Of course, this is merely an effective strategy, which allows stylistic variation by each reporter or newspaper. For the reader it means that in principle the beginning of the text always contains the most important information. Again, we witness a significant link between news text structures and the strategies of news production and the uses of news reports in mass communication contexts. This is particularly obvious in news reports in the press but more generally also holds for television news programs, which usually only express the higher level macrostructures of a news story. Indeed, TV news may be seen as a summary or abstract of the news reports that appear in the press.

Since macrostructures are derived for or from a text on the basis of our knowledge and beliefs, they may of course be intersubjective: The most important information of a news event for one person or group may not be so for another. This also means that the thematic or schematic organization of a news report may well be biased, for instance when a relatively unimpor-

tant piece of information is expressed in the headlines or lead or when important information is placed at the end or omitted altogether.

Relevance Structuring

The special production and reception conditions of news reports as well as their major communicative functions seem to determine their structures at all levels. The general principle is that important information must come first. This may affect not only the overall thematic or schematic organization of the news report but also the ordering of the sentences in paragraphs describing an episode and the ordering within the sentences themselves (where important news actors will tend to occupy first positions). That is, throughout the news report, and at all levels, we may study this special dimension of relevance structuring. At the same time, an analysis of produced relevance distribution in news reports also enables us to study the cognitive, social, and ideological production conditions of such reports, as well as their processing, and hence their memorization and uses by readers.

Rhetorical Structures

Finally, the rhetorical dimension may affect all structural levels of a text. Whereas relevance structuring expresses or signals what is most important, various special operations at each level are used to make the text more persuasive. Well known are phonological operations such as rhyme or assonance, syntactic operations such as parallelisms, and semantic operations such as comparisons or metaphors. Similarly, news reports may use words that function as hyperboles (overstatements, exaggerations) or understatements, or word and sentence meanings that establish contrast or build a climax. These structures further contribute to a tighter organization of news information and thus may lead to better memorization by the reader and hence to enhanced persuasion. They may also activate particular scripts or attitudes, for instance when a demonstration is rhetorically framed in terms of violence by the use of comparisons or metaphors borrowed from military scripts (attack, defense, etc.). Similarly, news reports excessively use numbers (whether correct or not) to signal rhetorically their exactness and hence their objectivity (Roeh, 1982).

Summary and Conclusion

We have now briefly discussed the major structural levels of written discourse and applied a few central theoretical terms to establish a simplified

framework for the analysis of news reports. Such a systematic account of news as discourse is summarized in Figure 1.1:

We have focused on those textual structures that are specifically relevant for news reports in the press. For spoken news reports, a phonological level also becomes relevant, for instance, to account for intonation patterns of sentences or sequences, which may again be used to realize semantic or rhetorical operations of emphasis, mitigation or contrast. Similarly, for the analysis of reported speech, especially in recorded news interviews, we need an additional level of dialogue analysis featuring rules, strategies and structures of turn distribution, pausing, hesitations and repairs, strategic moves (e.g., of positive self-presentation by news actors, and negative other-presentation of political or ideological enemies), and many other properties of controlled or spontaneous talk. Finally, text and talk consist not only of sequences of sentences but also of speech acts. For sequences of speech acts, we may also apply both local and global analyses and determine their local or global coherence, macro speech acts, and pragmatic form schemata. This kind of analysis is less relevant for news reports, most of which simply consist of a sequence of assertions. Indirectly, however, such assertions may locally or globally imply questions, accusations, defenses, recommendations, or other speech acts. Indeed, much of the social, political, or ideological relevance of news analysis resides in making explicit implied or indirect meanings or functions of news reports: What is not said may even be more important, from a critical point of view, than what is explicitly said or meant.

The analyses in the rest of this book will make use of the theoretical framework presented in this section. However, each practical analysis, especially of large corpora of data, has its limits. Whereas it is still possible to derive intuitively the major topics of hundreds or even thousands of news reports, we are unable to specify all their detailed syntactic, stylistic, or

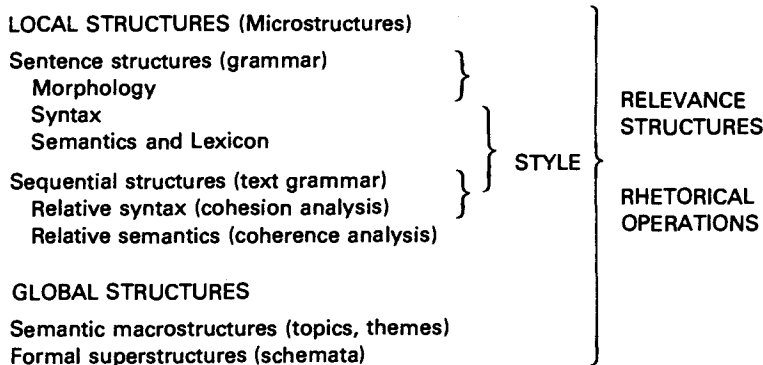


FIGURE 1.1. Structures of discourse.

semantic structures. For that kind of analysis we are still restricted to a qualitative analysis of representative samples of text. In addition, a theoretically based analysis may be systematic and explicit but need not always be relevant with respect to the specific aims or questions of an investigation. Thus, in order to show ideological bias, it may be pointless to try to provide the precise syntactic structures of all sentences of a sample of news reports. Such an analysis would be relevant at most for a combined quantitative and grammatical analysis of the syntactic structures of newspaper language. In the qualitative analysis of a selection of sentences that aims to show the syntactic codification of news actor roles, it may be more relevant to describe how it is done than how often. In other words, systematic structural analysis has important advantages over a more intuitive content analysis, especially for more detailed studies of news reporting, but it still has its limitations when applied to the general quantitative aspects of news reporting. Nevertheless, it may provide sound definitions of, and new proposals for, the units used in quantitative content analysis, such as topics, or the presence or absence of specific schematic categories, such as history or context.

PROCESSING NEWS AS DISCOURSE

It has been emphasized that the analysis of discourse should not be limited to the structures of texts or dialogues. When discourses are defined as units of verbal interaction or as communicative events, their actual processing or uses in social and communicative contexts should also be accounted for in an integrated approach. This section discusses some of these links between text and context.

Little needs to be said here about the broader historical, political, macro-sociological, and mass communication properties of news discourse because they have received the major focus in most work on news. Rather, it is important to show how such societal macro properties of news have consequences for, express themselves in, or are enacted by the processing and the structures of news reports at the microlevel. For instance, do the economic conditions of news production affect the schematic or relevance structures of news reports, and if so, how? How do gender, ethnicity, or class membership of journalists determine the thematic or stylistic properties of news discourse? Or, conversely, how can such macrodimensions be reliably inferred from news text analysis?

A serious formulation of such questions and answers would require an entire monograph. Presented here is a rough outline that will be relevant for analyses in the subsequent chapters, focusing on those aspects that have been neglected in previous research. Linking news texts with societal ma-

crostructures in general, and with news production institutions such as the mass media in particular, requires a theoretical strategy that proceeds step-wise through different levels. Direct connections between, for example, history or the world economy and stylistic choices in news texts are highly unlikely. Even the closer links between institutional organization or social ideologies and the format or style of news require analysis of several intermediary stages.

News Participants as Social Actors

Our first theoretical assumption in this intricate network focuses on news communication participants (journalists, media users) as social actors and group members. They are the social representatives closest to news reports, because of their productive and interpreting activities in the news communication context. It is through their actions, sociocultural practices, organization, and shared beliefs or ideologies that we may link the news text to its institutional and societal production or consumption processes, its economic conditions, its historical role, its functions in the reproduction of ideologies and hence in the legitimation of power or the maintenance of (and resistance against) the status quo in the global information and communication order. At this point of our analysis, whether or how the activities of news participants are influenced or even determined by these broadest historical, cultural, or socioeconomic contexts is not relevant. Our only assumption is that they do have their position in such networks, but the links may be very indirect, thus allowing for a certain degree of indeterminacy and individual variation. Since we have begun our approach at the level of news discourse, it is strategically more effective to work from bottom to top than top down or only at the top as is more customary in the prevailing macroanalyses in the social sciences. Hence, the link between news text and context is defined at the level of social practices and social cognitions of news processing.

Cognitive Dimension: Social Cognition and News Processing

Even this obvious choice for the analysis of the positions and activities of news participants as a way to relate news texts with its numerous contexts does not yet provide the most direct link between texts and their processes of production or use. As an important component of the social dimensions of news participants, we first focus on their cognitive dimension. Without this aspect of news production and usage, we cannot describe or explain the processes of understanding, meaning assignment, information transfer, persuasion, ideological reproduction, or any other aspect that defines symbolic

communication through language and discourse. This may be obvious, but until recently there were virtually no serious studies of the cognitive aspects of news production and consumption (Höijer & Findahl, 1984; Findahl & Höijer, 1984). Cognitive psychologists have paid little attention to the study of the mass media (Thorndyke, 1978; Green, 1979), and most scholars in mass communication have a sociological, historical, economic, or political science background. Microsociologists who have begun to study news production routines of journalists do make use of cognitive notions such as interpretation, rules, or procedures (Molotch & Lester, 1974; Tuchman, 1978; Lester, 1980), but these are no more explained than the cognitive notions used in classical macrosociology, such as norms, goals, values, or ideologies.

Our emphasis on cognitive processing as a key phase in linking text and context through news participants does not imply that such cognitive processes are merely personal or individual. For a more general account of news production, personal cognitions are relevant only to explain personally or ad hoc variations in news processes. Since we do not deal with journalists or media users as unique individuals but as social actors and group members, our cognitive approach focuses on social cognition.

The basis of a cognitive analysis of news discourse processing consists of the interplay between representations and operations in memory. The operations have a strategic nature (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983). Unlike grammatical rules or formal algorithms, strategies are flexible, goal directed, and context dependent. They analyze various types of incoming information and handle internal representations in a tentative but effective way. Strategies allow parallel processing, that is, analysis of partial and incomplete information from various sources at the same time. Thus, the central interpretation processes that define discourse comprehension make flexible use of textual surface structures (i.e., morphonological, syntactic and lexical), contextual information from ongoing interaction, properties of the social situation, and various types of knowledge representations in memory. Similarly, for the analysis of syntactic information of sentences, or of the schematic forms of texts, meaning and knowledge may again be used. These processes work both bottom up and top down; that is, they use concrete (local) information to build larger, more abstract or higher level structures, and, conversely, use such higher level structures to derive expectations about which concrete information is most likely to come. (For details about the nature of these representations and strategic operations of text production and understanding see Britton & Black, 1985; Graesser, 1981; Flammer & Kintsch, 1982; Sanford & Garrod, 1981; Otto & White, 1982; Mandl, Stein & Trabasso, 1984, and van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983; which form the background of the present discussion).

Scripts

The input and output of these strategic operations are various types of representations. We have seen earlier that knowledge in memory may be represented in the form of scripts (Schank & Abelson, 1977). Such scripts may be thought of as abstract, schematic, hierarchically organized sets of propositions, of which the final nodes are empty (default values), so that they can be applied to different situations by filling in such terminal nodes with specific information. If we have a general supermarket script in our culture, the planning and execution of our actions in a supermarket, or the understanding of a story about events in a supermarket, is guided by such a script. In discourse understanding, the general contents of the script may be presupposed and hence left partly implicit, such as the information that in a supermarket one can buy food or household articles, that there are shopping carts, that one can select and take articles oneself, and that at the end one pays the cashier. Stereotypical, cultural episodes in our social life may thus be represented as scripts in memory, so that people can interact with each other or communicate on the basis of that shared knowledge. Since they are relatively permanent and often needed by social members, scripts reside in semantic or social long-term memory, unlike information that is needed only briefly in unique situations. Besides scripts of episodes, we also have frame representations of known objects or persons in semantic memory, as well as knowledge of units, categories or rules of language, discourse, and communication (Minsky, 1975). Finally, people have schematic representations of general opinions, that is, evaluative beliefs about social events, structures, or issues (such as public education, nuclear energy, or abortion). For such abstract opinion schemata, which are also socially acquired, shared, and used by social groups and their members, we simply use the classical terms of attitudes (Abelson, 1976; van Dijk, 1982, 1987a; Fiske & Taylor, 1984).

Models

These various types of social knowledge and beliefs including language codes, frames, scripts, and attitudes form the general representations used to interpret concrete incoming information such as situations, events, actions and discourse. These strategic processes of analysis and interpretation take place in working or short-term memory. The results of these online operations are then stored in episodic memory, which like semantic (social) memory is part of long-term memory. Thus, episodic memory functions as a storage facility for all our incoming and interpreted interpretation and em-

bodies all our personal experiences, both of events and of discourses, which we have observed (read) or participated in. In this way, each event or situation is represented in terms of a subjective model (Johnson-Laird, 1983; van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983; van Dijk, 1985a, 1987c). This situation model is also organized schematically and features fixed categories such as Setting (Time, Location), Circumstances, Participants, Event/Action, and their respective properties, including evaluative ones. To understand a text, language users not only build an episodic representation of it but also of the events or situation such a text is about, that is, a model. Thus, models also function as the referential basis of cognitive interpretation and are essential to account for the conditions of previously mentioned discourse coherence. In accordance with sociological theory, it is not so much the real world that people act upon or speak about but rather their intersubjective models of interpreted events and situations of the world (Berger & Luckman, 1967). Models, therefore, also explain personal and group differences in social information processing.

For instance, if we process media reports about the attack of the U.S. Air Force on Libya in April 1986, we build a mental model of that event with the help of the information from these reports. Part of that particular model, however, is also instantiated fragments of general information we already had about military operations, Libya, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, or terrorism—information that might have been derived from previous media reports. Later texts about this event may be used to update the model with new details, and this is precisely one of the central cognitive functions of news discourse. During the construction of such a model, we may be reminded of other, similar events (Schank, 1982); that is, we may retrieve similar models from memory, such as the U.S. attack on Grenada.

We use sets of such models to make generalizations and abstractions and eventually may rebuild the kind of frames, scripts, or attitudes that form our general social knowledge and beliefs. This means that between unique models on one side and abstract scripts on the other, we also must have generalized (but still personal) models of our routine experiences with recurrent events or situations—for instance of going to work, of daily dinner, or of shopping each Saturday morning. Models are the core representations of all our understanding processes. The same holds for text production, understanding, and communication: The first goal of these processes is to produce understanding, that is, to build or update a model or to convey a model to the recipient. The episodic representations of text structures and meanings appear to be instrumental in the establishment of such models. In other words we have understood a text only if we have understood what situation it is about, that is, if we have a model of (or for) the text. This is also true for news reports.

Context Models

To be able to participate in a communicative event, we again build a model of the context, featuring a communicative setting, location, circumstances, speech participants, and the kind of speech acts or other communicative acts involved. The representation of the text or dialogue itself may be thought of as the kernel of the model of that communicative event: During or shortly after the communicative event, this textual representation allows us to recall and reproduce more or less exactly what was said and how. After longer delays, most textual information is no longer retrievable: We tend to remember only the macrostructures of what was said and, therefore, only the top level structures of a model. No reader, for instance, is able to reproduce all details of the scores of news reports broadcast or published during a few days about the U.S. attack on Libya. Rather, on the basis of all those texts, we try to imagine what happened by building a model of the situation; it is this model, and especially its higher level macrostructures, that are later used for reproduction, for instance in conversations about news events. In other words, stories about our experiences or events we have read about are strategically selected, partial expressions of episodic models in memory.

This reproduction of news stories, therefore, is not necessarily correct. Since personal beliefs, opinions, and experiences are part of situation models of texts, our reproduction of such texts will also feature false recalls, that is, information we think we have actually read, but which is inferred from our personal model information retrieved or generated during reading. Script or attitude-based information that has become part of such models is often reproduced in such forms of biased recall. A well-known example is the recall by readers of crime stories involving black youths (Graber, 1984). This biased recall is based on ethnic opinions derived from ethnic prejudice schemata in social memory (Rothbart, 1981; van Dijk, 1987a). Generally, people tend to recall best the information that supports their knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes, as well as specific deviations from such information.

Strategic Processing and Control

The hierarchical structures of discourse representations, models, and scripts in memory allow fast and effective search by different retrieval strategies, e.g., from top to bottom, guided by relevant subcategories. This also explains why macrostructures of actions or discourse are best recalled: They are high in the mental models we have of such events; at the same time, they organize much information, unlike the detailed information at the bottom.

If main topics of news reports correspond with the main events of a model, it is relatively easy to remember generally what the text was about, whereas the microstructural details or stylistic aspects of language may soon be forgotten. Sometimes the evaluative beliefs we have inferred from such details about the source, author, or major participants of such a story may be better recalled than the details themselves. We see that effective, flexible strategies, together with an intelligent organization of stored information, are the secrets of our human ability to process millions of events, situations, or discourses in a relatively short time and still be able to retrieve some of that information for multiple future uses.

To manage and monitor all this information in an orderly, fairly efficient and goal-directed way, we finally assume that there must be an overall control system. This system keeps track of the information being retrieved and applied from social and episodic memory: which scripts or models are now activated or in use; which information is being attended to and analyzed in working memory; and which information must be sent on from this short-term memory to episodic, long-term memory. During text processing, the control system specifies which major topic (macroposition) or superstructure schema (or its categories) is now relevant. Hence, the control system is dynamic: It permanently adapts to and monitors different phases of incoming or outgoing information. One of the central cognitive functions of headlines in the press is precisely the establishment of a macrostructural representation in this control system. Together with the activated scripts and models, this tentative topic will further guide, facilitate, and sometimes bias understanding of the rest of the news report.

In summary, the cognitive framework now features (1) episodic and social memory representations, such as scripts, attitudes and models; (2) strategic processes that flexibly apply, use, or update such representations; and (3) a control system that monitors memory search, the activation and application of knowledge, the active macrostructures and superstructures, and the transport of information in memory. This framework holds both for the understanding of situations, events, actions, and discourses about them as well as for their planning, production, or execution. Planning a verbal or other action simply means building a model of what we will do in a given setting and time. And actual production or execution of a speech act takes place under the overall control of such a plan-model, together with new, ad hoc external information relevant for appropriate execution and stored in the ongoing model of action and its context. Similarly, each news report is prepared and written under the influence of a model of the news event, a model of the mass communicative event (featuring goals, deadlines, models of readers, etc.), and their underlying social scripts and attitudes.

Social Representations

Although the picture we have sketched above of cognitive processing suggests a mentalistic approach, it should be emphasized that it also has important social features. Whereas some elementary processes and constraints may be general properties of human information processing (e.g., memory limitations), and although our biographically-rooted unique understandings may be represented in the personal models of our experiences, these processes and representations are thoroughly dependent on social information processing and interaction. Knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, knowledge of the language, and all other shared information are acquired, used, and changed in social contexts. Social actors continually express and communicate such cognitions to others, test and compare them with those of other members of the same group or culture, and presuppose such cognitions in their interactions and discourse with other social participants. The very structures of scripts and models are probably derived from our participation in social interaction through a long and complex learning process. This appears to be one of the reasons why in scripts, models, and even in semantic representations or syntactic structures of sentences or stories, we find similar organizing categories such as setting, event/action, and roles of participants rather than the shapes, colors, or sizes that organize our visual perception. In other words, memory and cognition are as much social as they are mental phenomena. More specifically, social members share various types of social representations that organize their social interactions and interpretations (Farr & Moscovici, 1984). They have culturally variable and often group-based schemata of social participants, groups, institutions, and their structural relationships (Forgas, 1981; Wyer & Srull, 1984; Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Hastie et al., 1980). This social categorization is not arbitrary. Rather, through social information processing during primary and secondary socialization and communication, it is organized by similar dimensions such as gender, age, appearance, origin, occupation, status, power, or personality. Each of these categories may be further associated with sets of often stereotypical criteria that condition such categorizations, such as prototypical appearance, activities, or social situations of manifestation.

As we shall see in more detail in our case studies on minorities and squatters in the press, similar categories and criteria may be used to organize information about deviant groups, ethnic groups, immigrants, or people of other nationalities (Hamilton, 1981b; Fiske & Taylor, 1984; van Dijk, 1987a). Such group schemata control social information processing, that is, our interactions with or communications about members of such groups. They basically determine the models we build of social encounters

in which certain social actors or their assumed properties may be made more or less prominent and, hence, better recalled on later occasions. If the schemata are negative or based on insufficient information, they are called prejudiced, sexist, or racist. The same is true for the interpretation of or the actions with members of groups that are assigned inherent or semipermanent properties associated with gender, race, origin, appearance, or age. In this case, the cognitive representations will vary for different groups depending on their socioeconomic and cultural position in societal structure. Cognitive schemata of ingroups about outgroups must be different depending on whether one's ingroup is dominant or dominated, whether one's group participates in the reproduction of power and the continuation of oppression, or whether one's group challenges this dominance (Tajfel, 1981; Levin & Levin, 1982). Hence, the group schemata play a central role in the more embracing organization of social attitudes in ideologies and, at the same time, provide the contents for the legitimation of group position and action. In other words, the structures and contents of social memory are a function of our social (group) position in society.

Similar organizational principles define our shared social representations of group or class relations, institutions, or other social structures. Whereas the categories mentioned above apply to group members, groups as a whole also may be assigned relevant features such as size, economic position, power, or status. Thus, our research into the cognitive representation of, and talk about, ethnic minority groups shows that white people in Western Europe and North America tend to represent blacks, immigrants, or other minorities not only as problematic but also as a threat to the country, the culture, socioeconomic conditions (e.g., housing and employment), privileges, and everyday safety and well-being (van Dijk, 1984a, 1987a).

Class self-perception, another type of schematic group categorization, defines what has traditionally been studied as class consciousness. Institutions may be represented in terms of their major goals or functions, their institutional products or services, their internal (e.g., hierarchical) organization, their power, and the typical interactions with other institutions or with groups of social actors. This is not the place, however, to describe in detail such highly complex schemata or the detailed strategies for using them in social information processing. It is relevant for our discussion, however, that members in our culture also have variable representations of the different mass media such as TV or the newspaper. When reading a newspaper, readers use their belief and attitude schemata about newspapers (this newspaper) to monitor comprehension and to derive relevant opinions about news events. Authority or credibility are possible properties assigned to communication institutions; for instance, it may be believed that TV news is more trustworthy and less partisan than newspaper news (Bogart, 1981).

Social Representations, Ideology, and News Production

News production and comprehension crucially involve these social representations. Journalists and readers in one society, class, or culture share part of these representations, which are, therefore, usually presupposed in news reports. Major social institutions and their properties and major social groups or classes are assumed to be known to the readers or viewers. News events and actions are made intelligible against the background of such culturally shared knowledge, and making such presuppositions explicit is a central goal of cultural media criticism (Hall, 1980). On the other hand, journalists as a group also belong to a professional middle class. Most of them may be white, male, and live in Western countries. According to our major assumption of sociocognitive representation, such group positions are also reflected in their cognitive representations. Not only general norms, goals, and values but also the interests shared by such groups are embodied in what journalists know and think about other social groups and structures (Gans, 1979).

It follows that the social schemata of journalists are strategically applied in their construction of models of news events. Together, these models and schemata determine how journalists interpret new social events, represent them in (new) models, and update old models. These models play a role in each stage of news production such as newsgathering routines (beats), communicative interaction during interviews or press conferences, comprehension and summarization of source texts, and finally the actual writing or editing of the news report. At the same time, journalists share general knowledge about the news format we have discussed above, as well as style of language use, type of preferred topics, or person or group description. All this information may be used as input for the construction of a communicative context model, which also features relevant fragments of the schema about the media institution, routines, special goals, deadlines, and one's personal properties within this network. The well-known news values that embody the professional beliefs and attitudes of newsmakers about the newsworthiness of events (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Golding & Elliott, 1979; Gans, 1979) are practical, common sense evaluation criteria, which allow strategic attention allocation to, and selection of, sources and source texts, summarization, choice of perspectives, and finally the topic and style structures of the news reports. These news values are derived from the complex interplay of the social representations already mentioned—culture, ethnic or gender group, nationality, political ideology, dominant goals—together with the information that more specifically defines the communication model—readers, deadlines, and actual goals.

From this theoretical framework, it follows that the representation and

reproduction of news events by journalists is not a direct or passive operation but rather a socially and ideologically controlled set of constructive strategies. Whether in direct observation of potential news events or in the much more frequent processing of source texts about such news events, the production processes of journalists are inherently monitored by the models journalists have about such news events. And these models are inherently biased by their underlying social representations; for journalists of the dominant press, these are essentially dominant representations. This does not exclude personal variation, deviation, resistance, and hence change: We have specified that models embody personal experiences or plans, and these may again be communicated, shared, and used to reproduce counterideologies and to plan counteraction, when specific socioeconomic and cultural conditions are satisfied. Social representations as well as institutional constraints, which are also cognitively stored because they must be known in order to act within them, are, however, very powerful, so that personal decisions and actions of journalists are usually limited to less consequential details of news production.

News Comprehension

What has been said here about journalists and news production also holds, *mutatis mutandis*, for readers and news comprehension. We have emphasized that news reports, as well as their production and understanding, presuppose vast amounts of shared social representations, including specific prejudices and ideologies. Readers, of course, have less practical knowledge of the professional routines, ideologies, and news values of journalists; but they know part of them implicitly, through the interpretation of news reports in which such beliefs or values are indirectly expressed or signaled. The definition of news by the journalist, thus, is also reproduced indirectly by the readers, who would be surprised about (and probably resist against) a drastic change in the choice, contents, or style of news reports. Especially important for the cognitive analysis of news communication is the model construed by the readers of a news event as expressed and persuasively conveyed by the news report. Obviously, for each individual reader this model will not be exactly identical with that of the journalist, nor identical with the model the journalist wanted the reader to build. Personal models and differences in social representations may lead to a different interpretation of the news, that is, to different models. But again, these variations are limited because the interpretative framework of most readers is constrained by the social representations that define the consensus.

CONCLUSIONS

In this brief summary of social cognition and its relevance for the analysis of news communication events, we have sketched the necessary links between news reports, their structures, their production and comprehension processes, the activities of newsmakers, the influence of social representations on news production and understanding, the social position and interactions of newsmakers, and the institution and other structural relationships. News-making in that analysis embodies both social and cognitive acts and strategies. The objective determination of news production or consumption, thus, cannot possibly be direct: The constraints of gender, race, class, or the institution, for example, cannot be translated immediately to the level of news topics, structures, or style. The same hold true for the role of group power, interests, and ideologies. If we describe such relationships, for instance, between topic choice and the interests of the Western, white, male journalist, we do this as a typical macrolevel short cut.

The theoretical and empirical picture is much more complex (although it is sometimes necessary to simplify pictures for rhetorical, didactic, or argumentative reasons). Thus, one major series of links in the network is news reports ↔ news structures ↔ cognitive processing and representation (production or interpretation) of such news structures by social actors ↔ model construction and updating ↔ social representations by social actors as group members (scripts, attitudes, ideologies) ↔ news production as social interaction (newsgathering, decision making, material production of newspaper) ↔ intergroup interactions between journalists and other groups and group members (e.g., the elites) ↔ internal institutional routines, rules, goals and strategies of the news organization ↔ external goals and interests of the news organization as a private or public corporation ↔ institutional relationships between the media institution and other institutions (e.g., the state, government, parliament, business, the unions, etc.) ↔ and finally, the historical and cultural position of the media institution and its relations with other institutions.

This series of links does not preclude other linkages or paths among the elements of the network. For instance, the macrostructural relationships at the institutional level may be defined in abstract socioeconomic terms; but, at the same time, they are being enacted at the local microlevel through institutional members, actors, action, cognitive representations of members, and discourse, for instance in talks or negotiations between the media and other institutions. That is, as soon as we want empirical evidence about what goes on at the higher levels of organization, we necessarily wind up talking about what is actually happening at the local level. Thus, in our approach to

news and news production is top down or bottom up, it is crucial to specify the detailed structures and functions of the respective links or levels.

This also means that a serious and critical analysis of the ideological dimension of news is impossible without this kind of explication of the links that bind news structures with the social cognitions of journalists as group members in ideological institutions such as the media. Therefore, our case studies cannot be limited to pure textual or content analysis nor can they be interpreted only in high-level terms of the global imbalance in the world information order. If the often-witnessed imbalance in the international information order is routinely reproduced in news reporting, it must also be reflected in each step down the hierarchy until the structures of news reports. Obviously, we have only begun to grasp a few elements of the links or nodes in that network.

This structural understanding particularly affects the analysis of news production. Besides the historical, economic, or institutional analyses of the news media, the 1970s witnessed a development towards more detailed microsociological accounts of newsmaking (Tuchman, 1978). At that level, it becomes possible to establish links between societal organization and the everyday interactions, professional and institutional routines, and ideologies of journalists. It has been shown in detail how journalists gather and interpret news, how they are involved in a network that allows the routine access of elite institutions such as the government or the police, and how their group ideology is involved in the very definition of news and newsworthiness (Gans, 1979; Fishman, 1980; Cohen & Young, 1981). Yet although such analyses pay extensive attention to interpretations, we also observed that such processes and the representations involved are only described in rather superficial and vague terms. Only when we know exactly how the social cognitions of journalists are acquired; structured; applied to the understanding and representation of news gathering situations and interactions, other media texts, and other texts that define their sources; and affect the actual writing process are we able to specify how the social organization and the ideologies of news production may count as objective conditions of news reports as social and cultural products.

2

STRUCTURES OF INTERNATIONAL NEWS

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Introduction

This chapter illustrates the theory of news structures in a concrete case study, which examines the international press coverage of a prominent world event: the assassination of president-elect Bechir Gemayel of Lebanon on September 14, 1982. This event, which was covered by most national newspapers in the world, was followed the next morning by the equally dramatic invasion of West Beirut by the Israeli army. The study was performed for UNESCO. More than 700 articles from 138 newspapers were selected from a large sample of 250 newspapers from 100 countries written in dozens of languages and were then systematically analyzed, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The major goals of this chapter are to summarize some results from this case study, which have been reported in more detail in an unpublished research report (van Dijk, 1984b), and to show that in principle a qualitative analysis, based on a theory of news discourse structures and processing, provides a more adequate approach to the study of news than classical content analysis. A comparative analysis of the accounts of the same event in newspapers from many different countries, regions,

political system" and cultures is crucial for the empirical justification and possible generalization of a theory of news. Also, it allows us to assess differences in format, presentation, size, structures, style, or perspective that may be a function of regional, political, or cultural factors in news reporting across the world.

Before beginning this summary of the results of the case study, however, we need to discuss in more general terms the contexts and structures of international news and its production. Therefore, this first section analyzes some of the general constraints on international news in the press and briefly reviews some research on international news by other authors. To put the case study of the events in Lebanon into perspective, this first section also reports a comparative study of international news in 34 newspapers from the Third and the First World, selected from the corpus of newspapers used in the case study on Lebanon. Such a comparison allows us to examine whether quantitative or qualitative differences exist between the coverage of foreign or international events in the press of the two worlds. The answer to this question may contribute to the ongoing discussion, stimulated by UNESCO, about the imbalances in the current international information order noted by many **Third** World countries. Together with the results of the case study on Lebanon, this contribution to the debate might give insight into the presence or lack of differences between the press in the First and the Third World and into the various structural conditions that underly these dissimilarities or similarities.

At least two alternative hypotheses may be defended and put to empirical test. One hypothesis, based on arguments drawn from the study of discourse and intercultural communication, predicts that cultural, historical, social, political, ideological, or institutional differences between different newspapers, countries, or regions must necessarily result in differences in news discourse about a given world event. This hypothesis would imply, for example, that the press in certain countries or regions is essentially free in its account of world events. Another hypothesis would essentially predict the opposite, viz. the similarity of news accounts, despite the obvious differences of structural conditions. This prediction would be based on an analysis of the influence of a globally shared or imposed set of news production routines and values that derive from the cultural and economic monopoly of the Western international news agencies. The example of influential Western newspapers or the continuity of press traditions in many Third World countries established the context of the earlier colonial hegemony, e.g., of the United Kingdom or France. This hypothesis would imply that the Third World press essentially lacks freedom and independence because it is dominated by Western information and communication policies. Obviously, intermediary hypotheses may be formulated, with different results depending on the type of newspaper (quality vs. popular), the type of news

event, type of media discourse (news or editorial), or the coverage of national vs. the coverage of international news.

The UNESCO Debate About the New Global Information Order

The hypotheses just formulated should also be interpreted in the framework of the discussion, briefly referred to above, about present international communication policies and the proposal by Third World countries of a New International Information Order (NIIO). The tenets of this debate have been discussed and defended in several publications during the last decade and need not be repeated and analyzed in detail here (UNESCO, 1980; Richstad & Anderson, 1981; Atwood Bullion & Murphy, 1982; Gauhar, 1983; Mankekar, 1985). We merely mention some of the major highlights of the controversy as they directly relate to the aims and analyses of this chapter.

We do not share the widespread ideological assumption that both news reporting and scholarly discourse are, or should be, objective in the sense of neutral or apolitical. Therefore, the issues involved are not presented in a completely balanced way; academic liberty has been taken to at least signal critical position with regard to the dominant Western positions and perspectives. In this sense, this chapter is also intended to provide systematic scholarly evidence that may be used to strengthen the basic tenets of the Third World analysis. This does not mean that the analysis itself, or the examination of possible alternative hypotheses, is biased. Rather, the conclusions that follow from the inquiry are necessarily interpreted within a broader, critical, sociopolitical framework.

The opponents in the sometimes heated debate about the new global information order are most Western countries (and their media) and most Third World countries, partly sustained by Eastern European communist countries, especially the USSR, where news values and practices are generally perceived to be fundamentally different from those in the west (Lendvai, 1981). Essentially, the Third World countries observed that global information and communication is controlled by a few Western-based international agencies and media multinationals, which also have the important technological knowledge and experience. This economic hegemony was found to be tightly interwoven with cultural dominance, resulting in a fundamental imbalance in the international news flow and the dependence on Western media products (e.g., magazines, comics, movies or TV programs).

Imbalances in the International News Flow

Especially important for our discussion is the assessment of imbalance in international news flow. The "big four" international news agencies (AP,

UPI, Reuter, and AFP) gather and distribute relatively much less news about Third World countries, especially in Africa and South America, news about Third World countries in the same region is often transmitted and filtered through the news capitals in the West (New York, London, and Paris). More important is that news about Third World countries is invariably framed in a Western ideological or cultural perspective, which in part leads to highly stereotyped accounts of only a few types of event (coups and earthquakes). As an alternative, a more structural and less dramatic type of reporting was proposed, in which developments rather than spectacular events would also be given extensive attention.

The Western countries and their media generally responded rather negatively to these analyses and interpreted their aim to break the control and hegemony of Western media organizations as an attack on the fundamental value of press freedom linked to Western democracies. The proposed changes in fundamental news values were seen as an attempt by largely "undemocratic" governments of many Third World countries to control the press (for detail, see Horton, 1978; Fascell, 1979; Hachten, 1981; Leftwich Curry, & Dassin, 1982).

UNESCO functioned as the platform for this fundamental ideological controversy and, due to the majority position of Third World and Eastern European countries, some Western countries, led by the Reagan administration in the United States, soon left the organization, which they felt had become too politicized. An additional and rhetorically more defensible reason was the assumed poor management at UNESCO. It has been noted on several occasions that as long as the Western countries dominated UNESCO (during the first decades after the Second World War) and imposed their policies and values, they did not feel the organization had become politicized (Schiller, 1981). In other words, the ideological and cultural debate covers a more fundamental political and economic controversy (Schiller, 1973). Power and dominance over increasingly important resources (information and communication) are at stake, and some Western governments (notably the Reagan and Thatcher administrations) are able to use their economic power (contribution to UNESCO) as a compensation for their present lack of a majority vote. Democratic principles, it seems, do not hold at the global level.

Western Media Reactions

The Western media paid extensive attention both to the debate on the proposed new international information order and to the ensuing accusations of some Western countries brought against UNESCO. Interestingly, analysis of this coverage seems to confirm rather than to weaken the Third World objections to Western-style reporting and information control: The

position of Third World countries was either underreported or represented in highly biased terms; Third World countries and governments were characterized in highly stereotypical terms; Western news or other values were prominently discussed and served as a major perspective; a dramatic scandal was created with UNESCO as its major villain; the more structural activities of UNESCO during the relevant conferences were hardly focused upon. Apparently, fundamental interests were at stake, and seldom did politicians and media representatives in the West show more consensus in their concerted attack against the information and communication goals of the Third World countries. In a more liberal spirit, some politicians and some media representatives admitted that some of the Third World accusations about global imbalance in information flow might be correct and, therefore, that especially technological assistance and training by Western organizations should be recommended.

The Need for Qualitative Research

Much academic work to substantiate the various positions involved has been anecdotal or only quantitative (Richstad & Anderson, 1981; Atwood et al., 1982). Thorough qualitative studies of the contents and structures of a truly international selection of news items have not yet been carried out. Yet such analyses are necessary to establish not only what but also how the world press covers events in different countries. Meaningful comparison, however, requires that one dimension is kept constant. We, therefore, analyzed the international news coverage of one single event, namely, the assassination of Gemayel. The political, and hence, the media significance of such a violent event is obvious. It "hit" the front pages of practically all newspapers we have been able to collect. The Middle East conflict, and particularly the situation in Lebanon, had received prime media focus for years and continues to do so until today. The assassination of a key figure in the Lebanese drama, therefore, not only led to widespread media coverage but also possibly to varying political and ideological interpretations and representations of the event. Moreover, the Middle East conflict and the war in Lebanon, also involves First World (USA, Israel) and several Third World (mostly Arab) countries. The analysis of a prominent single event, such as the assassination, was a unique possibility to examine in detail a few main theses formulated in the debate about the nature of international news. So many interests, views, and goals are involved in the Middle East conflict that a maximum variety of news could, in principle, be expected. (For earlier studies of news about the Middle East, see **IPI**, 1954; Daugherty & Warden, 1979; Adams, 1981; Mishra, 1979; Said, 1981.)

A detailed microanalysis of hundreds of news items is not feasible as long

as computers cannot perform such a task. Therefore, the study combines a classical, quantitative content analysis of a large number of news items, with a more qualitative structural analysis of a selection of news articles from several dozens of newspapers from various countries and regions of the world. Quantitative data were established for the size of the total coverage; the size of articles; and the use of photos, sources, topics, article types, actors, etc. These data were compared for different countries and regions of the world. We especially focused on possible differences between First World and Third World news coverage. The qualitative analysis dealt with thematic structures, news schemata, local coherence, style and rhetoric, and other topics treated in the previous chapter. Conclusions are based both on the quantitative and qualitative results, but our focus of analysis is mainly qualitative.

This research project was a typical low-budget study, involving students and volunteers. Thus, some of our results bear the mark of nonprofessional data collection. Practical difficulties in the collection of newspapers and the translation and scoring of articles were tremendous as may be expected when hundreds of newspapers in dozens of languages from some hundred countries are analyzed. Although our results are certainly more than suggestive, inevitable are errors and biases and while a data base this large is incomplete regarding countries, regions, and languages represented. Most prominent is the underrepresentation of the Arab press, due mainly to a lack of translations. This is also true of newspapers written in other non-European languages, although, except for the Chinese press, the larger part of the world's press is written in a few European languages: English, French, Spanish, Portuguese and German (Merrill & Fisher, 1980; Merrill, 1983). Within these constraints, we hope to highlight a number of important properties of international news, and expect that with some qualifications results may well be generalizable.

Contexts of International News

The production of foreign news in the press is subject to a number of well-known contextual constraints that directly or indirectly impinge on its contents and structures (Desmond, 1978, 1980). In the previous chapter, some general properties of news processing were discussed. These hold for news production in general. Foreign news, however, has specific properties within the framework of news production, such as the role of international news agencies, foreign correspondents and stringers, and the distribution of news from and to many nations across different types of communication networks. This framework is well known and need not be analyzed in detail here. This brief discussion is limited to a few basic features of international

news production directly relevant for this case study and for the qualitative analysis of the structures of foreign news in general.

Constraints on Foreign News Production

Newspaper production of foreign news has three main sources: (1) national and especially transnational news agencies; (2) foreign correspondents or special envoys; and (3) self-produced background articles by editors or staff writers. Sometimes these sources are combined, either in several articles about the same issue or event, or integrated into one news article written by a member of the editorial staff of the foreign desk. As we shall see in more detail later, foreign news occupies a varying proportion of the editorial space and may reach 40% to 50% of all news, depending on world region and type of newspaper. Even for those newspapers predominantly in First World countries that can afford their own correspondents in the major news centers of the world, the majority of spot news comes from the transnational news agencies. The result of the case studies reported in this chapter also confirm the well-known fact that Third World newspapers must rely nearly entirely on the transnational agencies for their foreign coverage. Since even the major newspapers of the world can afford only a limited number of foreign correspondents and because these are located in only a few news centers, predominantly in Western countries (North America and Europe), the production of news from other parts of the world is nearly completely dominated by the news agencies. Moreover, the input of agency wires is continuous, 24 hours a day, unlike reports from the newspapers' own correspondents. This means that the agencies have a far bigger chance of capturing spot news and, thus, may beat correspondents if dispatches come in just before deadline. Correspondents and editors therefore usually provide backgrounds and news analysis. Yet, even then they are constrained by the accounts of recent events provided by the agencies. Newspapers send special envoys to places of international news interest for major events only (typically elections, civil wars, and disasters) where they must again compete with the agencies.

This is roughly the organizational setup of foreign news production for newspapers. Rather than detailing this process, the chapter will enumerate the constraints of this framework for the contents or style of foreign news.

Agency Dependence of Format and Content. Dependence on agency news directly implies that the only events, issues, regions, countries, or actors that are covered are those by the news agencies. This is especially true for small and regional newspapers (Hester, 1971). Agency stories, even when they provide quantitatively much more than any newspaper could publish (Schramm & Atwood, 1981; see also below), are also limited by the

location, constraints, and points of view of their own correspondents. Moreover, because agencies must sell to many clients all over the world, their products on the one hand must be more or less standardized and on the other hand be tailor made to the wishes of their best clients, namely the Western news media. Due to a lack of competition, both format and contents of this standard product will tend to become conventionalized. Once used to this definition of international or foreign news, the client media will in turn tune their news definition to it, expect precisely such news, reproduce it, and thus confirm the dominant definition (see also, Robinson, 1981).

The Secondary Role of Writers and Correspondents. Most background articles and features of correspondents and staff writers need a spot news peg to be hung onto, and this type of news is precisely the kind supplied by the agencies. Special envoys tend to be sent primarily to "hot" spots also extensively covered by the agencies, whereas correspondents located at a few important capitals are expected to provide routine backgrounds, especially to important events, not systematic, more structural and developmental coverage of countries or world regions. Thus, correspondents' reports may fill in some details or feature interviews with local news actors, but these are only marginal in the total picture of foreign news. Their major function is opinion and comment rather than strict news production. Moreover, only the larger newspapers have enough correspondents and editorial staff to produce self-made foreign news stories about several topics each day (Batscha, 1975; Pollock, 1982).

Selection Constraints. Given the large amount of agency material coming in each day, editors must make fast choices about which stories to print and which ones to throw in the waste basket. It is well known that even across national boundaries and across different newspapers, these choices are very similar (Hirsch, 1977; Schramm & Atwood, 1981). This homogeneous nature of foreign news selection is due to a number of well-known factors. First, agency stories themselves signal which ones are important by urgency markers, length, frequency of coverage of the same event or issue, repetition among different takes of the same story, and so on. Second, newspapers editors have acquired implicit values, norms, beliefs, and attitude schemata that underlie their professional routines of news selection and production. Given the same standard input data and similar organizational constraints (deadlines, budget limitations, on the job training, etc.), these cognitive schemata are very similar, even when there are variations in personal or social attitudes and ideologies. Once specific topics, issues, regions, countries or news persons are defined as important, such a definition will be self-confirming, a well-known property of social cognition and social information

processing (Snyder, 1981). In other words, after the news agencies, the newspapers are the major sources for the self-defined newsworthiness of events.

News Values and Foreign News Schemata. The implicit definition of the notion of foreign news, and especially of important foreign news, appears to be sustained also by well-known news values (Galtung & Ruge, • 1965) such as negativity, ideological and local proximity, elite countries and actors, periodicity, and so on. The assassination of Gemayel satisfies several of these values and is therefore widely reported. They are mentioned here because their acquisition is part of the organizational processes being discussed: They are derived from the input of agency news that is routinely dealt with by newspapers and newsmalcers. Hence, these values are not metaphysical, abstract norms, but fundamental social and cognitive constraints upon the interpretability of incoming foreign news and the selection processes of agency news, which are produced on the basis of the same set of values. Routinized, and hence effective, accomplishment of journalistic practices is not possible without such a value framework.

Of course, this does not mean that the existing framework is necessary. Others could be developed, and there are historical and social changes in prevailing frameworks. Yet, often such changes require controversy and fight, or they are brought about by sociopolitical forces from outside the media world. The discussion about the new international information order, which, among other things, stresses the importance of development news, is an example of such a political fight that may give rise to changes in fundamental news value frameworks.

Journalistic World Models. Finally, closely related to this news value framework, are more general sociocognitive frameworks that determine the observation, the understanding, and the selection of foreign news events. For instance, as suggested earlier, comprehension by both the journalist and the reader requires the retrieval and construction of situation models and more general social scripts. This means that events that fit into well-known models and are instances of general knowledge scripts (e.g., about civil wars) or attitude schemata (e.g., about Communist or Arab countries) tend to be preferred. This also explains why, independent of agency or correspondent reports, editors tend to select stories about situations that are relatively well known and familiar and also why, internationally for several years now, the news focus has been on a limited number of "hot spots" such as the Middle East, Central America, Poland, or South Africa. That these particular regions are focused upon during a given period is explained by the news values, e.g., negativity (civil war, violence), elite nations (the close involvement of the United States), ideological proximity (fights against com-

munism, terrorism, or leftist organizations) and economic interests of Western countries (oil). It would be interesting to further analyze, for example, why the Western media at present pay so much attention to South Africa. Certainly it is not merely the continuing horror of apartheid, which has existed for decades without extensive international media attention. Rather, it is the violence (preferred word since "black resistance" is hardly the conceptual and stylistic form in which such actions are defined), the threat of civil war, and similar news media values that underlie the present attention.

Important is the fact that independent of the specific regions involved, there is a general cognitive framework that favors foreign news about situations that are both familiar and different from peaceful, everyday events. This framework defines the criteria of prominence (e.g., Central American news is more important than Brazilian news) and the routine selections of news: The latest news from a newsworthy region is selected nearly automatically, even when this news is hardly newsworthy according to other news values. This is one of the reasons why we keep reading about the latest events in Lebanon rather than those in Chaad, which was also a conflict region some time ago. Hence, the cognitive framework has several functions in the production of foreign news: It supplies criteria for (1) a permanently valid agenda; (2) selection and amount of coverage; and (3) intelligibility of foreign events, which may otherwise be difficult to understand because of sociocultural, geographical, or ideological distances. Finally, a limited number of topics and regions allows newspapers to send correspondents only to a few places, which happen to meet an organizational (financial) constraint.

From these few points we may conclude provisionally that the production of foreign news in the press involves a number of institutional, organizational, social, and cognitive factors, which sometimes independently, sometimes concurrently, explain the homogeneous nature of foreign news in the press. It is truly a product for mass consumption, and only a few newspapers can afford individual flavoring of this mass product. Yet, it should be remembered that this mass product of the mass media is neither produced for the masses of everyday newspaper readers nor tailor-made to the interests of world majorities. On the contrary, the same factors previously enumerated as well as sociological analysis suggest that foreign news products are basically selected according to the interests of political, military, and business elites. Indeed, most foreign news *is* about political, military, and economic events, and *not* about social and cultural events.

Journalists tend to reject such analyses with force and may provide counterexamples because many of them ignore the unconscious operation of cognitive and social control systems in their everyday activities. That is, they unintentionally underestimate the power of prevailing schemata, criteria, or

frameworks of foreign news coverage: Occasional exceptions confirm the rules rather than debilitate them. They produce the web in which they are themselves caught. This is not necessarily a value judgment, although the analysis may be used as a foundation for further ideological and critical analysis. At this point, we only want to identify the various constraints on production processes and on the kinds, topics, amount, or style of foreign news.

Sources and Distribution of Foreign News

That international news flow is unbalanced is both true and a truism. We need only recall the well-known basic facts and then transiate these into constraints upon the structures of foreign news. The lack of balance pertains to a network of structural relations between developed, industrialized northern countries and developing southern countries: (1) news production takes place predominantly, and is controlled nearly exclusively, by organizations in a few northwestern countries; (2) this is also true of the technological and financial infrastructures of news production (satellites, communication networks, computers, cables, paper, and printing moachines); (3) foreign news is predominantly for and about the developed countries; (4) topics and interests implied by news selection and contents are predominantly western; (5) the same is also true for the point of view, the style, and the details of event descriptions when events in developing countries are involved; (6) the basic news values underlying news production are established and maintained by journalists of developed countries and reluctantly shared by those in developing countries since there are as yet no fundamental alternatives that can be implemented independently; (7) news about Third World events is often incomplete, biased, stereotypical, ethnocentric, and generally scarce in comparison to news about events in elite developed countries; and (8) even when news about Third World events is locally produced by Third World journalists, its final selection, distribution, and editing takes place in the news centers in the developed countries. (For details and further referentes on these points, see Schiller, 1973; Mattelart, 1979; Hamelink, 1983a).

This is merely a pardal list of various dimensions of the same overall unbalanced relationship between the North and the South, which comes clown to a fundamental imbalance in political, economic, financial, and cultural power. The transnational news agencies are the most obvious and visible agents in this international imbalance of power. They are the direct producers and distributors of international news, and we have suggested that dependence from them is most direct. Yet, the picture is much more complex. Economically speaking, the agencies are small compared to the transnational corporations that control information and communication

hardware and software (Hamelink, 1938b). Yet, whether government controlled (AFP), whether controlled by national media (Reuter, AP), or whether privately owned (UPI), the transnational agencies must have objectives that are consistent with the interests of the prevailing political and economic power centers in their own countries and regions of the North. As the principal brokers of the news, they can survive only when they serve their best clients with the products that are expected from them. The results on the nature of foreign news are obvious and already have been partly suggested.

Research Results

Empirical quantitative research abounds that supports these points. Besides the studies previously mentioned, Schramm & Atwood (1981) found that for a single day in 1977 the combined Asian wires of the Big Four agencies carry nearly a quarter of all stories about Third World-only events (another quarter about relations between First and Third Worlds). A quarter of the total news volume (measured in amount of stories) about three quarters of the world's population is indeed, as the authors suggest, "an enormous amount of news"; but the ratio of the distribution is nevertheless 16 to 3 if stories are measured by size of population. Even this proportion says nothing about the length of the news, the prominence of the news as presented by the wires, and the kinds of news, any of each may produce further imbalances. The same holds for the nations portrayed in the news. The United States leads on all accounts, with 22%, which is more than Latin America and Africa combined.

Next on the list are the other industrialized, northern nations, such as the United Kingdom, Japan, West Germany, the USSR, and France. The United States, the most powerful country in the world both militarily and economically, gets most attention in the wires of the agencies, two of which are American. In this way U. S. domestic news (most typically statements by the president), extensively covered by the agencies, becomes international news, even when the events do not have direct relevance for other countries (Hester, 1971, 1973, 1974; Gerbner & Marvanyi, 1977). Conversely, most foreign news in the U. S. media is limited to events that involve the United States, such as Vietnam in the 1960s and Central America and the Middle East in the 1970s and 1980s (Hart, 1966; Casey & Copeland, 1958; Hicks Gordon, 1974; Lent, 1977; Graber, 1984). The study by Schramm & Atwood (1981) of the various news categories as covered by the agencies on the same day in 1977, reveals the top ten categories shown in Table 2.1.

Of course, there are variations among the different agencies, variations per day or period, and especially variations in the selections made from

TABLE 2.1
Percentages of News Categories in One Day of International News of
the News Agencies (Asian Wires)

<i>News Categories</i>	<i>Total %</i>	<i>Third World %</i>
1. Foreign relations	22.5	29.0
2. Economic affairs	21.0	18.8
3. Domestic political	10.4	43.8
4. Military and political violence	8.1	28.4
5. Sports	16.0	9.5
6. Crime	5.9	24.1
7. Accidents and disasters	4.6	31.0
8. Science, health, education, culture	3.9	
9. Human interest	2.5	
10. Other	5.1	

Source: Schramm and Atwood, 1981, p. 59-60.

stories by newspapers. But the general distribution of interest for different content categories in the wires and, for instance, 17 Asian newspapers is rather similar (see also Lent, 1976). That is, what are prominent news categories for the agencies are also prominent for the newspapers, although newspapers will have more national and regional news. The major categories are foreign and national politics, economic affairs, sports, and political or military violence. In addition, crime and disasters account for about 10% of the news. These few categories account for more than 85% of all news. Together, the four categories of health, science, education, and culture and arts account for only 3.9%. From this difference in news categories, both for the agencies and for the newspapers, we may make sound guesses regarding about what and for whom the news is written, and what stories have the highest chance of reaching the newspaper in the first place. From these figures the authors also conclude that Third World news as supplied by the agencies is not predominantly about "coups and earthquakes" (Rosenblum, 1981), although it is as frequent as foreign politics or economics alone (20%), and may well become relevant only in situations of crisis or civil war.

If we compare the role of the Third World in these news categories with the role of First World (or First World and Third World) news, we see that the Third World generally carries about a quarter of the stories, although economic stories are much more often about First World countries and disaster stories account for more than the quarter share. Note also that 70% of both crime and sports news is First World news. Also, 13% of the stories seem to be about First World countries only, which suggests that the Asian wires of the press agencies are selective in their news coverage: They tend to pay more attention to Asian stories, i.e., Third World stories. Indeed,

58.2% of all Third World stories are about Asia, 7% about Latin America, 11.3% about Africa, and 23.5% about the Middle East. Thus, we may assume that the Latin America wires have more Latin American news. Yet, whatever the region, the general distribution of news categories (or story types) is very similar (see Boyd-Barret, 1980).

Contenta, Values, and Ideologies

The dependence of foreign news as supplied by the agencies and as preferred by the North-Western press is more complex than the quantitative research results previously mentioned. What cannot be read from the statistics is the way events are covered and described and how actors are qualified. Ethnocentrism is more than just having more stories about one's own region or stories consistent with one's own interests.

Crucial are the subtleties of the picture sketched of developing countries and Third World actors and events. Before we begin with our study of how the world press covers a single event, let us try to enumerate a few frequently mentioned content characteristics of the ideological picture emerging from the description of Third World countries in large part of the Western press. (Apart from the studies mentioned earlier, see Mankekar, 1978, 1985).

1. Third World countries tend to be seen and described as a homogeneous block, despite vast cultural, regional, political, and ideological differences among different countries.

2. Politically, Third World countries tend to be considered primarily in terms of their deviance from Western parliamentary democracies and hence mostly as undemocratic. Possible advantages of different forms of political organization for the majority of the people in such countries are seldom recognized. Nor are the specific historical, economical, or regional causes for political deviance acknowledged, such as colonial history and its consequences, the difficulties in the build-up of new nations, levels of development, economic and cultural dependence on the West, if not the support of local political elites by Western governments and business. Comparisons with our own societies would be more just if made with our societies at a similar stage of political and economic development (e.g., in the 17th through 19th centuries).

3. Economic problems in Third World countries are primarily described as being problems for us. For example, if international debts in Third World countries have become astronomic, this news will overshadow news about other economic problems because it directly affects the financial position of banks. As long as they were building up these debts and our banks made fortunes, this was not news. Similarly, starvation and poverty are dealt with

primarily in terms of what it would cost us, or how we can help instead of creating the conditions for structural change. The lack of interest for economic successes cannot be attributed simply to the general news value that prefers negative news. The economic revival in the Western world in the 1980s, especially in the United States, is practically daily front-page news.

4. Many events in the developing countries become news only when there is a First World (mostly United States) occasion, such as the visit of one of our politicians or other elite actors, the role of our business interests, or the threat to our natural resources (oil) in the early 1970s. In the 1980s this has become particularly framed in terms of threats to our people, typically in taking hostages or terrorist attacks, such as the massive news coverage about the hostages of the American embassy in Teheran, the hijacking of the Achille Lauro, the attacks on U. S. embassies in Beirut and elsewhere and revenge in the form of the air strike against Libya in 1986.

5. The statistics mentioned above show that there is practically no interest for cultural phenomena in the Third World such as arts, science, education, and language. Cultural activities, when covered, tend to be stereotypical. A large country such as Brazil, for instance, is culturally portrayed primarily as the country of samba and carnaval. Scientific progress is paid attention to when a Third World country like India appears to be able to join the exclusive club of nuclear weapons owners.

6. Political violence and terrorism in our own countries are often attributed to support from politically opposed Third World countries or organizations such as Libya or the PLO. The converse, political violence and terrorism in Third World countries, is not generally linked with activities or support from our own governments or organizations, even when this is the case (as with the CIA actions in Chile a decade ago and in Central America now).

7. The general interest for political unrest or coups in Third World countries, even when only in about 20% of the total agency stories, created a very special picture of developing countries. A single coup or other violent political action in a single Third World country is described as another one of those coups in "those" countries, that is, attributed to the Third World as a whole (which have three quarters of the world population). Also, coups that are ideologically favorable for "us", i.e., those that are anticommunist, are given less and more positive attention than leftist coups, especially when they are successful revolutions (Nicaragua). Similarly, continuous oppression of whole populations is given less attention if the governments of those countries are pro-Western.

These are only a few major points of the characteristics of the news about the Third World in Western agency wires and newspaper columns

(UNESCO, 1980; Richstad & Anderson, 1981; Righter, 1978). Although negative news about Western countries does exist, it tends to be presented as exceptional. Moreover, readers have much more neutral or positive information to construct a more balanced overall picture of Western countries. That is, the negativity or stereotypical nature of news about many Third World countries are not incidental but structural and, therefore, ideologically ethnocentric. The general points previously summarized also do not focus on the subtleties of ethnocentric descriptions, such as the tendency to describe Third World leaders in terms of their appearance or environment (e.g., the luxury they live in, typically in Arab or African countries) or to disqualify their statements as rhetoric. (See Downing, 1980, for comparisons with media descriptions of minority leaders in our own countries).

Which "Freedom" of the Press? A Critical Evaluation. I have detailed some of the general characteristics of foreign news in the western press as they emerge from critical academic research of the past decade. Some of these have been formulated in critical terms, meant to explicate some of the grounds for the accusation of groups of Third World countries against the imbalances in the control, distribution, and contents of world news. Such a critique, and especially the proposals that have been made to redress the inequities, have been met by much of the Western news media with a defense of the "freedom of the press." This notion is no longer primarily a defense of a basic civil right but has become an ideological banner for the defense of self-interest, lack of social responsibility, the freedom to write ethnocentrically without interference from even self-imposed and formulated codes of professional organizations, and especially of economic and cultural power. This notion of freedom is part of the heritage of 19th century economic liberalism, and implies a cultural laissez-faire, in which journalists assume they are the test judges of the social implications of their craft. No other professional group has complete control over its own media portrayal.

We have seen earlier that the analyses of the imbalance in the international flow of news reached the readers in the Western world in highly negative terms: The freedom of the press was reportedly threatened. The reasons and the facts underlying the critique leveled against the Western media was ignored, played down, or trivialized. Indeed, the very work of UNESCO was primarily identified with such attacks on the freedom of the Western press and, hence, with attacks on Western countries in general. This means that there is no informed public opinion about the backgrounds or the goals of the UNESCO debate and, hence, no effective control of the Western governments that want to regain political control in this UN body by financial blackmail. Several decades ago, when the American news agencies tried to enter the news market then controlled by British and French

agencies, it was legitimate to challenge the agency monopolies (Schiller, 1981). This challenge is now denied to the Third World countries. A press that represents the debate about its own self-interest and that renders the critique leveled against it in such a way can hardly be called free. Freedom of the press also means freedom of access to the press; freedom of financial control; freedom from ethnocentrism or nationalistic biases; freedom of the poor, of those lacking power and of minorities to be covered adequately; freedom of competition on the news market; and freedom from monopoly power. Undoubtedly, such freedoms are just as important as freedom from government control or oppression or the freedom to gather news. Freedom without social responsibility is called egoism, and, especially in a capitalistic society, this leads to a defense of self-interest and the advancement of the interests of those who pay most.

Moreover, the freedom of our Western press should not be illustrated only on a few liberal quality newspapers. The quality press in England and West Germany, for example, is dwarfed by the popular (tabloid) press, for which news largely consists of crime, violence, and sex. Similar disproportions hold for many other Western countries. The United States has thousands of newspapers and highly influential national TV networks but only a few truly nationally and internationally oriented newspapers that bring news about more than the two or three international hot spots the president happens to comment upon. To get fully different opinions and information about many countries on many continents, one has to consult small, marginal publications, for which the free press and publishing houses have no interest. The picture of the freedom of the Western press is largely mythical, one-sided, and biased. Alternative voices may be heard and read only in a few high-priced, low-distribution, academic books. Further evidence for the hypotheses and opinions formulated in this section are presented in the rest of this chapter. It may have become clear, however, that even sophisticated academic analysis in this domain cannot be severed from ideological and political analysis. Nevertheless, free academic research, much like a truly free press, must be based on the facts *and* written in a perspective of social responsibility.

Foreign News in First and Third World Newspapers

To clarify some of the general remarks made earlier in the chapter, and to place the case study on the world press coverage of the assassination of Gemayel into the context of other international news, a comparative quantitative analysis was made of two days (September 15 and 16, 1982) of foreign news in 16 First World and 18 Third World newspapers. The newspapers were selected from different regions of the world from our larger

data base. This selection was more or less arbitrary but constrained by linguistic limitations to newspapers written in European languages (English, French, German, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian) or Arabic. The vast majority of newspapers in the world outside of China, but including those in the Third World, are published in these languages. Table 2.2. contains the list of newspapers analyzed, ordered by world and regions, together with the number and size of their articles. Newspapers of Eastern Europe have been defined as First World papers.

Frequencies and Size

Table 2.2 shows that whereas in the First and Third World, more or less the same number of articles are published, the size of the coverage is significantly different ($p < .000$), with 58% of the total space of international news published in the First World press. Overall mean length for foreign news articles is 26.1 cm (with mean column width of 44.6 mm): In the First World 29.0 cm (width 46.5 mm), and in the Third World 23.4 (width, 42.8 mm). Because we have analyzed only a few newspapers for each region, differences between regions are only suggestive. The press of North America and Europe publishes most articles per newspaper on foreign events, whereas the newspapers in South America and Southeast Asia publish most foreign articles in the Third World Press, but total size averages differ: alter North America, followed at a distance by Western and Eastern Europe, the Middle East press scores high on total size.

Of course, these numbers should be put into perspective. Communist and many Third World newspapers tend to have much less advertising, and newspapers in the First World have many more pages, 46.3, whereas those in the Third World have only 18.2 pages on average. Some First world newspapers, such as the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* have

TABLE 2.2
Table of 34 Newspapers From First and Third World Countries, with
Frequencies and Mean and Total Size in cm² of Foreign News Articles
Published on September 15 and 16, 1982

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>N Articles</i>	<i>Mean Size</i> °	<i>Total Size</i>
I. First World	1,130	136	151,367
a. Northern America	258	160	39,767
1. Ottawa Citizen (Canada)	90	158	12,804
2. New York Times (USA)	118	142	16,718
3. Los Angeles Times (USA)	50	204	10,245

(continued)

TABLE 2.2
(Continued)

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>N Anides</i>	<i>Mean Size •</i>	<i>Total Size•</i>
b. Western Europe	631	140	87,354
4. Le Monde (France)	87	115	9,905
5. El Pais (Spain)	79	150	11,707
6. NRC-Handelsblad (Netherlands)	76	125	9,563
7. De Volkskrant (Netherlands)	67	106	6,777
8. La Vanguardia (Spain)	70	151	10,402
9. Daily Mail (UK)	40	63	2,516
10. Guardian (UK)	103	118	12,130
11. Corriere della Sera (Italy)	68	216	14,669
12. La Repubblica (Italy)	41	236	9,685
c. Eastern Europe	185	93	17,191
13. Neues Deutschland (DRG)	111	76	8,470
14. Pravda (USSR)	74	118	8,721
d. Oceania	56	126	7,054
15. Daily Telegraph (Australia)	16	92	1,479
16. The Age (Australia)	40	139	5,575
II. Third World	1142	97	110,133
e. Middle America	177	87	15,283
17. Daily Gleaner (Jamaica)	67	97	6,304
18. Granma (Cuba)	76	68	5,157
19. La Barricada (Nicaragua)	34	112	3,822
f. South America	96	122	11,676
20. Jornal do Brasil (Brasil)	42	138	5,813
21. El Mercurio (Chile)	54	109	5,863
g. Middle East	267	93	24,777
22. Al Thawra (Iraq)	115	93	10,724
23. Kayhan International (Iran)	90	103	9,261
24. Al Achram (Egypt)	62	77	4,793
h. North Africa	48	143	6,884
25. L'Opinion (Morocco)	50	143	6,884
i. West Africa	42	71	2,961
26. Daily Times (Nigeria)	42	71	2,961
j. East Africa	59	73	4,292
27. Daily Nailon (Kenya)	59	73	4,292
k. Southern Africa	68	132	8,949
28. Times of Zambia	45	87	3,936
29. Matin du Madagascar	23	218	5,013
l. South & South East Asia	383	93	35,309
30. Bangkok Post (Thailand)	101	90	9,071
31. Indonesian Observer	108	125	13,476
32. Times of India	59	76	4,117
33. Statesman (India)	54	70	3,764
34. Daily News (Sri Lanka)	61	80	4,889
Total World	2,272	116	261,500

° All figures rounded to nearest whole numbers.

more than 100 pages per copy. The *Los Angeles Times* of September 16 has 184 pages most of which are covered with advertisements). Therefore, comparatively speaking, foreign coverage is higher in the Third World press: Overall about 37% of the articles are about foreign news, 41% in the Third World and 36% in the First World. This percentage for the First World is even lower (33%) if we do not count the Eastern European press, where the percentage is 57%. For the Third World the percentages of foreign news are drastically different for those papers that do have less than 5% advertising (64%) and those that have more advertising (often more than 50% of the newspaper), which have 27% foreign news. Thus, generally speaking, advertising increases newspaper size while at the same time correlates with comparatively less attention for foreign news.

Photographs

The number of photographs is more or less the same in the First and Third World newspapers (each about 250 in two days), since the Third World newspapers are smaller, however, they have twice as many photographs on an average page.

Type of Article

A majority of the articles in both regions are proper news articles, but in the First World they amount to 65.4% of the total and in the Third World they amount to 71.4%. This implies that First World newspapers have more background articles (26.2%) and others (5.6%) than the Third World press (21.5% and 3.7% respectively), whereas the Third World press has more commentary articles (3.7%) than the First World press (2.8%). This property will be seen also in the coverage of the assassination of Gemayel.

An obvious explanation for this difference is that the First World has more editorial resources to write background stories, or conversely, that the Third World press must rely more on international news agencies.

Content Categories

What kinds of foreign news are found in the newspapers of the world? Foreign news may be divided into three broad categories of foreign news: truly international news, news about relations between two countries, and news about events in another country. Differences in percentages between the First World and Third World for these categories are as follows: 23.3%, 27.0% and 49.7% vs. 20.0%, 30.4%, and 49.5%, respectively. In other words, these distributions are more or less similar, with slightly more international news stories in the First World papers.

More specific contents of foreign news have been analyzed with the usual system of categories. Table 2.3 specifies these categories for First and Third

TABLE 2.3
Subjects in First and Third World Papers

<i>Count</i>														
<i>Row PCT</i>	<i>Politics</i>	<i>Econornics</i>	<i>Military</i>	<i>Social</i>	<i>Police;</i>	<i>Sports</i>	<i>Health</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Culture</i>	<i>Disaster</i>	<i>Religion</i>	<i>Human</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Row</i>
<i>Col PCT</i>			<i>Affairs</i>	<i>Affairs</i>	<i>Crime</i>							<i>Affairs</i>		<i>Total</i>
<i>Tot PCT</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>/0</i>	<i>/1</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>	
<u>First World</u>	365	216	178	20	54	12	18	22	30	61	15	78	12	1081
	:33.8	20.0	16.5	1.9	5.0	1.1	1.7	2.0	2.8	5.6	1.4	7.2	1.1	48.7
	50.3	52.9	43.3	48.8	49.5	48.0	39.1	42.3	48.4	49.2	48.4	56.5	26.1	
	6.4	9.7	8.0	.9	2.4	.5	.8	1.0	1.4	2.7	.7	3.5	.5	
<u>Third World</u>	361	192	233	21	55	13	28	30	32	63	16	60	34	1138
	31.7	16.9	20.5	1.8	4.8	1.1	2.5	2.6	2.8	5.5	1.4	5.3	3.0	51.3
	49.7	47.1	56.7	51.2	50.5	52.0	60.9	57.7	51.6	50.8	51.6	43.5	73.9	
	16.3	8.7	10.5	.9	2.5	.6	1.3	1.4	1.4	2.8	.7	2.7	1.5	
<u>Column</u>	726	408	411	41	109	25	46	52	62	124	31	138	46	2219
<u>Total</u>	32.7	18.4	18.5	1.8	4.9	1.1	2.1	2.3	2.8	5.6	1.4	6.2	2.1	100.0

World coverage. Overall, politics, economic affairs, and military affairs (including wars and civil wars) account for the vast majority of news items (nearly 70%), followed by human affairs, crime, and disasters. As usual, subject categories such as education, culture, religion, and social affairs account for only a small percentage each. The distribution of subject categories is strikingly similar between First World and Third World newspapers. Only military and economic affairs are reversed: more economic news in the First World, and more military news in Third World newspapers. Whereas First World newspapers have somewhat more human affairs coverage, the Third World press pays more attention to health. This distribution of categories also holds for secondary subjects, that is, for items about more than one topic, although here military affairs is twice as frequent as economics, again in the Third World, and crime stories are more frequent in the First World press. Generally speaking, the data suggest that the distribution of overall subject categories is more or less similar in First World and Third World papers.

Of course there are variations in subject allocation among different newspapers. For instance, *Neues Deutschland*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *La Repubblica*, *Al Thawra*, *Kayhan International*, and *Al Achram* publish 10 percent more on politics than the average newspaper, whereas *NRC-Handelsblad*, *El Pais*, the *New York Times*, and especially the Moroccan newspaper *l'Opinion*, feature economic affairs disproportionately. The Middle East papers *Al Thawra* and *Al Achram*, as well as *The Los Angeles Times*, *La Vanguardia*, the *Age*, *la Barricada*, and *Jornal do Brasil* publish a great deal on military affairs. *Pravda* has strikingly few items on military affairs (only two articles in two days). As may be expected, the popular press, such as the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail*, has more on human affairs, even more than on politics. News on police and crime was relatively prevalent in the *Corriere della Sera*, the *Bangkok Post* and the *Volkskrant*. The *Indonesian Observer* and *Pravda* published the most on education and culture (about 16% together for each paper), whereas social affairs scores high in *Neues Deutschland*. The frequencies on which these differences are based however, are too low to allow generalization. Most important is that most items in the quality press are about the polity, the economy, and the military, and thereby faithfully reproduce the three major forces in the power hierarchy, both in the First World and in the Third World.

Issues

Besides differences in general subject categories, differences between the Third World and First World coverage of specific issues such as the East-West conflict, the economic recession or pollution were investigated. Table 2.4 lists the frequencies for 11 selected issues that were relevant in 1984.

TABLE 2.4
Issues in First and Third World Papers

<i>Issue</i>	<i>First world</i>	<i>Third world</i>	<i>Row Total</i>
Issues Not Present	2630 48.1	2838 51.9	5468 241.6
East-West Problems	33 56.9	25 43.1	58 2.6
Third World	13 31.0	29 69.0	42 1.9
Economic Recession	71 60.2	47 39.8	118 5.2
Unemployment	15 78.9	4 21.1	19 .8
Pollution	8 66.7	4 33.3	12 .5
Disarmament	28 70.0	12 30.0	40 1.8
Energy	13 48.1	- 14 51.9	27 1.2
Hunger	6 40.0	9 60.0	15 .7
Feminist Movement	3 20.0	12 80.0	15 .7
Racism	14 63.6	8 36.4	22 1.0
Independence	5 29.4	12 70.6	17 .8
Poland	39 57.4	29 42.6	68 3.0
War Iran; Iraq	7 16.7	35 83.3	42 1.9
Southern Africa	9 37.5	15 62.5	24 1.1
EEC	16 88.9	2 11.1	18 .8
Middle East	126 59.7	85 40.3	211 9.3
Lebanon	117 44.7	145 55.3	262 11.6

(continued)

TABLE 2.4
(Continued)

<i>Issue</i>	<i>First world</i>	<i>Third world</i>	<i>Roto Total</i>
Central America	22 45.8	26 54.2	48 2.1
Others	134 51.0	129 49.0	263 11.6
Column Total	1103 48.7	1160 51.3	2263 100.0

Percents and totals based on respondents: 2,263 valid cases; 9 missing cases.

Absolute numbers in the different cells are rather low, so conclusions about this aspect of foreign news are only tentative. More than the general subject categories, such issues signal what kind of problems or points of view dominate in the different news categories. Differences between Third World and First World news are striking for these issues. As may be expected, the Third World press pays more attention to the Third World as an issue as well as to the issues of independence and hunger, whereas the First World press gives more attention to the economic recession, unemployment, pollution, disarmament, and racism. The different sociopolitical and economic problems of the two world regions are rather clearly reflected in the distribution of attention for specific issues related to them. Remarkable is the relatively large number of items on women's liberation in the Third World press. Of the regional issues, Lebanon and the Middle East are top scorers (accounting for nearly 20% of all issues), both in the First World and the Third World papers, which of course during these two days is also caused by the assassination of Gemayel and the ensuing invasion of West Beirut by the Israeli army. Poland and Central America also remain important issues, as does the war between Iran and Iraq. The latter as well as South Africa gets more attention from the Third World press. As may be expected, the activities of the European Common Market (EEC) are prominent only in the First World newspapers.

In other words, some issues, such as the Middle East problem and other regional conflicts, are truly international in the sense that they are extensively covered by all newspapers in the world. Others, such as important social affairs draw more attention in the First World or the Third World, depending on where such issues are most relevant or have highest priority or news value.

Actors

Topics and issues involve individual and institutional actors of different types. The theory of news values predicts that elite actors have the highest chances to have access to the media. Are there any differences between the First World and the Third World paper regarding their attention for news actors? Table 2.5. shows the frequencies for different actors in the two world regions.

In the Third World, press differences can be seen in the higher number

TABLE 2.5
Actors in Foreign News Events in First and Third World Papers

<i>News Event</i>	<i>First world</i>	<i>Third world</i>	<i>Row Total</i>
Country; Region	256 49.6	260 50.4	516 22.15
UNESCO; Etc.	10 22.7	34 77.3	44 1.9
Organized Countries	29 46.8	33 53.2	62 2.7
Church	9 9.0	1 10.0	10 .4
Internal Organization	14 35.0	26 65.0	40 1.8
Multinational	25 54.3	21 45.7	46 2.0
Political Leaders	436 48.6	461 51.4	897 39.6
Members Parliament	30 48.4	32 51.6	62 2.7
Party	40 59.7	27 40.3	67 3.0
Law; Pollee	54 48.6	57 51.4	111 4.9
Top Clercs	27 33.7	53 66.2	80 3.5
Unions	12 54.5	10 45.5	22 1.0
Concerns; Managers	68 55.7	54 44.3	122 5.4

(continuat)

TABLE 2.5
(Continued)

<i>Netos Event</i>	<i>First world</i>	<i>Third world</i>	<i>Row Total</i>
Religious Leaders	49	50	99
	49.5	50.5	4.4
Education; Science	11	15	26
	42.3	57.7	1.1
Other Institutions	30	37	67
	44.8	55.2	3.0
Pressure Groups	12	8	20
	60.0	40.0	.9
Groups of Citizens	25	16	41
	61.0	39.0	1.8
Protest groups	26	36	62
	41.9	58.1	2.7
Artists	39	35	74
	52.7	47.3	3.3
Royalty	54	39	93
	58.1	41.9	4.1
Sportsmen	11	19	30
	36.7	tos	1.3
Victims	21	34	55
	38.2	61.8	2.4
Criminals	27	29	56
	48.2	51.8	2.5
-Terrorists"	27	38	65
	41.5	58.5	2.9
Military; Guerrilla	70	126	196
	35.7	64.3	8.6
Common People	63	65	128
	49.2	50.8	5.6
Professionals	52	31	83
	62.7	37.3	3.7
Others	43	49	92
	46.7	53.3	4.1
Column Total	1104	1163	2267
	48.7	51.3	100.0

Percents and totals based on respondents: 2,267 valid cases; 5 missing cases.

of items on UNESCO, other international organizations, top officials, educators, sports people, victims, and the militar/ or guerrillas. The First World papers give more attention to the church, party members, pressure groups and groups of citizens, royalty, and professionals. Generally, the differences are not impressive, but some reflect the different social organization (e.g., the activities of pressure and action groups in the First World) and international policies of the First World and the Third World. As may be expected from the incidence of political subjects in the press, politicians occur much more in the news than any other category, both in the First World and in the Third World. They are followed by managers and the military, the police, professionals, royalty, and religious leaders. Hence, most of the news is about states or regions or about political personalities and other elites. Ordinary people are passive actors only in 5.6% of all news items. Therefore, the general prediction of the classical theory of news values seems confirmed: News is about the elite, especially the political elite.

Regions and Countries

One of the repeatedly analyzed questions in the study of world news is the distribution of attention for different countries or regions in the world (Gerbner & Marvanyi, 1977). Table 2.6 presents this distribution of attention for different regions, comparing the Third World and First World papers. About one third of all news items do refer to such regions. Although most regions are represented slightly more in the geographic area they belong to (e.g., somewhat more about North America or Western Europe in the First World press and somewhat more about South America or the Middle East in the Third World newspapers), the differences are most striking for Africa and Asia, which are usually dealt with twice as often by the newspapers in the Third World. This suggests that despite the dependence on Western news agencies, the Third World media tend to select more stories about the Third World, whereas stories about Africa and Asia tend to be neglected by the First World newspapers. This result is consistent with earlier findings on the distribution of international news attention.

In a further analysis of the world regions covered by newspapers from different regions, about half of the news items in First World newspapers are about a different region than their own (but mostly about other First World regions, e.g., those in Western Europe about North America, most notably the United States, and vice versa). *Le Monde* and *The Los Angeles Times* have relatively more articles about another region than their own. For Third World papers this balance is rather different: Only one third of the articles are about their own region, and, therefore, most stories are about different parts of the world. This is particularly striking for the African

TABLE 2.6
Regions in Foreign News in First and Third World Papers

<i>Region</i>	<i>First world</i>	<i>Third world</i>	<i>Row Total</i>
Not present	3797 48.7	4003 51.3	7800 68.7
North America	279 53.4	243 46.6	522 4.6
Middle America	75 45.2	91 54.8	166 1.5
South America	76 42.9	101 57.1	177 1.6
Western Europe	563 61.6	351 38.4	914 8.0
Eastern Europe	199 58.9	139 41.1	338 3.0
Middle East	332 42.7	446 57.3	778 6.8
North Africa	10 25.6	29 74.4	39 .3
Western Africa	7 15.2	39 84.8	46 .4
Central Africa	6 31.6	13 68.4	19 .2
Eastern Africa	16 30.2	37 69.8	53 .5
Southern Africa	42 36.8	72 63.2	114 1.0
South & Southeast Asia	70 32.9	143 67.1	213 1.9
Eastern Asia	48 31.4	105 68.6	153 1.3
Oceania	14 53.8	12 46.2	26 .2
"Special Regions"	1 50.0	1 50.0	2 .0
Column Total	5535 48.7	5825 51.3	11360 100.0

and South and Southeast Asian press, of which only about one fourth of all items deal with events in their own region (see also Barton, 1979). Generally speaking, the dependence on international news agencies, which present relatively fewer stories about Asia and Africa, and a lack of regional correspondents lead to less coverage in the Third World newspapers of events in their own regions. They make up for this underrepresentation by paying relatively more attention to other Third World regions. Despite geographic distances and regional differences, Third World reporting seems to exhibit a form of mutual interest and solidarity.

Which countries appear most often in the news? As with the actors, the elite countries, i.e., the powerful and the rich, mostly Western countries appear most in foreign news stories, both in the First World and the Third World newspapers. In addition, countries where important violent conflicts are being enacted are highly represented. As usual, the United States features in most of the stories, (21.6%) followed by the USSR (7%), and 4% England, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, and Spain (4% each). Large Third World countries such as India, China, or Mexico barely reach half of that percentage (.4% for Brazil). The role of the Middle East conflict is reflected in the occurrence of Lebanon (11.8%) and Israel (9.6%), whereas Poland occurs in 3.5% of the news items. Most other countries barely reach 1%. For most countries, therefore, it is impossible to indicate whether they are discussed more by the First World or the Third World press, although it has already been shown that the press of the two world regions publishes more about countries in their own region. For quantitatively more reliable comparisons, we found that the United States and England are topics only a little bit more in the First World press, whereas France, Germany, Italy and Spain, appear for 60% in the First World media. These figures are reversed for the bigger Third World countries such as India, Pakistan, or the Philippines (and Japan). A single story or no stories (out of 2,272 stories) are dedicated to the various Caribbean and the smaller South American countries — Norway, Cyprus, Albania, the Gulf States, many African countries (except Kenya and South Africa), and a few smaller countries in Asia and Oceania. The large Western countries appear most often in the news, together with those countries where an important political or military conflict is being fought, such as Poland or Lebanon. Large Third World countries such as Brazil hardly appear in the news at all, but during these two days the same was true for First World or Western countries like Japan and Australia, which are geographically distant from the main news centers in Europe and the United States.

Sources

Table 2.7 lists the sources for the various news items previously mentioned. Overall, other agencies score highest, but as individual agencies, especially

TABLE 2.7
Sources of Foreign News in First and Third World Papers

<i>Sources</i>	<i>First world</i>	<i>Third world</i>	<i>Row Total</i>
Not Present	3140 48.1	3385 51.9	6525 288.5
No Sources Mentioned	229 46.5	263 53.5	492 21.8
News Agencies General	9 18.8	39 81.3	48 2.1
AP	71 26.1	201 73.9	272 12.0
UPI	33 25.2	98 74.8	131 5.8
Reuters	110 45.8	130 54.2	240 10.6
AFP	63 32.0	134 68.0	197 8.7
TASS	47 97.9	1 2.1	48 2.1
DPA	7 70.0	3 30.0	10 .4
ANP	3 100.0	0 0	3 .1
Other Agencies	180 47.5	199 52.5	379 16.8
News Services	12 85.7	2 14.3	14 .6
Correspondent	245 83.6	48 16.4	293 13.0
Newsdesk	36 65.5	19 34.5	55 2.4
Name of Editor	151 72.9	56 27.1	207 9.2
Guest Writer	24 70.6	10 29.4	34 1.5
Other <i>Media</i>	16 29.6	38 70.4	54 2.4
Others	20 43.5	26 56.5	46 2.0
Column Total	1099 48.6	1163 51.4	2262 100.0

AP, Reuters and AFP score high, together with news items attributed to correspondents. As will be seen in the analysis of the news on the assassination of Gemayel, the most dramatic differences between the First World and the Third World relate to sources. For instance, of all agency credits, by far the most are given in the Third World papers to AP and UPI, which are used three times as often in the Third World. The First World press has many more stories from its own news services, especially from its own correspondents. This confirms the general assumption that the Third World press is much more dependent on the international agencies (or other media such as the BBC radio service) than the First World press, which for at least part of its stories can rely on its own correspondents, a large editorial staff, guest writers, or its own news services.

Conclusions

From this quantitative content analysis, some provisional conclusions can be drawn about foreign news in the world press and about the differences between the First World and the Third World newspapers. (See Martin Chaudhary, 1983, for background and different evaluations). Obviously, these conclusions relate only to the sample and for the two selected days.

1. The overall number of articles on foreign news is more or less the same in the First World and the Third World press, with most items appearing in the newspapers of North America, Europe, and South-east Asia.
2. The total size of foreign news is highest in North America and Europe for the First World, and in Middle East in the Third World.
3. Due to much smaller newspapers and the smaller editorial space in the Third World press, the percentage of foreign news is higher (41%) in the Third World press than in Western newspapers (33%). This is especially true for newspapers in socialist countries that do not have advertising, where foreign news may exceed 60%.
4. About two thirds of all foreign news items appear in hard news categories; of the other types of newspaper discourse, the First World press has more background articles, and the Third World more opinion articles.
5. Most foreign news (about 50%) is about events in single foreign countries, whereas other foreign news is more or less equally distributed among international and binational events.
6. The vast majority of foreign news is about politics, followed by economic and military affairs, the latter being somewhat more prev-

alent in the Third World press. Most sociocultural subjects are a very small percentage of all items in foreign news coverage.

7. Tentatively, it was concluded that structural differences exist between the issues about different problems in the Third World and the Third World press. These relate mainly with the associated problems, and hence thematic preferences, of the region in which the newspapers are located. Yet, transnational issues, such as the Middle East conflict, frequently receive attention in both presses.
8. By far, politicians are the most common actors followed by economic and military leaders or groups. Comparatively, the Third World press gives more attention to UNESCO, international organizations, and educators; whereas the First World newspapers feature pressure or citizen groups more often.
9. Generally, the Third World press publishes more news about the Third World, and the First World papers more about First World regions. This difference is striking for news about India and Africa, which is published twice as much in the Third World press. However, the newspapers of the respective Third World regions, especially in Africa and Asia, dedicate only between one third and one fourth of their news items to other countries in their own regions. This suggests a dependence of Third World coverage about the Third World from the international news agencies.
10. The powerful Western countries and the USSR appear most often in the foreign news, together with typical conflict countries, such as Lebanon, Israel, and Poland. By far, most news is about the United States, which alone appears in about 20% of all foreign news stories. Many countries, especially in Africa, are not covered at all, as are some large countries such as Brazil, Japan, and Australia, also receive very little attention.
11. The Third World press borrows much more of its stories from the international press agencies, especially AP, Reuters, and AFP, whereas the First World newspapers have more correspondents or news services at their disposal.

From these conclusions, it can be inferred that the overall quantitative differences between the foreign news in the Third World and the First World are not impressive. The First World has more editorial space due to larger newspapers, more correspondents, and other resources; but the Third World has approximately the same amount of foreign news items, and higher percentages of foreign news when compared to other news or other newspaper discourse. Other differences include the dependence by the

Third World press on the international news agencies. The thematic contents of the two presses are similar, concentrating on politics, economics and military affairs, and their typical power elite actors. Generally, there is some bias for one's own world region, with little interest, particularly in the First World press, for large parts of the Third World, especially Africa and Asia.

These general conclusions confirm most features of the well-known portrait of foreign news in the press: the nearly exclusive attention for elite topics (e.g., politics), countries and actors and for violent conflict. The dependence of Third World newspapers on the international agencies suggests that the homogeneity in foreign news in both the First World and the Third World is at least partly due to the dominant, global monopoly on foreign news gathering and distribution of these agencies. Together with their best customers, the Western media, they provide the dominant definition of the relevance and newsworthiness of world events. On all counts, the elite position of the United States is also reflected in the amount of news attention. Since there does not seem to be much difference between agency- and correspondent-based news topics, it may also be assumed that there is a broad consensus in the world about the topics of foreign news. This consensus depends not only on what the agencies report but probably also on implicit professional ideologies about the nature of news. Of course, part of such a global professional ideology may have developed under the influence of the dominant Western ideologies and practices about foreign news reporting. This hypothesis is consistent with the general assumption that the ideology of the dominated in many respects adopts elements from the dominant ideology of the powerful and the elite. This is especially true for technical and cultural domains like international communication. On the other hand, the amount of agency news also allows regional variation, so that the press in Third World countries can pay more attention to other Third World nations and to some topics that are of specific relevance to them.

From these conclusions, it can be inferred that the newspapers in the First and Third Worlds show more similarity than regionally, politically or ideologically motivated differences. Since most foreign news is based on agency reports and since the Third World press has few correspondents, this similarity may be explained primarily in terms of the global dependence on the news agencies or, more generally, on more fundamental news routines and ideologies that underlie both agency news and news in the press. Despite the fundamental homogeneity of foreign news, however, there is also variation, such as relatively more attention for the own world and for issues that are more relevant to the sociopolitical or cultural situation of one's own region.

To examine further the details of both similarities and differences, a

systematic qualitative analysis would be necessary of all foreign news items. It is, of course, not feasible to compare the qualitative and structural differences of more than 2000 articles from 34 newspapers. To make such a comparison, one single event must be examined. This type of analysis, therefore, will be discussed in the next sections about the news coverage of the assassination of Gemayel.

SET-UP OF THE CASE STUDY

Against the background of the issues and the theoretical framework outlined in the previous section, the next sections report some results of the analysis of the international press coverage of the assassination of president-elect Bechir Gemayel of Lebanon. This event is the main topic in the majority of the world's national newspapers on September 15 and 16, 1982. Gemayel died (1 -In the previous day, just after 4:00 PM, due to the explosion of a powerful bomb in his Falangist Party headquarters in East Beirut. The initial wire reports of Reuter (especially published in the English press) still carried the widespread rumor that Gemayel had survived the explosion. Only later in the evening was his body found and the news of his death officially announced by Premier Wazzan. Around midnight, the various agencies began to distribute this news and most of the morning papers in Europe and the Americas of September 15 carried it on their front pages if the dispatches were on time for the night deadline. The morning newspapers in Asia and Australia did not yet have the news about Gemayel's death because of the time difference. The newspapers in the Americas at the same time carried the story about the invasion by Israeli troops in West Beirut in the early morning (local time) of September 15.

One of the aims of the case study was to collect many national newspapers of a few days and from many countries. This enterprise is possible only when such newspapers are specifically ordered in advance because weeks later it becomes very difficult to get hold of old copies. We, therefore, chose a midweek day as our target day, September 15, 1982. September 16 and 17 were also included so that we would be able to study possible follow-up and to include newspapers that, due to time differences or late deadlines, would publish the news on September 16 or even 17.

The choice of this day was arbitrary, that is, we didn't know in advance which international event we would study, or whether such an event would take place and be covered by most of the world's press. The assassination of Gemayel, therefore, was fully unexpected but at the same time an exceptional example because it is the type of event that invariably hits the front pages of most newspapers in the world. Ironically, some of the editors we approached for copies of their newspapers of 15 through 17 September

asked what would happen during these days, a most embarrassing question when one thinks of the planned nature of the assassination.

September 15 also brought the news of another prominent and violent death, that of Princess Grace of Monaco, who died in a car accident. Many newspapers, and especially the popular press, printed both deaths on their front pages. Although it would be unique to compare the coverage of the deaths of a president and a well-known princess who used to be a movie actress, we limited our inquiry to the politically more prominent news about the assassination of Gemayel, especially because of possible ideological and political differences in the press accounts of that event (Chomsky, 1983).

Newspapers were selected from the international handbook of the press to include well-known national newspapers from both First and Third World countries. Both the major quality newspapers as well as widely circulated popular newspapers were selected. The newspapers were gathered by reserving copies at newsstands in Amsterdam and by requesting copies from newspaper editors, airlines, embassies of foreign countries in the Netherlands and embassies of the Netherlands in foreign countries, and by borrowing copies from various libraries and research centers in the Netherlands (see Acknowledgments). Due to postal delays, we were only sure weeks later that copies from other continents were of the correct three target days. Later it proved to become increasingly difficult to complete our data base because for several newspapers we had copies for one or two days.

A total of 252 different newspapers from 99 countries were collected. The list of these newspapers is given in Appendix 1. Although the major newspapers are represented in the collection, they are not a truly representative set of papers by a number of preestablished criteria. Nevertheless, the major countries of the world are represented; many countries are represented by more than one paper. The number of different newspapers from large countries were intentionally limited. For instance, only four newspapers from the United States were included.

The next major problem was language. The newspapers were written in 34 different languages including Albanian, Amharic, and Thai. The study was conducted with students and volunteers; there was no budget for expensive translations so we focused on newspapers written in accessible languages: Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. Only a few items in Arabic, Hebrew, Russian, Polish, Czech, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean could be translated. Despite these linguistic limitations, these languages cover the large majority of the world's press, that is, all the newspapers of the Americas, Europe, Australia and New Zealand, and many newspapers in Africa and Asia. The major lacuna was the lack of translations of many newspapers in Arabic, which seriously underrepresents data from the Middle East itself. In this case, though, we used newspapers in English and French.

ANALYSIS AND METHOD

Unfortunately, it was not possible to study in detail the coverage of this important international event in all 252 newspapers. Our first analysis of the data had to be limited to 729 news items, selected from 138 newspapers. This sample was large enough to represent the total amount of newspapers gathered, although a truly representative selection of First and Third World newspapers cannot be made, if only because of language problems.

The 729 items were scored on a forro by students taking part in seminars on international news who were not specialists in mass communication or specifically trained in systematic content analysis. They were instructed in detail how to fill out the forro, which includes questions about the major quantitative dimensions of the news items, such as size (cm²), widths of headlines and columns, page numbers, numbers and sizes of photographs, etc. Also recorded were the headlines, main topics or themes represented, the number of lines they occupied, the main actors and the sources of the report. Finally, a more subjective question was included about possible opinions formulated in the article, such as pro or anti-Falange, Israel, United States, and Arabic countries. Whereas on most questions, data can be scored easily and reliably, it was more difficult for the registration of topics. Topics were defined along the lines set out in the previous chapter, as macropropositions summarizing the news story, and 14 main topics were selected for the assassination event and indicated for each topic which detail microinformation belonged to that topic. Although such an analysis was sufficient for a first quantitative treatment of the data, it goes without saying that a more detailed, qualitative description of thematic structures is called for.

The results of the quantitative analysis are presented first. Then follows a more thorough qualitative analysis, which of course can be applied only to a handful of selected news texts. This combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis, is the only adequate approach to the study of mass media messages as defined in this case study. A superficial content analysis, limited to quantitative data about superficially defined units, can yield useful but incomplete insights into the nature of the coverage. Yet, more sophisticated discourse analysis methods, such as the description of thematic, schematic, local semantic, stylistic or rhetorical structures, must still be limited to a few sample items. Only the work of large teams or, in the future, of computers would enable the qualitative analysis to be quantified. Generalizations from qualitative analysis must be based upon more intuitive knowledge of the data or upon convergence in small sets of analyses.

Statistics will be simple and descriptive, because of the possible biases in the sampling. They are meant only to give some indications about the quantitative dimensions of the study and will be used mainly to compare

coverage between newspapers, countries or regions in First and Third World countries. First World countries are defined as all countries of Europe (including those of Eastern Europe), the United States and Canada, Israel, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. All other countries are classified as Third World. For several practical reasons, all African countries are considered Third World, including South Africa, represented here by two newspapers with 10 items. Since the notions of First World and Third World are not well defined, these lists are somewhat arbitrary.

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Coverage Frequencies and Size

From 138 newspapers listed in Appendix 2, 729 articles were analyzed, that is, about five articles on average for each paper, although the issues of the newspapers contained 896 articles about the events in Lebanon. The newspapers came from 72 different countries, including 29 First World countries with 84 newspapers, and 43 Third World countries with 61 newspapers. The number of articles analyzed were nearly the same for each major region, 366 from the First World and 363 from the Third World.

Frequencies

The Lebanese daily, *Le Réveil*, which is close to the Falangist party, contributed 54 items to the study, the most for any single paper. For several days, practically the whole newspaper was dedicated to the death of their leader. The *New York Times* was second, with 18 items. In general, the U. S. quality press published much about the events in Lebanon: 41 articles in four newspapers analyzed (which is consistent with earlier findings; see Hopple, 1982). England, France, The Netherlands, West Germany, Venezuela, Spain, and Indonesia were represented with more than 20 items each, with Venezuela and France having the highest averages per newspaper (see Appendix 2 for details). Most articles (366) analyzed were dated September 16; 136 were dated September 15, and 227 September 17.

Table 2.8 lists the various regions of the world and the size of their coverage of the events in Lebanon on the three target days. Western Europe, which also is represented with the most newspapers, leads the list with 245 items, followed by the Middle East, and Central and South America (which together have 142 items analyzed). As may be expected, the Middle East has the highest average number of articles per newspaper, followed by the Americas. (See Abu Lughod, 1962; Dajani Donohue, 1973; and Rugh,

TABLE 2.8
Number of (Scored) Articles About the Events in Lebanon in Newspapers of
Various Regions of the World

<i>Region</i>	<i>Sept. 15</i>	<i>Sept. 16</i>	<i>Sept. 17</i>	<i>Total</i>
North America	14(5)	21(5)	12(3)	47 (5)
Central America	15(9)	17(8)	25(10)	57 (11)
South America	21(12)	37(11)	27(8)	85 (13)
Western Europe	50(38)	142(47)	53(29)	245 (52)
Eastern Europe	1(1)	14(11)	13(9)	28 (13)
Middle East/N. Africa	19(7)	51(9)	39(3)	109 (9)
Africa	7(6)	38(12)	17(9)	62 (13)
South Asia	5(5)	10(5)	11(3)	26 (5)
East & Southeast Asia	3(3)	27(12)	23(9)	53 (15)
Australia/Oceania	1(1)	9(3)	7(3)	17 (3)
Total	136(87)	366(123)	227(86)	729 (139)

() Number of newspapers.

1979 for relevant background about the amount and nature of foreign news in the Arab press.) Only a few newspapers were represented from Africa and South Asia, but the mean number of articles per newspaper is not much different from that in other regions. Approximately the same number of articles from First and Third world countries have been analyzed, however, so that comparisons between First and Third world news items could be made (Table 2.9).

Size

Frequencies of articles in newspapers, countries, or regions only tell half the story about the amount of coverage. Also relevant are the size of articles and total coverage per newspaper, measured in centimeters. Some newspapers,

TABLE 2.9
Number of Scored and Actually Published Articles in First and
Third World Newspapers

<i>Date</i>	<i>First World</i>		<i>Third World</i>		<i>Total World</i>	
	<i>Analyzed</i>	<i>Published</i>	<i>Analyzed</i>	<i>Published</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>P</i>
Sept. 15	70(47)	96(47)	66(40)	73(40)	136(87)	16(87)
Sept. 16	205(71)	283(71)	161(52)	194(52)	366(123)	477 (123)
Sept. 17	88(46)	100(46)	139(40)	150(40)	227(86)	250 (86)
Total	363(76)	479(76)	366(63)	417(63)	729(139)	896 (139)

() Number of newspapers.

such as those of Eastern Europe, only print a short item, whereas others have long stories. Table 2.10 shows that, except for *Le Réveil*, the *New York Times* leads the list, with more than twice the coverage of its immediate successors, such as the *Los Angeles Times*, Dutch *NRC-Handelsblad*, and *Le Monde*. Note that apart from the world's leading quality newspapers from northwestern countries, a number of Third World newspapers are represented in the list of papers that have more than 2500 cm² of coverage, including *The Daily Journal* and *El Universal* from Venezuela, *El Día* from Uruguay, and *El Moudjahid* from Algeria. In general, Latin-American coverage is substantial and comparable with the major newspapers in North America and Western Europe. Across First and Third World boundaries, this similarity may be the result of the prevailing influences of common history and culture, on the one hand, and direct dependence of European and especially U. S. news media formats, on the other hand.

Table 2.11 compares the sizes of coverage from various world regions. Western Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East have the largest volume of news about the events. Yet, when we take mean article size, the United States, closely followed by Oceania (Australia and New Zealand), has the highest score. The Middle East has the highest total coverage size per newspaper. Article size is smallest in Africa and South Asia. Eastern Europe has the smallest overall coverage per newspaper. If we compare newspapers, it appears that on average newspapers in Portuguese are rather long; more than 500 cm². A *Capital*, for instance, has one article of 1325 cm². There seem to be different news formats, partly due to cultural differences.

TABLE 2.10
Newspapers That Have the Largest Coverage of the Events in Lebanon

Newspaper	<i>N</i> Article	Size (cm ²) Article	Mean Article	<i>SD</i>
Le Réveil	54	16,198	300	342
New York Times	18	6,015	334	140
Los Angeles Times	12	3,884	324	186
N RC-Handelsblad	11	3,006	273	131
Le Monde	15	2,996	200	125
Le Soir	13	2,960	228	155
The Daily Journal	8	2,869	359	142
El Día	15	2,776	185	53
El Universal	11	2,731	248	275
The Cuardian	9	2,659	295	106
Het Laatste Nieuws	7	2,625	375	316
El País	14	2,615	187	131
El Moudjahid	13	2,529	195	206

Dccimals rounded; size a- 2,500 cm².

TABLE 2.11
Size of Coverage in Different Regions of the World

<i>Region</i>	<i>N Papers</i>	<i>Size (cm²) Article</i>	<i>N Article</i>	<i>Mean Article</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean Paper</i>
North America	5	14,284	47	304	150	2,857
Central America	11	12,943	57	244	181	1,177
South America	13	21,618	85	257	215	1,663
Western Europe	52	64,021	245	256	175	1,255
Eastern Europe	13	6,145	28	219	189	219
Middle East	9	28,132	109	231	254	3,126
Africa	13	12,009	62	188	141	924
South Asia	5	4,252	26	164	120	850
East & Southeast Asia	15	10,978	53	234	173	732
Australia/Oceania	3	5,005	17	294	145	1,668
Total—First World	76	92,781	363	258	171	1,233
Total—Third World	63	86,606	366	229	207	1,374
Total World	139	179,387	729	243	191	1,300

Note that the tabloids in general have only very small items, usually shorter than 100 cm².

Headlines

The size of the headlines or the mean width of the articles were also compared. There were no significant differences between First and Third World countries. Articles, and hence headlines, usually occupy between two and three columns. Only a minority of the newspapers (109) had a separately, often boldly printed lead. Many newspapers in English use the first sentence as a lead sentence summarizing the topics of the news story.

Photographs

There were 387 photographs of Gemayel, mostly portraits or pictures taken after his election a few weeks earlier, about one photograph for each two articles. Again, there was no difference between First and Third World papers (196 and 190 respectively). Regions with less coverage (Africa, South Asia, and Eastern Europe) also have comparatively few photographs. East Asia however carried many: 26 accompanying 10 items. Lebanese *Le Réveil*

had scores of photographs. This somewhat inflates the Third World average number, especially the mean size of photo per article, which is twice as high (83 cm²) in the Third World.

Type of Article

Finally, when type of article (news, background feature, editorial, or other) was compared, the only difference was in the proportion of background articles, 21.4% in First World newspapers and 14.7% in the Third World press. Proper news articles occur in the same proportion (about 66%) in both cases; this also holds for commentaries (about 11%). Third World newspapers have more other kinds of items, including poems (in *Le Réveil*). Quantitatively, the smaller amount of background articles is one of the more remarkable differences found in this first round of analysis and can be related to the difference between sources, viz. dependency or nondependency on agencies.

Comparing First and Third World

With somewhat fewer items in more newspapers, the total size of the coverage in the First World press is only slightly higher than Third World newspapers. This was also true for mean article length. Yet, the Third World press has higher coverage per newspaper. Since the variance in both groups is considerable, it can be provisionally concluded that there are no significant differences in coverage size between First and Third World papers that were analyzed. Stories in both groups had papers with many or long articles, but both also had papers with just a few small items. The Western popular or tabloid press, as well as the Eastern European party press, had very modest coverage, albeit for quite different reasons. The overall balance in news coverage between the First and the Third World did not extend to individual countries or regions, however. In many sub-Saharan countries in Africa, there are very few, sometimes modest, newspapers, and press coverage here simply can not be compared to that in Western Europe, the Americas, or Australia (Barton, 1979). Also, from Asia we had to select mainly Asian newspapers that were primarily in English and often shaped after the example of newspapers of colonial Great Britain. And although the coverage in the English press of Asia is rather similar to that of the quality English press elsewhere, details about the account of events in Lebanon in most other newspapers of Asia not written in languages accessible to the study were ignored. Yet, the analysis of the Japanese, Chinese, and Korean press shows that differences are rather marginal.

Conclusion

In general, then, we proceed with the assumption that quantitatively the overall differences between the First and the Third World press are only minimal regarding the amount of articles, article size, or total coverage size. The same holds for the amount of photographs or the sizes of headlines or the layout of the articles. Variation is substantial only among regions, countries, and newspapers. At first glance, it seems that the quality press in both the Third and the First World has similar coverage and differs mainly with the popular press (tabloids) or the smaller local press. This suggests that the elite anywhere in the world (except perhaps in Africa and, from a different point of view, also in Eastern Europe, see Lendvai, 1981) has access to more or less the same amount of news about an important international event. Remembering that the Third World press has few reports from its own correspondents and must take most news from the international agencies, similar coverage in First and Third World must imply that on average the Third World press depends more on the agencies. This assumption is partly confirmed by a somewhat smaller amount of background articles in the Third World press.

THEMATIC STRUCTURES

Introduction

Against the background of the quantitative results discussed in the previous section, we may now proceed to a qualitative analysis of the news data. We start with a description of the thematic structures of the news articles about the assassination of Gemayel. Recall that by thematic structure we understand the hierarchical organization of themes or topics of a text, theoretically accounted for in terms of semantic macrostructures. The thematic structure, thus, defines what is the most important information of a text. It contains the respective topics and their mutual relations. The story about the assassination of Bechir Gemayel presents topics such as the following:

1. Gemayel held a meeting with Falangist officials in his party headquarters in East Beirut.
2. A heavy bomb exploded.
3. Many people were killed or injured, and the building was destroyed.
4. At first there were rumors that Gemayel had survived the bomb attack.
5. But hours later his mutilated body was found in the rubble.

6. Prime minister Wazzan later that evening officially announced the death of Gemayel.

These topics define the main news event of the bomb attack against Bechir Gemayel. There are also topics about context and backgrounds:

7. Gemayel was elected president a few weeks earlier despite the opposition of leftist and Moslem groups.
8. Gemayel was militia leader of the Falange and accused of killing members of other Christian factions.
9. Two earlier attacks were made against his life.
10. The assassination took place while the United States special envoy Monis Draper was negotiating in Israel the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon.
11. International reactions, especially in Israel and the United States, deplored the assassination as an attack against peace efforts in Lebanon in which Gemayel was hoped to play a central role.
12. Gemayel was buried the next day in his hometown of Bikfaya.

These are the main topics of the news about the assassination. Various subthemes may be distinguished, especially within the account of the political and historical contexts and backgrounds in which the assassination was embedded. The majority of the press stories, however, focus on these major topics. The main **goal** of a thematic analysis, is to determine the themes in each news discourse and to establish their conditional (linear) and hierarchical relationships and their semantic specification in the text. In this way, differences in news reports may be seen. In report A, for instance, a given topic may have a higher position in the hierarchy than in report B of another newspaper. Also, some reports may not have a given topic or cluster of topics at all.

Obviously, the topics mentioned above are media-dependent: They are derived from agency-news and newspaper reports, not from external data, which are very difficult to obtain for this kind of event and this kind of analysis. (See Rosengren, 1974, for arguments that plead for the necessity of having external data in the study of media content).

Thematic Analysis of Some Examples

Our topical analysis, which can be applied only to a limited number of news reports from different newspapers, countries, and regions, shows how the topics are organized in the news. After this qualitative account, some quan-

titative data about the occurrence of topics in different newspapers, countries, or regions is presented.

The following newspapers were analyzed:

1. The New York Times (USA) Sept. 15, 1982.
2. Granma (Cuba) Sept. 15, 1982.
3. Excelsior (Mexico) Sept. 15, 1982.
4. El Universal (Venezuela) Sept. 15, 1982.
5. El País (Spain) Sept. 15, 1982.
6. Svenska Dagbladet (Sweden) Sept. 15, 1982.
7. Renmin Ribao (China) Sept. 16, 1982.
8. Indonesian Times (Indonesia) Sept. 16, 1982.

Although several of these well-known newspapers have more than one story about the assassination and its aftermath, this study uses the first story in each case. In the Asian press, where the reports were published later due to the time difference with Beirut, the story about the invasion of West Beirut by the Israeli army is also part of the news report. Only the topics about the assassination itself, however, are included in the study.

New York Times

We have noticed before that the coverage in the *New York Times* is the most extensive outside of Lebanon itself. In three days, 18 articles were dedicated to the events in Lebanon. On September 15, there are several items. Besides the items presented in this discussion, there was another article about the U. S. government's reaction to the assassination, a background article about the situation in Lebanon, an obituary about Gemayel, and an editorial comment. Note that in many newspapers such personal and political background information about Gemayel or Lebanon may appear as special topics in the main news item about the assassination.

Headlines. The *Times* has a multiple headline, which in part also covers an item on president Reagan's earlier Mideast plan and the reactions of the administration to the assassination. Such a treatment of the U. S. relevance of news events in the world is routine in the U. S. press, as well as in much of the world's press, especially in Northwestern countries. For each event in which the United States is involved, the extent to which the event furthers or frustrates U. S. policies is reported. The liberal press in the United States is no exception, and a separate article about the fate of Reagan's Mideast plan, providing for some kind of Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank under the supervision of Jordan, formulates the possible consequences of

the death of the Falangist leader for this plan. After all, Israel and the United States were the first to have welcomed the election of their Lebanese ally, Bechir Gemayel, who was seen as the major opponent of the PLO and the Syrians in Lebanon (for details and analysis, see Chomsicy, 1983). The headlines express the major topics:

- a. CEMAYEL OF LEBANON IS KILLED
IN BOMB BLAST AT PARTY OFFICES
- b. Hussein praises Reagan's Mid-East plan
- c. 8 reported slain
- d. President-elect was 34
- e. —No group reports making the attack

The main headline is the expression of the highest topic of this news item, and most of the headlines in the world's press are variations on this type of headline. The subheadlines are more specific. Subheadline b. was discussed previously and summarizes part of another front page article. Subheadline c. mentions a major consequence of the attack, the number of other victims, whereas d. identifies Gemayel both in terms of his function (president-elect) and his age. Finally, e. answers the implicit question about the agents of the attack. The total headlines, thus, answer the well-known questions: what happened, where did it happen, to whom did it happen, who did it, what were the results, and in what context did it happen. The lead, which runs as follows:

1. Gemayel was killed on Tuesday.
2. A bomb shattered the headquarters of the Falangist Party.
3. The government said that Gemayel would be buried today (Wednesday, September 15).

basically repeats the summary of the main themes, while at the same time adding details and a new subtopic, namely the announcement of Gemayel's burial.

The Derivation of topics From the Text. Next, the text was examined and the respective topics were identified intuitively by sentences or paragraphs. A purely formal derivation cannot be given here. It would require dozens of pages and involve many technicalities that are not relevant for this discussion. The reader is referred to van Dijk & Kintsch (1983) where a semiformal macroanalysis of a news report is given. As a criterion, discussed

in the previous chapter, each topic or macroproposition must semantically subsume several propositions expressed in the text (possibly with the help of implicit frames or scripts). At the same time, each topic thus identified is associated with a hypothetical semantic function, such as cause, consequence, or actor. These indicate the semantic structure defining the relations between macropropositions, as well as the functions of specific elements of macropropositions.

Table 2.12 lists twenty topics and a few subtopics. The topics involved can be seen as global semantic answers given to various major questions about the assassination: the circumstances of the event, including time and location, the results, the major participants and their characteristics, results (victims), reactions and consequences, previous events and historical background, etc. These categories are also the major categories that define a cognitive situational model. That is, the thematic structure of the *Times* item provides the framework for the construction of a new situation model, while at the same time **script information** 1¹ complex event of a political assassination. Even when no information is available about one of the model and script categories, such as the identity of the agents of the attack, the newspaper will routinely mention the fact that the agents are still unknown.

The list of topics in Table 2.12 is merely a list, and not yet a thematic structure. It indicates in which order the topics are presented in the text. This means that the first topics are high-level topics about the main events, followed by topics about context and background. Later, main event topics are specified with a number of subtopics. The order of topics, as we know from our theoretical analyses given in Chapter 1, need not represent a natural order, e.g., defined in terms of causality or chronology. Rather, the order is defined in terms of relevance, and embedded in the news schema, to which we turn in the next main section.

Figure 2.1 organizes the topics listed in Table 2.12 into a hierarchical thematic structure. The main topic dominating the thematic structure is expressed first and in the main headline of the *New York Times* item. Yet, the position of the other topics need not be reflected directly in the textual organization of the topics. Causes, history, and context do not occur first in a news item, as they might in a natural story or a political science analysis of the events. That is, theoretically speaking, the structure displayed in Figure 2.1 needs to be transformed into a linear sequence of main and subtopics under the constraints of relevance criteria and the categories of the news schema. This means, for instance, that main event topics must come first, before historical background, context, or consequences. Yet, the hierarchy of topics and subtopics is clear from Figure 2.1. This means that the information that Gemayel was killed by a bomb is more important (more general) than the information about time, location, and other circumstances. This

TABLE 2.12
Topics and Topic Categories in the Thematic Structure of the News Report
in the New York Times (Sept. 15, 1982)

<i>Topic Category</i>	<i>Topic</i>
a. Circumstances	G. died when addressing 400 party members at a weekly meeting
b. Results	Eight people died, and fifty were wounded
c. Actor (1)	(i) G. was 34 (ii) G. was to be inaugurated on Sept. 23
d. Reaction (1)	Premier Wazzan deplored killing
e. Actor(s) (2)	No one claimed responsibility
f. Consequence	Fighting was feared
g. Actor/Cause(s)	(i) Election of G. on Aug. 23 boycotted by Moslems (ii) G. was considered an agent of Israel (iii) G. was commander of the Christian militia (iv) His troops enabled his election
h. Reaction (1)	No reaction yet from b
i. Consequences	It will be difficult to find a new president or: There are various options for his succession
d. Event/Time	4:10 PM Tuesday
e. Event/Instrument	Bomb of 400 pounds
L Event/Circumstances	Unknown how bomb could be introduced into the building
m. Event/Happenings	There were rumors that he had survived the explosion
n. Event/Happenings	Finally he was found dead in the rubble of the building
o. Consequence	Announcement by Wazzan of death many hours after the explosion
p. History	There were previous attempts to kill G.
q. History	G. involved in killing of Tony Franjeh
r. History	(i) G. most hated man in Lebanon (ii) His opponents were different (leftist, Moslem, Palesti-Man) groups (iii) He also had enemies among Christian groups
s. Context	To compromise with Moslem opponents, he promised to loosen his ties with Israel
t. Event/Circumstances	Purpose of the meeting (with party members) was to discuss opening of highway and the disarmament of private militias

hierarchical link also explains why these subtopics appear later in the text. In other words, except from the constraints of relevance and news schema, it is the top-down organization of topical structure that also determines the order in which topics and subtopics will appear. Even then there are exceptions. For rhetorical reasons discussed earlier, some topic detail may nevertheless occur high in the relevance structure, even in the headline, if it satisfies one of the interesting or salience criteria of the news. For example,

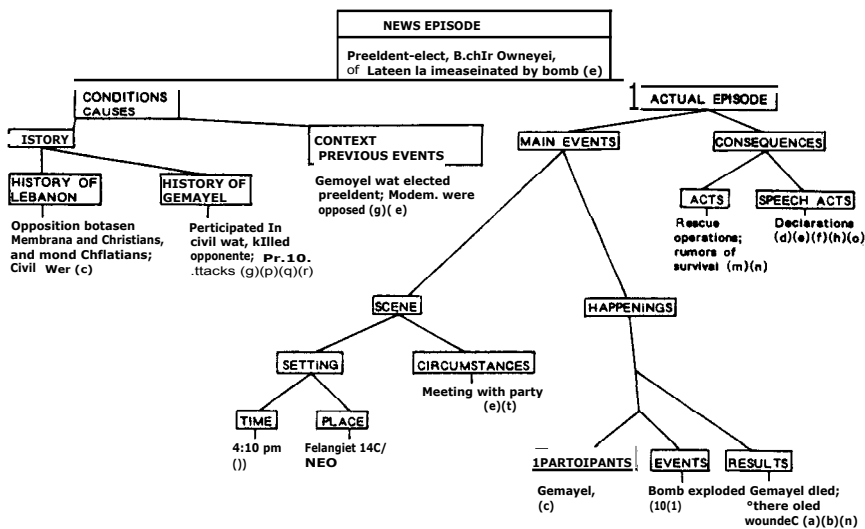


FIGURE 2.1. Schema of the thematic structure of the news episode as described by the *New York Times*. Letters between parentheses refer to themes used in Table 2.12.

the weight of the bomb is even mentioned first in the headline of the item in *El País*.

Since all the semantic categories that organize the thematic structure rendered in Figure 2.1 are filled with one or more macropropositions, we may conclude that the *Times item* is more or less structurally complete according to the standard news format. That is, the information may be used to answer at least part of the "why" questions about the assassination: Previous events, context, and history information gives a minimum of data that may be interpreted as direct or indirect causes or conditions of the assassination, as well as indirect suggestions about the political background of the possible agents of the attack.

Granma

It is interesting to compare the thematic structure in the leading U. S. quality newspaper with that expressed by a the Cuban party newspaper *Granma*. If there are politically-based or ideologically-based differences among news accounts, they should become apparent in such a comparison. The evaluation of the participants in the Lebanese situation (Moslems, Falangist, PLO or other leftist groups), as well as the role of Israel and the United States, may be expected to be different in newspapers like *Granma*. The consequences of this different regional and political points of view ore

the topics selected will be analyzed. One basic difference immediately should be mentioned: The *New York Times* item is from a local correspondent, whereas *Granma* depended on Western news agencies for its information. In a next section we show that agency news and correspondent's reports, especially for the Northwestern newspapers, are rather similar, and that if agency news is used it is usually copied rather directly. This means that if *Granma's* topical structure is much different from that of the *Times*, it must be the result of a conscious choice to deviate from the topical structures provided by the agencies about the events in Lebanon.

Table 2.13 lists the topics expressed in *Granma*. *Granma* clearly has fewer topics than the *Times*. Yet, the major topics from the main event theme are also present here. Not present, however, are topics such as the circumstances of the assassination, speculations about the identity of the agents of the attack, rumors about Gemayers survival, and information about previous attacks against his life. This lack of some major subtopics might be used for an ideological interpretation. For instance, the fact that no information is given about the previous attacks on Gemayel's life, whereas his own bloody actions in the civil war are mentioned, may be interpreted as a bias towards a more negative portrayal of Gemayel. And lack of speculations about possible agents might be explained if there would be reason to believe that his leftist opponents were behind the assassination. The *New York Times*, *Granma*, and many other newspapers make it clear, however, that the agents might well be found in circles of the opponent Christian factions in Lebanon. Both quantitatively and structurally, the *Granma* item

TABLE 2.13
Topics in the Thematic Structure of the News Report
in *Granma* (Sept. 15, 1984)

-
1. Others were killed and wounded
 2. G's body was drawn from rubble, six hours after explosion
 3. Bomb contained 200 kilos of TNT (said EFE)
 4. (a) G. was Christian maronite
 - (b) G would be president on Sept. 23
 - (c) G was 34-years-old
 - (d) He was son of Pierre G.
 5. G. was chief of Falangist forces during civil war
 6. He had many enemies also among Christian parties
 7. (a) He was involved in killing of Tony Franjeh
 - (b) He was involved in killing of 500 followers of Chamoun
 8. He was considered an ally of Israel
 9. His election was made possible by "Zionist" invasion
 10. G. has contacts with Israel
 11. Israel and United States welcomed G's election and hoped for a peace treaty between Israel and Lebanon
-

has about 50% of topics that may be seen as negative about Gemayel, at least from a leftist, communist, or pro-Arab point of view ("murderous past," "spy of Israel," "had many enemies," etc.). The use of the word "sionista" to denote Israel also suggests that the whole event is interpreted within an anti-Israel, and hence anti-Falangist framework, which is confirmed by the occurrence of the topic about the American and Israeli congratulations following the election of Gemayel. This topic also appears as part of the background thematics in the *Times*, but has less prominence. In general, the Western press, as well as the Arab press, portrays Gemayel in an ambivalent way: On the one hand, his civil war past and his controversial position are thematized; on the other hand, it is stressed that he was perhaps the only one who could reunify Lebanon and organize the withdrawal of foreign troops (see also Rugh, 1979). Conservative newspapers, on the other hand, may emphasize the anticommunist, antileftist, or anti-PLO stance of Gemayel and portray his role in more favorable terms.

The differences between *The New York Times* and *Granma*, indicate a possible influence of political or ideological position on the selection and organization of topics. Topics that are inconsistent with ones own attitudes may be played down or omitted. Of course, this is just one example, and more data must be analyzed before such generalizations are made.

Excelsior

To avoid repetition and save space, the other newspapers are discussed rather briefly. Only the ways that their thematic structures differ from the topical organization already discussed are presented. Mexican *Excelsior* has more topics than *Granma*, but like *Granma* it emphasizes, even in the headline, that Gemayel's ties with Israel made him "unpopular" (which is an understatement of course, when one knows how hated Gemayel was among many groups in Lebanon). At the same time, this reference to the "unpopularity" of Gemayel, may be interpreted as an implicit explanation of the reasons for the assassination. Contrary to *Granma*, the initial rumors about his survival are a topic in *Excelsior*, as well as the previous attacks on his life.

El Universal

This newspaper from Venezuela has the unique property of providing several overlapping stories about the assassination, drawn from various agencies. No one single item exists for which we can analyze the thematic structure. Strictly speaking, some of the articles even contradict each other because they are about different stages of the events as they became known. There is no integration of the various reports into one overall news article.

Another characteristic of *El Universal* is the stylistically but also thematically interesting use of the word terrorist in its headline. Since there is no

information about the agents of the attack, this usage is rather peculiar. It defines the situation of the assassination within a characteristic conceptual framework, that of political terrorism, which is itself rather directly associated with the Middle East. In fact, the routine designation of the PLO in the Israeli press and official Israeli discourse, which we also find in much of the Western press, is an example of such a consequent use. For *El Universal*, the use of "terrorist" may be less specific and might also involve the participation of other Christian groups.

In the items of *El Universal*, we find most of the topics about the assassination story. Especially the AFP-based stories give more information about the controversial election, the historical backgrounds, and especially the confusion in Beirut after the attack, a topic not treated in the *New York Times* or many other papers. The rather positive information that Gemayel had promised to ban all foreign troops and to negotiate with his opponents appears in these reports. There is little information about the actual circumstances of the attack, however.

El País

This Spanish newspaper has the most extensive European coverage about the events in Lebanon. Besides a main report about the assassination, there are long background articles and a personal and political history of Gemayel. In other newspapers, such information may often be integrated into the main article itself. The headline of *El País* is remarkable:

TWO HUNDRED KILOS OF DYNAMITE
PUT AN END TO THE LIFE OF BECHIR GEMAYEL

This rhetorical expression, which involves both a synecdoche (the use of the instrument instead of the agent) and the well-known emphasis on precise numbers discussed earlier, epitomizes what is also very prominent in other newspapers, namely, the attention for details about the bomb. We may conclude that in this case the headline is not quite a summary of the highest topic. The rhetorical upranking of the quasi-agent "200 kilos," however, makes the headline more concrete, emphasizes the violence involved, and stresses the size of the bomb and the seriousness of the event.

Whereas most newspapers follow the canonical order of topics belonging to Main Event, Context and History, respectively, *El País* opens its lead with information about the political Consequences of the attack: confusion in Lebanon, speculations about the future president, and the key role of Gemayel. Similarly, the international reactions, e.g., from the United States and Israel, are placed prominently at the beginning of the article, as well as in a separate item. Historical information about Gemayel is brief but is further detailed in a separate item under the title "A SHORT LIFE MARKED BY VIOLENCE." The topical coverage of *El País* is rather complete. Special is

the ordering of the topics: Political context and consequences and international reactions come rather early in the article. In other words, here we find another constraint on the actual realization of topics, their political relevance. Details about the bomb attack itself are rather scarce compared to this prominence given to the political themes.

Svenska Dagbladet

The report in this conservative Swedish daily is very short. It only contains information about the main event topics and practically no context, consequences, or history topics, which are in part covered by a separate article on the next day. As such, however, the short item resembles the coverage given in a number of popular mass papers in Europe, such as the English tabloids and German *Bild Zeitung*. The title is also topically incomplete: It only says that Gemayal died, not that he was assassinated, or that a bomb killed him. This is one of the few headlines that are incomplete expressions of the main event topic, but the lead, *„es* give information about the attack on Gemayal's headquarters.

This article is an example of what we may call coverage of the topical kernel: Only the main event is briefly covered, but no causes, consequences, or other background are presented that make the assassination intelligible. Although in the selection of quality newspapers such a brief account is exceptional (recall that *Svenska Dagbladet* repairs its omissions by an additional background article the next day), this is the kind of report that also may be found in TV news and in the majority of the Western press read by most readers.

Renmin Ribao

The large Chinese party newspaper brings both the news about the assassination and the news about the invasion of West Beirut by the Israeli army. The main topics of the assassination story are mentioned: bomb attack, time, place, circumstances, and results (victims). Although Gemayal is identified, no historical background about his role in the civil war is given. Yet, unlike most other newspapers, the story recalls the earlier occupation of South Lebanon by the Israeli army. This short report also deals with the controversial election of Gemayal (his contacts with Israel, the opposition of other groups). It is the only newspaper that explicitly claims that the assassination was expected. Here, too, is a kernel story, but with somewhat more information about topical context topics.

Indonesian Tintes

The English quality press in Indonesia, such as the *Indonesian Times* and the *Indonesian Observer*, has long and complete stories about both the

assassination and the invasion topics. As usual, the last event, viz. the invasion, is emphasized in the headline, and the assassination of Gemayel is interpreted as its possible cause. Whereas *El Pais* started the story with information about the political context, the *Indonesian Times* also changes the canonical order, and starts with Comments and Evaluation: the assassination is the result of personal and political vengeance and a move to keep Lebanon from a strong central government. Similarly, some international reactions (especially from the United States) are mentioned early in the article. Few background and context information is given, although the controversial election is mentioned. This is embedded in an interview of a correspondent with a Lebanese member of parliament, who explains why Gemayel was killed, especially stressing his ties with Israel. Such a quotation is of course a strategically safe way to speculate openly about the possible agents of the attack.

Conclusions

From the analysis of the thematic analysis of eight newspaper stories about the assassination of Bechir Gemayel the following conclusions may be provisionally drawn:

1. Whatever the length of the story, it will always at least feature the so-called kernel topics that represent the main event.
2. Topical differences appear especially in the presence or absence of context and background information, in this order. A political evaluation of the possible consequences of the events especially tends to be absent, whereas information about the political history of Gemayel as well as about the controversial election may be minimal. However, most newspapers provide enough context and background that make the assassination minimally intelligible.
3. There seem to be few regional, cultural, or ideological constraint on topical organization. The presence or emphasis, or the absence or downgrading of information about Gemayel, however, may lead to a slightly more negative, neutral (ambivalent), or positive portrayal of Gemayel, depending on a pro-Israel (United States, Falange, Christian) or pro-Arab (PLO, Moslem) perspective.
4. The canonical ordering of topics roughly follows the main event, context, backgrounds schema of presentation. Yet, some newspapers emphasize consequences, international reactions, and, in general, the political context by mentioning such topics early in the story, for instance, directly after the lead. Only once was an explicit evaluation or comment in this position.

5. In general, the overall macroproposition "President-elect Gemayel of Lebanon was killed in a bomb attack" dominates the thematic structure of the items analyzed. This dominance also appears in the structures of the headlines and in the leads. The two other major topics deal with the historical background (the role of Gemayel in the civil war) and with the political context (controversial election and succession). Details about the precise circumstances of the bomb attack, direct consequences of the bomb explosion, and verbal reactions seem to vary most across newspapers.

These general conclusions suggest that thematically there are no dramatic differences in the coverage of the various dailies in different countries or regions. Differences can be attributed mainly to the amount or the length of coverage: Longer items have more topics. Some newspapers tend to pay more attention to the political context and consequences of the events and show this in their topical organization. There are slight differences that could be explained in political or ideological terms, such as inconsistent topics that are omitted or played down. And finally, a more serious ideological analysis of the thematic structures would need to probe into the topics that are not covered, or only succinctly covered by most papers. For instance, although attention is paid to Gemayel's controversial election and to the fact that he had many enemies, it is hardly explained how he could be elected in the first place.

Second, it is routinely mentioned that Gemayel was considered an ally of Israel, but not many details are given about the relationship between the Falangist party and the policy of the Israeli authorities. Nor is it explained how an ally of Israel could possibly be favored as the new Lebanese president by the Arab countries.

Third, the position of the Falangist party itself within Lebanon does not receive much attention, and only a few papers briefly mention the historical backgrounds of the party (and its founder Pierre Gemayel, father of Bechir, and his admiration for Hitler and Mussolini).

Fourth, the role of the U. S. administration and its links with the Falangists is not explained. In other words, there is background and context that provides some immediate and intelligible explanations about the assassination of Gemayel: His election was controversial, he had many enemies both among Christians and Moslems, and during the civil war he had been involved in factional killings. Yet, the deeper political backgrounds are hardly dealt with. He was simply murdered because he was hated, which is more a human than a political explanation.

Apparently, the complexity of the Lebanese drama is thematically reduced to a few schematic categories, such as Christians and Moslems, friends and foes, violence and vengeance. The news focuses on spectacular

main events such as an assassination, ongoing fighting, and especially factional strife. The real backgrounds, the local power relations, the influence of foreign countries, are at most only hinted at. Thus, the assassination is presented merely as another example of the endemic violence and mutual hatred and fighting in the Middle East in general and in Lebanon in particular. Since the topical structure is the basic content represented and preferably recalled by the readers of the news, we may expect that it is also the model of the situation as it is construed and memorized by the readers.

Quantitative Results

The qualitative analysis reported in the previous section gives an impression of the thematic organization of news about the assassination. More general conclusions about the presence or absence of themes in different dailies or regions of the world require further quantitative analysis, however. Table 2.14 presents some of the major themes of the assassination story and their frequencies of occurrence in the First World and Third World press.

As may be expected, the themes of the bomb attack and the death of Gemayel score high, both in First World and Third World newspapers. Yet, most frequent, especially in the Third World press, is the topic of interna-

TABLE 2.14
Frequencies of Themes in First and Third World Newspaper Articles

<i>Theme</i>	<i>First World</i>	<i>Thirrl World</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Meeting with Falange	14 (48)	15 (52)	29
2. Bomb attack	119 (56)	93 (44)	212
3. Survival rumors	61 (54)	51 (46)	112
4. Gemayel (found) dead	120 (49)	125(51)	245
5. Immediate consequences	57 (49)	59 (51)	116
6. General political consequences	138 (58)	99 (42)	237
7. Political situation	86 (65)	46 (35)	132
8. Military situation Lebanon	65 (63)	39 (37)	104
9. Personal history G.	86 (51)	82 (49)	168
10. Earlier attacks on G.	38 (54)	32 (46)	70
11. Election	83 (54)	71 (46)	154
12. Civil war Lebanon	39 (75)	13 (25)	52
13. Funeral	52 (49)	55 (51)	107
14. Declaration and reactions	118 (45)	143 (55)	261
Total	1076 (54)	923 (46)	1999
Mean	76.9	65.9	142.7

Based on 758 articles.

() Rounded percentages.

tional reactions, which is part of the thematic structure in 261 articles. This special attention given to the international reactions to an important event shows that this is indeed a news schema category. The fact that this topic occurs even more often than the bomb attack itself shows that there must be a considerable number of articles that have such reactions as a major topic, which is indeed the case. In Third World news, such reactions are not limited to accounts of what the U. S. president or the Israeli government said, but also feature reactions of local government spokespersons.

The kernel topics in 150 articles about the assassination are the following:

1. A bomb attack was made against president-elect Gemayel of Lebanon.
2. Gemayel died.
3. This event has consequences for the political situation in Lebanon and the Middle East (and for Israel and the United States).
4. Gemayel's personal history is presented.
5. Gemayel's election was controversial.
6. International reactions about the assassination are given.

This list also reflects the major semantic categories of the thematic structure: main event, history, context, consequences, and international reactions, which at the same time may function as schematic news categories.

Differences

Overall, frequency differences between First World and Third World coverage are not spectacular. On the contrary, there is surprising balance in the distribution if we assume that Third World newspapers might select different topics from the international wires. A few differences need to be mentioned. First World newspapers pay more attention to the bomb attack itself, the political consequences, the political context (especially the role of Israel and the United States), the military situation, and the history of the civil war. These are typical background topics, and their higher frequency of occurrence in the Western press is in accordance with the higher proportion of background articles in the Western press. We may provisionally assume that the difference can be explained partly by the fact that the Western press has more correspondents' reports that typically feature such background topics, as well as more staff writers and documentation facilities that allow the editors to include more background information not supplied by the news agencies. Note also that the involvement of the United States and Israel are political background topics that appear more interesting for the Western press. We find some confirmation of the assumption that the

Western press tends to pay attention to international events primarily from its own point of view and in the perspective of its own interests.

Let us examine more closely the regional differentiation for these various background topics. Whereas overall most attention is paid to the political consequences topic (though less in the Third World), South Asia, and Oceania have the election topic as most frequent background information. The negotiation topic occurs most frequently in the American, West European, and Japanese press, but hardly at all in the South Asian Press. Note, however, that the Latin American press also pays much attention to the negotiation topic. This may be explained by the fact that the Latin American press generally pays much attention to U. S.-related topics of any kind, including the U. S. involvement in the Middle East, which also is prominent in the U. S. press and the transnational (and particularly the American) news agencies. Eastern Europe scores low on all topics, especially because its coverage is rather limited in size, which means that an article usually cannot really develop a topic (we used a minimum of three lines as a criterion for topicality of information).

Size

This last point brings us to the size of the topics. After all, a topic may be developed in three lines but also may occupy a whole article or large fragments of it. Usually, the central topics are developed within a range of 6 to 20 lines. International reactions often take more space, whereas the topic of the survival rumor usually takes less. Again, there are few interesting differences between First World and Third World topic size, but First World newspapers tend to have somewhat more space for background topics, as may be expected from the higher frequencies of these themes in the First World press. Third World newspapers pay relatively more attention to the death of Gemayel, his burial, and to the international reactions, that is, to the main events themselves as they are provided by the news agencies. In other words, the dependence of the Third World press on the international news agencies can also be seen from the selection, distribution, and size of the topics they include in their coverage.

Relevance Signals

The importance of topics may be indicated by their expression in headlines or lead. As may be expected, the bomb attack, the death of Gemayel, the political consequences, his burial, and the international reactions appear most frequently in the headlines or lead summaries. Political backgrounds and context hardly appear here. Differences between First World and Third World on this relevance structure dimension are again slight, and in line with the observations made above: More attention for a topic increases the

chance that it appears also in the headline or the lead. Thus, First World newspapers seem to print somewhat more often the violent bomb attack in their headlines, while the Third World press somewhat more often printed its result, namely the death of Gemayel or its immediate consequences (such as burial).

Thematic Clustering and Correlations

Next, let us briefly examine how topics cluster in the news. Some topics occur together more often than others, and this may also be an analytical dimension on which newspapers in different countries or regions may differ. Figure 2.2 shows a computer-made (but somewhat simplified) cluster tree.

This schema nicely illustrates, on the basis of cooccurrence data, the way the thematic structure is organized. The invasion story, first, is clearly set apart, and only relates with the whole of the assassination story, as may be expected. Also the international reactions are set apart, viz. as an overall consequence of the assassination. Bomb attack, survival rumors, and death of Gemayel tend to occur together, and the same holds true for political context and historical background topics. Yet, we also observe that topics such as the civil war, the political and military situation in Lebanon and the Middle East, and similar historical background tend to have low cluster

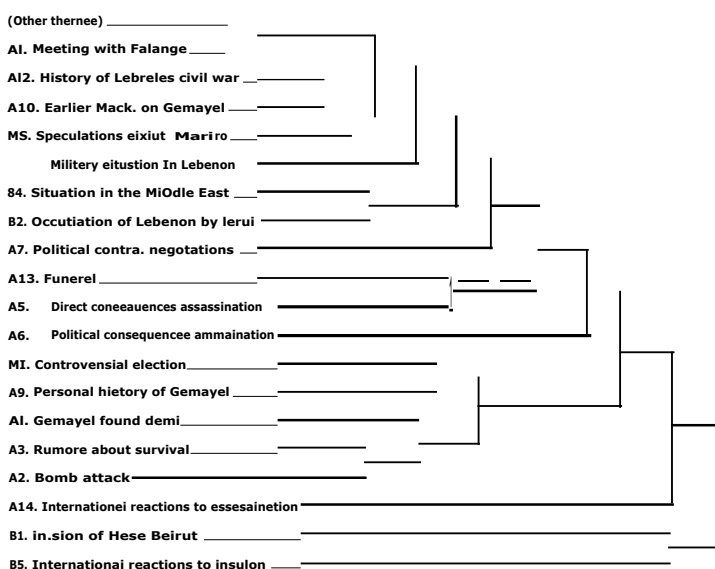


FIGURE 2.2. Simplified cluster tree of the themes in the assassination and invasion stories.

values. That is, if such topics occur, they do so more or less in isolation. Indeed, each newspaper may select one or two such topics, and few provide the full background story. Also, such topics may be focused on in separate stories, which also lowers their cluster values.

We have made separate cluster analyses of First World and Third World newspapers. Overall, the clusters are rather similar. The First World press sets the political consequences topic more apart, and the Third World press associates the assassination more directly with Gemayel's history. Yet, the First World press tends to treat the election topic together with the personal history of Gemayel. Overall, background topics in the First World press appear to be less fragmented than in the Third World press, which only occasionally pays attention to a single or a few background topics.

Finally, the correlation matrix shows the magnitudes of the various correlations between topics. These appear to reflect fairly closely the underlying semantics of the story. Of course, bomb attack, survival rumor, and death of Gemayel correlate rather high (about .4 to .5), and the same holds true for topics such as previous attacks and personal history. In general, the main events correlate higher than the background topics or the main events with these background topics. Election and bomb attack also tend to correlate rather high, which suggests that the press discusses them together as possible cause and consequence. Most correlations between kernel topics appear to be significant ($p < .001$).

Finally, we have examined the frequency and the distribution of what we called the story kernel, that is, the occurrence of the combined topics of the attack, the rumor of Gemayel's survival, his death, the election, and Gemayel's personal history. These are the central topics of the assassination story, that is, those topics that must be present to construct an intelligible situation model of the event. Only 133 (of 729) stories have the assassination topics together; 67 have three topics, and only 41 have all topics. This means that for most newspapers either one of these topics are missing or treated in separate articles. There appear to be few complete kernel stories in our data. News about the events tends to be fragmented both as to the occurrence of topics and to the integration of the topics in one coherent news discourse. Kernels appear mostly in the proper news stories, if at all, and not in background stories. This means that background stories presuppose the central events to be known. There are no difference between First World and Third World newspapers in this respect.

Actors

According to our theory of topics, macropropositions consist of predicates and arguments. For news discourse, such arguments are often persons,

groups, institutions, or countries — Table 2.15 enumerates the most frequent thematic actors, with their frequencies of occurrence both in the First World and in the Third World press. As may be expected, Gemayel occurs most often, both in the First World and the Third World dailies. At a distance, we find the other participants involved in this event, such as the Lebanese politicians and groups (Moslems, PLO, other Christian groups), Israel, United States, Reagan, Arafat, etc. As is the case for many of our quantitative data, there is a 10% difference between First World and Third World coverage, due partly to a somewhat lower overall amount of news in the Third World press. This difference is not significant. There are, however, more prominent differences. It was suggested earlier that the Western press tends to pay more attention to the United States and Israel. The United Nations and Third World leaders appear somewhat more often in Third World news. In general, as may be expected from its higher share of background news, First World articles have more background actors, in-
Arafat. On the other hand, the Third world press more often mentions Arafat at the prominent headline or lead location. That is, his

TABLE 2.15
Frequencies of Main Actors in First and
Third World Articles

<i>Actors</i>	<i>First World</i>	<i>Third World</i>	<i>Total</i>
Gemayel	248 (126)	226 (111)	474 (237)
Other victims	60 (4)	50 (4)	110 (8)
Falangists	103 (2)	92 (2)	195 (4)
Lebanese politicians	163 (13)	155 (11)	318 (24)
Moslem groups	132 (8)	117 (6)	249 (14)
PLO	109 (4)	86 (4)	195 (8)
Family Gemayel	76 (7)	60 (9)	136 (16)
Israel	176 (41)	126 (16)	302 (57)
Israeli army	173 (64)	142 (43)	315 (107)
Israeli government	146 (19)	113 (19)	259 (38)
Arab leaders	44 (5)	29 (5)	73 (10)
Mideast countries	61 (2)	33 (6)	94 (8)
Arafat	75 (9)	57 (16)	132 (25)
Reagan	85 (14)	59 (7)	144 (21)
Draper	78 (0)	35 (0)	113 (0)
USSR	35 (4)	20 (4)	55 (8)
USA	132 (29)	71 (13)	203 (42)
Total	1869 (351)	1471 (276)	3340 (627)
Mean	110 (21)	86 (16)	196 (37)

() Number of headline occurrences.

prominence is upgraded from a secondary background actor to a major spokesman about this event, (e.g., his declaration during his visit to Rome, where he was visiting the Pope).

Conclusions

The first general conclusion from this section is that there are few significant differences between the First and the Third World press. The First World press has some more and larger background topics, such as the political situation in Lebanon and the Middle East, as well as more background actors. The Third World press gives more attention to the international reactions to the events. Background topics are more scattered than kernel topics, which tend to appear together. There is a tendency in the Western press to pay more attention to Western-related topics or actors, such as the role of the United States and Israel. Cluster and correlation analyses confirm our qualitative analysis of the thematic structures of the story. Few differences between topics or actors in First or Third Worlds, or among other regions, can be fully attributed to political or ideological differences. Leftist and communist newspapers may be expected to portray Gemayel, the Falangists, Israel, and the United States somewhat more negatively. This is the case more for the editorials than for the news itself. For the conservative or right-wing press, which will exhibit a more favorable point of view of these actors. Most differences in thematic selection, size, ordering, or development, can be explained by the type of newspaper rather than by differences between countries, regions or ideologies. Overall, our thematic analysis provides a first confirmation of the hypothesis that news across the world about an event as the assassination of a president tends to be standardized and stereotypical.

SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES

The News Schema of the Assassination Story

Topics are not only organized in a thematic structure that defines their hierarchical ordering or other semantic relations. They may also play conventional roles in a news story, such as giving information about a Main Event, Context, History or Verbal Reactions (van Dijk, 1986, 1987e). The previous section demonstrated that the very semantic categories of the topics in the Gemayel story already suggest such conventional functions that define the overall form or schema of a news story. This section continues the qualitative analysis, by examining the overall organization of news iteras

about the assassination. Which conventional categories are present, in which order are they expressed, what transformations can be observed, and what differences, if any, can be observed on these dimensions among different countries or regions of the world?

Figure 2.3 represents a typical superstructure schema of a hypothetical news item about the assassination of Gemayel. In our analysis of topics in a few newspapers, and from the quantitative data, it appeared that not all news schema categories are always present. Background articles need not topicalize all main event themes, and many proper news articles may lack one or more categories outside of the obligatory schema kernel (Summary and Main Events). Many newspapers do not feature a separate Conclusions category — which may be the special aim of background articles — and they often also lack historical or circumstance topics.

The schema in Figure 2.3 is abstract and hierarchical. To organize the contents of the text, it must be linearized, that is, coupled to the respective propositions (and the clauses that express propositions) used to elaborate the respective topics of a story. Since topics are discontinuous, schema categories must also occur discontinuously in the text. The descriptions that belong to the Main Event category are seldom given in one continuous stretch: First the central event, such as the bomb attack and the immediate results are mentioned; then other categories, such as Context or History, are started; and only later in the article are details about the bomb explosion, such as time, circumstances, sequences, etc. presented. This may also be concluded from the lists of topics listed for the *New York Times*

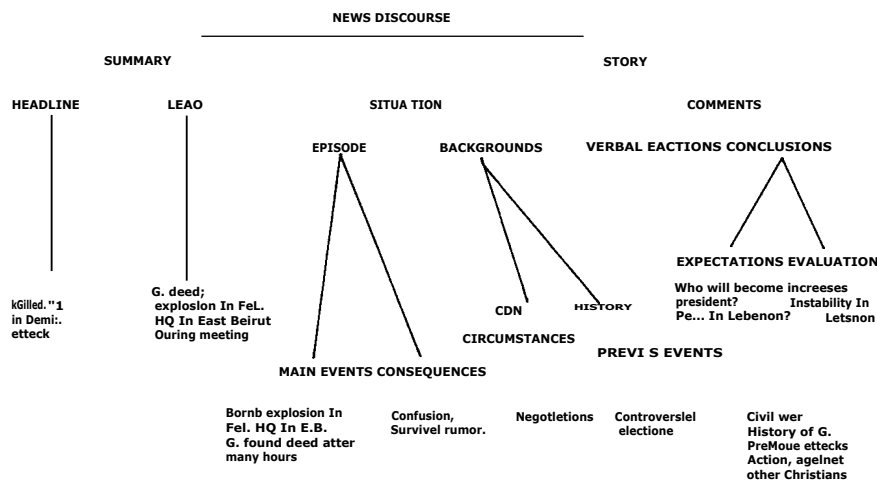


FIGURE 2.3. Example of a superstructure schema for a news report about the assassination of Gemayel.

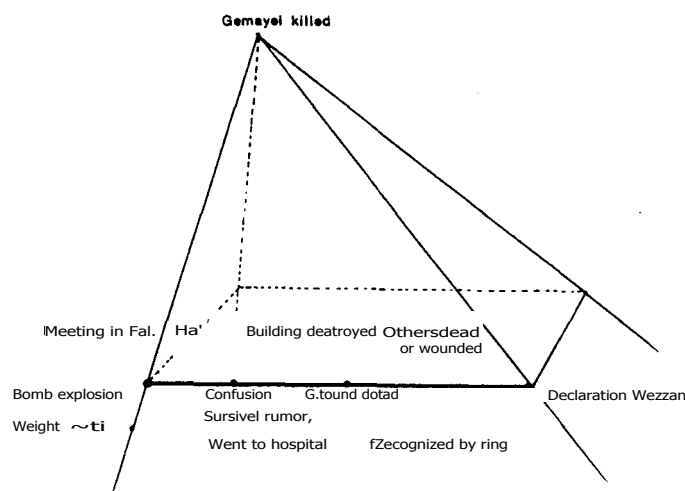


FIGURE 2.4. Simplified schematic representation of the pyramidal structure of the Main Events category in the news about the assassination of Gemayel. High-low ordering represents macro-micro (theme-detail) ordering, left-right ordering represents temporal/causal relations, and front-back ordering represents foreground and background information at each thematic level.

and *Granma*. This means that the schema in Figure 2.3 follows a complex strategy: top down, left-right, and cyclical. Each category alter the Summary (Headline and Lead), presents the highest level information first, and in a subsequent round lower level details are given. In general, Main Event and Context (such as the election of Gemayel) come first, and then History (personal history, civil war, previous attacks), but this is merely a tendency. Conclusions, Verbal Reactions tend to come last.

The thematic analysis has also shown that several newspapers apply transformations to this basic schema. *El País*, for instance, starts with political consequences; and the *Indonesian Times* has Verbal Reactions fairly early in the text. That is, relevance criteria may be used to transform the schema in such a way that political, ideological, regional, or other information may be put in a more prominent position. One general role applies to the realization of complex stories. The (important) last event comes first and is also signaled as such in the headlines. Recency is one of the most pervasive criteria in the representation of news events. In general, consequences are mentioned before causes or conditions, as illustrated in Figure 2.3.

The top-down, left-right, and cyclical principles in the realization of the news schema might be complemented with a foreground-background dimension. Figure 2.4 illustrates some of the topics of the assassination story

in a pyramid, which not only has the top-down and left-right dimension but also a third dimension, representing for each level foreground and background topics. Thus, at the same level of semantic generality, the destruction of the building and the death of others is backgrounded relative to the information about Gemayel's death. That is, news relevance takes precedence over semantic hierarchies. This means that backgrounded information tends to be realized later and less prominently (not in the headline, for instance).

Schemata of Different Newspapers

Table 2.16 lists the respective topics of the item analyzed before from the *New York Times* and assigned a schematic category to each topic. Indeed, most categories are present in this text, which means that structurally the *Times* item is rather complete. Note that for some categories the assignment is not without problems. Some historical information, such as the strife between the various Christian factions or the opposition between Falangists and Moslems, is still relevant in the actual situation and, therefore, might also have a context function.

Similarly, we have also analyzed the schematic structures of the other newspapers discussed in the previous main section. Table 2.17 indicates which schematic categories are present. Obviously Summary and Main Event appear to be obligatory. Consequences, Context, History, and Verbal Reactions occur frequently; Expectations and Evaluations occur least often. The Context category, usually contains at least a brief account of the controversial election of Gemayel, such as information about the opposition of Moslem groups. The two Asian newspapers have no evaluation and expectations, which are usually given in background or editorial articles in the other newspapers.

Table 2.18 compares this schematic analysis with schemata in other newspaper stories, again both from First World and Third World dales, using a somewhat different pattern. In general, however, some newspapers appear to have all major schema categories, whereas others only have the Main Event and Consequences categories. These data show that Third World news articles tend to have less background/context topics and also less Evaluation.

To show that differences between newspapers are not necessarily related to First and Third World differences, the schemata of the press in one country, Great Britain were examined, which has both quality newspapers and a large popular press (tabloids). Both the reports of the 15th and the 16th were examined because the British morning papers of the 15th did not yet have the news of the death of Gemayel. Table 2.19 shows that the

TABLE 2.16
Schematic Categories in the News Report of the *New York Times*
(Sept. 15, 1982)

<i>Report</i>	<i>Category</i>
a. Gemayel died when addressing 400 party members at weekly meeting	Main Event (Circumstances)
b. Eight people died, and fifty were wounded	Main Event (Results) (Actors)
c. G. was 34	Main Event (Actor)
G. was to be inaugurated on Sept. 23	Context (Goal/Expectation)
d. Premier Wazzan deplored the killing	Verbal Reaction
e. No one claimed responsibility	Main Event (Actor/Cause)
f. Fighting was feared	Consequence
g. Election of G. on Aug. 23 boycotted by Moslems	Context (previous events)
G. was considered agent of Israel	Context (cause/reason?)
G. was commander of the Christian militias	History (Actor)
His troops enabled the election	Context
h. No reaction from Israel yet	Verbal Reaction (default: empty)
i. It will be difficult to ruid a new president	Consequences
j. It happened on 4:10 p.m. Tuesday	Main Event (Time)
k. Bomb of 400 pounds	Main Event (Instrument)
1. It is unknown how bomb got finto the building	Main Event (Instrument) (Manner)
m. There were rumors that he had survived the explosion	Main Event (Result: Fictitious)
n. Finally he was found dead in the rubble of the building	Main Event (Result: Real)
o. Announcement of Wazzan of death many hours after the explosion	Consequence/ Verbal Reaction
p. There were previous attempts to kill G.	History
q. G. involved in lcilling of T.F.	History
r. G. most hated man in Lebanon	Context/History
His opponents were different groups	Context/History
He also had enemies among Christian groups	Context/History
s. To compromise with Moslem opponents, he promised to loosen his ties with Israel	Context
t. Purpose of the meeting ...	Main Event (Circumstance)/Context

TABLE 2.18
Schematic Categories in 12 Newspapers From First and Third World Countries

	<i>Main Event</i>	<i>Background</i>	<i>History</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Consequences</i>	<i>Reactions</i>	<i>Evaluations</i>	<i>Expectations</i>
1. Los Angeles Times	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
2. Die Burger	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
3. Mainichi Shimbun	x	x	x		x		x	x
4. Telegraaf	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
5. Volkskrant	x	x	x		x			x
6. The Guardian	x	x	x		x	x		
7. Renmin Ribao	x	x						x
8. Bangkok Post	x	x	x			x		x
9. Daily Graphic	x							
10. Indonesias Times	x	x				x	x	x
11. The Statesman	x	x				x		
12. Daily Times	x					x		

TABLE 2.19
Schematic Categories in the British Press Coverage on Sept. 15th and 16th

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Headline</i>	<i>Lead</i>	<i>Main Event(s)</i>	<i>Background</i>	<i>History</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Conseyuences</i>	<i>Reactions</i>
1. Daily Express	15	x		x					
	16			x				x	
2. Daily Mail	15	x		x					
	16								
3. Daily Star	15	x		x	x		x		
	16			x					
4. Morning Star	15	x		x					
	16			x	x				
5. Daily Mirror	15								
	16			x					
6. Times	15	x	x	x	x		x		
	16			x		x/	x		x/
7. Daily Telegraph	15	x	x	x	x	x		x	
	16								
8. Guardia')	15	x	x	x	x	x		x	
	16						x	x	

quality press has more schema categories, especially Background, Context, Consequences and Reactions, whereas the popular press tends to have Main Events and sometimes Consequences and Reactions. History and Context are especially absent in such newspapers.

These observations show that the majority of newspaper readers (or TV viewers, for that matter) only get to know the main event itself, and practically no information about history, context, or other backgrounds since they read the popular rather than quality newspapers in both the First World and Third World. The assassination itself is apparently sufficient as a news topic, which is in agreement with the negativity and violence criteria of the prevailing news values. Background information is the exception rather than the rule in most of the press if numbers of newspapers and readership are taken into account. Thus, foreign news for the majority of the press seems reduced to the enumeration of isolated events that satisfy the news value criteria, but which are not made intelligible. **At** most, they are fitted into ready-made frameworks or issues, such as Lebanon or the Middle East in this case. The assassination is no more than an instance of the overall topic of fighting or violence that dominates these frameworks. The quality press, especially in the First World, gives more background, but this also occurs within a standardized framework of specifying some context, previous events and history, more or less identical for each newspaper, and often copied from the agency dispatches. Whereas Third World newspapers have practically no correspondents in Beirut, the resulting stories in the quality press are nevertheless also structurally very similar to those in the First World press, although there tends to be somewhat less, and more fragmented background information. More dramatic, then, are the differences between the quality press in general and the widespread popular press. Large parts of the Western press has access to relatively rich information about the events in Lebanon but does not make use of it. This is quite different from not using information which you cannot get in the first place. This is one of the crucial differences between the press in the First World and the Third World.

LOCAL SEMANTICS

Introduction

We turn now to the study of so-called local or microstructures and begin with an analysis of local meanings, that is, with the semantics of words, sentences and sentence connections. **At** this microlevel, only a few examples can be analyzed. A precise account of the detailed meanings of hundreds of news texts is beyond current possibilities.

Specification: What ICind of Details?

Global topics are derived from textual information by macrorules. They abstract from, or summarize sequences of propositions. To analyze how topics are realized in the text, inverse macrorules, which are forms of specification, are used. One aspect of a local semantic analysis of the news is to these specifications. Some newspapers hardly give more than the macropropositions (topics) themselves. Others may pick out a few themes and give local details at several levels of specificity and leave other topics unspecified. For instance, the topic about the controversial election of Gemayel may simply appear as a brief summary in the text saying, for example, that Moslem groups opposed his election. But the same topic may also be realized by a detailed account of the election event as it had appeared in the news media a few weeks earlier. For the election event, attention may again focus on specific details, while leaving out others, for instance the fact that some parliamentary representatives were bribed ("financially persuaded") to vote for Gemayel. In other words, the topical realization in the text may take place according to a few major criteria: (1) level of specificity (level of description); (2) degree of completeness at each level; (3) selection of details at each level; and (4) perspective or point of view in selecting 1-3.

Table 2.20 presents some examples of the kind of specifications newspapers may use. Listed are some major topics as they appear in the *New York Times* front page article, and for each topic the type of specification is given. Specification is not arbitrary; the same types of specification tend to reoccur:

1. Numbers (time, location, dates, weight, etc.).
2. Identification of participants and their roles.
3. Contents (of declarations, reports, etc.).

TABLE 2.20
Specification and Specification Categories in the News Report
of the *New York Times* (Sept. 15, 1982)

1. Meeting of Gemayel at Party Headquarters
1.1. Number of attendants: 400. (<i>Participants, Number</i>)
1.2. Weekly meeting (<i>Time</i>)
2. Victims
2.1. Approximate numbers of injured and deaths (<i>Number</i>)
3. Declaration by Wazzan
3.1. Details of declaration (<i>Contents</i>)

(continued)

TABLE 2.20
(Continued)

-
4. *Election of G.*
 - 4.1. Elected on August 23. (*Date/Time*)
 - 4.2. During a special session of parliament (*Circumstances*)
 - 4.3. Election boycotted by Moslem legislators (*Participants, Opponents*)
...cause G. was considered an agent of Israel (*Reason 4.3.*)
 5. *Who will be the new president?*
 - 5.1. Sarkis until September 23 (*Participant, Time*)
 - 5.2. New Elections (*Possible consequent actions*)
 6. *Bomb explosion*
 - 6.1. Bomb exploded at 16 h 10 (*Time*)
 - 6.2. Bomb weighed 200 kilos (*Weight, Number*)
 - 6.3. How was bomb introduced into the building? (*Possible Manner*)
 7. *Rumors about survival*
 - 7.1. Words of Cemayel (*Specification of act, Contents*)
 - 7.2. Leg bruises (*Consequences of explosion*)
 - 7.3. These rumors came from... (*Source, Content*)
 - 7.4. G. walked away (*Component acts*)
 - 7.5. G. went to hospital (*Goal, Location*)
 8. *Gemayel dead*
 - 8.1. After hours body found in rubble (*Time, Result, Location*)
 - 8.2. No announcements on media. . . (*Absent Consequences, Reactions*)
 - 8.3. Declaration Wazzan (*Reaction, Contents*)
 9. *History of Gemayel. Previous attempts.*
 - 9.1. There were two previous attempts to kill G. (*Number, Comparison, Previous Events*)
 - 9.2. By a car bomb (*Instrument, Cause*)
 - 9.3. First bomb on March 20, 1979 was defused (*Time, Result*)
 - 9.4. Second bomb ... (*Time, Circumstances*)
 - 9.5. His daughter Maya killed (*Result*)
 - 9.6. Attempts follow death of Tony Franjeh (*Time, Cause?*)
 - 9.7. T.F. is son of S.F. (*Identification, Participants*)
 - 9.8. S.F. was head of . . . (*Identification, Participant, Location*)
 - 9.9. Son was killed by . . . (*Cause, Agent*)
 10. *G. had many enemies*
 - 10.1. Palestinian guerrillas (*Participant*)
 - 10.2. Leftist Militias (*Participant*)
 - 10.3. They opposed G. in civil war (*Role of Participants: Opponents, Period, History*)
 - 10.4. Christian foes . . . (*Participant: Opponent*)
 - 10.5. G. accused of Idling ... (*Cause, Act*)
 - 10.6. Own party members found G. too soft (*Participant, Cause*)
 - 10.7. G. had announced ... departure of foreign troupes (*Plan*)
 11. *Meeting at headquarters*
 - 11.1. Last meeting before . . . (*Time, Number*)
 - 11.2. Purpose of meeting: discussion to open bridge (*Purpose, Content*)
 - 11.3. Bridge between East and West Beirut on.. (*Location*)
 - 11.4. Some were opposed to this plan (*Participant, Opponent*)
 - 11.5. Wazzan declared that bridge would remain closed (*Content*)
 - 11.6. Discussion about private militias (*Purpose, Content Plan*)
-

4. Causes/reasons and consequences of acts.
5. Components acts of actions, and reactions.
6. Circumstances.
7. Goals and plans.

These specification categories are used to fill in the details of a situation. The typical news rhetoric used to make stories more credible, however, pays specific attention to precise details, such as number of victims for each violent event or the quoted content of declarations. Moreover, participants are not only identified but also categorized into a few basic interaction categories that are politically relevant, such as friends or allies and enemies or opponents. Finally, details about the rumor of Gemayel's survival are not only arbitrary specification of acts but tend to select information that is vivid and concrete, including his much quoted alleged statement, "Thank God, that I survived this one." In this way, the news item may give a lot of irrelevant detail that nevertheless adds to the concreteness of the scene description and hence to the credibility of the account.

Table 2.21 shows very similar specification relations in *Granma*: numbers, identification of participants and their categorization as ally or opponent, and especially a specification of the causes or conditions of the election and of the assassination. In this case, these conditions focus on the negative aspects of Gemayel's political position, such as the support by Israel made possible by the Israeli occupation, the opposition of Moslem groups and their reasons for opposition, and the reactions of Israel and the United States to his election. In other words, specification relations tend to focus on the political conditions of the position of Gemayel as president-elect.

France Soir starts its specification in terms of evaluative comments about

TABLE 2.21
Specification Categories in the News Report of *Granma*
(Sept. 15, 1982)

-
1. Number, and (political) identification of victims
 2. Sources of declarations and rumors about survival/death of G.
 3. Location and time of discovery of body
 4. Power (Number) of the bomb and how and what was destroyed
 5. Identification of Gemayel and his father
 6. Identification of political opponents and reasons for opposition
 7. Identification of those killed by G. (opponents); numbers of victims
 8. Participant Israel, type of relation (ally) with G.
 9. Political conditions of election (Israeli invasion)
 10. Political commitments (plans) of G. during election period
 11. Reactions of Israel and U.S. to election (participants)
-

the actual situation in Lebanon ("Lebanon heading for new adventures, the most unstable country of the Middle East . . . lost its new strong man", etc.). This is followed by the usual identification of participants, numerical details (dates of election, etc.), but also details about the possible consequences in Lebanon (confusion, risk of another civil war, revenge, etc.). Besides the usual specification relations that describe the details of the situation: . . ., *ce Soir* apparently pays more attention to evaluations, expectations, and other comments and, therefore, seems to be closer to a background feature article.

Note that many specifications of historical and political backgrounds need not be given within the hard news article itself. Thus, Dutch, *NRC-Handelsblad* is fairly general about Gemayers personal and political history and the actual situation in the Middle East but makes up for this lack by a large background feature that places the event into perspective. Still another article is about the reactions in the Gulf States. Interesting is the fact that although many details are given, the reason for the opposition against Gemayel is merely described as "bloodbaths," without entering into the kind of detail provided by the news agencies and the other newspapers about the killings of Tony Franjeh and the followers of Chamoun. Apparently, background articles have different kinds of specification types. Instead of direct situation details such as time, place, participants, numbers, or component acts and their consequences, we find a specification of political relationships in such articles, often with evaluative comments, e.g., "Murder took place at a strategic moment,- -The Saudi's . . . were enthusiastic about him,- and (since the Israelis will stay) "also the Syrians will have an alibi to keep their troops in Lebanon.- In other words, background news articles focus on the specification of causes, reasons, or conditions in general, often by recalling previous events, and by indicating possible consequences.

From these few examples, we may conclude that general specification types are used to detail overall topics. These include the usual dimensions of situation models we discussed earlier such as time, location, causes, consequences, component acts, and especially the identification of participants. For news, much attention is typically given to precise numbers, contents of declarations, and the political roles of the participants. Newspapers may differ in their points of view and the resulting choice of level of description, degree of completeness, or choice of details. Thus *Granma* mentions Gemayel's killings during the civil war and omits details about the two attacks against him, whereas *France Soir* does the opposite and merely summarizes his controversial past by the phrase "his politics of refusal of compromise and submission,- which is probably taken from the AFP wire because we find the same phrase in other Latin American newspapers that use the AFP wire. Similarly, only a few papers detail the fascist leanings of

the Falangist leader Pierre Gemayel. In other words, whereas the overall topics and their ordering may be rather similar, newspapers may have small but significant differences in the choice of their details, and these choices can be accounted for at least partly in terms of different political and ideological views on the Middle East events.

Local Coherence

How are propositions, as expressed in clauses and sentences, related in news discourse? Earlier, local coherence was defined in terms of (1) functional relationships between propositions (e.g., specification, generalization, contrast, explanation, or content of previously mentioned statements, etc.), or in terms of (2) temporal and conditional relations of the facts denoted by propositions (causes, reasons, consequences). Since news discourse is organized from top (general) to bottom (details) and the relation between general topics and microdetails is given by the specification relations previously presented, news stories should follow functional links of specification, rather than the cause-consequence links found in natural stories (the ". . . and then" chain).

Table 2.22 presents the results of the first few sentences of the *New York Times* story, indicating how each succeeding clause/proposition is linked with the previous ones. Thus, when it is said that Gemayel was killed "when a bomb shattered his headquarters," we have both a temporal relationship, as well as an implicit causal relationship. The causality is inferred on the basis of our knowledge of bomb explosions and their probable consequences: It is not likely that Gemayel died of a heart attack, say, because of the noise of the explosion. The temporal/causal link is explicitly signaled by the adverb connector "when." Such surface structure expressions are the markers of underlying semantic coherence and define what is called the cohesion of the text (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). The most pervasive markers of local coherence are the pronouns and definite descriptions used to corefer to the same participant, in this case the continued reference to Gemayel and his opponents. We see that most of the links involve such condition and consequence relationships or the specification of details, such as the introduction of various participants. Note also that connections may be established with propositions that occur much earlier in the text.

Table 2.23 lists the first few sentences of *Granma* and shows that the coherence relations are very similar to these of the *New York Times* item. Indeed, there is the usual type of coherence for news discourse: cause/consequence and specification relations. Yet, there are also some small but interesting differences. Whereas the *Times* says that Gemayel died "when"

TABLE 2.22
Coherence Relations in the First Sentences of the News Report
in the *New York Times* (Sept. 15, 1982)

<i>News Statement</i>	<i>Relation</i>
1. President-elect Bashir Gemayel was killed Tuesday	Temporal
2. <i>when</i> a bomb shattered the headquarters of <i>his</i> Lebanese Christian Falangist Party in East-Beirut.	(Causal)
3. The Government said <i>he</i> would be buried today.	Consequence (1)
4. Mr. <i>Gemayel</i> was said to have died	Specification (1)
5. as <i>he was about to</i> address 400 of his followers at a weekly meeting	Temporal/ Circumstance
6. (G. was) 34 years old	Specification
7. <i>who was to be</i> inaugurated Sept. 23	(Participant) (a) Temporal/ Specification
8. The state radio said <i>the blast</i> left at least 8 dead	(Participant) (a) Consequence (2)
9. among <i>them</i> other Falangist leaders	Specification
10. and more than 50 wounded	(Participants)
11. No one took responsibility immediately for <i>the</i> bombing.	Consequence (2)
12. <i>It</i> raised widespread fears that it would be followed by new fighting between Lebanon's Christian and Moslem militias.	Consequence (1/2)
13. Mr. <i>Gemayel was elected President</i> Aug. 23 at a special session of Parliament	Condition (7)
14. <i>that</i> was boycotted by many Moslem legislators	Specification (Circumstance)
15. (G.) who had been the commander of the Christian militias	Specification (Participant) (a)
16. To <i>them</i> , many other Moslems and some Christian groups <i>he</i> was an enemy and an agent of Israel	Reason (4)/ Specification (Participant) (a)
17. <i>whose</i> invading troupes made <i>his</i> election possible.	Specification (Partic.: Israel)/ Condition (13)

a bomb exploded, *Granma* uses the explicit causal connection "as a consequence of", and whereas the *Times* mentions Gemayel's alliance with Israel as a possible reason for the election boycott of the Moslem groups, *Granma* does not explicitly mention this link.

A quite different coherence picture can be found in typical popular press stories, as in German *Bild Zeitung*. Here, the local ordering is not so much top to bottom, but rather temporal, as in natural stories. This narrative style enhances the spectacular nature of the bomb explosion, which is also found

TABLE 2.23
Coherence Relations in the First Sentences of the News Report
in Granma (Sept. 15, 1982)

<i>News Statement</i>	<i>Relation</i>
1. Bechir Gemayel died today	
2. <i>as a consequence of</i> the explosion of a bomb	Cause
3. <i>that</i> paz-hay destroyed the quarters of <i>this</i> rightwing organization in East Beirut	Specification/ Result
4. (<i>G.</i> , who was) president elect of Lebanon	Specification (Participant) (a)
5. and chief of the military forces of the Kataeb Party (falangist)	Specification (Participant) (a)
6. <i>Further</i> 19 persons <i>also</i> died	Consequence (2)
7. including 3 important leaders of <i>Kataeb</i>	Specification (Participants)
8. <i>and</i> some sixty were wounded	Consequence (2)
9. the news agencies informed (. .)	Source (1-8)
10. <i>Gemayel</i> was 34 when <i>he</i> died	Specification (Participant) (a)
11. (<i>G. was a</i>) Christian Maronite	Specification (Participant) (a)
12. <i>and</i> would become president next Sept. 23 (. .)	Temporal (Participant) (a)
13. <i>G. was</i> considered to be the principal ally of Israel among the various right wing organization in Lebanon	Specification (Participant) (a) Reason (1)?
14. and <i>his election</i> as president of the country was considered a consequence of the Zionist invasion	Explanation/ Condition (15)
15. (<i>election</i>) on last August 23	Temporal (14)

in the headline GIANT BOMB RIPS APART PRESIDENT OF LEBANON. RECOGNIZED ONLY BY HIS WEDDING RING. This descriptive concreteness about the results of the explosion comes back in the story "The 200 kilo bomb tore open the three-storied house from top to bottom and then collapsed: The rubble buried the newly elected president Bechir Gemayel (34)." Only on an inside page do two sentences give historical background, which, nevertheless, does not omit the detail that Gemayel's daughter was killed during an earlier attack against his life. In other words, this narrative style tends to focus on the violent details of the story, as well as on human interest and vivid types of description (he could only be identified by his ring), and fully neglects context, background, history, etc. (Spiegel, 1983).

When focussing on the event itself, such news items are often written in the linear, temporal coherence mode that characterizes natural stories.

In conclusion the news items about the assassination of Gemayel follow the usual coherence links between propositions. There are, however, differences in explicitness. In some newspapers, only a temporal link is established between events, whereas others explicitly express the inferred causal relationship. This is particularly relevant in the way the newspapers suggest how Gemayel's past actions may be related to the assassination. Usually, they only mention that he had enemies because of his actions in the civil war, but they do not explicitly state this was a direct cause of the assassination. The popular press may have a quite different pattern of local coherence, based on temporal/causal relationships between subsequent events, as is found in natural storytelling.

Implications

As in any discourse, news discourse will leave much information implicit, either because it is generally known and can be inferred by any reader of the same culture or because it is a possible inference the journalist does not want to make openly. The causes of the assassination of Gemayel illustrate this point. If the newspaper would write explicitly that either the other Christian parties or one of the Moslems - *rpr Gemayel's* murder, it would overstate its case, so it leaves this precise inference implicit and only describes Gemayel's enemies and explains why they were his enemies.

When the *New York Times* sketches the life history of Gemayel as follows "(there were) attempts to kill Gemayel before . . . (which) followed the death of Tony Franjeh thought to be killed by Phalangists under Mr. Gemayel's direction," this sentence does not state explicitly that the previous attacks were in fact acts of retaliation for the earlier killings, but such a connection is strongly suggested by the very cooccurrence of the two fact descriptions in one sentence and by the use of the seemingly neutral "fol-

Similarly, this sentence has an interesting form of indirectness, resulting from the use of what we might call a cognitive passive, namely "thought to be killed by . . . which is the routine journalistic strategy of taking distance from serious allegations when there is no hard evidence.

Similarly, when *Granma* writes that immediately after Gemayel's election the United States "expressed their satisfaction" it indirectly suggests that Gemayel's election was favored by Washington. The use of the predicate "to be satisfied" has as its presupposition that an event is positively valued. A presupposition is also implied by the phrase "new fighting between Christians and Moslems" (*New York Times*), which presupposes that

there were fights before. And when *Granma* speaks about Gemayel's "secret meetings" with the Israelis, it does not only imply that these meetings were controversial but also suggests that Gemayel was a traitor, a qualification we also find in other press items in their of course quoted allegations by his Moslem opponents.

These are rather simple and straightforward examples. A full account of the many forms of indirectness, vagueness, or implicitness in the news about the situation in the Middle East would require a lengthy political and ideological analysis to make explicit the many presuppositions used by the newspapers or the news actors they write about. For instance, the correspondent of Israeli *Ma'ariv* in Washington writes "the USA supported the election of Gemayel in an attempt to (. . .) bring about a strong central government in Lebanon." This statement is correct, but it leaves implicit a very important qualification, namely that the United States would only support a strong pro-U. S. candidate. It is not likely that the United States would support a strong pro-Syrian, pro-PLO, or leftist candidate, even if such a candidate could form a strong government.

These examples demonstrate that the news coverage about the assassination has, on the one hand, many markers that suggest preciseness (numbers, names, dates), but, on the other hand that it may leave implicit the more controversial political backgrounds.

STYLE AND RHETORIC

Lexical Style

News about foreign affairs has a rather special lexical style register. Not only are the words used in accordance with the formal style of newswriting in general but also the account of international politics, which is the prevailing component of foreign news, requires both delicacy and some typical political jargon borrowed from diplomats and politicians. The event in this analysis is both political and violent and requires a lexical account that involves both the register of murder and the register of political conflict and violence. This means, for instance, that Gemayel may be portrayed basically as a victim, or as somebody who ultimately was responsible for his own death, as is stated in many editorials. Similarly, instead of describing Gemayel in terms of a violent person who committed civil war crimes, it is typical newspaper style to call such a person controversial, as found in many of the reports. More directly political is the choice of "sionista" in *Granma* when used to refer to Israel. This lexical choice also appears in the Eastern European press, which also routinely describes the Israelis as "agressors" or "warmongers."

Another feature of lexical style is the use of mitigating words or more literary variants of harsh expressions. The *New York Times* does not speak about how many were "killed" in the bomb explosion but reports that eight people were "slain." Later in the article it describes Gemayel as being "fatally wounded" instead of "dead." Similarly, it describes the declaration of Wazzan, which contains a few strong statements, as "he deplored the killing", thereby indulging in the international style of politicians or diplomats reacting to serious events. Mexican *Excelsior* does not say that Gemayel was an ally of Israel or a spy as other newspapers do but uses the vague phrase that "he was identified with Israel." The popular press does not use the political register, but the everyday registers of murder and violence, and says of Gemayel that his body was ripped apart ("zerfetzt"), as does *Bild Zeitung* in West Germany.

Descriptions of Gemayel

The stylistic description of Gemayel is of primary importance because it may show some of the implicit evaluations of Gemayel as a person or as a politician. Table 2.24 lists the designations by 17 newspapers for the assassinated president-elect. The analysis reveals the familiar devices of journalistic distance, such as quotes, and the use of indirect discourse and declarative sentences. For most qualifications that are not neutral, the newspapers use phrases such as *reputé*, 'was iuund tu be . . . "for X, Gemayel was . . .", or "was generally considered." Sources used in such cases are indicated. The use of passive voice allows the journalist to omit precise sources without giving up the necessary distance in the description of Gemayel. In general, role descriptors such as "president-elect", "military chief "leader of the Falangist militia", etc. are used. The other designations are more evaluative, such as "tough", "controversial," or "ruthless." The pattern in this case follows the attributions of these evaluations to Gemayel's own followers and to his opponents: For X he was (POS), whereas for Y he was (NEG). Most reports carry both types of qualifications. It should be noted, however, that the general evaluation, both in the West and in the Arabic countries, is cautiously positive. The negative characteristics are presented in a concessive and past context and the positive ones in an assertive mode pertaining to the present: Although he was a ruthless warlord, he nevertheless is a strong leader and the only hope for Lebanon to get peace. Some of the phrases used by the agencies, such as the one by Reuter's (Gemayel was "variously regarded as a popular hero and as a ruthless warlord") appear in several news anides. Indeed, when the respective descriptions are compared, there is much overlap and homogeneity. News actor descriptions tend to become standardized and at the same time are indications of the political consensus evaluation of such news actors. It

TABLE 2.24
Stylistic Descriptions of Gemayel

1. *Los Angeles Times* (Sept. 15)
Lebanon chief; president-elect; Christian leader; young leader; united his own people by brute force; dynamic leadership (Christian), military commander willing to use brutal force (Moslems); "typical Mediterranean *macho*"; student.
2. *New York Times* (Sept. 15)
President-elect; commander; enemy and an agent of Israel (Moslems); the most hated Lebanese Christian (Moslems and some Christians); having used too soft a manner (right-wing elements of the Falangist Party). *Background aside*: tough, ambitious, ruthless; moderate leader (Gemayel); dominant Christian figure in Lebanon; "my dear friend" (Begin). *BA*: (16.9.); puppet created and manipulated by Israelis, Bashir (as he was popularly known), reproached for his brutality, fighter.
3. *Granma* (Sept. 15)
President-elect; chief of military forces of the Kataeb party; principal ally of Israel.
4. *ExcelsWr (Mexico)* (Sept. 15)
President-elect; falangist leader; identified with Israel and unpopular with the Moslem community; accomplice of Israel; "martyr of a criminal complot against Lebanon" (Sarkis); *BA*: prominent figure of the christian falangists; young and unexperienced.
5. *El Universal (Venezuela)* (Sept. 15)
President-elect; young mandatory; a tenacious fighter; merciless (his enemies); lawyer; commander-in-chief.
5. *Jornal do Brasil* (Sept. 15)
President-elect; leader of the Maronite Christian and chief of the right-wing falangist militias; sectarian leader (leftist groups); controversia military leader; popular hero (his partisans); a merciless warrior (his opponents); sectarian candidate (Moslem leaders);
6. *La Prensa* (Argentine) (Sept. 15)
President-eléct; right-wing leader; a figure identified with Israel; unpopular (Moslem community); the most prominent representative of the maintenance of the law; his intransigent attitude.
7. *The Guardian* (Sept. 15)*
Lebanese leader; president-elect; partisan candidate (moslem and leftist leaders); (16.9.): Gemayel was variously regarded as a popular hero and a ruthless warlord; ercperienced military leader; an implacable opponent of the Syrian and Palestinian military presence in Lebanon. (16.9.): an effective military leader; successful organiser; ruthless killer in the past; perhaps the most important leader.
8. *Le Monde* (Sept. 16)
"Great patrio((Begin), "promising young leader" (Washington); president elect; war chief adored by his troupes; contested and even loathed by his opponents; president of all Lebanese (Gemayel); falangist chief; he was no saint; clan chief.
9. *Corriere della Sera* (Sept. 15)*
President-elect; new chief of state; (16.9.): "instrument of imperialists and Zionists" (leftists); reliable ally (Israel), "Proconsul" (Israel/CdS).
10. *El País* (Sept. 15)
President-elect; one of the crucial pieces to achieve a negotiated solution in the whole region (USA, Israel); falangist leader; young Lebanese politician; chief of the Lebanese Forces; "candidate of Israel" (Moslems), "chief of a clan of warriors" (his followers), "the man imposed

(continued)

TABLE 2.24
(Continued)

by the Israeli enemy and elected under the protection of their guns" (his enemies); wadord; as a man above the factions and parties" (Gemayel in his election promises).

11. *Frankfurter Allgemeine* (Sept. 16)

"Strong man" (Maronite Christians); without scruples; too closely related to the occupying Israeli forces and only getting his orders and being executor of Israeli aims (leftists, some Christians, and parts of the sunnite community).

12. *Le Réveil* (Sept. 15)

President; hero; martyr; . . . affable, frank and direct; energetic, dynamic; man of decision and action; lucid and realist, (. . .)

/2. *Daily News* (Tanzania) (Sept. 16)

President-elect.

/3. *Renmin Ribao* (Sept. 16)

President-elect; member of Christian militia, commander, lawyer.

14. *New Statesman* (India) (Sept. 16)

President-elect; leader; was variously regarded as a popular hero and a ruthless warlord (see *Guardian!*); experienced military leader.

15. *Indonesian Observer* (Sept. 16)

The controversial president-elect of Lebanon; leader; (17.9.) strong president like Gemayel (many Lebanese); "Al Bash" (his men), collaborating with Israel (enemies).

16. *Mainichi Shimbun yapan* (Sept. 16)

Future president; belongs to the Christian right-wing Falangist party; expected to reestablish order from a pro-American and pro-Israeli point of view; president of military council of the Falangists; commander of the Christian (falangist) militias.

17. *Bangkok Post* (Sept. 16)

President-elect; the Maronite Christian; Phalangist military commander; (17.9.): a young saviour to some and a brutal warlord to others; slain leader; (16.9.): variously regarded as a popular hero and a ruthless warlord (see *Guardian* and *New Statesman*).

*Newspaper did not *carry* the news about the death of Gemayel in the editions of the 15th of September we used).

needs no further comment, however, that what for many observers may be called "tough" would for others be rendered "brutal."

The lexical style seems to mirror the political confusion about Lebanon. On the one hand it is clear that the events, the assassination, and the situation in Lebanon are described in terms of political violence, and this also holds for the characterization of Gemayel and his opponents. Yet, on the other hand, political realism, leads to a general mitigation in the description of a controversial but important political actor.

Syntactic Style

The syntactic style of the news about the assassination does not show special features. It is the usual, formal, and complex type of syntax we find in other

news discourse. Compare for instance the lead paragraphs of the *New York Times* and *Granma*, respectively (the *Granma* item is translated literally):

President-elect Bashir Gemayel was killed Tuesday when a bomb shattered the headquarters of his Lebanese Christian Phalangist Party in East Beirut. The Government said he would be buried today.

Mr. Gemayel, 34 years old, who was to have been inaugurated Sept. 23, was said to have died as he was about to address 400 of his followers at a weekly meeting. The state radio said the blast left at least 8 dead, among them other Phalangist leaders, and more than 50 wounded.

Bechir Gemayel, president-elect of Lebanon and chief of the military forces of the Kataeb Party (Phalangist), died today as a consequence of the explosion of a bomb that partially destroyed the headquarters of this right-wing organization in West-Beirut.

Further 19 persons, including three important leaders of the Kataeb, also died and some 60 were wounded, the news agencies reported.

Not only semantically, but also syntactically these two leads are rather similar, featuring the usual information for initial lead sentences. In both cases, Gemayel is sentence topic, in the *Times* sentence subject of a passive clause, and in *Granma* subject of the intransitive verb [to die]. The cause in the *Times* sentence is described in an embedded temporal clause, whereas the *Granma* sentence uses a complex adverbial phrase. In both cases noun phrases are qualified with several embedded clauses: the relative clauses appended to Gemayel in the second sentence of the *Times* lead, and the relative clauses in *Granma* that specify the result of the bomb explosion. Finally, in both cases the information is embedded in declaratives, a passive "was said" in the *Times* and a postponed declarative main clause, "the news agencies reported", in *Granma*. Both are typical for news discourse syntax, and a routine strategy to embed new information within specified or unspecified information about sources or declarations. Final position main clauses used as declaratives are especially typical in news discourses and emphasize the background nature of the source and the foreground nature of the contents of the declaration. Thus, the general pattern is a complex sentence, in which a declarative is often the formal main clause, but the main news actor remains subject and topic of the sentence as a whole, such that the main participants are modified by one or more relative clauses or adverbials. This structure exists both in English and in Spanish syntax.

Note also that even simple sentences may be rather long and complicated, due to the use of nominalizations and adverbials, as in the following sentence of *Granma*:

According to declarations of witnesses, the body of Gemayel was pulled from the rubble of the offices of the Kataeb, in the zone of Ashrafieh, some six hours after the attack.

This simple sentence has vine embedded propositions, related to the main topic, body, using a series of prepositional phrases. In other words, semantic complexity need not necessarily be expressed in syntactically complex sentences. Many specifications of detail may thus be added to the main head noun of a simple sentence.

To check the generality of this pattern, Table 2.25 examines sentence length and complexity in the first five sentences of 20 newspapers, 10 from First World countries and 10 from Third World countries. The majority of the sentences are complex. First World newspapers have more simple sentences and Third World newspapers somewhat more coordinated struc-

TABLE 2.25
Sentence Length and Complexity in 20 Newspapers

<i>Newspapers</i>	<i>Simple</i>	<i>Coord.</i>	<i>Complex</i>	Length X
World				
1. New York Times	0	0	5 (2.4)	23.0
2. L.A. Times	1	0	4 (1.8)	25.2
3. Guarlan	0	0	5 (2.6)	25.4
4. France Soir	2	0	3 (2.0)	21.2
5. Corriere della Sera	3	0	2 (4.0)	19.0
6. El País	1	1	3 (2.7)	25.4
7. Frankfurter Allg. (16)	1	0	4 (1.5)	18.4
8. The Age (Australia) (16)	1	0	4 (1.8)	25.2
9. Daily Telegraph	1	0	4 (2.0)	21.2
10. Herald Tribune	0	0	5 (3.0)	28.0
Total	10	1	39	232
Mean	1	0.1	3.9 (2.38)	23.2
Third World				
1. Granma	1	0	4 (3.3)	28.4
2. El Universal	2	0	3 (2.3)	20.4
3. Jornal do Brasil	1	0	4 (2.8)	20.4
4. Kayhan International	0	2	3 (3.3)	31.8
5. Le Réveil	0	0	5 (1.5)	36.8
6. L'Opinion	0	2	3 (2.0)	31.2
7. Daily News (Tanzania)	0	0	5 (1.6)	22.6
8. Daily Nation (Kenya)	0	0	5 (2.2)	26.4
9. The Statesman (16)	1	0	4 (2.5)	27.4
10. Indonesian Observer (16)	0	1	4 (1.5)	24.0
Total	5	5	40	269.4
Mean	0.5	0.5	4 (2.30)	26.9

Numbers are based on the analysis of the first five sentences of the items (after the headlines). Besides the frequency of complex sentences, we have indicated between parentheses the mean complexity of the first five sentences calculated from their degree of complexity (number of embedded clauses).

Most portraits of Gemayel are positive — laughing and victorious. Those taken after his election, a month earlier, also show enthusiastic followers and suggest the popularity of the Falangist leader. This is also true for the picture taken of the burial scene in Bikfaya, in which the coffin of the deceased is surrounded by a mass of mourning people attending the burial. In both the post-election photos and the burial photos, Gemayel is carried "on the hands" of his followers. This form of literal support may be interpreted in both cases as a symbol of the support he had among his followers.

An analysis of the regional distribution of photos reveals that both Africa and Asia use very few. Of the 20 most used pictures, Latin America and Western Europe appear to have the largest equal share, both using an equal amount. The North American newspapers carry several pictures of Gemayel and the explosion, but few of the Israeli invasion, a picture used more often elsewhere. These differences may have technical, cultural, or even ideological causes. Obviously, most African and many South Asian newspapers may not have several pictures of Gemayel available, unlike the richer Western countries; and they therefore tend to publish only a portrait, if any photograph at all, mostly provided by the international agencies.

THE USE OF AGENCY AND CORRESPONDENT'S REPORTS

The Use of Agency Dispatches

A number of newspapers were examined regarding their use of a single news wire, Reuter. In Table 2.26 a systematic comparison is made of all clauses, sentences, or paragraphs in the dispatches and the corresponding text in the newspapers (if identifiable). The change made in the original — a deletion, addition, permutation, or other change — was noted. As may be expected, most transformations are deletions and small (stylistic) changes. The English and (South) Asian newspapers especially use the Reuter's wire, which means that on September 15, the British morning papers do not yet carry the news about the death of Gemayel. Data have been established by Boer (1983).

This comparison shows that the text from the wires is followed rather closely, often literally. Most changes are slight stylistic adaptations, and only some irrelevant passages or sentences are deleted. Note though that the comparison is based on agency takes that have been used; many repetitive takes may simply be disregarded. That is, selection or deletion may be more substantial when the total amount of agency material is considered. This analysis only considers the qualitative differences and similarities.



FIGURE 2.5.



FIGURE 2.6.



FIGURE 2.7.



FIGURE 2.8.

TABLE 2.26
Comparison Between Reuter Dispatches and Newspaper Reports
Based on Them

<i>Newspaper</i>		<i>Reuter's Dispatches (18:40151155—14.9.)</i>
"Gemayel Survives Bomb in Beirut" <i>International Herald Tribune</i> (Sept. 15, 1982)		Explosion 1, 2, 3.
1/2 President-elect Bashir Gemayel of <i>Lebanon</i>	<i>Change</i> CS	Lebanese president-elect B.G.
4 <i>tuesday</i>	CS	today
4/5 when an explosion badly damaged	D	when he was dug out from rubble alter an explosion badly damaged
6/7 rightist Phalangist Party	CSC	right-wing Falangist Party
10 on the ground floor	CS	in the ground floor
11/ as Mr. Gemayel met with officials	CS/	as the president-elect was holding
12	D	a regular Tuesday meeting with officials
(••) 16/20 a nearby hospital	D	the nearby Hotel Dieu Hospital
(••) 32f ○	D	they said his father Pierre, who founded the Falangists in 1936, had hurried to the hospital with other party officials. Reuter correspondent Alan. Philips reported from the scene that the bombs blew out the interior of the modern concrete party headquarters
33f medics from the Israeli army, which is still surrounding Beirut after a three-month assault on Palestinian guerrillas	CSC	three month campaign against
68f ○	D	former prime minister Saeb Salam, a veteran Moslem politician who played an important role in the tortuous negotiations leading to the evacuation of the Palestinian guerrillas from Beirut, held a day of talks with Mr. Gemayel last week. But others have remained opposed. When a delegation from mainly- Moslem West Beirut set off for East-Beirut on Sunday to congratulate Mr. Gemayel, gunmen fired on them.

(continued)

TABLE 2.26
(Continued)

<i>- Lebanese Leader Escapes as 50 Are Feared Dead in Bomb Blast - (Completely reordered)</i>		
19f <i>Doctors and ambulancemen, including some from the Israeli army still surrounding Beirut after their campaign against Palestinian fighters, joined</i> rescue workers who were pulling dead and injured from the rubble.	CS/ D	Medics from the Israeli anuo, still surrounding Beirut after a tiiree-month campaign against Palestinian guerillas, were helping in rescue work. Two bulldozers, a crane and a fiect of ambulances including two from the Israeli army were on the scene. Rescue workers said dead and injured were still buried in the rubble.
42f (. . .) 400 party <i>menzbers and supporters</i> had been attending the meeting including senior officials (. . .)	CSC	(. . .) meeting at the party headquarters had been a large gathering attended by senior officials (. . .)
55f Mr. Gemayel's election <i>was opposed by</i> Moslem and leftist leaders. . .	CS	Moslem and leftist leaders (. . .) opposed his election (. . .)
<i>Daily Telegraph</i> (15.9.82)		<i>Reuter</i> (18:40, 18:51, 18:55, 19:03)
4/5 <i>wrecked</i> a building	CS	badly damaged a building
34f His father Pierre... went to the hospital.	D	<i>They said</i> his father Pierre. . . had hurried to the hospital.
<i>The Statesman</i> (15.9.82)		<i>Reuter</i> (17:15, 17:17)
8/9 The building housed offices of the Christian Falangist Party	D	The building housed offices of the <i>rightist</i> Christian Falangist Party.
23f ○	D	The Falangist radiostation, whose studios are close to the scene of the explosion, said some people had been injured but rescue workers were unable to give details.
<i>New Straits Times</i> (16.9.82)		<i>Reuter</i> (5:28, 5:38, 5:52) (15.9.82)
38f ○	D	It said he would be buried at 4 PM (14.00 GMT).
<i>Bangladesh Observer</i> (15.9.82)		<i>Reuter</i> (18:40) (14.9.82)
8f ○	D	Sources in Mr. Gemayers right-wing Falangist Party said a 200 kg (440 pound) bomb exploded in the ground (floor of the party's local headquarters as the president-elect was holding a regular Tuesday meeting with officials.

(continued)

TABLE 2.26
(Continued)

<i>Daily Journal</i> (16.9.82)			<i>Reuter</i> (0:35, 0:45, 0:50, 0:57) (15.9.82)
1/4	Bashir Gemayel, the <i>34-year-old militia leader</i> elected President of Lebanon . .	/D	Bashir Gemayel, the young President-elect of Lebanon, who was reportedly killed in a huge bomb blast yesterday...
15f	○		Informed political sources in Beirut said the body of Mr. Gemayel was one of the last to be dug out of the wreckage of the bombed Falangist party headquarters in East Beirut.
18f	<i>militia... that battled</i> Lebanese Moslems	CS/D	... that (Might alliance of Lebanese Moslems
29f	his foes... who tried to assassinate him three times—the third time, today, successfully.	A	his foes ... whom he was to have governed.
74f	under his direction, <i>this loose coalition</i> was transformed into the keystone of the Christian's political-military <i>apparatus</i> .	D/ CS	At first simple an instrument of coordination, under his direction the front became the keystone of the Christian camp's political-military system
79f	○		willingly or by force all the smaller militias were eventually integrated into the front
105	○		he pledged to liberate" the rest of the country
106f	his hostility to the Palestinians made him an Israeli ally	D	his hostility towards the Palestinians made him a <i>natural</i> ally of the Israeli's

A Addition

D Deletion

CS Change of style

CSC Change of style and content

Let us briefly comment upon some more interesting changes. A slight semantic difference is the result of the *International Herald Tribune's* use of "rightist" instead of Reuter's "right-wing," which seems more neutral. On the other hand, the *Statesman* of India deletes this adjective altogether, which seems more than just an innocent deletion. The change from "campaign," predicated of the Israeli army, into "assault," introduces a more militaristic or aggressive connotation. A classic change can be found in the *Guardian*, which uses "Palestinian fighters" instead of "guerillas."

Another interesting omission is the deletion in the *Herald Tribune* of the

information about Pierre Gemayel, who founded the Falangist party, as well as the information about former Prime Minister Saeb Salam. Both details are politically not insignificant, and their omission makes the background news less complete. The Bangladesh *Observer* is one of the few papers that omits the information about the bomb and its weight and the location and circumstances of the explosion.

Most changes were found in the Venezuelan newspaper *Daily Journal*, which does not mention that willingly or by force the small militias were integrated into the Falangist militias. Also the politically important adjective "-natural" is omitted for the Falangists, which Reuter says were a "natural ally" of Israel.

Except for such small changes, however, we must provisionally conclude that agency news is copied rather faithfully by most newspapers. Only an occasional deletion or small stylistic change is made, and only some of these may be interpreted in an ideological perspective if they present Gemayel or his Falange in a more favorable or unfavorable light. The major change, therefore, must be quantitative selection: The newspaper copies the most important information from the wires. Together with literal reproduction, this suggests that the major conditions of transformation must be deadlines: There simply is no time for thorough rewriting. (See van Dijk, 1987e for an analysis of this discourse processing aspect of news production.)

Differences with Correspondent's Reports?

An informal comparison between articles based on correspondent's reports and those based on agency dispatches reveals that there are not many differences between the two different sources. Indeed, the format and the information supplied by the Western correspondents is similar to those of agency correspondents, and we may assume that they have the same kind of underlying news values and news discourse mixes. In both cases, the correspondents are dependent on information from local media, such as the Lebanese state radio and TV or the Falangist radio. These media sources are also mentioned in most reports because their reactions to the events, such as their long silence and the emission of classical music, were also part of the news event and its consequences.

Some information from one's own correspondents about backgrounds does not occur in the wires, such as the options that are open for the succession of Gemayel, a detail found both in the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* (two reports that are rather similar also on other accounts, maybe because the *Los Angeles Times* had access to the *New York Times* news service).

Whereas American correspondents write in a style that resembles that of

the agency reports, some French correspondents clearly write in a more personal, impressionistic and even literary style. The report of a special envoy of *Le Figaro* (September 15) brings news about the bomb explosion but not yet about Gemayel's death. Speculating about the contents of the survival rumors, this report mentions that Gemayel was brought to the hospital "where doctors proceeded to the first examination", a "fact" that could hardly have been confirmed by the hospital. The same report formulates rather firm expectations about the consequences of the attack and predicts that Lebanon is heading for civil war again. A background item specifies details about the previous attacks against Gemayel but does not mention its source. Comparison with the same information in *Libération*, however, shows that this article is copied from the AFP wire. In general, AFP appears to give somewhat more information than the other agencies about the scene of the explosion, as well as an impression of the direct aftermath of the attack and the reactions of the population.

Le Monde has a series of articles (datelined September 16, but published the previous day in Paris) about the events in Lebanon, both from its own correspondents and from staff writers. The international reactions are extensively covered and have high prominence in the main item. The story about the events themselves are a typical personal impression account: "catastrophe". Around the room ten tense faces, ten anxious and tired looks, acquiescent without saying a word. . . ." This literary style is used to describe in detail the emotional reactions of the participants, but at the same time it is a rhetorical device, namely the direct eyewitness description of events and their consequences, which is one of the well-known rhetorical strategies of journalistic truthfulness. Hence *Le Monde* shows typical differences with standard agency-based news reports: more evaluation, more political background analysis, more details about the scene of events, and more personal accounts of the situation. The information about the main event is the same, but it is presented less prominently and sometimes hidden in longer reports about the situation.

The report of Chinese *Renmin Ribads* correspondent in Damascus focuses on the main events, does not give much background, but is also more adamant in its assumptions: "There were assumptions that President Bechir Gemayel would be killed before his inauguration", information we do not find in other news reports. Similarly, Japanese *Mainichi Shimbun* correspondent in Cairo mentions that Gemayel was expected to reestablish order in Lebanon "from a pro-American and pro-Israeli point of view", a brief political evaluation that is at most implicit in other reports. This correspondent, too, pays attention to the reactions in Beirut and also expects a new civil war.

From this informal analysis of correspondent reports we may conclude first that in general there are few differences between agency materials and

individual correspondent reports, especially in the U. S. newspaper articles based on them. French correspondents are somewhat more personal and literary but at the same time provide more political analysis. Correspondents may add small items of evaluation not usually found in agency dispatches, which try to remain as neutral as possible. Finally, it should be added that even when newspapers have their own correspondents in Beirut, such as the *Tintes* and the *Guardian*, the first news may well be borrowed from the agencies. This means that the first definition of the situation is given by the spot news of the international agencies, after which the newspapers' own correspondents are left with the task of providing further background or some more personal impressions or evaluations.

Some quantitative Data About Sources

We have also computed the overall frequencies of agency and other sources for the news about the assassination and the invasion. These figures, however, are based on actual mentions of wire services, and not on actual uses, which are very difficult to establish for large amounts of articles. We may assume, however, that actual uses are more frequent than explicit references to the agencies. Table 2.27 shows that the Big Four agencies are mentioned most often as sources, possibly in combination. TASS and DPA are used only a few times, mainly in Eastern Europe and Western Germany, respectively. Third World newspapers mention the agency wires much more often. AP and AFP especially appear to be used in the Third World, whereas the use of UPI and Reuter is about the same in the First and Third World.

These differences are even more dramatic when we compare the use of agencies as a single source (Table 2.28). Newspapers in the Third World especially appear to be very dependent on AFP and AP. Of 173 single agency uses that are explicitly acknowledged, 126 are from the Third World.

Table 2.29 explains these differences in terms of previously suggested theories: The First World newspapers make much more use of correspondents and own staff writers: Of the 144 correspondent reports, only 11

TABLE 2.27
Frequencies of International News Agency Mentions as Sources
for News Reports

Region	UPI	AP	REUTER	AFP	DPA	TASS	Total
First World	23	34	45	24	4	6	136
Third World	29	76	42	84	9	6	246
Total		110	87	108	13		382

TABLE 2.28
Frequencies of Mentions of international News Agencies Used as Single Sources

<i>Region</i>	<i>UPI</i>	<i>AP</i>	<i>Reuter</i>	<i>AFP</i>	<i>DPA</i>	<i>TASS</i>	<i>Total</i>
First World	10	17	11	6	1	2	47
Third World	19	43	16	46	1	1	126
Total	29	60	27	52	2	3	173

appear in the Third World press. Third World news also makes use of more other agencies, mostly regional ones.

Although hardly unexpected, the results from this brief analysis of news sources are perhaps the most dramatic and significant of this case study. Where on most other dimensions of analysis, differences between F: Third World coverage is nonexistent or marginal, these figures indicate real differences. The explanation for this difference is obvious and in line with those made in the recent discussions about the imbalance in the international news flow in the world: The Third World press is nearly wholly dependent on the transnational agencies for its international news. Unlike the Western press, it has few correspondents of its own, even in such important news spots as the Middle East. Similarly, due to a lack of sufficient staff writers or specialized editors, they are seldom in a position to provide their own background stories for the events in Lebanon. That their coverage is structurally similar to that in the Western press can be explained by the fact that the Western press also often makes use of the agencies for their first spot news items and by the fact that agency reports appear to be copied rather faithfully.

In other words, if the news in the Third World press is similar to Western news, it is mainly because it is Western news. We now also have an explana-

TABLE 2.29
Frequencies of Other Sources Mentioned

<i>Region</i>	<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Editor</i>	<i>Other Agencies</i>	<i>Unknown</i>
First World	133 (119)	99 (45)	31 (24)	59
Third World	11 (9)	46 (19)	48 (30)	87
Total	144 (128)	145 (64)	79 (54)	146

The use of other sources as *single* source is indicated between parentheses. This is especially the case for Eastern European (First World) newspapers' data for "other agency" use: here the national news agencies are mostly used as source by the newspapers.

tion for the earlier finding that on the whole the Third World press seems to have fewer background topics and fewer background articles: What they have derives from the agencies, and what they do not have appears in editorial and correspondent's reports in the Western press. Hence, on the one hand, there is similarity and homogeneity, but on the other hand, the final news product in the Third World press is also politically poorer, while lacking important background information.

OPINIONS IN EDITORIALS AND NEWS ARTICLES

The Editorials

One of the central propositions in the news ideology of many journalists, especially in Western countries, is that fact and opinion should not be mixed. This normative thesis is based on the misguided assumption that the description of news events can be value-free. Implicit opinions can be expressed or signaled even in the most factual news report. The very selection of this news event instead of another, the focus on special dimensions of the event, the prominence accorded to certain topics above others, the variations in relevance structures, the point of view in descriptions, style and rhetoric, and many other properties of news text necessarily signal the context of production and the beliefs and opinions of the journalist.

The portrayal of Gemayel and of the political situation in Lebanon, for example, cannot possibly be value-free. Even a neutral description of Gemayel might imply a lack of critical evaluation towards his actions in the civil war, and this evaluative distance itself implies an evaluation.

While this analysis is both theoretically and empirically correct, it does not quite render the intuitions of journalists and readers about the distinction between fact and opinion in discourse or between discourse genres in which such different positions are typically realized. Thus, it still makes sense to distinguish between proper news articles, background features, and editorials in the press. From a practical point of view, this means that in proper news articles no explicit opinions of the individual journalist are dominant. A background feature gives an analysis of the context or historical background of a news event, and this analysis may be given explicitly from a specific point of view and involve explicit opinions of the writer. In an editorial, finally, opinions are both explicit and dominant, and formulated from the point of view of the newspaper or its editor. Moreover, these opinions are usually defended by a series of arguments, which means that editorials have an argumentative structure. This argumentation is not only defensive but also persuasive: The editorial is intended to contribute to the opinion formation of the reader about a current news event. Of course,

there is a gradual transition from news articles to background articles and editorials. In our case, it appeared that expectations or predictions about the consequences of the assassination may be a regular category within the news article schema, or they may be spelled out in more detail in separate background articles or further substantiated in the editorial.

According to these criteria 22 editorials were selected, 11 from Third World and 11 from First World newspapers, and were submitted to a systematic analysis (Table 2.30). We looked in particular at the opinions about the major participants in the events: Gemayel, the Falange Party, Israel, Syria, and the PLO, and their respective actions. Besides the evaluation of the participants, we also examined the analysis of the political situation and the formulation of expectations, predictions, speculations or recommendations. Then, for each category an intuitive value was assigned, ranging from 1 (very negative) to 5 (very positive). Value 3 stands for a more or less neutral evaluation or for a mixture of positive and negative opinions. Obviously, this rather subjective analysis needs to be complemented with

TABLE 2.30

Subjective Evaluations of Opinions About Various News Actors in Newspaper Editorials

Region	Gemayel	Falagne	Israel	USA	Syria	PLO	Assassins/Guilt?
A. Third World							
1. New Straits Times	3	—	2	—	—	—	—
2. Le Soleil (Sénégal)	4	—	—	—	—	—	"hate"
3. Daily Culf Times	3	—	1	—	4	—	- Israel?
4. El Moudjahid (Algeria)	3	2	1	—	—	4	Israel?
5. Le Réveil	5	5	—	—	—	—	- 'not a Lebanese'
6. Times of Zambia (Reuter)	2	2	3	—	—	—	- Cemayel's own fault
7. Indonesian Observer	2	—	2	—	—	4	own fault
8. Indian Express	2	—	2	4	4	—	—
9. Excelsior	4	—	4	4	—	4	'enemies of West'
10. Barricada	1	—	1	2	—	4	—
11. El Mercurio	5	4	4	—	—	2	—
Mean	3.09	3.25	2.22	3.33	4.00	3.60	
B. First World							
1. Citizen (Cariada)	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
2. New York Times	3	—	2	5	2	3	—
3. Los Angeles Times	2	—	—	—	—	—	- 'violence
4. Times	3	2	3	4	3	3	—
5. Daily Telegraph	3	—	4	4	2	—	- Syria?
6. Le Monde	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
7. France Soir	4	—	—	—	1	—	- Syria?
8. Frankfurter Allgemeine	4	—	4	—	1	1	Syria? PLO?
9. Het Laatste Nieuws (Belg.)	4	—	4	4	—	3	—
10. NRC•Handelsblad (Neth.)	3	—	3	4	—	2	—
11. Die Burger (S-Africa)	4	...	4	—	—	—	—
Mean	3.30	2.00	3.25	4.20	1.80	2.40	

The lower the number, the more negative the opinion.

more subtle discourse analytical methods, involving the description of argumentative structures, the explicitation of presupposed (tacit) assumptions, norms and values, and an analysis of style and rhetorical devices.

The results of this analysis show that overall the differences between First World and Third World newspapers are not dramatic. The evaluation of Gemayel is slightly more positive in the First World newspapers, which include both liberal and conservative newspapers (no socialist or communist newspapers are included in this selection). On the other hand, a few Third World newspapers appear to contribute to a somewhat more positive evaluation of the role of the Falange, especially of course the Falangist newspaper *Le Réveil* in Lebanon itself, as well as the conservative Chilean newspaper *El Mercurio*. The Western press does not formulate many opinions about the Falangists.

More striking are the differences between the opinions about Israel, a country that is expectedly evaluated more negatively in the Third World press, especially in pro-Arabic or communist newspapers. Whereas in the Third World the opinions about the United States are mixed, the First World press is on the whole more or less neutral or positive about the role of the United States (especially about Reagan's Mid East plan). The role of the PLO and Syria is negatively valued by the same Western papers and tends to be more positive in the Third World press. These results are not surprising and confirm the international political attitudes in general, and those about the Middle East conflict in particular. The only surprising element is the opinion in the Third World, and especially in the Arab countries, about Gemayel and his political position. Logic would predict that those who are anti-Israel are also anti-Gemayel and anti-Falange. This is, however, not necessarily the case, which shows how complex political attitudes and positions may be in the Middle East: Political realism, and the hope that even the controversial Gemayel might contribute to a peaceful solution of the Lebanese conflict are more relevant at this moment than the Moslem opposition against the Christian Maronites and their traditional allies.

In line with their general attitude towards Israel, some Third World newspapers also tend to attribute the guilt for the assassination to this ally of Gemayel, usually with the argument that Gemayel had become an insecure factor for Israel after his election and his promise to expel all foreign troops from his country. Conversely, some Western newspapers blame Syria, the other major participant in the Lebanese conflict; whereas *Excelsior* attributes the assassination to "enemies of the West", simply because Gemayel was a friend of the West. This attribution is consistent with political logic, but not necessarily true, given the situation in Lebanon. (Gemayel had many enemies who were also friendly towards the West.) Finally, some newspapers are more cautious and seek an explanation for the assassination

in more abstract terms and attribute Gemayel's death to the violence, of which Gemayel himself was part.

As for the evaluation of Gemayel, most newspapers have mixed feelings. They often mention his controversial role in the civil war and report that Moslem and leftist groups are violently opposed to him. On the other hand, they recognize that in the actual situation a strong man may be the only hope for peace in Lebanon. This mixed opinion can be found both in Third World and in First World newspapers. Some more conservative newspapers, such as *France Soir*, tend to mitigate Gemayel's role in the civil war and use the rhetorical device of a pleonasm when it describes him as "not exactly an angel." *Le Réveil* provides a straightforward eulogy of its leader and is by far the most positive in its evaluation of both Gemayel and the Falange. *El Mercurio* finds the Falangist party the "most moderate" group in Lebanon, whereas Nicaraguan *La Barricada* simply calls it "fascist", and Israel "zionist."

The invasion of West Beirut by the Israeli army is generally condemned, both in the First World and in the Third World press; but the First World conservative press hardly formulates explicit negative evaluations about Israel. Rather, they present the invasion as a direct consequence of the assassination and seem to adopt the Israeli point of view that the invasion was necessary to maintain order in Beirut. As has been argued earlier, the lack of an evaluation, in this case about Israel, implies an evaluation within the framework of political attitudes.

The analysis of the situation in Lebanon is stereotypical. Emphasis is placed on the gruesome civil war, on the violence and the conflicts between the various groups involved. Standard expressions, such as "Tachona' strife", "conflict ridden country", or "Lebanese drama" are used to characterize this conflict. Expectations and predictions are generally rather vague, and few specifics are given about who could or should be the new president, who is generally portrayed as facing an impossible task. Only a conservative newspaper like the *Daily Telegraph* explicitly states that the Russians, via the Syrians, will profit from the situation and recommends that the Western troops should stay in Lebanon. Most newspapers confirm that the PLO is one of the central issues in the problem of peace in Lebanon and the Middle East, and most agree that all foreign troops should leave Lebanon. The Western newspapers generally welcome Reagan's Mid East plan, including the *New York Times*, which gives the standard opinion that Israel and the PLO should recognize each other and live in peace together. Overall, however, the expectations are rather pessimistic and morally substantiated by general proverbs such as "violence will spawn violence", or "who lives by the sword will perish by the sword."

From this brief analysis of the opinions formulated in the editorials, we

may conclude that the homogeneity found in the news reports is not reproduced in the editorials. There is considerable variation here, both between and within the First and Third World. The opinions are generally in line with the political and ideological attitudes of the newspapers and their regional or national background. The opinions of the conservative Western or pro-Western press and of the communist press are most direct and explicit, but the majority of the liberal press in both the West and the Third World is more mixed. The Arab press is violently anti-Israel, moderately anti-United States but moderately pro-Gemayel. The analysis of the situation in Lebanon is on the whole rather stereotypical and tends to be pessimistic. The violence should end, and this is only possible when foreign troops leave the country and the PLO is recognized as a core issue in the Middle East.

Opinions in News Articles

Although the editorials are the preferred formulation place for explicit opinions, the news and background articles themselves may have at least implicit opinions or points of view. Therefore, each article was subjectively scored on the implied position towards the major participants in the Lebanese events. Sometimes, one article has several opinions about several people, groups, or countries.

The quantitative results show that 49 of the 80 editorials formulate explicit opinions about the participants, which means that a substantial number of editorials are vague in their evaluations. This vagueness is due to the controversial role of Gemayel and the generally complex situation in Lebanon, which cannot be captured simply in pro- or anti-Western, pro- or anti-communist, or pro- or anti-Third World.

The reverse is true for the proportion of news articles that has an opinion or explicit point of view: 60% of them are unclear or neutral. This also means that a considerable share of the news has some form of opinion or point of view. Of the editorials, 21.2% are pro-Israel, 30% are anti-Israel, 15% pro-Falange, 10% anti-Falange, 11.2% pro-United States, and 8.8% anti-United States. These data are consistent with our qualitative analysis of the editorials given earlier. The Third World press tends to be anti-Israel, except for the South and East Asian press, which also explains the substantial amount of pro-Israel positions it shares with the Western press. The evaluation about the Falange and the United States are more mixed, but the pro-voices dominate.

These distributions of opinions also hold for the news and the background articles, except for the opinion about the Falange, which tends to be

more negative in the background articles. When we examine the correlations between opinions and specific thematic clusters, the negative opinions about Israel are often associated with the invasion topics, but they also appear in the background analyses of the situation, in which the occupation of South Lebanon by the Israeli army plays an important role.

Although these quantitative measures are even more superficial than the qualitative analysis, they confirm the general pattern. There are few very clear tendencies of opinion. They may differ among newspapers, countries, or regions; and no consistent First World or Third World opinions seem to be derivable from the data. Only clear political and ideological points of view can be related with a position against Israel or Syria, but even for the role of the United States this is not easy. Most striking are the mixed feelings evaluations of Gemayel, which tend to be slightly positive for most of the press. His expected political role in this case is taken to be a more important criterion for evaluation than his past actions and the role of the Maronites in Lebanon.

CONCLUSIONS

It is not easy to draw straightforward conclusions from a complex analysis that involves both qualitative and quantitative results and deals with more than 700 articles from 138 newspapers from 99 countries. Structurally, the news articles about the assassination of Gemayel are not fundamentally different in the Third World and First World press, although there is much variation among newspapers and regions. Generally, differences are more marked between reports of the elite press and those of the popular or tabloid press. Thematic structures, relevance structures, the use of schematic categories, local coherence phenomena, style, and rhetoric appear to be very similar in this elite press. Also quantitatively, the differences are far from substantial. First World coverage tends to be somewhat more extensive as a whole; and background articles and themes especially occur more frequently in the Western press, but the Third World has somewhat higher coverage per newspaper, which might be even higher if we knew the proportion of the coverage about the assassination as part of the total editorial space.

Yet, this general conclusion needs some qualification. First, although we have studied many newspapers and articles, we cannot simply conclude that we have a representative sample of the global press. Second, both the qualitative and the quantitative approaches need further work to substantiate some of the more detailed analyses. Third, there are large differences within and between various regions of the world. Thus, the Eastern European,

African, and South-Asian coverage is rather modest, whereas Western Europe, the Middle East, and the Americas give much attention to the assassination and its backgrounds.

This overall result strongly suggests an implicit system of rules and values in the news accounts of an international event such as the assassination of Gemayel. This globally shared code of journalistic practices leads to a standardized description of the events. This rule system selects the assassination of a head of state of a politically important country as a major news event, which receives global attention, front page treatment, and detailed description in large main and background articles. The same rule system provides a stereotypical news schema, featuring categories such as Main Event, Context, Historical background, International Reactions, and similar categories, which are filled with the dominant topics as supplied by correspondents or news agencies. It also specifies in what order the dominant topics are treated and in which installments they are delivered through the news text. Finally, it provides the standard formal style for the selection of words and the structure of sentences, as well as possible rhetorical devices that make news discourse credible (quotes, numbers, eyewitness description). This formal journalistic consensus seems to be largely context-free. It is the implicit definition of what a well-formed news article should look like, whether in central Africa, the Caribbean or in Scandinavia. Even such ideologically diverse newspapers as the *New York Times* and *Granma* follow this rule system.

In terms of a shared global concept of foreign news, however, this analysis only provides one side of the explanation. It should of course be asked next where this shared rule system comes from. Given the historical development of the press in the world, we assume that this implicit code has been established and diffused by the Western press and news agencies. This explains, superficially, not only its use in the Western world, but also its widespread acceptance in the press of many of the countries that were colonies of these Western countries and who adopted the news format of the metropolitan press. Both the leading newspapers of the Western world and the news agencies are regularly used as sources by Third World newspapers, and this is a strong inducement to adopt similar news formats. We found, indeed, that most of the Third World press uses materials from the international news agencies, and it was also shown that often agency text is faithfully copied by the press. Deadlines; professional training (sometimes in the West); examples of influential Western newspapers; and the general lack of alternative sources, formats, and experiences force the Third World journalist to follow the general, Western-oriented framework of reporting foreign news.

It may be concluded, therefore, that two related factors explain the standardization of international news in the press, namely the globally dif-

fused implicit journalistic code for the production and structures of news discourse, on the one hand, and the pervasive role of the Western news media as sources and examples that helped diffuse this code in the first place, on the other hand.

Theoretically, alternative codes for news production and structures may exist, but in the present political and social context, these would at most have local or regional relevance. Stories produced according to fully different rule systems would simply not be recognized globally as interesting news and would, therefore, have no access to the international news media and distribution channels of the agencies. This may be seen most clearly by the somewhat different rule system adopted in some Eastern European and some Third World countries. Their definition of the news is not only rejected as being too directly partisan, if not party-controlled, but the very attention for tedious administrative issues such as the routine activities of the head of state or government agencies, or the reports about economic results, is considered to be too uninteresting for primary journalistic attention. Conversely, the Western preoccupation with negative news about accidents, catastrophes, deviance, crime, violence, etc. is similarly rejected as information that should be publicly diffused by the press in several of the Eastern European countries. For the Third World press, there is in addition the generally felt need for development news as a counter-strategy against the Western dominated spot news that focuses on isolated interesting events instead of on more structural issues behind those events.

Yet, at a deeper level, the similarities between the Western and, say, the Eastern (communist) press are perhaps larger than the differences. Except for the differences in factual control of the press, the news in both camps is predominantly about politics and economic affairs. Actions of politicians are the main topic of news anywhere. Second, only with slight variations, the press in any country mirrors the basic interests and goals of the political, economic, and cultural elite. True counterjournalism is marginal, oppressed or simply nonexistent anywhere in the world, whether by force or by economic and more subtly ideological reasons. Communist newspapers, if any, are usually small in most Western countries, and the same holds for leftist media in general. Third, most of the world's press tends to be nationalistic if not ethnocentric. There are few important issues in which the dominant press does not as a rule support international actions of the government, at least in the first stage. Examples also abound for the critical Western press (Vietnam, Grenada, or the Falklands/Malvinas) (Glasgow University Media Group, 1985). Opposition from the press exists only as soon as sufficient members of the elite have become opposed. There are, of course, exceptions, but these tend to be marginal and rather confirm the general rule. In other words, not only the international news format tends to be rather generally adopted by journalists, but also the very position and altitudes of

journalists are not fundamentally different. This does not mean that, on the surface, different political, economic, and ideological contexts do not produce rather different press systems and even variation in news conceptions. Our data suggest that the differences in news discourse that result from such variation are slight for similar newspaper types: Rather, they predict differences in the content of editorials and the opinions of background articles than in the selection of topics or the standard treatment of given topics. This is especially true for foreign news coverage.

The implications of these general conclusions and their interpretation for the current discussion about the new world information order, and the organization of global news flow, are similarly complex. It has been shown, again, that Third World news media are practically wholly dependent for their international news from the international, Western based and controlled, news agencies. Only the rich Western press has a substantial number of reports by own correspondents. It has been argued, too, that the implicit news code of journalists in the Third World is largely due to the example, if not the pervasive and exclusive role, of the Western news media. This means that in addition to their regional, political, and ideological frameworks that define their social position in their own countries, Third World journalists must operate within a news code that may at several points conflict with their own personal and social frameworks. Yet, due to the prevailing economic and social situation and the nature of international news distribution and control, there is no immediate solution for this conflict. The result is what in the West is usually called "rhetoric", that is, persuasively argued normative statements that claim that the actual news situation is imbalanced in many respects. Our study has shown that both as to factual distribution and dependence, and as to contents and forms of the news, this imbalance does indeed exist. The result is the pervasive standardization of the Western news product and its usage also in the Third World.

At the same time, our conclusions suggest that redressing the imbalance, by creating Third World based and controlled international news agencies or pools, or even sending more of its own correspondents, may be a necessary but not yet a sufficient condition for the change of the deeply entrenched news values and news codes. The social definition of newspapers and news discourse appeared to be very general, and despite important variations, shared by many journalists all over the world. After all, writing primarily for the elite which is often. Western-oriented in life style if not in political ideology, also Third World journalists are seldom in a position to develop a systematic alternative to Western news formats. This would mean that they would either not be able to publish routine foreign news items from agencies or that they would be obliged to rewrite each item, which is of course not feasible.

In other words, there is a complex structural framework of financial,

economic, social, cultural, and historical constraints that have led to the development of the currently dominant global ideology of news; and it is the same framework that keeps it in place. Changes, unfortunately, will only come slowly, as is usual in fundamental ideological transformation. Yet, under the continuous impact of a well-argued normative critique and various forms of resistance by Third World journalists (and a few critical Western ones), it is likely that also the dominant Western news framework can be changed. More and more Western journalists, at least individually, would agree that more structural background and development news would be an important aim to pursue. Unfortunately, economic constraints of the privately owned Western press may frustrate these aims when it continues to take into account too much the types of news values that sell well. In other words, the public should learn to read different types of stories but this again requires different and better sociopolitical education, which is tied to fundamental class differences. Hence, what appears as a rather superficial property of international news, or as an ideological and economic dominance of the international agencies, may be tied to a deeper and much more complex global network of cultural and socioeconomic relationships. It is this structural foundation that obstructs fundamental changes in the framework of international news.

tures. After the frequency of complex sentences for each newspaper, the mean degree of complexity of the first five sentences, measured by the number of embedded clauses per sentence, is indicated. Complexity too appears to be more or less the same in the various newspapers, and the same holds for sentence length, which is slightly higher in the Third World press. From these figures we provisionally conclude that sentence syntax in news discourse is fairly complex and that length and structure are not significantly different in First World and Third World newspapers.

Credibility and The Rhetoric of Numbers

The persuasive nature of news is not primarily geared towards the change of opinions and attitudes, even when these may eventually change on the basis of information given or suggested by news discourse. Rather, news has an assertion-type speech act function, and its major aim is to achieve credibility with the reader. Hence, rhetorical strategies are used to stress the preciseness and the truthfulness of the text. Rhetorical devices that may be used include direct observations, interviews with eyewitnesses, quotations from participants, scene descriptions, and especially numbers.

Although in the news about the death of Gemayel, many direct or indirect quotations are present, we focus on the use of numbers. Many of the items, provide such numerical information:

1. Practically all newspapers mention the precise weight of the bomb: 200 kilos (440 pounds). *El País* even puts this in the headline. The exact weight is not, of course, very important. However, the use of such a number suggests precision of information and at the same time adds to the seriousness of the event. No important information would have been lost if the newspapers had simply said "heavy bomb"; the ubiquitous and mostly prominent use of the precise weight, therefore, should be considered a typical rhetorical strategy of establishing credibility.
2. That the numbers do not matter much may be easily discovered when comparing the numbers of the dead and wounded that resulted from the bomb explosion. Of course, the various sources may give different numbers about the casualties, but even from one source and even within the same article, the numbers may vary. Moreover, subsequent information containing new numbers is seldom printed to correct old numbers. The *New York Times* and *Excelsior* report 8 deaths and 50 wounded; *Granma*, 19 deaths and 60 wounded; *Jornal do Brasil*, 8 deaths and about 50 or 60 wounded; the *Daily Telegraph* even speaks about 60 deaths, and the *Guardian* about 50.

3. The same holds for the estimates of the victims of Gemayel during the civil war. It is reported that Gemayel was involved in the killing of Tony Franjeh and 29 (32, . . . ?) of his followers, and of 400 (or 500?) of Chamoun's militiamen. *La Prensa* of Argentina mentions 1200 killed at Quarantaine, but *El País* speaks of 500.
4. Dates are also important. Most reports mention the date of the election and the day (a month later) Gemayel was expected to take office. Also the dates of the two previous attacks on his life are often given, even if such information does not have a direct function for the actual news report. An indication such as "two years before" would have been sufficient.
5. Finally, the use of time was analyzed. Most reports specify the exact time of the explosion, 16 h. 10, local time (a Lebanese paper is even more exact: 16:08). And the same holds for the indication of the delay (6 or 7 hours) after which Gemayel's body was found in the rubble. This latter indication is journalistically more relevant because it makes the presence of the survival rumor more plausible and at the same time explains why the news of Gemayel's death came so late.

The news about Gemayel's assassination has the usual features of a rhetoric of numbers. It gives many indications of weight, time, date, or periods, even when these are not directly relevant. Sometimes, indications of time may be used routinely to detail the actuality of the report or to explain delays in the news.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Having studied both the macrostructured and the microstructural properties of news discourse, we turn now to the photographs that accompany the news of Gemayel's assassination. Except for an occasional map of Lebanon, such as the one in the *New York Times* that marks the location of the home bases of the various groups or factions, the most important visual dimension of the news is the photographs.

There are two major classes of photographs, pictures of Gemayel and pictures of the explosion scene. Borsje (1983) studied 181 different photos, which were used 441 times. Most appear in Lebanese *Le Réveil*, which has a vast photographic reportage after the death of its leader. Without this newspaper, there are 32 photos used 289 times. About a quarter of all pictures used are portraits. Both the pictures of Gemayel and those of the explosion scene come predominantly from AP and UPI. The AP picture of the devastated party building is especially used, and the confusion as portrayed on the street aptly symbolizes the confusion after the death of Gemayel.

3

RACISM AND THE PRESS

INTRODUCTION: ETHNIC GROUPS AND SQUATTERS IN THE MEDIA

After the analysis of foreign news, we turn now to domestic news. Instead of giving a complete characterization of the nature of domestic news in the press, this and the next chapters report about three case studies that focus on the coverage of ethnic groups, refugees and social minorities. Against the background of theoretical and empirical research in other countries, our case studies are based on data from the Dutch press. The first studies deal with the way ethnic groups and refugees (Tamils) are portrayed in the newspaper. This work is embedded in a more theoretical discussion about the role of the media in the reproduction of racism. To be able to compare it with other news and with the account of international news presented in the previous chapter, this analysis is prefaced by a brief characterization of national news coverage, in general, and a few data about domestic news in the Netherlands, in particular. The third study, reported in a next chapter, is about the national and regional coverage of a specific event, namely the police action against a house occupied by squatters and the demonstration that followed this police attack.

Both topics are more than just superficially related. The presence of ethnic groups and the activities of squatters are rather new social phe-

nomena in the Netherlands, as well as in other Western European countries: Before the 1970s these were events that were hardly paid attention to by the media. Both groups are assigned marginal social roles by the dominant population, and their portrayal in the media helps define this role for the public at large. Both groups are basically conceived of as a problem, if not as a threat to the majority of the citizens. Whether their deviance is ethnic or social, both groups are seen as occupying "our country" or "our houses", respectively. The authoritarian view is that they should either conform or be expelled (evicted).

The expression of social intolerance and prejudice in both cases is differently formulated. When ethnic minority groups are concerned, open forms of prejudice and discrimination are, or at least ought to be, punishable by law. Indirectness and subtlety, at least in public discourse, such as that of the media, is the result. Against squatters, who are defined primarily in terms of legal or moral deviance, such indirectness is less necessary, but negativity in that case is tempered by the generally acknowledged housing problem in the Netherlands, especially in the big cities. However, their negative public image is shared with specific youth groups in general.

In these case studies we hope to uncover the mechanisms that underlie the press coverage of these two groups, by showing how the news defines their presence—in the actual Dutch context as essentially problematic, and thus contributes to their marginalization, if not to their criminalization. In terms of Cohen (1980), we want to examine, both by classical content analysis and by close discourse analysis, how these groups are made into "folk devils" and how the press responds to and fuels the moral panic arising at the end of the 1970s and the beginning 1980s about these new social groups in Dutch society. This analysis also involves a study of the relationship between minorities and various state institutions, such as the police, the courts or the government. We want to know how the press takes a position in this ongoing social conflict. From the outside and compared to other countries, there is the superficial appearance of tolerance in The Netherlands. On closer inspection, however, we discover a convenient self-myth behind this normative claim of tolerance. There appears to be a strong underlying social force aiming at the subtle—and sometimes even not so subtle—repression of social and cultural difference.

Although most of our data are taken from the Dutch press, our study has a broader and comparative aim. The immigration of Mediterranean guest workers and/or of predominantly black people from former colonies during the 1960s and 1970s is one of the prominent social events in many Western societies, especially in Great Britain, France, Belgium, The Netherlands, West Germany, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries. Although there is much variation in the impact of this immigration in the various countries, there are also important similarities. Government immigration

policies have generally tightened by closing the borders to most nonwhite immigrants. Those who were allowed to enter were met by increasing forms of prejudice and discrimination from the autochthonous population. Western Europe thus became confronted with its undeniable but often denied racism, scattering the self-myth of ethnic tolerance (Castles, 1984). Probably more pronounced and historically further developed is the situation in Great Britain. This is also where both critical studies about and conscious resistance against the negative portrayal of ethnic minority groups in the media are most articulated and advanced.

Although the situation in the United States is historically and socially rather different, a number of basic features of the press representation of ethnic groups are shared with Western Europe (or Australia, for that matter). In the United States, the situation of ethnic minority groups such as Blacks and Indians is not primarily defined in terms of recent immigration, but their portrayal in, and access to the media, is not basically different. Their immigration is not from outside but rather from inside the social structure, since their fight for civil rights and for a share in power and national resources in the 1960s. More conspicuously, the immigration of many other ethnic groups in the last decades, of Asian Americans, South Americans, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans, constitutes a phenomenon that is rather *like* the immigration of foreign labor and subjects of former colonies in the West European countries (Bowser & Hunt, 1981; Farley, 1982). The study of the coverage of these issues in the press is one way to access the important problem of how the majority responded to this presence of the various minorities of color.

Similar remarks may be made for the study of squatters, who also became a salient social group in several countries. Press coverage in this case should be compared with that of political groups (e.g., anti-Vietnam, Black protest) and demonstrators, on the one hand, and with various juvenile groups such as the mods and the rockers in the 1960s, the hippies at the end of the 1960s; and punks, rockers, or other groups in the 1980s, on the other hand (Cohen, 1980; Hall & Jefferson, 1976). Similarly, the phenomenon of real or ascribed juvenile delinquency, such as football hooliganism, in several Western European countries should be associated with such a study. That is, it was the dominant press that redefined and stigmatized social protest movements in terms of social deviance, illegality, and criminality and thus helped formulate the consensus about the margins of the status quo.

Consistent with the approach sketched in the earlier chapters of this book, the press studies in this chapter are inspired by a systematic discourse analysis. A few quantitative data give an impression of the distribution of qualitative characteristics. Yet, the focus is qualitative. We want to know how, in even subtle detail, the newspapers account for socially relevant events and new social groups. Unfortunately, space limitations force us to

summarize and restrict our analysis to some characteristic examples. Nor can we sketch the full background of the social and media situation in the Netherlands. On the contrary, we try to account for the data with the assumption, backed up with research results from other countries, that the media coverage about these issues in the Netherlands is fairly typical for many Western countries.

Our work on ethnic groups in the media is part of a series of projects on discourse about minorities. In that research we also paid attention to the portrayal of ethnic minority groups in textbooks, and especially in informal everyday conversations (see van Dijk, 1984a, 1987a). The aim of these projects is to find out how the majority responds to the immigration and presence of ethnic groups and how ethnic attitudes are expressed by and diffused through informal and formal discourse. The media and everyday talk are the primary formulating places for ethnic beliefs and attitudes, and their analysis can throw light on the important mechanisms of the reproduction of ethnocentrism, xenophobia, or racism in society. Although our analysis focuses on discourse features of media messages, we also briefly examine how these are related to underlying cognitive structures, such as social beliefs and ethnic or other group schemata and models in memory, as well as to the social contexts of their acquisition, uses, and functions. We thus hope to uncover what social schemata are presupposed, confirmed, shared, constructed, and diffused by the press. Interview data, as well as theoretical analysis of the acquisition of social attitudes, show that the media are the primary definers of the outlines of ethnic beliefs and feelings.

At this point, the coherence with our study of international news also becomes clear. The representation of ethnic and social minorities in the press has obvious parallels with the account of Third World nations and peoples in the Western media (Downing, 1980). After all, most minority groups in Western Europe and many in North America originally came from Third World countries, most of which were former colonies. Despite the differences, then, both internal and external colonization, exploitation, or dominance of the peoples or groups involved result in similar media pictures: Neglect or ignorance; focus on stereotypical and negative issues such as spectacular events, crime, coups, cultural difference or deviance, problems, or poverty; and a consistent Western, white, male, elite group perspective are among the typical features of this coverage. No more than Third World nations and peoples, ethnic minorities or marginal social youth groups have preferred access to the media and the reproduction of their own representation. One of the aims of these chapters is to spell out these similarities and this coherent tendency in the press accounts of dominated groups or peoples.

The studies reported in this and the next chapters were carried out from 1980 to 1986 at the University of Amsterdam, with the assistance of groups

of students participating in classes or seminars. They were typical, low-budget studies, which at some points lack the necessary completeness as well as the explicit quantification of professional content analytical approaches carried out by paid mass communication specialists. Yet, we hope that the results of our analysis support a few general conclusions, and stimulate further discussion.

SOME GENERAL PROPERTIES OF DOMESTIC NEWS

Before we engage in our study of minorities and racism in the press, a few preliminary remarks will be made about some more general properties of domestic news. From the data in the previous chapter, we may infer that in most newspapers of the world, domestic news, that is, national and local news, is predominant, occupying up to 80% or 90% of the editorial space. National, quality newspapers pay more attention to foreign news (about 40% on average), but even for such papers domestic news prevails.

Topics vary among newspapers, countries, or regions, but despite this variation, we also find many common topic categories and a nearly universal hierarchy in topical relevance, as we also found for international news. National, regional, and local politics is 'usually most frequent, followed by social and economic affairs, sports, crime, accidents, and human affairs. Only a few newspapers pay relatively much attention to soft topics such as arts, education, or science, mostly in feature articles and special weekend sections.

The major news values that underlie the attention for, and the selection and publication of, events in foreign news also define the nature of home news. Generally, national news gets more attention than regional or local news, especially in the national press. Main actors are the political elite, primarily the head of state or prime minister, government ministers, and parliament, at the national level, and regional and city authorities at the local levels. The government or parties in power tend to receive more coverage than the opposition, although there may be variation depending on the political stance of the paper. Next, large national organizations, and the various institutions of the state are in focus: the police and the courts, comparable with the focus on big business and the world of finance. Finally, but less neutrally, we find attention for the unions or for large and more or less respectable (if not always acceptable) opposition groups and movements, such as the women's movement, the peace movement, or ecological movements like Greenpeace.

Of these various institutions or groups, it is again the leading elite that gets most attention: presidents or chairpersons, secretaries, or spokespersons. Similarly, in matters of social affairs, the professional elite, such as

doctors, engineers, lawyers, or professors are the primary actors and speakers. And finally, other nationally well-known people such as sportsmen and women, artists, and writers may get attention, though mostly only in special news sections (sports, arts). Throughout these various layers of social structure, ordinary people usually fall outside the press picture of news actors and may only collectively be involved as the patients of political action or the victims of catastrophes, or individually, in negative terms, for instance in crime news.

Topic and actor analysis of domestic news is often a rather faithful reproduction of the dominance and power structures of the nation. Those less quoted are also those who have less to say (which doesn't mean that they wouldn't have much to tell). Those getting less attention in the press are also those who get less attention in social life. At this fundamental level, there is not much difference between the free press of the Western countries or the more controlled press in most communist and many Third World countries. The truly oppositional press, if any, is marginal anywhere.

The nature of events predominantly covered in domestic news is highly predictable from the topic and actor categories mentioned above: political action of government, parliament or parties first, and the activities of large organizations and institutions next. Most of these activities are verbal: decision making, new laws, parliamentary debate, speeches, reports, and so on. News discourse summarizes, reproduces, but also semiautonomously expands and transforms, and hence co-produces this discourse of the social order. Apart from these routine political, economic, and social events and their discursive expression or enactment, negativity is also an important criterion for news selection: conflict, scandal, problems, opposition, accidents, crime, and, in general, the various events of what is considered and portrayed as social disorder. It is also well known that there is a tendency to give preference to the power elite's reactions to such events, rather than explain the details and backgrounds of political and social opposition and conflict.

This criterion is coupled with the well-known transitory or periodical dimension of news events: Short, salient actions and events get more attention than situations, structures, or developments. A demonstration is more of a media event than the complex reasons underlying this form of social protest. A strike is more newsworthy than the social and economic causes that have led to it. Additionally, TV news events should be visible and concrete, and hence filmable. Opposition and social conflicts become part of the press picture of society only when they become visible or audible. Their preferred location, therefore, is the street, whereas the location of the actions of the power elites is the institutional setting, such as the cabinet meeting, the parliamentary session, the press conference, the court trial, the police station, and their associated forms of public text and talk.

This is a highly succinct summary of some major characteristics of domestic news in much of the world's press, based on results from both theoretical and empirical studies in several countries. To back up this general analysis, let us briefly give some figures drawn from several content analytical studies of news in the media. Most of these studies unfortunately deal with TV news, and not with the press, but the results are nevertheless relevant also for a more general picture of the overall patterns in news coverage.

Gans (1979) gives some content figures for news in the United States, both on the networks and in magazines, such as *Newsweek* and *Time*. Although magazine and TV news differ in coverage categories and size from the written press, the basic features are similar. Gans shows that known news actors are vastly more present in the news than unknowns: 85% vs. 10% (in 1975). For the United States, knowns are mostly presidents or presidential candidates, federal officials, and state and local officials, followed by members of Congress. The same amount of attention is paid to violators of law and mores. There may be considerable variation in different years though, or differences between TV and the magazines. As we shall see in more detail later, civil rights leaders still accounted for 7% of the actor presence in 1967 but 0% in 1975: After the race riots, they had lost their media relevance. Professionals get more coverage than business and labor leaders. When we generalize and abstract from these figures, the major actors in domestic news are either politicians, officials, and professionals or those who allegedly threaten law and order. The unknowns are usually performing negatively-valued actions, often in a group, such as demonstrations, strikes, riots, or crime. Or they are unearned voters. In other words, they are the masses who sustain, or smaller groups that oppose, the national and social order. The activities of these actors obey the negativity criterion. Crimes, scandals, and investigations come first, followed by government decisions and conflicts, and routine activities, including campaigning. TV news though gives less attention to political routine and comparatively more attention to disasters, which make good pictures. Both magazines and TV gave substantial attention to protests, at least at the end of the 1960s and during the early 1970s. This attention had abated considerably by 1975. Although some of the topics and issues are characteristic for the United States, we believe that the representation of actors and activities is not fundamentally different in many other countries, especially in the Americas and Western Europe.

Data for TV coverage in Great Britain is comparable (Glasgow University Media Group, 1976). After foreign news, which in Europe generally scores higher than in the United States, it is national politics that leads the list, as measured by percentage of stories. Industrial and economic news, sports, disasters, home affairs, and crime follow. Science, for instance, is dealt with

in barely 2% of the items. The categories of home affairs are mainly the quality of life, consumer affairs, local government, defense, and race—together about 7% for the various news programs. The same percentage on average is devoted to sports. Crime, human interest, and disasters score more than double this percentage, with a cross program average of about 15%. The three major topic categories are foreign affairs, national politics, and economics/industrial affairs, each with about 25% of the stories. Despite variations in these proportions for different days and periods, the overall averages are fairly constant.

Golding & Elliott (1979) provide comparative data that may give some insight into news categories and story topics outside the stereotypically well-studied countries. In their broadcast study of Nigeria, Ireland, and Sweden, they also analyzed news programs and found that in most programs, international news is the top scorer, at least when taken as a single category. (Most other categories usually cover various topics of national news.) Of the other domestic categories, domestic politics again scores highest, especially in the two European countries. As expected, industrial news occurs more frequently in the industrialized nations (more than 10%), but economic affairs score rather high everywhere. Usually the pair economics and industry, when taken together, scores even higher than national politics. Military affairs and crime follow in all three countries.

There is a difference between the Third World country and the two First World countries (a rich and a poor one): Whereas Sweden has more sports items in its TV news broadcasts (up to about 20%), and Ireland more crime stories (same percentage), the Nigerian (NBC) radio and TV have relatively more attention for education, technology, religion, culture and welfare (together about 20%, against about 7% in Ireland, and about 10% on Swedish TV). We found this same tendency in Third World reporting of international news in Chapter 1. The Nigerian media pay twice as much attention to social and cultural affairs as the Western news programs.

In all three countries most of the news features only a few dominant categories, viz., political and military affairs, economic affairs (including industry), crime, and sport. Social and especially cultural news is always low on the list of story categories. We may conclude from these news categories that discourse and formal interaction are the main news events: speeches, formal statements, meetings, etc., though somewhat more prevalent in Nigeria than in Ireland or Sweden. Western news programs have more interest in violent mass actions than Nigerian programs. Talk together with executive actions, is a major topic, especially in domestic political stories. The Irish and Swedish programs have considerably more interest in political opposition than the Nigerian stations and tend to focus on power conflicts and policy formation. The capital is the major news event location, and the

government and its political leaders are the main actors in all cases. Similarly, news in all three countries tends to be personalized: Most stories are about individuals and small groups, although in Sweden national organizations also score high.

For the Federal Republic of Germany, Grohall & Schuster (1975), among others, provide some data for TV news. Basically, politics, economic affairs, war, crime, and sports dominate the news in Germany. Social and cultural affairs categories each score only 1% to 2% of broadcasting time. Again, international political news scores highest as a single category, followed by foreign politics and home politics. Politics alone accounts for about 50% to 70% of the news.

Finally, Scholten (1982) gives us percentages of news categories for the Dutch national press. Politics, both international and national, scores highest (an average of about 40%, with about equal coverage for home and foreign politics). Economic affairs follows, with between 10% and 15%. However, quality newspapers, with their special arts section, appear to have much more art and culture news, when compared to the broadcast data for other countries mentioned above, usually ranging between 15% and 20% of the stories. The same percentages hold for sports. Most national papers have little space for crime and accidents, although it may reach 7% for the conservative popular press. Religion, education, and science also score low. With the exception of the arts and sports sections of the news, then, we find that news in the press in the Netherlands also focuses on political and economic affairs.

Comparing these results from different studies, we find some major lines of convergence. Within all news, foreign and national politics and economy are alone at the top. Sports scores generally high, and quality newspapers tend to have substantial arts sections as well. Yet, on the whole, culture and social affairs score low. Persons or parties in power are main news actors and their activities major news events. The political or professional elite is dominant in the press as well. At least in Western news, negativity, individuality, and visibility are important selection criteria for event and story categories. War, crimes, violence, and conflict are central news topics or topic dimensions throughout, especially in TV news. Most news actors are known people. Unknowns are mostly portrayed negatively, either as perpetrators or as victims of crime, violence, or disasters. Minority groups, both ethnic and social, are also minorities in the press, and the same holds for the political opposition, unless formally organized in influential parties that belong to the political establishment. These results generally confirm our thesis that also in domestic news the media generally reproduce the political and economic power structure of the nation by its selection and proportion of story categories and actors.

TABLE 3.2
Percentages of Domestic and Foreign News Stories in Three Dutch Dailies

<i>Category of Newspaper</i>	<i>Volkskrant</i>	<i>Telegraaf</i>	<i>NRC-Handelsblad</i>
Domestic	59.6%	75.0%	49.0%
Foreign	40.4%	25.0%	51.0%

Volkskrant and *NRC-Handelsblad* for the week of October, 5-10, 1981. All news and background articles were scored, except the arts and sports pages. Table 3.2 shows the percentages of domestic and foreign news.

These percentages, calculated for the number of stories, show that the quality press in the Netherlands has a large foreign coverage, which may reach more than 50%. The popular newspaper, *Telegraaf*, only has a quarter of foreign news articles in its total coverage. Note that the inclusion of sports and arts items would have added to the proportion of domestic news (see the data obtained by Scholten, 1982, mentioned previously).

If we look at the categories of news in the respective newspapers, we find that the two quality newspapers, *Volkskrant* and *NRC-Handelsblad*, have national and international news, as well as economic affairs as their three major categories, closely followed by financial affairs. *Telegraaf* has crime as its top scoring news category, a typical feature of the conservative popular press, but also has international politics and economic affairs ranking high after that topic. The next category in the three papers is social affairs and unemployment. Some categories, such as communication, commerce, and health/welfare/environment, appear in the top ten in only two newspapers. Cultural news appears in the top ten list in only one newspaper, *NRC*. Table 3.3 lists the major topics of that week as they were published in all three newspapers. Unemployment is clearly the leading topic, being the subject of 91 of 413 articles, followed at a distance by the news about the assassination of Sadat, national policy, and nuclear weapons.

Although this list of news topics and issues is only valid for the week we examined, it gives an impression of the kind of topics dealt with in three prominent Dutch national dailies. Generally, international politics scores high, especially for such political and violent events as an assassination, as we also saw for the news about Gemayel in the previous chapter. Yet, important national issues, such as the dramatic increase of unemployment in the early 1980s, scores much higher as a single issue. The same holds for environmental issues such as pollution and the effects of nuclear energy. Routine reporting of national politics and government policies also scores high. Drugs and accidents get much attention, especially in the popular press. Between 70% to 80% of articles are plain news, between 13% and 20% are background articles and features, and some 3% to 7% are edi-

TABLE 3.3
Topics in Three Dutch Newspapers During the Week October 5-10, 1981

<i>Topic</i>	<i>Volkskrant</i>	<i>Telegraaf</i>	<i>NRC-Handelsblad</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Assassination Sadat	15	16	14	45
2. Middle East	3	1	23	27
3. Poland	9	5	10	24
4. Nuclear weapons	12	6	13	31
5. Revaluation guilder	5	6	7	18
6. Pollution	10	7	9	26
7. Nuclear energy	4	3	12	19
8. Unemployment (in the Netherlands)	31	20	40	91
9. Government policies (domestic politics)	14	11	15	40
10. Drugs	9	14	6	29
11. Cable/satellite	7	6	6	19
12. Air plan crash NLM	4	11	9	24
13. Party politics (and elections)	8	7	5	20
Totals	131	113	169	413

torials. Most articles were written by members of the editorial staff or came from national correspondents, followed by foreign correspondents. The international news agencies UPI, AFP, AP, and UPI each are mentioned in about 50 to 70 of the stories in the three newspapers taken together.

From this modest content study we may provisionally conclude that the Dutch press pays attention primarily to the following kind of news categories:

1. International politics (especially conflict and violence).
2. The socio-economic situation (especially unemployment).
3. Political activities of government.
4. Nuclear energy and disarmament.
5. Crime and drugs.
6. Environment.
7. Disasters.

This list is rather similar to the kind of data found in other studies: Politics and economy come first, followed by various social issues (pollution, drugs). Notable though, at least for these newspapers and for this period is the special attention for a social issue like unemployment, which could also be scored as an economic issue.

To compare domestic news with foreign news in the Dutch press, we

may summarize a study of three newspapers (*Telegraaf*, *NRC-Handelsblad*, and the regional paper *Tubantia*) performed for UNESCO under the direction of Kayser (1982) for periods in 1949, 1959, 1969, and 1979. This study shows first that the proportion of domestic compared to foreign news in the Dutch press in 1979 was in the range we found: More than 40% of the stories in the quality press and about 20% in the popular and regional press are about foreign events. A topic analysis in this study shows that the major story category in foreign news is the same as in domestic news: politics, followed by international relations, military affairs and economic affairs, crime/violence, and other subjects (art, culture). Typically, however, topics such as international help and development, environment, and social affairs score much lower in international news (at most 5%). Issues within these categories that get the most attention are political independence, human rights, energy shortages, individual freedom, racism, religious conflict, subversive actions, terrorism, nuclear weapons, communism, freedom of speech, and environment respectively, scoring in a range between 8% and 4%. This list reads as the rather stereotypical shopping list of predominantly Western concerns about international affairs, especially about the Third World. These concerns in the stories from the agencies and those of for instance the American government are highly correlated. Indeed, communism is an issue in 52 stories, whereas capitalism is an issue in only 5 stories, imperialism in 13 stories, and fascism in 27 stories. In other words, most stories are either about major Western values or concerns—democracy, individual freedom, and environmental control—or about threats against them—communism, terrorism, and energy shortages. Only 3% of the items is about developments in the Third World.

As with the world press as a whole, Western Europe is the main location of news events (44% of the stories), followed by the Middle East (16%), Africa (10%), North America (9%), Asia (7%), Eastern Europe (6%), and Latin America (4%). Although as a region North America does not score very high, it should be clear that the first foreign country in Dutch news is the United States (84 stories, including those on TV news), followed at a distance by a close neighbor, West Germany (56 stories), and then by Lebanon (48), Iran (47), England (45), USSR (37), and what was then called Rhodesia (31). In other words, the most powerful elite country receives the most attention, followed by large, close neighbors and international trouble spots. These figures are in line with those mentioned earlier in Chapter 1; the Dutch press does not seem to have a very different news value system than other Western newspapers.

We have given this brief survey of some general features of the Dutch press, in particular about domestic news, to provide both an impression of news in the press in this country and at the same time to have some comparative background data for our studies about minorities in the press.

For instance, only one newspaper, *de Volkskrant*, had ethnic affairs in its top ten list (tenth place) during this week in October 1981.

To illustrate in somewhat more detail what kind of domestic news appears on an arbitrary day in a Dutch newspaper, we examined the contents of one day of news in *de Volkskrant* (August 19, 1982). In particular, we were interested to see whether our assumption that the news reproduces social structures and social order can be shown to hold for domestic news coverage. Of course, this is only an illustration. More systematic analysis can only be given for specific issues, as will be done for the coverage of ethnic and social minority groups.

On this day, there were 28 articles of domestic news, of which four appeared on the front page. The major topics can be summarized as follows:

1. Plan of finance minister to fight fraud by tax reduction.
2. Plan of social council to let older unmarried people retire earlier.
3. Court decides to arrest man for tax debt.
4. Six weeks prison for military service objector.
5. Antinuke organization acknowledges its influence on disarmament talks.
6. Organization of business captains reacts positively to union's new employment report.
7. The courts have too much work.
8. Man shot dead because of family vendetta.
9. An escaped convict gives himself up to the police.
10. FIT rejects plans for foreign TV networks.

The other articles are about such varied topics as the new local opera house in Amsterdam, satellite TV, welfare, water pollution, the closure of a hospital, and party conflicts.

The major social domains involved in this variety of news are national and party politics, taxes, justice/ police/crime, nuclear disarmament, environment, the media, and health. In 24 of the 28 stories, state or city organizations or persons are somehow involved: cabinet ministers, members of parliament, justice and police, and various organizations. Next we have the political parties, business corporations, health organizations (hospitals), and the unions. The major individual news actors have the following social functions: director, defendant, party leader, cabinet minister, chair, mayor, lawyer, and district attorney, in this order. This brief analysis shows that the various institutions of the state or city are the primary news actors, and that only the leading elite is portrayed or quoted. Other individuals appear as victims or defendants in state or judiciary actions. Practically no ordinary

people involved in the many decisions or actions are interviewed or their opinions quoted.

Most news is collected by the newspaper's own reporters and is based on various discourse types: official notices and reports, formal advice and memoranda, letters, interviews, meetings, press conferences, speeches, and documents. Access to domestic news, thus, is not only for those in power, but for those who have organized media relationships, such as public speakers, press agents, or other routine strategies to access the media. (See van Dijk, 1987e, for an analysis of these processes of news production, and the role of source discourses in those processes).

Our provisional conclusion from this illustration and from the other, more quantitative data about story categories, is that domestic news in the Netherlands is primarily political and social and involves the various organizations or leading elites of the state. Only large, organized opposition groups, such as the opposition parties, the official nuclear disarmament organization, and the unions may come into the news picture. Even then only their leaders or spokespersons are featured. This suggests that the assumption that the news reproduces social structure and social order seems rather plausible, at least for the dominant press, whether liberal or more conservative. Let us now try to specify this assumption in a more detailed and systematic way for an important domain of social affairs: the coverage of ethnic minority groups and race relations in the Netherlands.

MASS MEDIA AND THE REPRODUCTION OF RACISM

Introduction

One of the most serious social problems in Western Europe is the growing racism or ethnicism against immigrants from Mediterranean countries and former colonies. Despite local differences in the targets or types of racism, similar prejudices and discrimination by white autochthonous groups and institutions are directed against Turkish or North African "guest workers" or against Black immigrants from African, Asian, or Caribbean countries (Castles, 1984; Evrigenis, 1986). Although there are of course historical roots for this development, culminating most notably in the Nazi holocaust of the Jews, racism has become more widespread after World War II, especially in the 1970s and 1980s.

The context of this problem is well known: Labor shortages in the post-war economic development of most countries in Western Europe led first to the employment of workers from Spain, Portugal, and Italy and later of Turks, Moroccans, and other Mediterraneans. At the same time, the independence of the former colonies of England, France, Belgium, and the

Netherlands spawned widespread emigration to the metropolitan centers. As long as there was enough work, the immigration of foreign workers from Southern Europe received relatively little attention. The guest workers were often simply ignored, housed in decrepit pensions, and above all, they were expected to eventually return to their own countries (Hammar, 1985). Although this was indeed the case for large groups of Italian and Spanish workers, those groups who took their place in the late 1960s and early 1970s, such as the Turkish workers, remained, despite growing unemployment. For the citizens of former colonies, immigration had a more permanent character from the outset. It was initially facilitated by the fact that most of them carried metropolitan passports, although several countries, especially Britain, soon passed laws that blocked unlimited immigration of their overseas, i.e., Black, citizens.

The socioeconomic situation of the new citizens has been documented extensively in research: They are predominantly employed in menial and dirty jobs if they find work at all, they occupy the worst housing in the inner cities, and they generally suffer from minority status in all social contexts (see e.g., Castles, 1984, and Hammar, 1985, for references). For most Western Europeans, this immigration brought about first and sometimes close encounters with members of substantial groups of different racial or ethnic background. This presence of so many others was met by increasing feelings of uneasiness, growing ethnic prejudices and widespread discrimination in many contexts by large segments of the autochthonous population: in the neighborhood, on the street, in shops, on the bus, on the job, in the welfare agency or in the media (Essed, 1984).

These negative attitudes, however, were not simply spontaneous reactions of the autochthonous population at large nor merely caused by the economic recession of the 1970s. After all, most people never had any direct contacts with minority group members nor were they threatened by them in employment, housing, or other social domains. In many respects, the bad example was set by the ruling elite groups, especially by the respective governments. We mentioned that in the 1960s the English governments (both Tory and Labor), took measures to stop the flow of immigrants from the now independent countries of its former empire (Barker, 1981; Husband, 1982; Miles & Phizacklea, 1979; Mullard, 1985; Sivanandan, 1982). Other European countries followed similar actions, which became even stricter in the next two decades (Hammar, 1985). The implicit message to the autochthonous population was clear: These people do not belong here, and their presence may cause problems.

In this context, racist parties were founded that spelled out this opinion in more explicit nationalistic terms: Foreigners should go back because colors or cultures should not be mixed (Billig, 1978; Hoffmann & Even, 1984). Again, these are not merely popular movements: They also have elite

or intellectual preformulation and support (Barker, 1981; Seidel, 1985, 1987a, 1987b). In more moderate terms, such attitudes were shared by the more respectable parties (Reeves, 1983) and by the public at large, which is one of the reasons why these racist parties were never forbidden. The overt political rhetoric against such parties was an ideal strategy of positive, liberal self-presentation. Thus, racist groups played the role of scapegoats for more widespread and structural racism and as "useful idiots" of the more respectable parties. Despite these professed differences, however, a widespread consensus was being established: Further immigration should be blocked; present minorities should adapt themselves as quickly as possible, cause no problems, and be content with their actual situation and with what the authorities would do for them.

This chapter will address how the hostile cognitions and actions that structurally define the racism of the white dominant ingroup could become shared so widely and effectively in the first place. If most people do not have daily dealings with minority group members, we must assume that, apart from occasional personal observations and experiences in public places, especially in the cities, racism is being expressed and persuasively communicated throughout the ingroup in a multitude of contexts, e.g., in everyday conversations, in the news media, in textbooks, comics, TV programs, films, parliamentary debates, institutional decision making and reports, scholarly discourse; and in the living room, the classroom, or the courtroom (Smitherman-Donaldson & van Dijk, 1987).

Our research during the last five years about this type of discursive reproduction of racism in society has focused primarily on everyday talk (van Dijk, 1984a, 1987a). From the analysis of more than 170 interviews, conducted both in Amsterdam and in San Diego, it appeared that people often refer to the media when expressing or defending ethnic opinions (see also Hartmann & Husband, 1974). Specific topics of discussion seem to originate in the media, rather than in everyday talk. On the basis of our preliminary analysis of the Dutch media performed in 1980 (van Dijk, 1983b) and reporting first results of a current replication and extension of this earlier work, this chapter discusses in more general terms the role of the media in this complex process of the reproduction of racism (see also UNESCO, 1974, 1977).

It should be stressed that the type of media racism we analyze, is practiced in all Northwestern, white-dominated countries. Much of what we have described also holds for the situation in Canada and especially in the United States, where racism is rooted in centuries of the enslavement of Blacks; the elimination of American Indians; and the exploitation of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans or other Latinos (see, e.g., Bowser & Hunt, 1981; Katz, 1976; Wellman, 1977, for racism in general; and Wilson & Gutiérrez, 1985, for racism and the media).

The situation in the U.S. media (especially television) is aptly summarized by George T. Leland, presiding over the hearings about minority participation in the media before a subcommittee of the House of Representatives in 1983 (Minority Participation in the Media, 1984):

It is clear to any objective observer of the television industry that the record of the industry with regard to portrayal of minorities and enunciation of minority concerns is, and historically has been, abysmal. There has been very little educational or informational programming geared toward minority audiences on either local or network television. There has been even less effort to accurately portray minority life in standard commercial entertainment fare. Far too often, talented minority actors and actresses are reduced to stereotypical portrayal or comedic roles. A report concerning the television industry prepared by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights noted that when blacks appear on television, they rarely are portrayed seriously. The report also noted, that while whites often are shown in ridiculous roles in television, they also are seen in other programs and roles, while minorities most often appear in situation comedies. According to the report, the roles of blacks in television situation comedies largely fixes an image in the public mind of a ridiculous and nonserious people. In the absence of any balance, these shows grossly distort minority life in America, serve to reinforce negative images of minority life, and bolster societal racism and sexism. (pp. 1-2)

Part of Leland's statement (supported by most other members of the committee) has been quoted at length not only because it summarizes the media situation in the United States but also to signal the fact that comparable public statements by leading politicians in Western Europe, let alone hearings about such an issue, would at present be unthinkable. Whereas there is, especially in the United Kingdom, much critical research about minorities and the media, there have as yet been no political consequences of this research, despite the fact that most broadcast media in Europe are public organizations. The assessment of the U.S. situation made by Leland is further supported by the documented testimony of dozens of experts from different organizations and minority groups. The following sections hope to summarize and further detail these and other charges leveled against the dominant media and to show that the situation in Europe is no better and may, in fact, be worse.

Discourse and the Reproduction of Racism

Before we discuss in more detail the role of the media, a few more general observations must be made about the role of language, discourse, and communication in the reproduction of ethnicism and racism. To understand these processes of reproduction, we should first realize that racism in general is to be analyzed primarily within the structural framework of historical,

political, socioeconomic, and cultural power relations in society (Mullard, 1985). White groups dominate ethnically or racially different groups by the exercise of various types of physical, social, or symbolic control. In the present European context, this means that minority groups are systematically, although often indirectly and subtly, denied equal rights, that is, equal access to material or cultural resources and equal opportunities in housing, work, health care, or education. The practices that result in these forms of discrimination are not incidental or individualistic. They are systematic, group-based, often institutionalized, and surprisingly similar.

There seems to exist a body of generally shared beliefs on which such discriminatory actions are based and that provides the tacit legitimation of this kind of power exercised by the dominant ingroup. This ideologically framed system of ethnic prejudices and its societal functions, however, must be learned. Part of this social learning is based on observation, imitation, participation in social interaction, and on an inferential framework that features rationalizations such as "everybody does." However, especially for racist practices against ethnic minority groups, such experiential learning is not enough. When other information is lacking, and in the context of complex industrial societies, a substantial part of social information processing must be based on discourse and communication (see also Mueller, 1973). Both in everyday situations and in institutions, the ideology that legitimates ingroup power and its consequent exploitation and oppression is simply not imitated from discriminatory actions by other ingroup members. Rather, it is communicated by talk and text (van Dijk, 1987a).

We suggested that this type of discursive reproduction of the ideology that underlies ingroup power may be enacted in many communicative contexts—from various types of socialization discourse, everyday storytelling, or gossip—to institutional texts and documents such as government decisions, parliamentary debates, and laws. People make strategic inferences from these kinds of discourse, build mental models of ethnic situations, and generalize these to general negative attitude schemata or prejudices that embody the basic opinions about relevant minority groups (van Dijk, 1985a, 1987a).

Ignoring for the moment the precise cognitive processes involved in this kind of understanding and attitude formation (see van Dijk, 1987a, for details), we also assume that the various types of discourse and communication are not equally involved in this type of social information processing. Everyday storytelling requires personal experiences, or stories heard from others, and many white citizens do not have such experiences, let alone negative ones. When no ethnic minority groups were salient during our childhood, as is the case for most adults in Western Europe, socialization discourse is only minimally about ethnic minorities (although it may be about other outgroups, defined in terms of gender, class, religion, or oc-

cupation). Children did and do acquire ethnic or racial protoschemata based on such discourse and on the basis of children stories and movies (Milner, 1983; Klein, 1986), but they still need additional information for the concrete elaboration of schemata about the actual minority groups.

Similarly, most elite types of discourse, such as political and legal discourse or scholarly reports, are directly accessible only to a small segment of the ingroup. In other words, for mass circulation and sharing among the ingroup, ethnic prejudices and ideologies presuppose mass communication, that is, their expression or reproduction in the mass media. We assume, therefore, that the media play a very specific role in the distribution and acceptance of ethnic ideologies.

The Role of the Mass Media

To understand this special role of the media in the reproduction of power in „: in particular, we – 1,,cify some of their societal mechanisms and functions (Gurevitch, Bennett, Curran, & Woollacott 1982; Katz & Szecskó, 1981). If we limit our attention to the newspaper and TV, and especially focus on news about ethnic minority groups, our first assumption, based on earlier research, is that the news media do not passively describe the facts of the present ethnic situation in society. Their role is more active and reconstructive. The processes of news production involve more than just selection and summarization of important events (or rather, of source texts such as eyewitness testimony, press releases, press conferences, public statements, scholarly reports, etc.) (Tuchman, 1978; Fishman, 1980). News reports have a special schematic format, a specific lexical style, and their own rhetoric (see van Dijk, 1983a, 1985b, 1985d, 1986, 1987e, for details). Depending on the type of newspaper or TV program, many cognitive and textual transformations separate source texts from the final news report. Events may become more focused, personalized, and dramatized in such transformations.

Second, diese transformations depend on current mental models, scripts, and opinion schemata (attitudes) of reporters and editors (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983; van Dijk, 1987c). Obviously, diese are primarily those shared by society at large and, more specifically, by other members of the same class and profession. In this respect, white journalists also participate in the dominant ethnic consensus and unwittingly express the elements of such an ideology in their news discourse, for instance in the use of specific lexical items, in their syntax, and in the hierarchical organization of the thematic macrostructures of the news report.

Third, journalists also share a more specific professional ideology about the nature of news (Tuchman, 1978; Gans, 1979). They must routinely

decide what is news and what is not, and this presupposes strategic processing in the use of source information, e.g., on the basis of a set of news values. Media research has repeatedly found that such Western news values are widely shared by newsmakers and shown the relevance of such evaluation criteria as negativism; periodicity; geographical and ideological closeness; understandability; and reference to elite nations, elite institutions, and elite individuals as news actors (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). These values explain why spectacular, unexpected, violent events, wars, conflicts, or actions of the president have a much higher chance of becoming news than the more structural process of oppression of minority groups or Third World peoples. Such practical, but of course ideologically rooted, professional criteria allow fast understanding and decision-making by journalists, and, since their news reports embody these values, they are also known and shared by the reading public (Graber, 1984). This again allows journalists to assume that they write what the public wants.

Fourth, the ideological nature of news and other professional attitudes and practices suggest that they are more than just practical ways of managing huge amounts of information within strict deadlines. The values are not arbitrary. They reflect the class, gender, and ethnic position of the journalists and play an important role in the reproduction of power. This process is most visible in news discourse content and the routines of everyday news production. To guarantee a steady supply of news, independently of what actually happens in the world, and for an effective organization of their newsbeat, journalists must make sure to tap sources that provide continuous information that may be used to make news. These sources are mostly powerful or elite institutions, such as the government, state agencies, parliament, city councils, big corporations, political parties, unions, the police, the courts, or the universities (Fishman, 1980; Tuchman, 1978). They have also organized their permanent access to the news media, e.g., through press offices and spokespersons and by press conferences and press releases. It is not surprising, therefore, that most news comes from and is about such institutions or the elite persons that control them. Despite the ideologically-based illusion of independence, journalists partly share the class interests of these elites, and their news production routines are finely tuned to the representation of their actions, their points of view, and ultimately their ideology.

This reproduction process is not direct. It does not mean that journalists always agree with the actions or opinions of those in power, although their possible dissent is strictly limited by the constraints set by the editors or directors of privately owned news organizations, and hence by corporate interests that are hardly at variance with those of the elites in power (Bagdikian, 1983). In this way and often unwittingly, the symbolic power of the journalistic elite contributes at the same time to the reproduction of the

conditions of socioeconomic or political power (Galbraith, 1983; Mueller, 1973). It legitimates such power in news production routines by providing regular media access and representing dominating elite perspectives and opinions in news reports. Even modestly critical comments presuppose the importance of such policies or opinions.

This brief analysis of the structural position of the media and their news-makers implies that the media do not passively reproduce the racism or ethnicism of other elite groups. Rather, their reproduction should be expressed as production or co-production. Despite the structural relationships with the power elites, the media—just like education—also have their own specific and semiautonomous role in the production of racism. Journalistic practices are enactments of a special type of symbolic elite power that are crucial in the process of social information processing. This power is more effective in a dialectic of communication in which the media both produce and reproduce the dominant consensus, censor, or limit the expression of counterideologies, and especially if they have a near monopoly of otherwise scarce social information, for instance about minorities.

News About Minorities

These economic, social, cultural, and cognitive constraints of news production processes favor dominant definitions of news and, hence, dominant definitions of reality. Therefore, we must understand the role of the media in the reproduction of the ethnic consensus within this framework. Although journalists, like other citizens, share a set of widely accepted common-sense strategies for the interpretation of ethnic events, their class position and professional routines, goals, and values determine at the same time a more specific orientation of the definition of ethnic reality as provided by the elite (van Dijk, 1987e). This structural orientation explains why the white dominant institution, such as the government, the city council or the police is usually accounted for and quoted in news about ethnic minorities, and much less often the representatives of the minority groups themselves (Downing, 1980; Fowler, 1987; Wilson & Gutiérrez, 1985).

Ethnic group membership also adds an ethnic or racial dimension to this general ideological orientation towards the elite in power: White journalists primarily write as white ingroup members and, hence, represent ethnic minority groups in terms of "them" and not as part of "us." Since ethnic minorities are also predominantly working class, less organized in powerful institutions, and have little political influence, the two dimensions of race and class produce social cognitions and social practices among journalists that tend to ignore these outgroups or to represent them in a consistently negative framework.

Generally, controlled ignorance about outgroups, combined with group self-interest, favors the development of stereotypes and prejudices (Hamilton, 1981a). The same is true for the media. This tendency is further reinforced by two other factors. According to dominant Western news values, the media favor stories about negative events, and such stories are generally recalled better, especially for outgroup members (Howard & Rothbart, 1980; Rothbart, Evans & Fulero, 1979; Rothbart, 1981). This means that there is a complex ideological framework in which intergroup perception, prejudices, white group dominance, cognitive strategies, and journalistic news values all contribute to the negative representation of ethnic minorities in the press.

The same structural framework defines the tendency of the reading or viewing public to accept this kind of negative representation, so that critical feedback or resistance does not prevent the success of the communication and reproduction processes. That is, in Western Europe there are as yet no dominant counterideologies or antiracist forces that are strong enough to deprive access to the media to counterbalance the prevailing definitions of the ethnic situation. Antiracist positions are often ignored or censored or their account limited to preferably violent demonstration and action (Murray, 1986; Seidel, 1987). This has been a general tendency in the account of counterideologies and action in the media (see, e.g., Halloran, Elliott & Murdock, 1979).

Barred from public communication and, hence, from persuasive, counterprevailing power, minority groups are forced into action forms of resistance that may attract public attention through media accounts, e.g., disobedience, disruption, or destruction. These will capture the attention of journalists precisely because they are consistent with both news values (negativity, violence, deviance) and with ethnic prejudices (minorities are deviant and violent). Hence the widespread media attention for violence, riots, and crimes (e.g., drugs or mugging) that are specially associated with ethnic or other minorities (see Cohen, 1980; Cohen & Young, 1981; Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978; Hall, et al, 1980 for details of such media portrayals relating deviance and minorities).

This picture of the production conditions and the contents of the media representation of the ethnic situation is even more complex. In the present social situation in Western Europe and the United States, the negative representation of minorities is not without constraints. As a result of the civil rights movement, norms and laws now exist that officially prohibit overt discrimination, even in the realm of public discourse. These may be formulated more specifically in the statutes of media organizations. Journalistic ideology, too, holds that news should be true, fair, balanced and nonpartisan, focusing on facts instead of opinions. In principle, for many journalists this also holds for the account of ethnic events, even when in practice more

fundamental ethnic stereotypes and prejudices will bias their account. Finally, when minorities or white antiracists have become substantial in number and have found access to more powerful positions, their counteraction (if only by cancelling subscriptions or by writing letters to the editor) may hurt the media organization.

These and other conditions may also become conditional factors in the whole framework of news production and limit the style and amount of negative representation. Hence, discursive discrimination, at least in the more respected media, has become more subtle and indirect, displaying coherence with the more general liberal ideologies of the cultural elite in society (see e.g., Barker, 1981, and the work of McConohay, e.g. McConohay, 1983, for these forms of new, symbolic, or otherwise more subtle and indirect racism; and van Dijk, 1987b for the discussion of the relationship between elite racism and the media). Note, however, that there are only gradual differences between the more liberal ethnic attitudes and those of the cultural elite of the conservative and more overtly racist New Right (Seidel, 1987a, 1,W,71.).

The Ethnic Situation in the Netherlands

To understand the way the Dutch press writes about ethnic minority groups, some major points about the ethnic situation in the Netherlands must be discussed. For centuries, the Netherlands has been a predominantly white society. Only at various moments of history did groups of immigrants from European countries, notably Jews from Portugal and Spain, come to enrich the original population. And only occasionally did residents from the former colonies, notably in the East and West Indies, move to the Netherlands. Comparatively, however, these were rather small groups or individuals who either soon integrated into Dutch society or were not perceived and topicalized as a separate ethnic group either by the government or by the Dutch autochthonous population.

This situation changed dramatically after World War II. After the independence of Indonesia in 1948, more than 250,000 people moved to the Netherlands. A large-scale operation to accommodate the new citizens was reportedly successful, despite the difficult postwar economic situation, for instance in housing (Bagley, 1973). There was enough work in the 1950s, and this facilitated the process of integration, at least superficially. An exception were the Moluccans who had special status because of their earlier association with the colonial Dutch army that fought against the revolutionary forces. Even now many of them hope for, if not claim, the independence of the Moluccan Islands. Despite claims to the opposite, evidence suggests

that these "Indo" citizens, most of whom are colored, continue to experience prejudice and discrimination in everyday life.

During the 1960s, the rapidly growing Dutch economy was faced with labor shortages that could not be met by the original Dutch population. Therefore, workers from Mediterranean countries such as Spain and Italy were contracted to meet the demands of the labor market. Since it was generally expected that these immigrants would eventually go back, they remained in a rather isolated position. They mainly suffered from bad housing conditions, and the first signs appeared of growing feelings and expressions of prejudice among the Dutch population. A decade later, this condition and somewhat better economic circumstances in Southern Europe made many of these first guest workers ("gastarbeiders" in Dutch) decide to return to their home countries (Theunis, 1979; WRR, 1979 ; Entzinger, 1984).

In the early 1970s, however, the situation changed rapidly. New migrant workers had come from other Mediterranean countries, especially Turkey totalling more than 250,000 people. Dutch policies originally were the same as those for the Italian and Spanish workers: It was generally expected that their stay would be temporary. This expectation turned out to be wrong (WRR, 1979). Not only did most immigrants decide to stay but their dependants soon came to join them, despite the rapidly tightening immigration conditions. Growing unemployment and a serious economic recession at the end of the 1970s and the beginning 1980s finally contributed to a widely-shared, popular, and implicitly official opinion that such workers should be persuaded to go home (see the review of opinion surveys by van Praag, 1983, and our own data in van Dijk, 1984a and 1987a).

The mid 1970s had also witnessed the independence of the former Dutch colony of Surinam (adjacent to Guyana). The high standard of living in the Netherlands persuaded many Surinamese to leave their country. For the first time, the Netherlands met with a substantial number (nearly 200,000) of Black citizens. Like many of the migrant workers, most settled in the western cities (Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, and Utrecht), bringing the number of immigrants to a total of about 600,000 (just over 4% of the total population).

The result of these immigration phases was that the racial and ethnic situation in the Netherlands had radically changed. Black citizens, as well as culturally different Islamic groups, now had become neighbors and, especially in the cities, noticeable in everyday life. These racial and ethnic differences, within the context of an economic recession and against the background of a colonial history featuring feelings of white superiority, produced the complex picture of racism that now defines Dutch society. In this sense, the situation resembles that in neighboring countries like Great

Britain, Belgium, France and (as far as immigrant workers were concerned) West Germany.

Various survey studies of white attitudes concerning the foreigners ("buitenlanders"), as the various minority groups are commonly called, were carried out at the end of the 1970s. Although such survey studies are notoriously poor indicators of real attitudes, the results strongly suggest that the assumed Dutch tolerance was no more than a myth. The majority of respondents, even in such superficial opinion studies, favored the return of the immigrants to their home countries, resented having them as neighbors or family members, and generally expressed various degrees of social distance (Bovenkerk, 1978; Lagendijk, 1980; van Praag, 1983).

At the same time, small but vociferous right-wing organizations, which could hardly hide their racist stance, appeared on the scene, and one of these parties even managed to obtain a seat in Parliament in the 1982 election, although it subsequently lost it in 1986. This party managed to obtain up to 10% of the votes in certain neighborhoods of the large cities but, like the National Front in the United Kingdom, now has a dwindling electorate. Prejudice and discrimination became the obvious components of this structurally racist society despite the widespread belief that racism is merely incidental and limited to small racist groups. The war had brought about a widely shared antifascist attitude, and had contributed to a rather general rejection of antisemitism. Official norms and values, therefore, are antiracist, and many people tend to reject overtly racist opinions. The situation in everyday life is different, however. Ethnic minority group members are daily confronted with many forms of subtle discrimination (Essed, 1984). In other words, there is a marked discrepancy between official norms and values and actual attitudes and actions against minority groups. We have assumed that these forms of racism are not limited to blue-collar workers or to the poor inner-city neighborhoods but also, though sometimes more indirectly, are expressed by the elite, for instance by politicians, employers, educators, researchers, and, last but not least, journalists.

As usual, the press both followed and molded the consensus. As forms of public discourse, news and background analyses could not be overtly racist. There was attention for the various immigration phases, and the bad housing conditions of the initial groups of foreign workers was often criticized. At the same time, though, the press focused on the many social problems related to the presence of many immigrants, for instance the education system, housing, work, and welfare. Similarly, there was considerable and growing attention for ethnic crime, often associated with other problems of the cities (drugs, small theft, mugging, etc.), by selectively emphasizing the ethnic background of the accused in the press (Bovenkerk, 1978).

This bias in the media soon integrated with other negative attitudes and personal experiences of the white majority and, in fact, provided 'objective'

grounds and justifications for the prejudiced feelings and their discriminatory

Foreigners were generally felt to take away houses, jobs, and welfare money, or to fail to adapt themselves to "our" norms, values, and habits; and in everyday life they are often considered to be problematic, difficult or a nuisance (van Dijk, 1984a, 1987a). Abstracting from the complex ethnic attitudes of the white majority, it may be said that the "foreigners" were considered to form a threat to our economic privileges, and our socio-cultural system. Although these opinions are assumed to be heard more often in the city neighborhoods with large percentages of ethnic minority groups, there is both quantitative and qualitative evidence that these attitudes are widespread (van Praag, 1983; van Dijk, 1984a, 1987a). In more sophisticated ways, they may also be formulated by university professors (Couwenberg, 1981). Yet, the increasing forms of racism only became topicalized in the media during the last few years, and even then still in terms of small racist groups and racism as exceptional incidents. Recently, one of the more prominent features of media racism has been the systematic underrepresentation, if not denial, of structural or institutional racism. Some white minority researchers tended to analyze racial prejudices rather in terms of understandable if not legitimate resistance of the poor whites in the inner cities (Bovenkerk, Bruin, Brunt, & Wouters, 1985). As in the United Kingdom (Murray, 1986), both the press and these minority researchers focused their attention more on antiracists than on white racism.

PROPERTIES OF NEWS ABOUT ETHNIC MINORITY GROUPS

Introduction

Within this theoretical framework, the rest of the chapter gives a brief characterization of the representation of ethnic events in news reports in the Netherlands. This analysis will be embedded in brief summaries of results from studies in other Western countries, such as the United Kingdom, United States, and West Germany.

The Dutch data are based on two case studies carried out in 1980-1981 and 1985-1986, respectively, of the Dutch national press portrayal of ethnic groups and immigrants (including refugees) in the Netherlands. The first study (reported in more detail in van Dijk, 1983b) was limited to a systematic analysis of the coverage of one month (October, 1980). The second study, also carried out to replicate the first study and to obtain some comparative and developmental data, was more comprehensive and analyzed all news and background reports that appeared in the Dutch national press during half a year (August 1985 until January 1986). For several reasons, we did not choose to work with arbitrarily selected materials if that would guarantee

reliable sampling. In such a case, is it impossible to make qualitative analyses and comparisons of stories or topics that may appear on different days in different newspapers or that are dealt with in the press for several consecutive days. We wanted to present momentary pictures of two periods in the portrayal of ethnic affairs during the 1980s, rather than a historical and complete account of such portrayal, e.g., since the 1960s.

Set-up of the Dutch Case Studies

In both case studies, all proper news articles, articles, columns, and editorials were selected for inclusion in the material. Excluded, for practical reasons, were the arts and sports pages, as well as practical information in the press in which the representation or mention of ethnic groups is minimal (though not uninteresting for a more special study). All items either wholly or partly about the ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands were included: Surinamese, Antillians, Mediterranean immigrant workers (especially Turks and Moroccans), Moluccans and other people from Indonesia (Indos), Chinese, political and other refugees (from South America, Vietnam, Poland, Iran, Sri Lanka, etc), and Jews. Also included are gypsies and people living in mobile homes ("woonwagenbewoners") who also often suffer from very explicit forms of prejudice and social discrimination. Finally, ethnic relations in general, such as discrimination, prejudice, and racism in the Netherlands were analyzed as to their press coverage.

The criterion for inclusion was that an item should have at least one topic, defined as at least one paragraph, about an ethnic group, even if the whole item was mainly about another topic such as education, the elections, crime, or culture. The articles in the first study were clipped by students participating in a class on minorities in the media. Those of the second study were clipped partly by a professional agency, which turned out to be highly unreliable, so the remaining clippings were gathered by students and volunteers. In the first study, about 230 articles from five national papers were collected for one month; in the second study, about 1500 were collected from the same papers for a six-month period. In the first study, however, articles in which ethnic minorities were only briefly mentioned were also included. We assume, therefore, that the overall coverage frequency has remained more or less the same.

In the first study, five national newspapers—*NRC-Handelsblad*, *De Volkskrant*, *Het Parool*, *De Telegraaf*, and *De Waarheid*—were examined. As we have seen in the first sections of this chapter, the national newspapers are read by about half of the total media users. In addition to these newspapers, the second study also included the widely read *Algemeen Dagblad* and, in several respects liberal, the Protestant daily *Trouw*. Including these

papers, the total number of items analyzed in the 1985 study was 1508. Items of the regional press were collected in the second study but have not been analyzed here. Therefore, this report is limited to the study of the national press.

The data of the second Dutch case study were scored on forms by students taking part in a seminar on racism in the press. These forms contained the usual categories, such as newspaper, date, type of article, page number(s), source(s), size, photographs and their size, and categories in which both minority and majority individuals, groups, organizations, or institutions could be scored, both as speaking/ quoted or not-speaking/not-quoted. Content was further scored in a dozen preformulated subject categories, partly inspired by the first case study and by trial analyses. Finally, more qualitative themes that together summarized the paper were scored, fed into the computer, and analyzed separately on dominating thematic concepts and concept configurations (e.g., of actors and their properties).

We organize our analysis in terms of a systematic but informal discourse analysis of news reports (see van Dijk, 1987e, the previous chapters, and Hartley, 1982, for details on news structures) as follows: (1) presentation; (2) thematic structure; (3) local meanings; and (4) style and rhetoric. Since we have no relevant research data about such structures in news about minorities, we ignore in this chapter the overall formal, schematic structure of news reports and the relevance structures of news about minorities. For ease of reference, we shall occasionally denote the first (1980-1981) Dutch case study with the expression D1 and the second (1985-1986) with D2. To enhance the generality of our study, we have also summarized comparable results of the media studies in other countries for each of the respective levels of our analysis.

Presentation

By the presentation of news, we mean the structure of occurrence and visual properties that influence its chances of perception and attention such as frequency; location in the paper or program; location on the page; size; size of headlines; use of photos, pictures, drawings, or cartoons; and the type of media text (news, background article, editorial, opinion article, column, etc.).

We have few comparative data about the presentation of minority news. The theory predicts that, at least for routine events, the marginal position of minorities may be expressed indirectly or signalled by (1) relatively infrequent articles; (2) relatively short articles; and (3) less prominent position in paper, program, or page. This tendency may be reversed for those ethnic groups and events that are coherent with negative prejudices and that are

particularly pronounced instances of news values. That is, negative news that involves perceived violence, crime, or other forms of deviance may be presented frequently and in a relatively prominent way. The prototypical examples are news reports about riots, crime (e.g., murder and mugging), and drugs. We first summarize some U.S. data and then proceed to the European research results.

Frequency and size

The United States. The relative amount of minority news may be tentatively inferred from the distribution of articles about specific ethnic actors and topics. Thus, in his study of the U.S. networks and weeklies (*Time*, *Newsweek*), Gans (1979) found that the attention in the magazines for civil rights leaders dwindled from 7% in 1967 (even less in TV news programs), that is, in the middle of the civil rights actions, to 2% in 1971, and 0% of weekly magazine columns in 1975. Most of the news is about the political or professional elites (nearly 70%) or about violators of laws and mores (more than 20%).

Conversely, if minorities are involved in protest or violence (usually closely associated in the interpretative frameworks of the media), they get relatively much attention (see, however, Prichard, 1984). This was especially the case for the race riots of the late 1960s (Schary, 1969; Knopf, 1975; Caspari, 1982; Martindale, 1984, 1985). Calculating the incidence of unknowns in the news, Gans (1979) found that throughout the whole period covered by his research (1967-1975), protesters, rioters, and strikers lead the list with an average of about 40% per year. We may assume that for the press in the 1960s part of these groups probably were Black "rioters", and that, therefore, much of the news was dedicated to this kind of disruptions of the social order (13% in 1967 and 1971 and 3% in 1975). Gans shows that of the 180 stories published during selected months in 1967, 1969, and 1971 that were prominently about Blacks, 22% were directly related to racial disturbances (occupying 30% of the columns). Again, this proportion virtually disappears in 1975, when only 7 stories are published about Blacks during six months. In other words, if news reports about Blacks appear at all in U.S. magazines, this will be the case especially when they are about protests or riots.

In a content analysis of tens of thousands of stories that appeared in 1976 in the Chicago newspapers and on the national and local networks, Graber (1984), also found that most news is about politics, much less about social affairs and only a few percent about deprived groups (with which minority groups only overlap of course). In an earlier study of crime news, Graber (1980) found, for the same media, that crime and justice account for about 20% to 30% of all topics mentioned in the press and for a steady 12% on the

national networks. Half of the crime news is about street crime; this is the type of crime media users of her panel appear to remember best. For our discussion, it is even more interesting to find that although 70% of suspects in crime stories are whites of all ages and about 20% are black (in agreement with FBI statistics), the media users reverse these percentages and report that more than 60% of the crimes are committed by blacks and 7% by whites. This shows that specific attention for crime, together with the ethnic identification of suspects and prevailing ethnic prejudices, produces a clear attribution effect among the readers: They identify young male blacks as the major criminals and ghettos as crime's main location (see also Duncan, 1976).

Great Britain. In Great Britain much of the early work on race, racism, and the media has been done and inspired by Hartmann and Husband and their associates (Hartmann & Husband, 1974). In their content analysis of the British national press, Hartmann, Husband & Clark (1974) found that the amount of British race-related material in the *Times*, *Guardian*, *Express*, and *Mirror* fluctuated between 0.55% and 0.78% of the editorial space of the newspapers, that is, between a mean of 0.8 and 1.3 news items per day during the 1960s.

Critchler, Parker, and Sondhi (1977) replicated this study for the provincial press and found that in the 1960s, the Midland press devoted between 1.7% and 4.8% of its editorial space (minus sports and entertainment) to the subject of race, that is, more or less the same amount as the proportion of minorities in the respective cities of these newspapers (Birmingham, Coventry, Wolverhampton). Similarly, Troyna (1981) found for the 1976-1978 period that the British local and national press published about 1.3 items per copy on race, whereas only 33 news items on the radio (of a total amount of more than 111 hours of monitoring) were on race.

Also for Great Britain, the well-known "bad news" studies of the Glasgow University Media Group (1976, 1980) about industrial disputes found that for the various TV news programs (BBC, ITN) in the mid-1970s, race was a negligible part of the total amount of stories, barely reaching 0.4%, compared to the stories about politics, foreign affairs, and industrial relations (each about 20% on average). Crime, disasters, and human interest each score ten times higher than race.

West Germany. In a more recent study of the representation of minorities in the provincial German press of the city of Bielefeld, Ruhrmann Kollmer (1984) found between 1000 and 1500 articles on this topic in two and a half years, that is, between 1.3 and 2.0 items per day in two local newspapers.

The Netherlands. In our own first study of ethnic groups in the Dutch press in 1981, the five major newspapers of the national press published on average 1.8 articles per day on minorities, including articles with only brief mention of a minority group or person (Table 3.4). The average drops to half of that amount when only articles are counted that have ethnic minorities as a major topic (actor). This is particularly striking for the conservative popular newspaper *De Telegraaf* which published only 11 articles during the month. In our more extensive study of 1985, covering all articles published during six months, we found 35 articles on average per newspaper per month, that is, for 26 weekdays (there are no Sunday newspapers in the Netherlands). In that count, only articles in which ethnic groups are at least thematically present are included. From these figures, we infer that the Dutch press on average publishes one or two articles per day about ethnic groups (including immigrating refugees) or ethnic relations (including discrimination). The regional press publishes much less on ethnic minorities, although the variation in that case is considerable (from a few items per month to nearly one every other day).

We may conclude from these various findings from the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany, and the Netherlands that in the daily press, TV news, weeklies, and radio there is no abundance of items on race

TABLE 3.4
Frequencies of Articles and Agent Categories in News About Ethnic Affairs
in Seven Dutch Dailies During October 1981

<i>Newspapers</i>	<i>MI Articles</i>	<i>Ethnic Topics</i>	<i>Ethnic Agents</i>	<i>Autochthonous Agents</i>
A. National				
1. Volkskrant	53 (40)	22	12	10
2. Parool	39 (38)	25	18	7
3. Telegraaf	48 (26)	11	7	4
4. Waarheid	46 (36)	27	16	11
5. NRC-Handelsblad	41 (26)	18	9	9
Totals	237 (169)	103	70	33
Means (rounded)	47 (24)	21	14	7
B. Regional				
1. Helmonds Dagblad	23 (17)	18	7	11
2. Leeuwarder Courant	9 (6)	4	0	4
Totals	32 (23)	22	7	15
Means (rounded)	16 (12)	11	3	7
Total A + B	269 (189)	125	77	48
Means	38 (27)	18	11	7

() Number of articles about topics treated in other newspapers.

or ethnic minorities. The general percentage of news stories (or editorial space) on minorities in these countries fluctuates between less than .5% and 3%. Generally, the national quality press publishes more and the popular press, the regional press, weeklies, and TV newscasts less than the overall mean. We should add that the methods of analysis and counting are different in the respective studies. For instance, some of the articles that feature ethnic groups or their members may also have been scored under other social topics, typically crime, violence, and riot news.

When the number of ethnic groups or their overall percentage relative to the autochthonous (or white) population is higher, one might expect more stories about ethnic minority groups. This is, however, not the case. In most countries of Western Europe, where minorities make up about 5% of the population, minority stories rather consistently waver around about 1% or 2% of the total editorial space, or number of stories. The same is true in the United States, where the total percentage of various minorities exceeds 20% (about 14% are Blacks). Although of course other stories may implicitly also involve ethnic minority groups, these differences between proportion of media space and proportion of the population (and hence of numerical prominence) seem to suggest that minorities are underrepresented in the media. Other research has shown that this is not only symbolically the case: Minorities are also underrepresented as journalists, especially at the higher levels of editorial decision-making (Greenberg & Mazingo, 1976). Especially in Western Europe, minority journalists hardly exist or have little chance to be employed by the major newspapers (Husband, 1975; van Dijk, 1983b).

Size and Location

The literature provides even less data about the mean size (in centimeters or seconds) of media items about minorities. The measurements supplied by Hartmann, Husband & Clark (1974), Critcher, Parker & Sondhi (1977), suggest average lengths of about 25 cm, whereas Dutch articles in D1 are about 37 column centimeters or between 180 and 190 cm² on average. Those in D2 are somewhat shorter, about 30 column centimeters or 139 cm² (Table 3.5). The Dutch data also show considerable total size differences for the different newspapers: In general, the liberal quality press and the Amsterdam city newspaper (*Parool*) have the most coverage. The radical leftist (former communist) paper *Waarheid* appears to have less coverage, but since it only has about eight pages of editorial space, the percentage of its ethnic coverage is relatively high. As we shall see in more detail below, it is also the newspaper that reports most favorably about ethnic groups and antiracism. Recall that it is read by little more than 30,000

Dijk, 1980a). Thus, a proposition such as "the government reduces the child allowance of immigrant workers" would be a topic that summarizes part of a news report about ethnic minorities. The local meanings of a text characterize its microstructure, consisting of the meanings of words, word groups, clauses, sentences, and sentence connections. These local meanings of minority news are discussed in the next section.

Experimental research has consistently shown that language users not only build macrostructures to strategically understand a text and store information derived from it in memory but also that such macrostructures represent the information that is best recalled, whereas microstructural or local meaning details are usually forgotten after longer delays (van Dijk Kintsch, 1983). Therefore, it is important to assess such topics for minority news because this is what media users will essentially recall or recognize later, when they use the information from news reports in subsequent conversations.

Unfortunately, most traditional content analyses of news about minorities do not define and analyze topics in these terms. Rather, they tend to analyze conceptual classes of topics, also often called topics or themes. These, however, are the common subject of classes of texts, such as immigration, employment, housing, or discrimination. Each component of this limited set of subjects may contain an infinite number of possible topics or themes as we define them. For instance, topics such as "the border police has arrested a group of refugees from Sri Lanka" or "the government does not recognize the refugee status of Tamils" are two concrete topics that may be classified under the more general subjects of immigration and/or refugees. Themes or topics as we define them are routinely expressed in the ideal headline of a single news report: They are always about a specific event or episode. Unlike subjects, which are denoted by a single concept (e.g., crime), topics or themes are formulated by a complete proposition (e.g., A murdered B). In this section, therefore, we distinguish between the subjects found in most earlier work on the portrayal of ethnic affairs and the more concrete topics of individual news reports. Of course, the latter also allow generalization because similar events may be reported more often in different news reports (the border police often arrests immigrants), or more news reports may be published about the same events.

Subjects

Great Britain. Hartmann, Husband & Clark (1974) provide an extensive analysis of what they call topics (i.e., what we call subjects): immigration, race relations, housing, education, employment, and crime. They found that most articles (18.8%) were about immigration, followed immediately by race relations (18.6%), followed at a distance by crime (9.0%) (percentages

calculated by us on the basis of their absolute numbers). Subjects such as housing, education, health, or racial harmony score much lower (< 3.4%), whereas discrimination scores in between (6.7%). The immigration subject was further differentiated by such subsubjects as control, refused entry and illegal entry, which suggests that the major news topics in this subject class were of the following schematic type: Government (political party, border police) acts to stop (should stop) illegal entry. That is, the news reports probably did not deal with the rights of British Commonwealth citizens to enter Great Britain but rather with their "wrongs" while wanting to use such rights.

For the British regional press, Critcher, Parker & Sondhi (1977) report that 22.5% of all ethnic items deal with crime, followed by human interest (15.0%), race relations (10.1%), and immigration (8.4%). Each of the other topics score less than 4.5%. In other words, the regional press shows a reverse picture when compared with the national press, at least for the major subjects. Yet, in general, news about minorities, whether in the national or regional press, mainly dealt with immigration, race relations, and crime. Of the various crime topics, more than 50% of the column inches were about violent crime (followed at a distance by robbery, drugs, and immigration crimes, accounting for about 6% each), which corresponds to Graber's study of the U.S press (1980). The immigration subjects are usually about immigration control and immigration as an election topic. And of the (4.5%) housing topics, most deal with immigrants acting as landlords and causing neighborhood decay. Similarly, the few (4.2%) articles about education usually are about overcrowding of schools or classes or about special provisions for immigrants. In other words, both the general occurrence of subjects and their specific topics tend to be negative. They blame immigrants for a variety of problems, including crime, decay, overcrowding, or the need for special provisions; or they imply the necessity to take control of immigration to avoid such problems.

Ten years later (1976-1978), immigration, crime, human interest, and race relations are still prominently on the list of major subjects (Troyna, 1981), accounting for nearly 40% of all items in the local and national press. However, a new issue now heads the list. The National Front (NF) accounts for 14.3% of all items, especially in the *Mirror* and the *Guardian*, whereas the conservative press pays less attention to it. Note, however, that the racist policies of the National Front are not being discussed but rather their role as a possibly elected party and the reactions of the other parties against the NF. Similar reporting can be witnessed for the major racist party (Centrum-partij) in the Netherlands. As in the 1960s, the British press discusses immigration as a problem of control, as an election issue, or publishes reports about illegal entry and especially the numbers of immigrants involved (the well-known number game discussed in the next section).

The Netherlands. Minority news in the Dutch press of the early 1980s shows a somewhat different thematic picture according to our DI study (Table 3.6). Crime (including drugs and the actions of the police or the courts) heads the list, comprising 26.9% of all subjects mentioned, followed by discrimination (19.7%), housing (lack of housing is an important social problem in the major Dutch cities) (15.3%), social affairs (9.3), and immigration (8.8%). A more informal analysis of the news in the summer of 1982 just before the elections showed that as in England the possible election of the racist Centruumpartij was also a prominent topic in the media.

The housing topics in the Dutch press did not specifically deal with problems *experienced* by minority groups but rather with events like squatting minority group members (and the subsequent riots that occurred when the police dislodged Surinamese mothers and children from a new home they had occupied to protest against its strict rules and small rooms; see Chapter 5). As in the English press, issues are seldom dealt with from the point of view of the minority group, that is, as *their* problems. Rather, within subjects like immigration, housing, education, and employment differences most topics are about problems "society" or "we" have with the consequences of the presence of "foreigners." Thus, housing was dealt with in terms of squatting, protest, and police action—not in terms of the exploitation of minorities by landlords or the fire hazards of decrepit pensions (see Chapter 4, for this specific topic in the coverage of the immigration of Tamil refugees to the Netherlands).

Drugs and drug-related theft are in the center of press attention to crime topics. However, as with the mugging case studied by Hall, et al. (1978) for Britain, this kind of crime is explicitly and sometimes more indirectly associated with young Black (Surinamese) males, especially in the cities. Social affairs are mostly dealt with in terms of special programs or subsidies given by the authorities. Discrimination is a frequent topic in the Dutch press, but this is predominantly the case in individualistic terms (typically, a bouncer at a nightclub not allowing Blacks), not in the structural terms of a racist society. The concept of racism is generally avoided in such cases or preferably mentioned between quotes when used by minority groups of antiracists in accusation contexts. Interesting subjects for minority group members such as good education, health care, and political organization occurred much less frequently in the press of the early 1980s.

To get an impression of the relative importance of these coverage sizes, we may compare *Volkscrant* and *Telegraaf* to see how much space is accorded to other topics. The average amount of crime news in *Volkscrant* (based on data for a year) in one month is 68 articles (230 cm²), and in *Telegraaf*, 188 articles (242 cm²). This means that crime for these two widely read newspapers occupies twice as much space for *Volkscrant*, or nearly seven times as much space (ten times as many articles) for *Telegraaf*

TABLE 3.6
Subjects in the Ethnic Affairs Coverage of Five (1981) and Seven (1985) Dutch National Newspapers^a

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Telegraaf</i>		<i>Alg. Dagblad</i>		<i>NRC-Handelsbl.</i>		<i>Volkskrant</i>		<i>Waarheid</i>		<i>Parool</i>		<i>Trouw</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	1981	1985	1981	1985	1981	1985	1981	1985	1981	1985	1981	1985	1981	1985	1981	1985
1. General	0	3	—	5	0	5	0	3	3	2	0	6	—	7	4	31
2. Immigration	1	43	—	47	4	73	6	76	3	64	5	56	—	87	28	446
3. Unemployment	2	9	—	12	2	15	3	30	0	10	3	14	—	19	11	109
4. Housing	3	6	—	13	6	9	9	19	11	7	12	13	—	17	49	84
5. Health	0	9	—	4	0	8	0	7	0	1	1	13	—	8	1	50
6. Education	0	13	—	5	3	7	1	14	1	3	0	15	—	23	7	80
7. Research	—	14	—	20	—	10	—	23	—	11	—	16	—	29	—	123
8. Culture	5	6	—	2	2	5	8	17	5	19	6	12	—	15	24	76
9. Politics	0	6	—	11	5	16	4	16	1	24	2	16	—	9	12	98
10. Social affairs	4	16	—	10	5	24	7	33	7	15	3	27	—	27	30	152
11. Crime	27	32	—	23	16	18	15	33	10	8	10	34	—	46	86	194
12. Religion	—	4	—	4	—	9	—	3	—	1	—	8	—	25	—	54
13. Economy	—	1	—	0	—	0	—	0	—	0	—	5	—	0	—	6
14. Race relations	—	9	—	7	—	12	—	17	—	17	—	12	—	16	—	90
15. Discrimination	8	16	—	31	6	43	13	84	18	59	13	53	—	71	63	357
16. Other	2	26	—	17	1	20	1	34	1	27	0	28	—	41	5	193
Total	55	148	—	148	50	194	67	283	55	204	55	224	—	307	279	1508

^aThe 1981 study covered one month, the 1985 study six months.

than the articles explicitly about ethnic groups. If we have to judge on frequency and size alone, the relevance accorded to crime in 1980 is much higher in the press than a subject like ethnic affairs.

Our more extensive and more systematic replication study of the mid-1980s shows a somewhat different picture (see Table 3.6 for comparison with the 1981 data). Due to the prominent new arrival of groups of Tamils and refugees from Iran, the subject of immigration scored highest, accounting for nearly one third of all subjects in the Dutch national press. Many of these stories are also about Turks or Moroccans being refused entry or being threatened with expulsion, typically followed by organized protests by autochthonous action groups. This subject is followed by discrimination (about 24%), which again focuses on individual cases of discrimination on the job or in public places like bars or discos. Crime occupies third position (13%), thus remaining high on the list. Surprising in this case is that the more liberal press (*Volkskrant*, *Parool*, and *Trouw*) accounts for most of the articles on crime, not *Telegraaf*. Immigration, discrimination, and crime together account for two thirds of all reports.

The other subjects each have less than 10% of the number of articles. Whereas social affairs and employment are predictable, most surprising is the attention for the subject of research, which covers reports about various policy and academic studies about ethnic minority groups. After education, subjects such as culture and health score very low, as usual. Note finally that subjects such as economy are practically never associated with ethnic groups. Indeed, their contribution to the economy is hardly ever discussed in the press. These various figures generally correspond to those found for the British national press. That is, immigration remains the central focus of ethnic news, especially the problems and controls associated with it, followed by race relations in general or discrimination in particular.

When we examine the distribution of these topics over different ethnic groups, we find that Moroccans, Turks, Surinamese, and political refugees (mainly Iranians and Tamils) are associated most with the immigration subject (Table 3.7). For discrimination, "foreigners" in general account for half of the cases, followed by Jews (more than 30%), which suggests that when racism against a single group is the topic, antisemitism gets most of the attention. As expected, Moroccans, Turks, and Surinamese are the next groups associated with the topic of discrimination. Turks and Surinamese alone account for nearly half of all ethnic crime news in the press. Social affairs pertains especially to "foreigners" generally, as well as to Surinamese and Moroccans, but also to the newly immigrated Tamils.

Conversely, Table 3.7 indicates that minorities in general score especially high for the subject of politics (because of the municipal elections in 1986 in which foreigners were allowed to vote for the first time), education, and research. Surinamese and Turks appear to score high especially in health

TABLE 3.7
Subjects for Some Ethnic Groups in the Dutch Press (1985 data)

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Minorities in General</i>	<i>Surinamese</i>	<i>Turks</i>	<i>Moroccans</i>	<i>Moluccans</i>	<i>Refugees (Iranians, 3rd World)</i>	<i>Tamils</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. General	12	3	4	3	1	3	1	2	6	31
2. Immigration	39	69	69	84	0	113	39	1	34	445
3. Unemployment	45	6	19	9	6	6	0	2	32	108
4. Housing	10	4	3	76	14	10	25	1	3	84
5. Health	10	16	14	14	0	2	0	1	1	50
6. Education	26	4	10	27	2	0	2	2	9	79
7. Research	40	24	18	15	7	1	5	44	8	121
8. Culture	17	12	10	15	2	1	1	16	1	75
9. Politics	65	11	19	14	0	2	0	2	7	92
10. Social affairs	39	31	16	27	6	16	19	12	11	152
11. Crime	20	52	43	18	2	8	3	26	33	193
12. Religion	7	3	8	8	0	0	0	27	2	53
13. Economy	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	6
14. Race relations	41	13	21	14	1	0	1	0	4	90
15. Discrimination	170	19	28	36	3	1	2	108	19	339
16. Other topics	33	48	32	25	7	6	5	48	13	192
Total groups	385	213	224	222	32	132	70	214	116	1483

than the articles explicitly about ethnic groups. If we have to judge on frequency and size alone, the relevance accorded to crime in 1980 is much higher in the press than a subject like ethnic affairs.

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The other subjects each have less than 10% of the number of articles. Whereas social affairs and employment are predictable, most surprising is the attention for the subject of research, which covers reports about various policy and academic studies about ethnic minority groups. After education, subjects such as culture and health score very low, as usual. Note finally that subjects such as economy are practically never associated with ethnic groups. Indeed, their contribution to the economy is hardly ever discussed in the press. These various figures generally correspond to those found for the British national press. That is, immigration remains the central focus of ethnic news, especially the problems and controls associated with it, followed by race relations in general or discrimination in particular.

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7. Research	40	24	18	15	7	1	5	44	8	121
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12. Religion	7	3	8	8	0	0	0	27	2	53
13. Economy	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	6
14. Race relations	41	13	21	14	1	0	1	0	4	90
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Total groups	385	213	224	222	32	132	70	214	116	1483

An exposition about growing racism is being held in the Amsterdam Anne Frank House; (10) A taxicab driver is murdered by a foreigner; (11) Plans to give local voting rights to immigrant workers are boycotted by the ethnic organizations; and (12) A federation of immigrant worker's organizations is being founded.

First results of the follow-up study of 1985-1986 about the Dutch press portrayal of ethnic affairs, in which for each news item the thematic structure was also recorded, shows the following major themes:

1. EM resort to legal resistance against discrimination or expulsion.
2. State institutions (e.g., police) try to improve race relations.
3. EM have problems or less chances in society (education, work).
4. Conflicts between national and local authorities about housing of EM.
5. EM participate in local elections.
6. EM cause problems in schools, health care, etc.
7. Authorities refuse entry to immigrants.

In other words, the immigration topics remain relevant, especially for refugees such as Tamils or remigration of minorities to their home countries. Similarly, the concepts of problem, conflict, or difficulties remain associated with many minority topics (e.g., in the fields of housing, work, or education). As is the case for our interview data (van Dijk, 1984a, 1987a), the topic dimension "they should (do not) adapt to Dutch society" is implicit in many media reports. Discrimination and legal steps against it also remain major topics. New is the increasing attention for systematic and legal action of minorities, or of autochthonous groups that back them, against decisions of the local or national authorities. The increasing ethnic consciousness and resistance in the Netherlands also begin to appear in the press. The thematic structure of many reports often features the complementary pair "EM demand X" and "Authorities give/refuse X", where X may be residence permits, financial aid, housing, welfare, or special provision.

Also new is the widespread attention in the media during the fall of 1985 and the spring of 1986 for the local elections in March 1986, in which the Mediterranean immigrant workers who have resided more than five years in the country, have active and passive voting rights for the first time. Implied by much of this coverage, however, is not so much the emphasis on the right to vote for each group that lives in the country and contributes to the economy but rather the liberal and somewhat paternalistic pride of having given them the local vote.

and crime, and Moroccans score high in education and health. Most stories about Moluccans deal with housing (Moluccans until recently lived in separated camps which they often refuse to leave for regular housing to maintain group coherence). Housing is also the major topic for Tamils (see Chapter 4, for details). Jews are in the news practically only as subjects of discrimination (antisemitism) and associated with research and culture (especially religion). The few reports about gypsies deal practically only with their immigration and with crime. In other words, we see that specific subjects appear to associate with specific groups. For instance, crime predominantly associates with Surinamese and Turks or with immigrant workers generafiy.

West Germany. Crime also leads the subject list in the German regional press (22.4%), closely followed by subjects like residence status, politics, identity, and integration (Ruhrmann & Kollmer, 1984). Although these authors have used somewhat different category labels from the other studies, subjects such as government policies on immigration and race relations are also important for the German media discussion about the status of (mainly) Turkish immigrant workers. The authors also found, however, that more than half of all items mention problems experienced by immigrants, primarily residence and working permits, education and communication problems, and much less often employment and housing problems. Generally, the attribution of blame for the various immigration problems is distributed evenly between positive and negative articles about foreigners.

Thematic Structures

Although the quantitative analysis of subjects provides at least a rough picture of what ethnic news reports are about, most subjects (except perhaps crime and discrimination) tell us little about topics of such reports. Under such subjects as education, employment or housing, we may in principle find topics that describe problems *of* or problems *with* (caused by) ethnic minorities, or no problems at all. The authors of the previously mentioned studies, however, usually conclude that the majority of articles stress the problems that are perceived to be caused by immigration and minority groups.

Further analysis of the type of topics dealt with in media reports about minorities is necessary. Our DI analysis of the Dutch national press reveals that in different news stories, similar topics tend to occur, such as:

1. Dutch (person or organization) discriminate against ethnic minority, group, person, or organization (EM).
2. Dutch authorities help EM.
3. EM (male) youths use drugs.

4. Dutch authorities try to control (EM) drugs situation.
5. EM protest against EM policies or actions of Dutch authorities.
6. There are conflicts between Dutch and EM.
7. Authorities evict EM (from house or neighborhood).
8. EM need help.
9. Dutch authorities restrict immigration of EM.
10. EM are violent or criminal.
11. EM cannot be trusted.
12. Dutch protest against special (better) treatment of EM.
13. Dutch groups protest against discrimination.

These general topics stereotypically define the ethnic situation in the Netherlands as it is sketched by the Dutch national press of the early 1980s. Further abstraction of these topics leads to a small number of more general topics, such as:

1. EM cause problems (conflicts) in Dutch society.
2. EM are dissatisfied.
3. EM are often involved in crime and violence.
4. Dutch authorities help EM.
5. Some Dutch people discriminate against EM.

The first three of these major topics may further be abstracted to the general supertopic, EM cause problems. This negative overall topic is contrasted to the positive action (help) of the Dutch authorities, but somewhat counterbalanced by the issue of incidental discrimination.

These different topics are realized in stories about a small number of events, covered by several newspapers (accounting for 70% of all stories), as well as in independent news stories and feature articles (30%). To give an impression of the kind of ethnic events covered by at least two newspapers, we may list what happened in October 1981: (1) A reverend publishes an antisemitic article in a church periodical and is criticized by Jewish organizations; (2) The police of Amsterdam Warmoesstraat police station helps disseminate racist pamphlets protesting the light sentence of a Turkish defendant; (3) A settlement of Moluccans will be dislodged; (4) The secretary, of ethnic affairs informally launches the idea to require minimum quotas of minorities in business; (5) A Turkish woman is allowed to stay after her divorce; (6) A group of gypsies is threatened with expulsion; (7) Tough measures are announced by the Mayor of Amsterdam to fight the drugs scene in the Amsterdam red light district (Zeedijk); (8) A honre for Surinamese families, occupied before official permission, is dislodged; (9)

Topics and Ethnic Groups

The thematic structures of items about different groups may of course vary. Most prominent in the news of 1985 were the Surinamese, Turks, Moroccans and Moluccans, together with Tamils and other (notably Iranian) refugees. We examined more in detail about one third of all topics in which these groups appeared as actors (active agents or passive patients or experiencers):

1. Surinamese are portrayed as organizing themselves, as resisting against the authorities, as people who do not get special help, as people with problems, as deviants (criminals, violent people), and as people who want more provisions and who complain (in this order).

2. Turkish people appear as objects of discrimination and immigration decisions but also as people who resist against such actions by legal action. At the same time they are also portrayed as difficult or deviant, whether as breakers of the law, or as people whose cultural identity causes problems (children, especially girls, stay away from school, etc.).

3. Moroccans are primarily dealt with in immigration stories of various types and as people who have problems (including discrimination, cultural differences) or again who are deviant in some respect (illegality, drugs, crime).

4. Moluccans are shown first as people with a variety of problems, especially unemployment, housing, education, or cultural identity and next as people who do not get help by the authorities in these areas. Yet, they also are portrayed as resisting in several ways and finally as deviants (crime, drugs).

5. The thematic structures for Tamils are somewhat similar: problems (housing, welfare), help, and resistance, together with various immigration themes (and the conflicts these lead to among the different authorities) (See Chapter 4, for details).

The consistent occurrence and prominence of a limited set of thematic concepts and categories can be seen among different groups. In agreement with quantitative content analyses abroad, these thematic analyses confirm the portrayal in terms of problems: They **have** or **cause** problems.

Major problems minorities **have** are related to three major areas: immigration, discrimination, and various social domains (unemployment, housing, education, and cultural differences). The reaction cluster to these problems is filled with topics that feature concepts such as meeting, expressing wants or demands, organization, planning, protesting, demonstrating and legal action by the minority groups, and refusing or granting demands by the

authorities. The general impression from that cluster is that foreigners always complain and are never satisfied (or that the government treats them too favorably).

Problems seen to be *caused* by minorities are mainly in the areas of crime and deviance, nonadaptation to Dutch rules, norms or habits, or generally the problems posed by the presence of immigrants (housing, work, education, welfare). Hence the third major prejudice 'set': "they are criminal" or "they do not adapt." These three major thematic clusters (the alliterating triad of difficulties, demands, and deviance) are easily generalized to the most general thematic implication of most stories: "Foreigners are trouble." Of course, most articles do not spell this out explicitly. Rather, by accumulation and focusing, it is the overall thematic picture of the portrayal. These results are in agreement with the data from the 1981 study, in which ethnic groups occur positively in only 2 of 172 articles where they appear as actors, whereas negative portrayal appears in 73 (43%) of these stories.

Topics and Autochthonous Groups

The negative topicalization of minorities is balanced by two negative roles of autochthonous people in many press stories. First, the responsible authorities (minister of justice, the courts, or the police) are sometimes discussed critically when they plan to (or did) expel a sympathetic foreigner, typically a child or a mother with children. This kind of story is an excellent human affairs item, which implicitly shows the positive attitude of the press towards the minority groups. In other words, and in accordance with dominant news values, the focus is on isolated incidents. Of course, the press does *not* systematically question strict immigration policies in general or the often racist nature of both such policies (in practice directed especially against Black people or ethnically different people) and their enforcement by officers at the border (e.g., at Schiphol Airport, where traveling Black people, also those with Dutch passports who are returning home, are systematically harassed by the immigration and customs officers).

The second negative media topic in which white autochthonous people are responsible agents is discrimination, typically by individual employers or employment agencies and by bar or disco bouncers. Again, such actions are represented as isolated and unacceptable in a tolerant country. Typically, as we shall discuss later in more detail, people who discriminate are given the opportunity to explain why they did it, an opportunity the press seldom gives to defendants or "real crime" suspects. In other words, discrimination may be wrong but is represented as being motivated, if not as an understandable human reaction against the presence or the difficulties created by foreigners.

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2. Turkish people appear as objects of discrimination and immigration decisions but also as people who resist against such actions by legal action. At the same time they are also portrayed as difficult or deviant, whether as breakers of the law, or as people whose cultural identity causes problems (children, especially girls, stay away from school, etc.).

3. Moroccans are primarily dealt with in immigration stories of various types and as people who have problems (including discrimination, cultural differences) or again who are deviant in some respect (illegality, drugs, crime).

4. Moluccans are shown first as people with a variety of problems, especially unemployment, housing, education, or cultural identity and next as people who do not get help by the authorities in these areas. Yet, they also are portrayed as resisting in several ways and finally as deviants (crime, drugs).

5. The thematic structures for Tamils are somewhat similar: problems (housing, welfare), help, and resistance, together with various immigration themes (and the conflicts these lead to among the different authorities) (See Chapter 4, for details).

The consistent occurrence and prominence of a limited set of thematic concepts and categories can be seen among different groups. In agreement with quantitative content analyses abroad, these thematic analyses confirm the portrayal in terms of problems: They *have* or *cause* problems.

Major problems minorities have are related to three major areas: immigration, discrimination, and various social domains (unemployment, housing, education, and cultural differences). The reaction cluster to these problems is filled with topics that feature concepts such as meeting, expressing wants or demands, organization, planning, protesting, demonstrating and legal action by the minority groups, and refusing or granting demands by the

Not thematized, however, are the many forms of more indirect, subtle, or simply unproven instances of discrimination in employment as experienced by Black or Mediterranean people (Essed, 1984). It has been argued that systematic racism in the Netherlands is explicitly denied by the press and the elites or simply attributed to a few marginal racist groups. That high unemployment or school dropout (or rather forceout) among Black youths may also be caused primarily by both blatant and subtle acts of verbal and nonverbal discrimination is a well-known fact that the press does not acknowledge by featuring it in extensive stories. If mentioned at all, it is the doubtful quote of a minority group or person or of a marginalized white antiracist organization.

Finally, white Dutch people are appearing in positive topics primarily as action groups that support minority actors against the authorities, especially in expulsion stories, thereby balancing the negative role of the authorities. Characteristically, whereas the negative topics about white Dutch people or institutions are tied to incidents, the positive topics are much more related to systematic forms of action: Whether the government or action groups, they are both consistently portrayed as giving support, as doing something for *them*. Thus, few stories about the legal or other types of resistance of minority groups against decisions or actions of the authorities do not also prominently feature autochthonous groups or individuals (often lawyers) that participate in such resistance. This is a reporting framework that is particularly prominent in the more liberal or leftist press. Whereas the conservative and especially the popular press stress the fact that foreigners cause problems (immigration, crime, deviance, cultural differences, housing, or unemployment) of which we Dutch people are victims, the liberal press focuses on minorities as having problems but at the same time on the positive helping role of liberal white people to solve these problems. Notions such as rights, autonomy, and independent resistance by the minority groups themselves are much less stressed in such reporting; nor are the problems ascribed to minorities interpreted within a wider racist framework of Dutch society.

Great Britain

This thematic analysis is consistent with the general conclusion British researchers have drawn for the portrayal of minorities in Great Britain (Hartmann & Husband, 1974). For a more specific analysis of topics, however, we must make inferences from their concrete examples of topics of news reports. The complementary studies by Hartmann, Husband, Sr Clark (1974), and Critcher, Parker & Sondhi (1977) not only make use of general subjects (which they call topics) but also mention more concrete subtopics. For instance, under the subject of housing subtopics might be "minorities

live in overcrowded slums" or "minorities cause housing shortages." Let us list some of these subtopics for the most frequent topics and try to derive some more general themes as we have done for the Dutch press data (the term "colored" where we would now use the more political term "Blacks" — also for people from South Asia—is the author's):

1. Immigration.
 - a. Numbers entering/leaving Britain.
 - b. Government controls (should control) entry.
 - c. British passport holders do not have right of entry.
 - d. Coloreds are refused entry to Britain.
 - e. Immigrants enter Britain illegally.
 - f. Immigration is an election issue.
2. Race relations.
 - a. General comments on race relations.
 - b. Positive steps to improve race relations.
 - c. Anticolored speeches or statements on race relations.
3. Crime.
 - a. Coloreds involved in crime (general).
 - b. Coloreds involved in drugs scene.
 - c. Coloreds involved in illegal immigration.
4. Discrimination
 - a. Coloreds are being discriminated against.
5. Legislation.
 - a. General comments on legislation (e.g., immigration control).
6. White hostility.
 - a. Verbal hostility against colored people.

From these reconstructed themes that dominate the portrayal of race in the British press, the following more general themes may be derived:

1. There are too many colored minorities coming to Britain.
2. The government must control entry of colored immigrants.
3. Race relations are bad in Britain.
4. »litorales are involved in crime.
5. Minorities are discriminated against and abused.

We see that in many respects the dominant themes of coverage in the 1960s are similar to those found for the Netherlands. Generally, as also concluded in Hartmann & Husband (1974), the dominant theme is: "minorities cause problems." Besides this general topic, we also find the topic of

discrimination, but this is markedly less frequent. Note that of the 165 items about immigration, the vast majority have negative implications for Black immigrants, whereas only four of these discuss the right of Black passport holders to enter Britain. The overall picture sketched of race and race relations in Britain appears to be one of trouble, starting with illegal entry and big numbers to problems of employment, housing, and education. In this framework, even a topic like discrimination may be associated with, and in a sense indirectly attributed to and caused by, the presence of Black immigrants. According to this argument, British people wouldn't discriminate if there were no immigrants. The analysis of the British regional press by Critcher, Parker & Sondhi (1977) confirms this general thematic outline of media portrayal, although in this case, crime and human affairs topics are more important than in the national quality press.

Then years later, this topical picture has only slightly changed (Troyna, 1981). Immigration control and crime are still high on the list. Now, however, the National Front tops the list of most frequent subjects. This subject is not dealt with in terms of the racist opinions, propaganda, and policies of the NF but focuses on the opposition of the respected parties against this group or on the possibility that the NF might win votes during the elections. • Under the subject of race relations, reference is made especially to speeches and reports about that issues, whereas under the much less frequent subject of white hostility, we find reports about attacks against Black immigrants and the activities of hostile organizations, topics associated with that of the National Front. In other words, despite the interest for the National Front, the major problem *for* minority groups, racism, is hardly discussed. When it is mentioned, it is associated with small, right-wing groups, that is, with deviance or exceptional occurrence, outside of the broad consensus as it is defined by the dominant parties and groups in society.

Anti antiracism

Unfortunately, we have no systematic data for the British press of the 1980s that would enable us to draw conclusions about the similarities and changes during the past two decades. Murray (1986), however, analyzes in more general terms the coverage of race in Thatcher's Britain, which was characterized by the riots of Toxteth, Handsworth, Tottenham, and Brixton, among others—media events unsurpassed by few other dramas. They were pictured predominantly as violence, not as a form of protest or resistance; as a manifestation of interethnic conflicts, not in terms of Black solidarity; as the direct result of Powellian "waves" of alien influx. The backgrounds and causes of the riots get little attention (see also Tumber, 1982; Sivanandan, 1986, see also Martindale, 1985 for the U.S. media coverage of the causes of the racial protests in the 1960s and 1970s). Murray shows how the columns

of the conservative quality press reformulate in more lofty terms the racist stories of the tabloids and how the New Right in the same press has found its new "enemy within": antiracism. This also characterizes, although less virulently, the conservative Dutch press of the mid-1980s. Within a more embracing framework of defending white British culture and its values, the targets of such press campaigns were obvious: assumed positive discrimination, ethnic projects, cultural pluralism, multicultural education, and in general each initiative based on the recognition that Britain is no longer white.

Both in Britain and elsewhere, the strategy of these attacks is frequently one of reversal: "we are not racist, they are", a familiar topic that also characterizes much talk registered in Amsterdam (van Dijk, 1984a, 1987a). "The blacks and their liberal white allies are terrorising the white population." Against this portrayal of "black racism", it is even easier to oppose the assumed virtues of British tolerance and decency. Similar attacks against antiracism, using the same strategy of reversal ("anti-French racism") can be found in the French right-wing press (Bonnafoous & Fiala, 1984). We have seen that when the Dutch quality press features attacks on antiracism, it may not be by aggressive reversal but by a systematic denial of structural racism in Dutch society: Some people have prejudices, and some people discriminate, and that is wrong, but racism can only be found in small right-wing groups outside of the broad consensus. Allegations of racism are simply the exaggeration of radicals or a few hypersensitive minority group members. These lines of thought are familiar from the male attacks against feminist critiques of sexism.

Interestingly, as we have found earlier, it is again the elite, including members of the traditionally white ethnic minority industry in the Netherlands, that voices such anti-antiracist (by the law of double negation, racist) feelings, as was the case in the media reception of Essed's book on the forms of, sometimes subtle, everyday racism experienced by Black women (Essed, 1984; see also van Dijk, 1987b; Essed, 1986, for analysis of such responses). Even more violent were the media and chief editors' attacks against our own first study of racism in the Dutch press (van. Dijk, 1983b), ranging from simple denial and ridiculing to raising doubts about personal integrity or professional competence, and finally to barring research students from the newspaper's premises and from even talking to journalists. So much for the freedom of research as a corollary of the alleged freedom of the press.

These are not simply isolated, personal experiences but rather manifestations of a widespread pattern. The tolerant self-image of the elite, and especially of the liberal intellectual elite, does not allow an analysis of their prejudiced attitudes or discriminatory practices. Hollingsworth (1985), observing casual remarks made in the editorial offices of the million-selling British Sun, was able to note straightforward racist remarks from its chief

editor Kelvin McKenzie about Blacks in South Africa and the United Kingdom alike. This suggests that the barely veiled racism of the British (or German, such as *Bild*) tabloids is systematically related to the attitudes of their editors, i.e., leading members of a highly influential elite, controlling vast resources of symbolic media power, and not simply a reflection of what the public wants to read (see also Gormley, 1975). With some well-known transformations (of mitigation, indirectness, or pseudoargumentation), the same holds for the quality press, both in the United Kingdom and in the Netherlands.

The thematic picture for Germany is partly parallel to that in Britain and the Netherlands (Ruhrmann & Kollmer, 1984). Here, too, the major topics belong to the dominant subjects of crime, residence status (immigration), politics, and identity or integration (race relations in Britain). The emphasis in these topics is on the use or abuse by foreigners (mostly Turkish) of German resources (welfare, employment, housing, education). Much as in the Netherlands and Britain, another thematic dimension of these topics is that of what is called 'Überfremdung' in German (literally, overalienation), which has also dominated the political and media discussion in France (see e.g., the papers collected in *Mots*, 8, 1984), Switzerland (Ebel & Fiala, 1983), Sweden (Hedman, 1985), and other Western European countries.

Roles of Minorities

Topics account for global events and situations in which both minority and autochthonous groups are involved. Further analysis of the more specific roles such groups and their members play in the situations accounted for by the media is necessary, however. We have few explicit data for such an analysis, but the topics or themes that were derived from extant content analyses may be further inspected to derive, tentatively, the major roles played by minorities in the news.

For the dominant crime topics, this role is straightforward: Minorities are characterized primarily as agents or suspects of a variety of crimes and very seldom as victims of white crime. Especially in the quality press, this association with crime may be more indirect. In that case, they are involved in drugs, whether as active dealers or as more passive, but still self-inflicted victims of drug abuse. For readers' superficial interpretation, if monitored by ethnic prejudices, there is no difference in this role assignment: In both cases crime or drugs are attributed to minorities, and hence seen as actively participated in as negatively-valued agents (Graber, 1980).

The same is true of the other topics summarized by the overall implication "They cause problems and conflicts." Whether in immigration, housing, unemployment, or education, minorities (or simply minority presence

or immigration) are implicitly or explicitly represented as the *causes* (agents) of increasing problems, not as their victims (patients). Similarly, in our thematic analysis, we have shown that minorities often appear as people who are dissatisfied, as protesters, demonstrators, or even rioters, which again identifies the agentive role with negatively valued concepts. They are portrayed as ungrateful dissidents, not as people who rightfully resist against unjust treatment. For the German regional press, Ruhrmann & Kollmer (1984) also conclude that in most cases (more than 50%) foreigners are valued negatively in the press, mostly by the newspapers themselves, by public opinion, or by the government.

Minorities also tend to appear preferably as groups and seldom as prominent individuals as would be the case in typically personalized white news. Their leaders do not receive VIP treatment and are, therefore, barely known by the public at large. If they do appear as individuals, they are mostly criminals or victims. And as we shall show shortly, they are also quoted less often than autochthonous actors.

The role of the autochthonous actors is ambiguous. In much coverage, the state institutions (the government, parliament, city councils and other national and local authorities, the police and the courts, education and research) are portrayed most frequently in ethnic news reports: 70% of all autochthonous actors according to our Dutch data of 1981, whereas the state appears as actor in more than half and the judiciary and the police in more than a third, of all reports examined from the 1985-1986 data. These actors appear in active roles: They are expected to control immigration; prevent and prosecute crime; or to provide assistance in employment, housing, or education. They are expected to analyze and solve problems and to develop the best policies to control the "minority problem". Ruhrmann Kollmer (1984) showed that for Germany the government and public opinion are most often (about 80%) mentioned as the actors from which action is expected or demanded or to which recommendations are addressed.

In the Dutch data of 1981, the police and the courts are mentioned even more frequently than the national or local government. The role of the authorities is characterized mostly in neutral terms: The actions described are the normal task or duties of the authorities. Sometimes, especially in the conservative British press, the authorities are criticized for not being strict enough or for giving priority treatment to Black immigrants. We found that the government and the police are especially represented more often in negative terms than other institutions. But even when criticized of "not doing anything against it", the active role of the authorities is always presupposed. The characterization of government is more positive when it is portrayed as the Great Helper—as the dispenser of goods, money, and services for the minority groups. The frequent reference to protest and dissatisfac-

tion by the ethnic groups puts this role in further perspective, and rhetorically enhances it by implied contrast.

Other autochthonous groups are represented in a variety of roles. Individual Dutch people and employers usually appear as agents in discrimination news. Members of parliament occur as either supportive of restrictive government policies or as opposed to them, as may be expected, and the same is true for political parties. When supportive of immigration and immigrants, or when acting as antiracists, they are portrayed as active but negative agents (see also Seidel, 1987b). But since they are ingroup members, their actions of protest, dissent, and demonstration are implicitly viewed as racial treason and dealt with in even more negative terms than those of the outgroup members.

On the other end of the scale, members of racist parties, people who discriminate, and people who oppose immigration or the special provisions for minorities are usually represented in an active role. This time, however, while superficially condemning right-wing action, the conservative media represents it within a context of reaction, that is, as partly understandable or even excusable: Racists are provoked to act against minorities. The disco or bar bouncer who does not admit more Blacks or the employer who fires a Turkish worker because of problems (s)he has had with him or her is portrayed as acting out of ignorance because of an especially difficult situation, or because he or she is an incidental bigot. Such forms of everyday racism (Essed, 1984) are seldom placed within a wider perspective of structural racism in society. At best, active discrimination is represented as outside the liberal consensus but never as a serious crime. (Like speeding or drunk driving; one shouldn't do it, but everybody does it).

Thus, for much of the dominant press, right-wing racists are seen as active deviants, who have placed themselves outside of the broad ethnic consensus of apparent liberalism and conditional tolerance. They are not so much characterized as active, responsible agents of racist policies and actions as they are illegitimate competitors in the political arena. They steal the votes of the frustrated white poor and say embarrassing things, even when they are sometimes right when they claim priority treatment for "our own people."

At the local level of syntactic organization, role distribution has been systematically investigated by Fowler and his associates (Fowler, et al., 1979; Fowler, 1987). They show that the action structure of sentences, as expressed by word order, grammatical relations (subject, object, etc.), actives, and passives in news reports in the British press about disturbances also signal that minority groups or their members tend to show up as agents, especially in negative contexts, whereas the police will be put in a less direct passive phrase or remain implicit altogether. Sykes (1985, 1987) uses the

same analysis to show this biased perspective in official agency reports, the syntax of which subtly signals that minorities have no positive and active control of their own situation.

Finally, in the thematic analysis of D2 we examined which actors tend to appear together in the same news item. This association is important in the formation of situation models by readers. They will want to know which typical participants are involved in each situation.. Minorities in general mostly appear together with the national or local authorities or with the judiciary and the police. Surinamese are portrayed most often together with the judiciary and the police, which confirms the criminalization of this group of Black citizens. This is even more pronounced for Turks and especially Moroccans who appear with the police or the judiciary in more than 20% of the items (as immigrant workers or foreigners, they also often appear together). Tamils and Moluccans are mostly confronted with the government, the city councils, or other authorities. The cities have to deal mostly with minorities in general or with the government or ministries, usually when having conflicts about finding minority programs or provisions. The judiciary, apart from acting with the police, appear to deal mostly with Moroccans, especially in decisions about, or legal actions against, expulsion of illegals. The police, finally, is mostly associated with minorities in general, and with Turkish people, either because of crime or again because of illegal presence in the country.

These associations give further substance to the analysis of role relationships in the thematic structures that organize the global contents of news reports about minority groups. They confirm our repeated finding that press stories about minorities are not so much descriptions of a large variety of possible news events but rather an expression of stereotypical situations to which minority presence is restricted: immigration and expulsion, discrimination, demands, dissent, social and cultural problems (language, education, housing, and employment), and finally crime and deviance. Other topics and other roles are virtually absent, such as their own political and social organization, health, culture and the arts, and especially experiences of racism. Even more than for news in general, reporting about minorities appears to be both stereotypical and negative, so that some topics (politics, economy, culture) dealt with when autochthonous groups are actors are seldom prominent in ethnic news.

Headlines

A special study of all headlines in the 1985 data (van Dijk, 1987d) confirms most of the previous conclusions. Headlines are particularly important because, both in production and in the reception of news reports, they subjectively define the most prominent or most relevant information of the news

item. They express—sometimes in a biased way—the top of the underlying semantic macrostructure, and at the same time define the situation reported in the press. Since headlines and leads are often the only information read or memorized, they play an important role in further information processing and possible effects of news about ethnic minority groups.

As may be expected from our subject and topic analyses, immigration is the subject most often (17.6%) expressed in the headlines, followed by crime (12.8%) and discrimination (11.1%). In this respect, the headlines correspond more or less with the themes they summarize, except for crime which now occupies second position, suggesting the well-known operation of relevance upranking. Several secondary topics follow (each about 2% or 3%), such as "action groups helps minorities", "minorities participate in elections", or "minorities make demands or protest." Interestingly, only 0.6% of the headlines feature the subject of white violence against minorities.

Over half of all headlines explicitly mention as actors ethnic minorities, refugees, or specific ethnic groups. Refugees (Iranians, Tamils, etc.) are especially made prominent in the headlines (see also Chapter 4). Together with the extant groups—Surinamese, Turks, Moroccans, and Moluccans—they now count among the most frequent headline actors in the Dutch press.

White institutions and groups, such as the government, the cities, the judiciary, or the police appear relatively infrequently in the headlines (together in only about 10% of the headlines). That is, although they appear as actors in most reports, their role apparently remains downgraded or implicit in the headlines. In other words, the ethnic event is defined as involving ethnic groups, even when the Dutch authorities play a prominent role in such events.

These role relationships become particularly clear when we examine the syntactic position and semantic roles of actors in the headlines. This analysis shows that in more than 25% of the headlines, minority groups appear in first sentence topical position. This position is usually reserved for active agents in Dutch and English syntax. Not so in these headlines, where the minorities in topical position have active agent roles in only 7.7% of the headlines. It follows that they mostly are experiencer, or object of actions by others. Since these others must be the Dutch authorities and since these do not frequently occur in the headlines, we conclude that most headlines involve such authorities only in an indirect or implicit way, as e.g., in such actions as expel, refuse, arrest, etc. In the few headlines in which minorities appear as active agents, they are mostly agents of negative or negatively associated actions, such as demanding, protesting, resisting, going to court, complaining, or engaging in a hunger strike. The association with crime in the frequent crime headlines is more indirect and becomes explicit es-

pecially when minority involvement can be defensibly associated with cultural habits, such as the prominent headlines in the national press about a Moroccan father who circumcised his child with a pair of scissors. There are no straightforward positive agent roles for minorities in the headlines.

These results are confirmed by an analysis of the headline roles of the white authorities: If they appear explicitly as first topics in the headlines at it is most often as neutral (typical actions, such as arresting, dislodging, etc.) or positive (throwing a party for minorities in the police station, learning Turkish, and generally wanting to ameliorate ethnic relations) agent roles.

This headline analysis suggests that (1) special topics such as immigration and crime tend to become further emphasized; (2) ethnic situations primarily involve ethnic groups, although white groups or authorities in fact are more prominent in such news; (3) minorities often have first-position, topic role in the headlines, but are seldom agents; if they are agents it is usually in more or less negative contexts; and (4) white groups or institutions occur much less in the headlines (at least not explicitly), but if they occur in topic position, then usually are neutral or positive agents.,

Four years earlier, the headlines in the Dutch press appeared to be similar. Except for *De Telegraaf*, headlines no longer explicitly associate minority groups with crime (even if crime is a major subject in headlines), but this does not mean that they are always neutral. *NRC-Handelsblad* defines the situation in a Moluccan settlement with a big headline such as MOUNTING TENSION IN SETTLEMENT, and in another item in the same newspaper MOLUCCANS WANT FIRMER ACTION, rather than a headline that summarizes the main event—"Government Stops Subsidy." On the other hand, negative actions of the authorities are seldom headlined. In the case of a racist pamphlet distributed after a trial of a foreign murderer, *De Volkskrant* headlines PROTESTS AFTER JUDGE'S VERDICT IN STABBING CASE. In other words, the protest nature of the pamphlet is defined as the most important dimension, not the fact that the pamphlet was racist or that the police helped distribute it. Similarly, after the squatter demonstration analyzed in Chapter 5 this same newspaper uses the headlines RIOT AFTER EVACUATION and HOOLIGANS STILL UNDER ARREST, although most of the article is about the treatment of the Surinamese families in the police station. No headlines, however, appear such POLICE ACCUSED OF RACISM AGAINST SURINAMESE FAMILIES, let alone RACIST TREATMENT AT POLICE STATION.

Generally, then, the headlines may often be used to define a negative or even threatening situation in which ethnic groups are involved and tend to ignore or mitigate the negative actions of the authorities. In addition, ethnic points of view are seldom represented. This kind of reporting is only slightly

less negative than *Telegraaf* style headlines of the type Tumc, 16, GETS SIX YEARS FOR MURDER.

Local Meaning, Style, and Perspective

The informal thematic and role analysis given above already suggests a number of implications for the study of style and perspective. Given a negative topic, we may expect that local meanings and their expression in lexical items and syntax will also match the overall topical orientation and perspective. If minorities are represented as responsible agents in a host of problems, this should also surface in their person and action descriptions and in the perspective conveyed by sentence syntax. This is indeed the case, but we have as yet little systematic data to sketch the full picture of this local dimension of ethnic coverage. This generally holds for qualitative analyses, which were neglected or impressionistic in most quantitative studies.

Who is Speaking?

One important clue about the perspective of the media on ethnic affairs comes from an analysis of speaker roles. When and how often are minorities quoted or referred to as speakers, as people who voice facts and opinions? Downing (1980) found that minority group members, like Black African leaders, are quoted less often than white spokespersons, even in accounts of events that directly concern them. Similarly, in our 1981 press data we found that of all speakers in the minority news, 70% are white autochthonous Dutch (mostly institutional spokespersons, such as politicians), despite the fact that in most of the news reports (61%) minorities were major actors. The 1985-1986 data show a similar picture. Majority group actors are quoted in nearly half of all occurrences but minority actors are quoted only 25% of the time.

This bias in the distribution of speaking roles has several structural and cognitive causes. First, as dominated groups, minorities in Western Europe are less organized and, therefore, have less organized access to the media through press conferences, press releases, or designated spokespersons. Second, for the same organizational reasons, journalists are less inclined to actively search for or listen to minority sources. Third, such sources are perceived as less objective and hence less credible, which also is manifested by the predominant use of words that express doubt and distance and the more explicit use of quotation marks when they are allowed to speak. As interested party they are seldom or cautiously quoted when they accuse Dutch people or institutions (e.g., the police) of discrimination or racism. This is much less the case when the opinions of the authorities are men-

tioned, for instance, when they deny discriminatory acts. Fourth, practically all journalists in Western Europe are white and have no personal or professional relationships with minority groups. Due to their subtle or more blatant prejudices or to the usual problems of intercultural communication, white journalists will feel much less comfortable when interviewing Black spokespersons and will, therefore, also tend to avoid them as sources. Fifth, the converse reinforces this tendency: Since most credible sources—the authorities, politicians, educators, professionals, or scholars—are white and since most institutions are white, they are more likely to be used as sources.

U.S. research shows the same tendency. In general, but especially when ethnic or racial conflicts arise, the version of events provided by the authorities, most notably the police, prevails. Gutiérrez (1978) showed that not only Chicanos tend to be represented stereotypically by the Californian press but also that their point of view of the conflicts in which immigrant workers are involved is subordinated to that of the Anglo officials. This has also been a permanent observation about the press accounts of Black riots in the 1960s and before (Fischer & Lowenstein, 1967; Knopf, 1975). The same is true today for the coverage of the riots in the British cities during the 1980s (Downing, 1985; Murray, 1986; Sivanandan, 1986; Tumber, 1982).

Evaluation, Implication and Presupposition

More than other news, the coverage of ethnic minorities has an evaluative dimension: Opinions are more often expressed or implied than for instance in political news (Ruhmann & Kollmer, 1984). In our own analysis of Dutch news, we first found that the national newspapers did not resort to explicit racial slurs, except in quotes describing the words of racist people. Negative evaluations are usually more subtle and indirect. Most consistent is the negative dimension implied by the set of words designating problems, difficulties, and conflicts associated with ethnic affairs. This negative aspect may be further emphasized by the use of words such as "threat" even in contexts where it means "to intend" or "to announce": Minorities are described as "threatening" with legal action or a demonstration, whereas the authorities never "threaten" to stop financial help, but "decide" or "announce" to do so. This usage is coherent with the more general lexical framework of violence terms associated with minority action and expresses prominent underlying prejudices about minority groups, especially Black men. Ruhmann & Kollmer (1984) show that negative evaluations in the German regional press are usually framed in terms of criticism, deviation of the norm, and stereotypes.

A key property of discourse semantics is implicitness. Only part of the information must be expressed in the text itself. Writers can leave most inferences to the reader. In ethnic news, this means that negative implica-

tions or associations need not be expressed. In fact, in many cases such implications are not directly obvious to an uncritical reader. They only appear as further inferences are drawn or when several examples are compared to yield cumulative associations. The following examples are from our 1981 data:

- (A Turkish woman loses her residence permit) "which she lost when she ran away from her husband because of assault" (*Volkskrant*, Oct. 1).
- (Because of the city action plan against drugs) "A [Surinamese] welfare agency fears occupation The agencies have been threatened" (*Volkskrant*, Oct. 7).
- anarchistic situation in the camps — (*Volkskrant*, Oct. 7).
- "Half of the foreign children have been in contact with the police . . . their fathers sometimes give them quite a beating . . . or the children are threatened with death" (*Volkskrant*, Oct. 8).
- (Moluccan drug addicts in Groningen, after a subsidy was stopped for their center) ". . . windows have been smashed . . . there has been word of hijackings . . . and it is feared that the stones will be followed by more serious eruptions" (*NRC-Handelsblad*, Oct. 2).
- (An editorial about the drugs scene:) "harassment by the heroin traffic . traumatic episode of the drugs cafés, . . . a center for Surinamese addicts and its illegal follow-up, . . . tribal war among the social workers . . ." (*NRC-Handelsblad*, Oct. 9).
- (About P. the leader of the Moluccan settlement group:) Mayor is reported saying "they cannot be trusted", and "P. speaks a mixture of formal Dutch and legal jargon." The mayor: "**P.** is nearly criminal, and misleads his own people" (*NRC-Handelsblad*, Oct. 9).
- (Interview with Moluccan leader P.) "piercing looks, a long story . . . from which it should be inferred . . . he openly speaks about violent resistance . . . He threatens to . . . People who come to collect the rent have fear . . . the beginning of terror . . ." (*Het Parool*, Oct. 6).
- (About the departure of gypsies:) "others try to enter Germany illegally, via backroads" (*Het Parool*, Oct. 7).
- "With eleven knife blows, **Z.** . . killed the . . ." (*De Telegraaf*, Oct. 1)
- (About a demonstration of Surinamese before the town hall:) "the demonstrators were mostly divided . . . there was much shouting . . . that nobody understood" (*De Telegraaf*, Oct. 6)
- A shooting in front of a café "where a lot of foreigners used to come" (*De Telegraaf*; Oct. 13).

- (A neglected child, mother arrested:) "neglection ... drugs ... heroin traffic ... prison . ." (*De Telegraaf*, Oct. 31).

This is merely a small sample of illustrations. Unfortunately the English versions lose much of the subtleties of the original Dutch. Yet, the major implications are obvious and confirm the general topics examined before: Ethnic groups are violent, threatening, cannot be trusted, are funny or strange, do not speak our language properly, neglect their children, are involved in the drugs scene, and are generally threatening majority-group members or the organizations set up to deal with them. If a Turkish woman is described to lose her residence permit because of divorce from her husband, all newspapers briefly indicate the important, but in this context, irrelevant reason that her man was violent. This would not happen when the reasons for a white Dutch woman's divorce were the issue. In fact, violence against women is one of those topics that gets marginal treatment in the male-dominated Dutch press.

This touches upon an interesting feature of text and talk about ethnic groups. In our fieldwork data (van Dijk, 1984a, 1987a), we found frequent mention that Islamic men oppress their women. This generalizing evaluation suggests a feeling of superiority of Dutch men with respect to backward foreign men, as well as similar feelings of white women towards their less emancipated sisters (Essed, 1983). The far-from-ideal position of Dutch women in the Netherlands, despite a decade of feminist struggle, seems conveniently overlooked in such derogatory discourse. Thus, the true or alleged sexism of foreign men has become a preferred, while safe stereotype (indeed, what liberal could object to such a charge of sexism?) also in the press. Yet, its frequent expression suggests that it is part of a more complex negative attitude towards foreigners, rather than of a positive attitude towards women. Similar conclusions may be drawn from the examples about the family life styles of Turks or Moroccans, the role of fathers and sons, and the problems this creates for the Dutch authorities.

Even more subtle are those implications presupposed by the newspaper or the person(s) interviewed. Often they pertain to assumed properties of ethnic groups:

- (An interview with an official) "These people are sometimes very intelligent" (*Volkscrant*, Oct. 7).
- "They said they would keep their promise" (*NRC-Handelsblad*, Oct. 9).

These are two examples that presuppose that an ethnic group is usually not so intelligent and that usually they do not keep their promises.

Doubt

One standard strategy of the press to mark distance with quoted others is the formulation of doubt. Quotation marks, modal expressions, or other signals may be used to portray a them-group. This means that ethnic groups, even when in the Netherlands for a long time or even when they have Dutch nationality, are not perceived as one of us in the press.

One of the prominent examples recurring in our data is the use of "alleged" when the accusation of discrimination or racism is leveled against the authorities by ethnic groups or persons. Thus, Black groups are reported to argue that the antidrugs-actions of the city "allegedly increase racist tendencies", instead of "increase." When the authorities are quoted in ethnic news events, their declarations are much less often put in quotation marks or accompanied by signals of distance. The use of the standard word in Dutch to express doubt ('zou' = should/would) has become routinized to a point that even when somebody was convicted by a court for discrimination, a newspaper in the fall of 1985 writes that he had been convicted because he allegedly discriminated against a minority group members. Even proof of discrimination is apparently not enough for some of the press. When *Het Parool* (Sept. 5, 1985) reviews a research report demonstrating racism in children books and textbooks, its coherent style is one of doubt, hesitation, mockery or distance, emphasizing attribution particles such as "according to the author . . .". There are few news reports in the Dutch press of 1985 about discrimination where reliable information about discrimination is not accompanied by such particles of journalistic doubt or distance. This hesitation to acknowledge discrimination or racism is generally shared by both journalists and politicians. Prime minister Lubbers is quoted in *NRC-Handelsblad* (Nov. 18, 1985) as saying that foreigners *feel* (my italics, TAvD) they are treated as second-class citizens." In other words, discrimination is only a subjective feeling, not a social fact. And Rietkerk, the late minister of internal affairs (responsible for the coordination of minority policies), is quoted in *De Volkskrant* that "social unrest, crime, and insecurity are the basis of racism", thereby again blaming a vague general state of affairs or the (threatening, criminal?) victims of racism.

Sharpening and Mitigation

The accentuation and mitigation of meanings is one of the central semantic strategies of newspaper language, which was often found in our data. The reactions of citizens against the arrival of gypsies in the neighborhood is described as "they are not exactly enthusiastic" by one quoted official. Background knowledge suggests that these citizens react in a plainly racist way and will do everything to expel gypsies from the village. Similarly,

protests against the treatment of political refugees, put in prison by the police of Schiphol Airport is headlined as "Police tactics incorrect" (*Volkskrant*, Oct. 9, 1981). The same newspaper writes about the Anne Frank House exposition against racism in terms of "decreasing tolerance". And *Het Parool*, interviewing the Amsterdam city authorities about a police action against Surinamese women and children, reports "there have been small mistakes", but that action groups have "terribly exploited" these families.

We may conclude that several papers tend to use mitigating expressions, directly or quoted from officials, for the negative actions of the authorities and accentuation or exaggeration for the negative actions of ethnic groups and their supporters. Conversely, negative assertions about minorities may also be dissimulated rhetorically by litotes or abstract characterizations, as is done in a quotation of the Underminister of Justice, Korte van Hemel, about refugees who may have "a negative influence on the social climate" (interview in *NRC-Handelsblad*, Sept. 13, 1985). Apart from this explicit negative evaluation, this is also an example of blaming the victim or the well-known fundamental attribution error (Pettigrew, 1979). Instead of blaming racist Dutch reactions against the immigration of refugees, she blames the possibly ensuing negative climate upon the refugees themselves. The same (conservative, quality) newspaper in an article about minority policy (Nov., 7, 1985) states that "the presence of foreigners leads to increasing social tension", thereby again blaming the victim.

Perspective

The various examples mentioned above contribute to an overall ethnocentric perspective in the news about ethnic groups. In most situations of conflict, the authorities are given the opportunity to formulate their opinions. Ethnic spokespersons are quoted less often, less prominently, and with more signals of distance or doubt. *De Volkskrant* (October 6, 1981), reports about the quota plan of the Underminister for Ethnic Affairs by first presenting the various objections against this plan as formulated by business officials, and only then, are the much-shorter opinions presented of those who support the plan. If the police helps immigrant children who ran away from home, the press reports favorably about the police ("your helper and friend" as a Dutch ad goes) and only negatively about Turkish fathers who batter their children. Often such authoritarian behavior is connected to the "backward" culture of the foreigners. As with the negative treatment of foreign women, discussed previously, no comparison with the Dutch situation is routinely made. We read surprisingly little about how many Dutch children are maltreated by their parents. Hence, negativity is applied selectively as a news value to ethnic minority groups. This is a well-known

feature of stereotypical and prejudiced attitudes (Hamilton, 1981; van DI. 1984a, 1987a).

In the fall of 1981, all people who lived on a minimum income allowance were entitled to an extra bonus, if they filled out a form. Foreign workers may have language problems in completing such forms, and would risk not getting the bonus. *De Volkskrant* (Oct. 29) presents this story from the authorities' perspective, for whom this language barrier is a problem and who reject complaints about lack of forms in sufficient languages in terms of "they should be glad to have forms in their language". No mention is made of the opinions of the foreigners themselves and of their problems in finding out the many subtle rules of the Dutch social system. Hardly intentionally, but no less effectively, the majority of the Dutch press represents the point of view of our society and our authorities against them.

Explanation and Attribution: Blaming the Victim

News events often require an explanatory framework, in which causes such events or reasons for actions are specified to enhance comprehension. Some actions of ethnic minority may be especially subject to these explanations because cultural differences may make them incomprehensible for white Dutch people. Such attributive explanations of action are often part of a stereotypical view of such cultural backgrounds or of a racist interpretation of the personal characteristics of ethnic group members. It is a safe strategy to vaguely attribute negative actions to culture while actually referring to inferior characteristics of the other group. At the same time, alternative explanations are ruled out. Thus, in the fall of 1985, some Dutch newspapers (e.g., *NRC-Handelsblad* of Oct. 24 and *Het Parool* of Oct. 18) featured stories about children who often stay away from school. Although this is a more general problem, attention is focused on foreign (Turkish, Moroccan) children who "illegally" stay home. For girls in particular, this is attributed to cultural practices of the ethnic group. At the same time, however, a research report finally showed that many Turkish or Moroccan girls didn't want to go to school because of racist behavior by the teachers or other students. We see that biased or selective explanations based on stereotypical attributions are an important way of blaming the victim.

Description

Important also for the reader's representation of ethnic minority groups are their identifying descriptions. In the Netherlands, we find a generalized use of the term "foreigners" ("buitenlanders") to denote all minority groups, including Surinamese, most of whom have Dutch nationality. After the initial use of the term "cultural minority" by the authorities and the media, the term "ethnic minority" is now used more often, but keeps an

academic flavor. For Mediterranean immigrant workers, both in the Netherlands and in West Germany, the equivalent of "guest worker" is still widely used in the press, although the more academic and political term "foreign worker" is gaining popularity. Further, proper names or country designations are used in such a way to create persistent ambiguity: The term "Surinamer" is usually used for a man of Surinamese origin who lives in the Netherlands but may also refer to people who actually live in Surinami.

Color-based or racial descriptions occur less frequently. The media, in response to the U.S. example, are now using the description "Black", more often, but rather for U.S. and South African Blacks than for Surinamese or Antillian Dutch. In a political sense, "Black" is used even less for other colored minorities in the Netherlands, such as those of East Indian (or Moluccan), now Indonesian, origin. As a general description of any non-white minority group, including Turks and Moroccans, the use of "Black" is more or less restricted to politically conscious minority organizations and their members and, therefore, occurs in the media only in quotations. The description "Negro" is used somewhat less frequently, although it is still used by many people, including the elite, and may as such find its way into the media through quotation or in columns. In this respect, the Dutch elite and the media have shown less social and political consciousness than the U.S. media. This ambiguity is characteristic of Dutch media and of Dutch elite discourse on race in general: On the one hand, it appears less overtly racist than comparable discourse types in, e.g., Western Germany, United Kingdom or France; but, on the other hand, sociopolitical awareness about racism and racist discourse is much less developed compared with the media, politics, education, or other elite discourse in the United Kingdom and especially the United States.

The German and Dutch languages use, and the media feature, the terms "race" or "racial" much less often than in the United States or the United Kingdom, probably because of the very negative associations of these terms with their fascist use during the Nazi time. "Racism" as a term, however, is widely used, although we have seen repeatedly that the newspapers usually place the term between quotes because they invariably treat it as a subjective term of evaluation and not as a term designating a social fact. More frequent in Dutch is the use of weaker terms such as "foreigner hate" or "foreigner fear". The standard German term has become "Ausländerfeindlichkeit" (hostility against foreigners).

British academic publications only recently tend to generalize the terms "race" and "racial" to "ethnic", to emphasize the cultural dimensions of the "new" racism (Barker, 1981). The media, however, still use the term "race" very prominently in their coverage. In their analysis of headlines, Hartmann, Husband & Clark (1974) found that for the representation of minorities in Britain, the concept of race was used in 12.1% of the cases, together

with 15.2% of uses to indicate immigrant, followed by 11.4% of specific names or origin designations, and 7.1% of references to color. In other words, the ethnic groups were generally defined and identified (already in the situation defining and macrostructure expressing headlines) as belonging to another racial, ethnic, or national group. From the start, their special status as immigrants is underlined, despite their British citizenship or despite the fact that many of them have lived in Britain for many years or even all their lives. References to white groups are rare, even when the news reports are about white hostility and discrimination. In that case, the notion of race is often used.

The same authors also found that 31% of all headlines feature negative words of different classes: first, words that denote conflict or disagreement (*hate, row, flight, crisis,*); followed by words that denote control (*stop, cut, curb, ban, censor,*); words that denote violence (*murder, kill, riot, shoot, burn, massacre,* the latter used especially for events overseas); and those that are associated with legal process, crime, or illegal acts (*prison, jail, police, arrest, illegal entry, theft*). Again, most of these concepts and words are used in association with ethnic groups and much less in relation to white hostility or racism, unless occurring in the United States. (Similarly, in the Dutch press, it is much more accepted to speak of racism in other countries, especially the United States and South Africa). The preferred words in the British headlines come from the lexical classes of restriction and conflict (in combination with race, color, or immigrant), whereas the use of ethnic names is more frequent for the description of groups in foreign news.

In other words, despite the vast variety in origins, immigrants or minorities are treated as one undifferentiated group. This tendency has been shown to be related to ethnic prejudice and intergroup perception (see Tajfel, 1981). Oyeran, the notion of race is used in 30% of the headlines in combination with conflict or violence words. This is particularly, though not exclusively, true for the tabloids, which usually score twice as high as the liberal or conservative quality press. Although these analyses and figures are based on media content in the 1960s, there is little reason to assume that the situation in the British press in the 1980 is significantly different.

Concluding Remarks

From these observations at the local semantic and stylistic levels, we may conclude that ethnic or racial groups, or race relations in a multiethnic society, are consistently associated with problems, conflict, and difficulties, if not with violence and illegality. It does not matter greatly in such cases whether the authorities or the police are portrayed as performing an action that might be evaluated negatively, such as "curb", "expel", or "arrest". As soon as such words are used in a context of ethnic or racial affairs, they tend

to attach to the minority group rather than to the autochthonous organization (who are merely doing their job and, for many readers, even rightly so). In other words, it is less the precise context than the vague association that is relevant for the cognitive consequences of interpretation in this case. Extant prejudices will make readers tend to attribute negative properties or acts of the whole situation to one focused actor: the Black, immigrant, or minority group member (see Duncan, 1976; Hewstone & Jaspars, 1982; Hamilton, 1981b; and the other contributions in Hamilton, 1981a).

PROCESSING NEWS ABOUT MINORITIES

Bad News, Bad Effects?

The general conclusion that news about minorities in the press, to put it mildly, leaves much to be desired would lose much of its social impact if its effects would be harmless. The argument may be put forward—and has been put forward by both newsmakers and scholars—that the negative effects of media messages should not be exaggerated. Readers would pick up the agenda set by the press for everyday conversation (Atwood, Sohn & Sohn, 1978); but further, each reader would use the media message in accordance with one's own goals, beliefs, and attitudes (Rosengren, Wener, & Palmgren, 1985). Although this is not the place to discuss the fate of various effect theories in mass media research (Schramm & Roberts, 1971), the question is most relevant for media discourse about minorities. After all, media information for most members of the majority is about the only daily source of knowledge and beliefs about ethnic minority groups. Except for those people, mostly in the cities, who have frequent contacts with minority group members, everyday conversations about foreigners will be predominantly based on media information. From this it follows that if no alternative information sources exist, relevant social topics will indeed probably be those that have been put on the agenda by the media or by the political or social elites who speak through the media (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Gormley, 1975; Erbring, Goldenberg & Miller, 1980).

The problem, however, is that agenda topics as such are seldom neutral in the sense that readers may simply choose to form an independent opinion about immigration, discrimination, employment, housing, education, or cultural differences, for example. Therefore, a limited effect or agenda-setting hypothesis for minority news could be seriously entertained only (1) if people would have ample prior and continuous access to alternative information; and (2) if the media would offer neutral topics; or (3) if a controversial topic would be discussed from different points of view in the press. The research we have reviewed and reported suggests that these conditions are

not satisfied. We argued that most majority members do not have alternative sources of information about present minority groups, and the ethnic topics discussed in the media are both highly stereotypical, if not straightforwardly racist, and embedded in a general consensual framework that allows little alternative evaluations, let alone severe antiracist criticism. In other words, not only media discourse itself but the whole communicative context is biased.

This means that for readers to be able to form independent, alternative opinions and attitudes about ethnic groups and ethnic relations, they must have (1) the rare ability to decipher the ideological codes of the press; and (2) counterinformation and counterideologies to form different models of the situation and from there different general opinions and attitudes. It goes without saying that these conditions only hold for those people who by experience and/or alternative sources of information (antiracist publications) are able to develop strong alternative attitudes as well as argumentative strategies that allow them to reject the interpretative framework proposed by the dominant media institutions. For members of the white dominant majority, such conditions hold only in exceptional cases.

For minority group members, obviously, it will be much easier to reject the dominant framework, simply because they not only have immediate access to information about their own group (if only by informal conversation and everyday interaction) but also regular experiences, for instance of racism, with dominant group members. That is, if anything, they are the real experts that may defeat the dominant message of the white media. There is much evidence that many minority group members themselves do indeed exercise this privilege and arrive as a well-founded critique of the white media. This resistance may take a more intuitive, implicit form for the minority public at large, but little experience and training will be necessary to arrive at more explicit and argumentatively corroborated formulations of a counterideology. The role of independent ethnic media is of course crucial in the reproduction of such counterideologies.

The Power of the Dominant Interpretative Framework

In such a communicative context it follows that the majority of the white readers have few resources to resist the interpretative framework of the media. This does not necessarily imply that all its messages are believed to be true by most readers. Among the dominant white media, social, political, and ideological differences allow at least some variation in ethnic news and opinions. To a limited extent, this variation may also hold for different writers of one newspaper, for instance for opinion articles or letters sent to the editor. In this respect, there is some freedom in opinion formation,

based on selective processing of facts and opinions that are consistent with personal opinions or subgroup ideologies. Most of those white readers who are critical of government policies or editorial treatment of minorities will also get most of their information from the media, and for them, the effect of the prevailing portrayals may be less persuasive if their alternative attitudes are explicit and strong enough. Yet, the dominant frame of reference is more abstract and operates more indirectly and, therefore, has more subtle persuasive power. Thus, when minorities or ethnic affairs in general are consistently described from a specific, white, perspective, it is difficult to construct an alternative perspective. Also, people may be critical or selective in their processing of information in the press, but this presupposes that this information is present in the first place. If vast areas of information are simply not part of the regular news agenda at all, many facts cannot even be used to build counterinformation and hence a counterideology.

Let us give a concrete example. During the last few years, one racist party in the Netherlands (Centrum Partij, CP), won up to 10% of the votes in city council or parliamentary elections in some inner-city areas and suburbs, although its general adherence was limited to only a small percentage. (They lost their one seat in parliament in the 1986 elections.) The general consensus for most media, however, is that such a party is a scandal: Out-right racism or foreigner hate is generally resented or at least not done. This was the background for a controversy about whether this party or similar racist parties should be forbidden. Most people and most parties did not favor prohibition and argued that (1) such parties may go underground, so that they could no longer be controlled; and (2) prohibiting any party would be inconsistent with the democratic principles of free party formation if not with those of free speech. For the extreme left, the latter argument was especially persuasive because party prohibition might, under a right-wing government, also turn against them.

From a certain perspective, this line of argument seems to have a point. However, the political elites, the media, and public discourse in this debate consistently argued within only one interpretative framework. First, it ignored the fact that racism is not limited to explicitly racist parties but is structurally present throughout society at large. This alternative point of view, shared by few white people in the Netherlands, would have made the whole controversy rather pointless because either solution in that case could be interpreted simply as a strategy to attribute racism solely to a small extremist group and, hence, as an excuse to ignore societal racism at large. Second, for the same reason, the problem of control would only become a pseudoproblem because the control of societal racism in general would still not be controlled and because as long as racism of extremists is truly underground it would hardly be noticeable and difficult to reproduce in society. In fact, the racism of a few extremists would be serious but, nevertheless,

negligible for the minority groups involved when compared to the, perhaps less extremist but no less serious, regular, widespread, and legitimate racism of the respectable parties or the population at large. Third, and most crucially, the argument of party freedom in this line of argument apparently is felt to be more relevant for the defense of democratic ideals than the freedom and the elementary rights of ethnic minority groups, as guaranteed by Article 1 of the Dutch constitution, which states equality for all and prohibits discrimination on any ground.

In other words, what for the elite, the media, and the public at large seems a controversy in which people may have different points of view or in which the dominant groups have a point (and in fact made a decision: the party is still not forbidden), rather appears as a variation within one interpretative framework, namely the white dominant one. No wonder that during the whole media debate the alternative point of view and the perspective and rights of the minority groups themselves were hardly, if at all, topicalized. The ignorance and neglect of that perspective led to the systematic denial of everyday racism as experienced by minority groups, whether by racist party members or by the white public at large, if not by the dominant elites themselves, e.g., in politics, the media, education, and employment.

From this example we may see in more detail how even within an otherwise reasonable debate and its concomitant press coverage, radically alternative frameworks of interpretation may be ridiculed or censored if not fully ignored. There is an apparent form of discussion; there seems to be a freedom of choice, but the relevant other facts that would allow a different definition of the problem altogether have not been made public by the media. Similar examples may be given for many other seemingly problematic aspects of immigration and ethnic or race relations in the Netherlands, Western Europe, or North America. The various dimensions and implications of cultural differences with ethnically different groups are just one example. Thus, maybe most progressive people agree that many traditional Turkish or Moroccan men treat their wives, daughters, or sisters in a way that is inconsistent with Western emancipatory or feminist principles. In this respect, their attitudes may be close to the more openly stereotypical opinions of the population at large, as we have witnessed in our own interviews (van Dijk, 1984a, 1987a), in which the bad treatment of women was often topicalized. The media, and especially the quality press, have paid extensive attention to these and other problematic aspects of ethnic and cultural differences and lack of integration. The problem takes on a quite different dimension, however, when it is realized that (1) such family relations are in many respects restricted to rural areas and cannot be generalized for all modern Turkish and Moroccan families; (2) the different negative treatment of women is in some ways counterbalanced by positive

aspects, such as autonomy in specific female domains or by stronger family bonds; (3) the Netherlands itself has one of the lowest percentages of women in outdoor job or in managerial positions in industrialized nations. Most women (about 70%) are still sometimes forced into the role of housewives; (4) perhaps less blatant but no less serious sexism is widespread at all levels of male society at large; and (5) not all goals of Western-style feminism necessarily agree with those of Third World women. Again, we see that from a different perspective the stereotypical media account of traditional Moslem or Mediterranean-style male behavior may appear as a sophisticated form of cultural and social superiority and, hence, as ethnocentrism or ethnicism. What appears to be obviously wrong according to the liberal quality press soon gets the flavor of a prejudiced stereotype, by which the foreign group as a whole may be viewed negatively and backward. As with the discussion about the prohibition of racist parties, this framework conveniently overlooks the fact of sexism in the dominant male group or the ethnocentrism of the female dominant group with regard to ethnic minority women. Whereas the conservative popular press may focus on the problems of minority crime, drugs, and other forms of deviance, the liberal or conservative quality press may find its own problematic areas of immigration and ethnic relations. On both counts, however, the result is the same: The minority group is stereotypically categorized as a "problem". It is this general interpretative framework, with its common-sense rules and norms, that undergirds the restricted opinion formation of its readers.

Similarly detailed examples may be given for the immigration of refugees (small overpopulated country, few resources), education, and the use or teaching of the group's own language and culture in the classroom ("isn't it better that foreign children focus on the language and culture of the majority, in which they will have to grow up"), and many other controversial issues. If minority children appear to do less well in school, the obvious explanation features causes that range from lack of motivation, linguistic "deficiencies", family structure, or cultural barriers to the famous predicament of children that have to live between two cultures. These conveniently leaves out the pervasive racism of the classroom or the textbooks. If a high percentage of minorities, especially the young, cannot find a job, this is again attributed to *their* deficiencies in education or *their* cultural differences and not to discrimination by the employer or employment agencies of the state or the city. Thus, the blame is put on the victim and not on the dominant society. Important for our discussion is that the media accounts of such "problems" and the orchestration of the public debates about them consistently betray a dominant, white, majority point of view, be it conservative and openly prejudiced, or more liberal and more subtly prejudiced.

We may conclude this discussion about the overall effects of the media portrayal of minorities by emphasizing the power of the dominant frame-

work that organizes the production conditions, the contents and style, as well as the interpretation of this discursive representation. Such a framework allows for apparent freedom and some variation of opinion expression and opinion formation but essentially eliminates the conditions of a truly alternative, that is, antiracist, perspective. Rooted in the institutional power of the media and in the routines of newsmaking that consistently favor not only the voice of the dominant elite but also the point of view of the white majority at large, this framework operates through a number of highly persuasive strategies.

These strategies first block access of critical minority perspectives on news events in general and on ethnic affairs in particular. Instead, the "expert" opinion of white minority specialist is formulated, unless is antiracist. Thus, ethnic events are framed in a limited system of dominant topics of discussion, viz., the problems of immigration, employment, housing, education, welfare, and cultural differences. These topics are treated in terms of a hierarchy of leading stereotypes, whether conservative or liberal, that strategically enable their easy and biased interpretation in favor of the dominant group (seen as victim or helper of minorities, respectively). Finally, the relevance of these topics is persuasively emphasized by creating the illusion of a fair debate about possible alternative solutions, which at the same time censors a host of other facts conveniently ignored or else depreciated by evaluations such as "subjective", "oversensitive", or "exaggerated". These facts all appear to be related to the structural racism that permeates both the institutional levels and, hence, elite enactments of power as well as the daily experiences of minority group members themselves. The result is that the dominant ideology is reproduced in the processes of seemingly individual, and hence free but ultimately group-based, opinion and attitude formation.

Cognitive Underpinnings

This fairly abstract analysis at the level of ideology and societal structure has its cognitive counterpart, which at the same time provides the more detailed explanation of the structures and processes of media discourse and its effects upon the reader. The power of the dominant interpretative framework not only resides in its implementation in the power structures of society and its institutions, it also transpires in the knowledge, opinion formation, and action of individual members of the dominant white group.

Without going into too much technical detail about the processes involved, it may simply be assumed that the consensual framework also underlies the structures and strategies of knowledge and beliefs as stored in memory. This means that the knowledge white people have about minority

groups is both incomplete and biased because large domains of societal knowledge are absent, and hence ignored, while not even understood in the interpretation of ethnic events and their media accounts. Similarly, the ethnic attitudes that underlie opinion formation appear to be organized by a solid categorical framework of prejudiced or stereotypical general opinions about their appearance, origin, socioeconomic goals, culture, and character. Where one part of the dominant group may develop a prejudiced focus on the presumed threat posed by essentially active minorities or their presence; e.g., in the fields of crime, or the allocation of space, housing, work, or social security; another part may emphasize the problems of essentially passive minorities in the domains of culture, education, employment, or political awareness and organization. Intermediary and combined attitudinal frameworks exist of course. In both systems, the attitudes focus on the others and not on the social self of the dominant group and its members. No wonder that racism is consistently ignored or denied and hence no knowledge or detailed opinions developed about its expression or enactment in everyday life by members of the group itself.

With these systems of beliefs and opinions solidly entrenched, the strategies of the actual interpretation of news events and press stories are inherently geared towards their confirmation. Models of situations are construed simply by examples from such general belief and attitude schemata. With a lack of concrete experiences, ethnic situations are understood as follows: events, acts, and their participants simply run to type. If a news story does provide details that are inconsistent with such general frameworks of interpretation and evaluation, a set of handy strategies allow white readers to ignore, overlook, depreciate, individualize, or marginalize them. They are at most exceptions that confirm the stereotype and, hence, remain at the level of ad hoc, particular models and do not undergo the usual generalization and abstraction of social learning.

The same cognitive setup also favors processes of memorization and reproduction. Once the reader has built a biased model of the situation as a result of the dominant thematic structure and semantic or stylistic strategies of news discourse, it is this model that also underlies the reproduction of such information in later conversations, stories, or arguments. Research has shown that people tend to have better memory for negative events or acts of outgroup members, in general, and of ethnic minority group members, in particular (Rothbart, Evans & Fulero, 1979; Rothbart, 1981; see also Hamilton, 1981a, and Fiske Sr Taylor, 1984, for a more detailed discussion of the cognitive mechanisms that underlie stereotyping and social cognition in general, and van Dijk, 1987a, for a more detailed analysis of the structures and strategies of ethnic prejudice in relation to discourse and communication).

We have seen that the media tend to facilitate the cognitive task: They

will seldom feature stories that do not fit the schema, and if they do, they will at the same time provide the argumentative strategies that can handle them so that they can be discounted. Racism in textbooks or even racism in the media? Simply use quotes and write "racism", so that the reader gets the message that these are doubtful if not ridiculous charges. Racism in society? Simply focus on extremist racist groups, and ignore any evidence from both research and the everyday experiences of minority groups. Discrimination at work? An incidental small report about an employer who has perhaps gone too far will show the liberal position of the paper, and giving the racist the opportunity to explain such discrimination will satisfy the readers who might have done the same thing in the same situation. Alternative voices of minority leaders? Simply ignore them as sources or quote other experts; put heavy quotes around their words; or portray their appearance, behavior, or talk as interesting, amusing, or strange, if not ridiculous. Do otherwise neutral stories have a negative dimension? Simply make that prominent by putting it in headlines or leads. And so on. Thus, by their daily application, the discursive strategies of the press may be adopted as efficient cognitive strategies of the reader to cope with possible inconsistencies between concrete situation models and general attitudes and their underlying ideological framework. No wonder that the public at large either readily adopts the framework (or even develops more racist versions of it that cannot be publicly communicated in the press but that can be read between the lines) or is satisfied with an occasional liberal critique on specific points (against a government that expels a mother with child). In this communicative context and against such a persuasive, while often seemingly neutral, reasonable, and even sympathetic account of ethnic affairs, few readers will be able to develop a consistently alternative framework. Such a counterideology requires practice on a day-by-day basis; must be fed by hard-to-come-by facts; and requires a set of arguments for which few examples are publicly available and which seem to go against the most deeply entrenched and most widely shared goals, norms, values, interests, and apparent reasonableness of the group itself. Massive media exposure means that huge amounts of information need special attention, inspection, and possibly reinterpretation within the alternative framework. Indeed, no wonder few members of the white group can manage such a task.

Returning to the initial question of this section about the role and the effects of the media portrayals of minorities, we may conclude again on fundamental, cognitive grounds that the contents, structures, style, and strategies of such portrayals indirectly favor the development of stereotypical, prejudiced, or racist interpretative frameworks among the public at large. This does not mean that readers will not be able to have their own and variable opinions. Rather, the framework defines the boundaries of this variation in beliefs and opinion formation. Antiracist frameworks of in-

result in part from the same conditions. News values (e.g., negativity) and ethnic prejudices of editors and reporters provide a framework in which ethnic groups and the whole ethnic situation are perceived and represented in a biased way. Immigration is not seen as a natural right of passport holders or dependents to enter the country. Rather, it is construed as a permanent threat—as a conflict between us and them, between those who want to get in and do not belong here and those of us who belong here. The same holds for race relations in general and for the respective social domains in which minorities are perceived to cause problems, difficulties, and conflict: housing, work, social services, education, and culture in general. The problems minorities are thought to cause may be represented mildly as those created by their very presence and numbers: They are a burden on the socioeconomic framework, and there are simply too many who want decent work, housing, or education. Yet, for at least some of the media, these problems are represented more negatively: minorities play a deviant role; they are disruptive; they actively take our houses and jobs and cheat on welfare; they violate the norms and the rules and do not want to adapt; they protest and demonstrate; and most important, especially in the conservative popular press, they are a threat to our personal safety because many of them are assumed to be criminals.

Such prejudices, which are also shared by large segments of the media public, favor attention for, and memory and selection of, those stories that are consistent with such opinions. At the same time, deviance and disruption are consistent with prevalent news values. That is, if minorities are portrayed in the press at all, stories that feature such opinions, even implicitly, tend to be published more often than normal, neutral, or positive news stories about our cocitizens. Finally, the typical sources for this kind of news,—the authorities and especially the national or local government, police, courts, or state agencies (e.g., employment or welfare offices)—do have preferential access to the media because of their elite status, power, high credibility and systematic links with newsbeat routines. Thus, their versions of the facts will get routine attention, and they are represented as neutral or positive actors, so that, by contrast, more negative images about minorities will result.

Negative portrayal does not yet have serious economic consequences: The limited number of minority-group readers in Europe does not endanger sales and often there are no alternative media or media programs, especially on television, to turn to. As soon as minority groups begin to form a more substantial media public, as in the United States, stories must be more careful and balanced; otherwise subscriptions among minority groups may plummet. This is not to suggest that minority access and portrayal in the United States have reached a satisfactory level, especially in prime-time television and the three big networks.

terpretation are outside the broad, shared consensus of possible variation. They are not only passively blocked in their development by the lack of media attention for alternative facts and voices but also actively discouraged by a set of strategies that ignore or depreciate the alternative view and persuasively strengthens the dominant consensus. Due to a systematic dearth of competing information, the effect of the media is much stronger than one of general agenda-setting, incidental persuasion of single opinions, or of anticipating the attitudes of most readers. Both at the societal and cognitive levels, its role and effects is structural. The media may not always tell us *what* to think about minorities (although they often do), but rather they define the communicative situation and the social context that dictate *how* most of their users think about minority groups.

CONTEXTS AND CONCLUSIONS

The properties of news reports about minority issues are systematically related to various characteristics of the social and cognitive contexts of news, that is, with production by journalists and uses by readers and viewers. Data from content analyses in different countries show, first, that the attention for ethnic groups in the media is very limited, unless minority groups are associated with violence, illegality, crime, or strange cultural behavior, that is, with deviance of many kinds. Thus, news reports tend to be about topics that are often examples of prevailing ethnic stereotypes or prejudices. If not portrayed as a threat to our culture, society, or personal safety, they are stereotypically presented as problem people, as causing trouble (riots, demonstrations, protests), or as having problems (work, housing, language, education). The causes or the context of such problems are seldom analyzed in the press and hardly ever explained in terms of white racism.

Similarly, minorities appear less often as major agents unless they are suspected or accused of such negative acts. The production conditions that determine this type of coverage have briefly been mentioned: few minority journalists; less organized minorities who have fewer chances to provide the necessary framework for routine news gathering; news values of journalists that tend to exclude sociocultural outgroups, both as topics and as reliable sources; and finally, ethnic prejudices that cause journalists to consider minority groups as less credible. Journalists implicitly assume that the majority of the readers share these assumptions, so that journalists do not expect the readers to want more news about minorities or more reference to minorities as sources or spokespersons. These various conditions provide a context in which minority news events and their actors generally have less prominent coverage in the media.

The overall negative thematic content and biased stylistic associations

Portrayal may be negative, but prevailing antidiscrimination laws and norms of ethnic tolerance hardly allow blatantly racist statements, especially not in the quality press, read by the elite. (There are exceptions for some opinion articles or columns in some conservative European quality papers, such as *the Times*, *le Figaro*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, or the Dutch newspaper *NRC-Handelsblad*.) This means that story selection and construction, as well as style, require a more subtle approach. Instead of explicitly attributing negative properties or intentions to minority groups, it may be sufficient to simply signal the existence of difficulties or problems, for example in education, employment, the poor inner-city neighborhoods. And since it is one of the self-assigned tasks of the news media to signal problems, such portrayal does not *as such* imply negative opinions. Yet, if we *only* read about minorities in terms of such problems, and if the real causes of unemployment and inner city decay are not dealt with, most readers will unavoidably assign the casual role to the minority groups or their presence, especially if such stories are consistent with prevailing prejudices.

The attention of the media for discrimination is also an element of this more indirect approach. It seems to signal that deviants also exist within the white population, so that ethnic reporting seems balanced. The newspaper or TV program may even explicitly be critical of right-wing or racist tendencies in society, that is, of those groups that have placed themselves outside the consensual perspective on race relations, such as the Centrum Partij in the Netherlands, the National Front in Britain or France, or the KKK in the United States. We have suggested, however, that this treatment is not always a direct manifestation of explicitly antiracist attitudes because: (1) discrimination and hence deviance of the ingroup is given much less attention and space than assumed deviance of ethnic groups; (2) discriminatory acts are described in terms of isolated trespassing by a few individuals, not as manifestations of structural racism; (3) racist groups or parties are treated as an exceptional, deviant group and are clearly distinguished from the more respectable political parties (hence the prevailing attention for news about this kind of political boundary delimitation by respectable political parties and politicians); and (4) antiracist groups and their activities are either ignored or represented negatively.

In other words, media attention for discrimination is determined by media values that select spectacular negative acts of marginal groups or individuals and by strategies of positive self-presentation rather than by a true antiracist stance. It signals that the media or the journalists consider themselves balanced or neutral in the ethnic situation, which finely agrees with the ideology of liberal self-definition. At the same time, this message implies that social problems i.e., reactions from the population against the immigrants—discrimination—may arise even when such forms of reaction are not condoned. It also follows that discrimination is dealt with as part of

the minority problem and hence indirectly attributed again to the presence of the minorities themselves. This also explains the frequent references to the alleged oversensitivity of minorities for discrimination.

We see that the presentation, semantic content, point of view, and style of minority portrayal in the media are related in many ways with the economic, social, and cognitive conditions of news production. Professional ideologies, class interests, news values, and ethnic attitudes combine with properties of news gathering, such as available or preferred elite sources and with expectations about, and actual reactions of, the reading public. This also means that the media portrayal of minorities is not simply a reflection of dominant ethnic attitudes in society at large, that is, of the reading or viewing public, nor a passive reproduction of the ideology or practices of the power elite (see Bottomore, 1966; Galbraith, 1983, and Lukes, 1974, for a more general discussion of the relations among different power elite groups and the role of the media; and Paletz & Entman, 1981, for more concrete examples about the U.S. media).

The specific goals, interests, news values, and professional ideologies of media workers play a distinct role within such more general ethnic attitudes or class interests. Journalists contribute to the autonomous production of racism at least as much as they participate in its reproduction. Their news values, as well as their goal of ensuring or boosting sales, require dramatization and hence negative portrayal of nonelite, ethnically different outgroups in terms of conflicts and deviance (Cohen, 1980; Cohen & Young, 1981). Most elite opinions, decisions, and practices are not yet public and, hence, not publicly shared and legitimated before they are mass-mediated to the public (van Dijk, 1987b). And the *way* the authorities or other elites are represented and evaluated, e.g., as active, firm, arbitrating, and neutral (or positive), is not part of the social facts but rather part of the media production of a consensual definition of societal structure.

The same is true of ignoring or denying the many other dimensions of the ethnic situation, such as the problems experienced by ethnic groups and their members or the many ordinary, but nevertheless newsworthy (although usually only for white groups) events that are relevant for them, such as their work, culture, everyday life, or political organization. In other words, the media point of view is nearly exclusively that of the dominant white group, and this perspective is not part of the facts reported either, but an autonomous result of news production. The same holds for the style of description, the quotation of news actors, and many other news properties.

Thus, on the one hand, journalists are like other middle class, dominant group members and express, enact, legitimate, and, hence, reproduce the dominant and consensual ideological framework of their class and ethnic group. Yet, on the other hand, the media in general and news production in particular play a central role in the very production mechanisms of ethnic

attitudes and racism. They may not always explicitly tell the public exactly what to think; nor do all media users always agree with explicit or implicit ethnic opinions expressed in the media. Yet, opinion variation among the public, and even the occasional dissent of a relatively small group, is not necessarily incompatible with the general ethnic framework as it is expressed and conveyed by the media. A large part of the public consensus can *only* have come about through mass-mediated communication and information. Only a relatively small part of the public is, in fact or potentially, the victim of criminal acts by minority-group members. Yet, our analysis of much everyday talk indicates that many people are not only increasingly afraid of crime and violence but explicitly associate this with minority-group members (van Dijk, 1987a). The conservative, popular press especially gives prominent attention to minority crime and to crime in general.

Empirical evidence suggests that readers of this press are more afraid of crime than readers of other newspapers (Chibnall, 1977; Graber, 1980). Note that this causal relationship is not spurious: People do not select their newspaper because they are already afraid of crime. For the public at large this fear must be based on some kind of public information in the first place, and this information is often only available from the media or from everyday talk, which is itself inspired by media stories. In many respects, crime is a media construction: The incidence of murder in the press is much higher than actual murder in society, and, at present, the same is true for the disproportionate interest of both politicians and the media for terrorism (Fishman, 1980; Hall, et al., 1978; Schmid & de Graaf, 1982; Schlesinger Murdock, & Elliott, 1983). The conservative popular press is read by different social groups and classes and, hence, by people who do not have objective reasons to be afraid of crime. Only at a very general level, (e.g., conservative or authoritarian ideologies) can newspaper selection be correlated with an interest in social deviance, crime, and punishment. It is the newspaper, however, that fills in the details of this very general ideological framework, e.g., by publicly associating special social groups with special types of crime.

Other field work has shown readers that specifically remember minority crime or violence stories from the media (Graber, 1980; Troyna, 1981). Thus, all the evidence points to the same conclusion: The media not only play an active role in the production of negative ethnic attitudes, but in our present society this role is vital. They autonomously and persuasively reproduce the ethnic attitudes of the power elite and produce the discursive and communicative conditions and, hence, the cognitive and societal conditions of the reproduction of racism.

We have begun inquiry by identifying racism as the structural, societal framework that enables and reproduces dominant group power. Ultimately, all white people profit from this kind of power appropriated by their group

as a whole. However, the leading power elite is particularly interested in remaining in control of the power structure, both within their own group, and with respect to the immigrant or ethnic outgroups. We have argued elsewhere that it is plausible that the elite, through the media, in fact, provides the preformulations of many prejudices in society (van Dijk, 1987). For power to be enacted, legitimated, and reproduced it must also be expressed and persuasively conveyed in discourse and communication (Mueller, 1973). In modern industrial societies, this communication is no longer only local and interpersonal, but mass-mediated. Therefore, besides everyday discourse in socialization and conversation and with educational discourse, the mass media (news, film, advertising, fiction) play a crucial role in the persuasive reproduction of dominant ideologies in general, and of ethnic ideologies in particular. We have seen that this role is active not passive. The media not only express, reflect, or disseminate ethnic opinions but actively mediate them, both among the various power elites themselves, as well as between the elites and the public (Gormley, 1975; Turow, 1985). They autonomously reinterpret, reconstruct and therefore contribute themselves to their production and, hence, to the construction of the ethnic consensus that underlies the racist ideologies and practices of our society.

4

THE TAMIZ PANIC IN THE PRESS

THE STORY

In 1984 and 1985, Western Europe was "flooded" by Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka. Tens of thousands of these "jet refugees" spent their own or borrowed money on a flight to European capitals to escape civil war and oppression in their home country (Amnesty International, 1985; RIOP, 1986). Many traveled through East Berlin, from where they could easily enter West Berlin through the well-known "Berlin hole" (the Federal Republic doesn't recognize the German Democratic Republic, nor its borders, and hence has no immigration restrictions for people coming from East Berlin). Although many Tamils remained in West Germany, others continued their journey to Switzerland, France, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands.

These countries have all enacted increasingly strict immigration laws during the last decade, thus barring the influx of new "guest workers" from Mediterranean countries, as well as nationals from their former colonies and more recent refugees from various Third World countries (Castles, 1984; Hammar, 1985). It is not surprising, therefore, that the new "wave" of refugees wasn't welcomed with open arms. On the contrary, were it not for the repeated requests of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees not to

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send Tamils back to Sri Lanka, the respective governments would probably have put the newcomers on the next flight back to their native countries.

The same reluctant reception awaited the Tamils in the Netherlands, where an estimated 3000 Tamils arrived "illegally" in the first months of 1985. From the outset, the Dutch government made it clear that it was not willing to grant political asylum to this group of uninvited refugees, who were regarded as "economic" rather than as political refugees. The Tamils were housed in pensions far from the cities and put under a stingy bed-bread-bath regime, instead of receiving the usual welfare allowance, so as to dissuade other refugees from following their example. Without social assistance, the Tamils were expected to wait for political and legal decisions about their applications for refugee status, decisions that may take years. It soon became apparent, however, that only a few dozen of the Tamils would obtain refugee status, which persuaded about half of the group to leave the country and seek asylum elsewhere in Western Europe. A year later, in the spring of 1986, exasperated by their frustrated expectations, some Tamils set fire to their pensions, thus reacting to the continuing hassles and hesitations regarding their status.

TAMILS IN THE PRESS

As was the case in the surrounding countries, the installments of this story prominently hit the headlines of the press and the current affairs programs on television. In a few months, hundreds of newspaper reports and television programs were dedicated to the Tamil "invasion". Still unknown to most Dutch citizens in 1984, the Tamils soon became the preferred target of widespread prejudices and xenophobia in a country that nevertheless continues to pride itself of its mythical tolerance and hospitality. The 600,000 members of other minority groups in the Netherlands—mostly Surinamese, Turks and Moroccans—had received company.

As a further illustration of our more general analysis of racism in the press as it is presented in Chapter 3, this chapter will examine the political and social panic regarding the Tamils as it is reproduced by the press. We will show that the dominant definition of the situation of the immigrating Tamils was primarily formulated by the authorities and that, at least initially, the press uncritically adopted and communicated that definition, thus contributing to the widespread popular resentment against the Tamils.

Again, our approach combines a modest quantitative description, with a systematic qualitative analysis of the Tamil coverage. It should be emphasized, however, that a really adequate analytical account of the news reports would involve a detailed structural characterization of each text, which unfortunately is impossible for more than 400 items.

For both political and theoretical reasons, the Tamil case is particularly

revealing. In general it is rather difficult to assess the specific role of the media in the transformation processes of public opinions, attitudes, or ideologies. People have access to so many other sources of information that for many topics the media only provide one, albeit perhaps prominent, type of discourse as input to what may be called social information processing. What we know and think about ethnic minority groups is also shaped by the many discourse types of our socialization (everyday conversation, children's stories, etc.) and by fiction, comics, movies, and talk with friends or colleagues (van Dijk 1987a; Smitherman-Donaldson & van Dijk, 1987). For Tamils, at least initially, this is somewhat different, because as we suggested earlier, they were virtually unknown to the public at large until they appeared in the country and in the press. In other words, we witness an example of quasi laboratory conditions, so to speak, for an inquiry into the role of the media. In the first stages, what people came to know about Tamils was learned from newspapers and television. Of course, in the next stages, everyday talk based on such media stories also began to play an important role. Some of our interviews recorded in the spring of 1985 show a number of revealing passages about Tamils, which appeared to be close to the dominant media representation of this group. These passages show at least some elements of social information processes as they are conditioned by media coverage.

Another theoretical and empirical dimension of this case is the role of the media relative to the various societal power structures, notably those of the state. Generally speaking, the dominant media formulate a definition of the situation that is not fundamentally at variance with that of the government, the leading parties, the judiciary, or the police. The media also anticipate assumed reactions of the public at large and thus produce and reproduce slightly varying attitudes within the boundaries of a widespread consensus. In other words, facing the authorities (used as sources and media story actors) as well as the public, the media are able to formulate a rather coherent story. Incompatible with that story are only the attitudes and the censored discourse of the utterly powerless Tamils themselves, as well as those of national and international refugee organizations and occasional action groups. It is important, therefore, to examine what the media access is of these alternative voices and the influence they have on the ongoing media redefinitions of the situation. These and related issues must be clarified to understand the specific contribution of the media, in particular the press, to the emerging minoritization of the potential new citizens.

THE CORPUS

For our analysis we collected all news reports, background articles, editorials, columns and, noneditorial opinion articles that appeared in the

Dutch national dailies, *NRC-Handelsblad*, *De Volkskrant*, *De Telegraaf*, *Trouw*, and the Amsterdam daily *Het Parool* (for ease of reference in this English text, we henceforth omit the definite articles <de' and lee). Recall that, *NRC-Handelsblad* and *Telegraaf* might be categorized as conservative quality newspaper and conservative popular newspaper, respectively (functionally comparable to the London *Times* and *Daily Telegraph*, respectively). *Volkskrant* (functionally comparable to the Manchester *Guardian*) caters to the younger and more progressive reader. *Trouw* is the relatively liberal newspaper of Christian-Democratic readers, whereas *Parool* oscillates between a moderate social-democratic stance and a more conservative popular style. *Telegraaf* is by far the biggest seller (about 700,000), whereas the other newspapers count their subscriptions between approximately 150,000 and 250,000. Together, these five dailies serve about 2 million readers, which is half of the reading public of a population of 14 million. (The other half reads other national dailies, such as *Algemeen Dagblad*, or regional dailies.) (See data in chapter 2).

The clippings were partly borrowed from the documentation services of the VVN (the Dutch Organization for Refugees), as well as from our own database of minority news reports of a six-month period (August 1985—February 1986). Our own research showed that professional clipping agencies, such as the one used by VVN, have a rather high missing rate, which may be less for the Tamil case because nearly all articles about Tamils carry a reference to Tamils in the headline. We estimate that our data-gathering error is about 5%, consisting mainly of articles that mention the Tamils only in a brief passage. For comparison, we also collected the texts of the national television news program (NOS).

The first few reports in the Dutch press appeared in December 1984, but within weeks and with the increasing immigration of Tamils, the number of stories drastically multiplied to hundreds of reports culminating in April and May 1985, when the government made its most crucial decisions. During the summer and fall of 1985, relatively few articles appeared about the Tamils (other refugees, e.g., from Iran, came into the picture in that period), with a final flaring up in the spring of 1986, when the Tamils set fire to their pensions.

TAMILS IN THE NETHERLANDS: INSTALLMENTS OF THE STORY

To understand the analysis reported below, a brief chronological account is given of the main events related to the Tamil presence as they appeared in the press:

- December, 1984—January 1985: Increasing "illegal" immigration of Tamil refugees, mostly across the unpoliced border areas between the Netherlands and West Germany. Some Tamil groups sent back. Re-

ception problems of the others, mostly in the bigger cities, such as Amsterdam and The Hague.

- February—March, 1985: The government formulates its initial policies about the Tamil "invasion" ("many Tamils are economic not political refugees"). Private pensions that exploit Tamils are closed, and national reception centers (larger pensions outside the cities) are being planned when the cities appear to have insufficient shelters for the Tamils. The number of Tamils reaches its maximum of about 3000 people.
- April, 1985: Some groups of Tamils initially refuse to leave Amsterdam. The usual welfare allowance is denied to Tamils, and instead they are put under a bed-bread-bath (BBB) regime and housed in state-funded reception centers. The local authorities of the relevant villages and towns protest against the practical problems created by these policies. More stories about the situation in Sri Lanka. The government decides to send a mission to Sri Lanka to investigate whether Tamils could be sent back to the southern part of that country. The mission concludes positively. Increasing resistance of the Tamils themselves (hunger strike, legal action against deportation, etc.). The number of immigrants is decreasing.
- May, 1985: Various reports and opinions about government policy. Repeated U.N. request not to send Tamils back. Beginning hesitations among parliamentary coalition party about government policy.
- June—August, 1985: First negative decisions about applications for refugee status. Half of the Tamils silently "disappear". Remaining Tamils allowed to stay provisionally until the final decisions of the government and the courts.
- Fall, 1985: Except for a dozen Tamils granted political asylum, all other applications are not honored. Increasing protests against the situation in the reception centers.
- Winter, 1985-1986: Continuing protests against the special treatment of Tamils. Parliament decides that more adequate housing and social help is necessary.
- April, 1986: Some Tamil groups destroy or set fire to their pensions. Authorities condemn the actions. Tamils begin hunger strike. Several parties and organizations successfully begin an action to house Tamils elsewhere and claim they should be put on a normal welfare allowance.

A FEW DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS

Frequency

Let us start our analysis with a few figures about the frequency, distribution and size of the Tamil coverage in the press. Table 4.1 lists the frequencies of the articles by newspapers and months. The number of articles doubled

TABLE 4.1
Frequencies of Articles About Tamils
in the Dutch Press

<i>Date</i>	<i>NH</i>	<i>PA</i>	<i>TG</i>	<i>TR</i>	<i>VK</i>	<i>Total</i>
December 1984	2	0	0	1	0	3
January 1985	4	3	2	4	2	15
February 1985	5	4	1	9	5	24
March 1985	8	10	6	10	10	44
April 1985	25	14	24	18	20	101
May 1985	16	8	8	17	22	71
June 1985	6	7	1	6	11	31
July 1985	2	3	3	6	4	18
August 1985	5	2	2	4	3	16
September 1985	0	0	1	1	0	2
October 1985	3	0	0	0	2	5
November 1985	2	1	0	1	2	6
December 1985	2	3	1	0	2	8
January 1986	1	1	0	0	0	2
February 1986	4	1	0	3	5	13
March 1986	4	3	1	2	3	13
April 1986	10	6	4	9	8	37
May 1986	4	0	1	4	6	15
Total	103	66	55	95	105	424
	NH	PA	TG	TR	VK	

NH = NRC-Handelsblad; PA = Het Parool; TG = De Telegraaf;
TR = Trouw; VK = De Volkskrant

each month during the first months of coverage until they reached a peak in April 1985, when the five dailies published no fewer than 101 articles, which is an average of about one article each day in each newspaper. During the next six months the number of articles dropped dramatically, only to pick up momentum again in April 1986, when the Tamils resort to "violence."

This distribution of media attention is one of the first hints about a typical press "panic". The increasing number of articles in early 1985 both mirrors and signals the increasing numbers of immigrating Tamils. After May 1985, however, despite the disappearance of half of the Tamils, their numbers are no longer reflected by the number of newspaper articles: The story clearly has lost its initial newsworthiness. Therefore, we should relate the number of articles with the amount of relevant activities and decisions by the authorities, which has its climax in the spring of 1985. Once the Tamils have been housed in their reception centers, they have become less interesting for the press. Not until early 1986 do increasing tensions and social problems spark a few more articles, and the press attention for the resulting violence in April 1986 is, of course, completely in agreement with the dominant news values. In other words, a large part of the Tamil story is a

political, not a social one, in which the authorities play a primary role; and the Tamils receive attention especially when they arrive in large numbers, when there are status or housing problems, or when they resort to violence. Everyday life in the pensions is good for only a few stories. When we analyze the headlines and topics of the articles, these assumptions may be tested in more detail.

The papers of the quality press (*NRC-Handelsblad*, *Trouw*, *Volkskrant*) publish about the same number of articles (about 100 in 18 months), whereas the popular press publish (*Telegraaf*, *Parool*) between half and two thirds of this number. This is in line with the general coverage of minority affairs in the quality and popular press, respectively (Hartmann, Husband & Clark, 1974; Troyna, 1981; see Chapter 3). *Telegraaf* publishes nearly half of all its Tamil articles in one single month, during the peak month of April 1985. For the other months, the distribution of attention is more or less the same for the respective newspapers. This suggests that there seems to be a media consensus about what constitutes newsworthy events of the Tamil coverage during that period.

Size

Although the number of articles indicates how often the newspaper pays attention to the Tamil case, we clearly also need further information about the size of the articles published. In Table 4.2 we see that *Volkskrant* publishes not only the most articles but also has the highest volume of coverage. Due to its longer articles *Telegraaf* now climbs to third position, whereas *Trouw*, with its relatively short articles drops to fourth position. There are, however, rather strong fluctuations in size. During the first four panic months of 1985, the mean size of the articles was 254 cm², due especially to long articles (360 cm²) in *Telegraaf*. In other words, after these months the coverage diminishes not only in frequency but also in size.

TABLE 4.2
Size of Tamil Coverage
in the Dutch Press

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Total in cm²</i>	<i>Mean Size</i>
De Volkskrant	26,749	245
NRC-Handelsblad	20,783	202
De Telegraaf	16,354	297
Trouw	16,285	171
Parool	15,890	241
Mean	19,212	231

Photographs

Despite the massive press attention for the Tamils, their portrayal is seldom of a visual nature. During the 18-month coverage, the dailies published only 70 photos, that is one picture for every six reports, covering about 13,500 cm² (mean about 190 cm²). *Parool* publishes few pictures (11) but by far theirs are the largest ones (nearly 5000 cm² together). *Telegraaf* publishes few and small pictures, and *Volkskrant* has the most pictures (19). The majority (37) of the photos represent Tamil refugees, mostly in various Dutch situations (in Amsterdam, but mostly in the reception shelters). A few pictures show Tamils in Sri Lanka. Most other photos are of relevant politicians related to the Tamil case. Others show how the police dislodge Tamils from unauthorized pensions. As may be expected, the largest coverage is of the Tamils' destruction of their pensions in April, 1986. During these few weeks, the press publishes nearly a fourth (2900 cm²) of its total photo space and of its total number of photographs. Arson and destruction make good photo material, especially when minority groups are involved.

Sources

As is the case for most national news, the newspapers generally derive their stories from their own reporters, sometimes from traveling reporters or correspondents. A few dozen reports are attributed to agencies, and a few dozen are opinion articles from writers outside the newspaper.

Topics

The hierarchical content of the Tamil coverage is partly reflected in the different themes or topics of the reports. For practical reasons, we have focused on the general topics covered during the first four months (January–April, 1985). The frequencies and sizes of the most important topics are given in Table 4.3 (a few other topics occur only incidentally and not in all papers). These topics basically render the respective installments of the Tamil story: the situation in Sri Lanka, flight to Western Europe and the Netherlands, the discussions about their refugee status, reception and housing, international context, minorities and refugees in general, and the protest actions of the Tamils. Two major topics stand out, both in frequency and in size, viz., the refugee status and the housing of the Tamils. A few dozen articles discuss the situation on Sri Lanka and the flight to Western Europe (the last topic especially during the first few months).

There are rather remarkable differences in the papers' treatment of the situation in Sri Lanka (covered especially by the conservative press, *Tele-*

TABLE 4.3a
Number of Articles Per Month Per Newspaper

Newspaper	Topic	Sri Lanka				Route				Status				Reception				
		Month	J	F	M	A	J	F	M	A	J	F	M	A	J	F	M	A
NRC- Handelsblad		1	0	2	6	2	1	2	7	3	5	3	2	0	0	3	4	12
Parool		0	1	1	1	1	0	2	2	1	1	4	6	1	4	8	7	
Telegraaf		1	0	1	6	2	0	3	4	2	0	5	14	0	1	4	10	
Trouw		1	3	0	7	3	2	2	3	2	7	7	11	2	4	7	9	
Volkskrant		2	0	1	3	2	0	5	0	2	3	7	9	2	2	7	11	
Totals		5	4	5	23	10	3	14	16	10	16	26	60	5	14	30	49	

TABLE 4.3b
Size of the Major Topics

Newspaper	Sri Lanka	Route	Status	Reception
NRC-Handelsblad	1264	2074	3943	3130
Parool	226	423	2073	3976
Telegraaf	3120	2117	3590	3271
Trouw	540	273	2425	3046
Volkskrant	508	573	2312	3074
Total	5658	5460	14343	16497

graaf and *NRC-Handelsblad*) and the flight to Europe and Holland (also covered most prominently by *Telegraaf* and *NRC-Handelsblad*). More than the other papers, the conservative press seems to be interested in whether the Tamils are real refugees and pays attention, therefore, to the situation in Sri Lanka and to the "illegal" route into the Dutch land of welfare. The differences are less marked for other topics, but again *NRC-Handelsblad* and *Telegraaf* publish most about the refugee status of the Tamils. The reception topics cover more or less the same space in the different papers, although *Parool* pays more attention to this topic than the others. Notice also that the story about the situation in Sri Lanka gets attention more often only in April, especially in the conservative press; and even the old story about the escape route of the Tamils keeps reappearing in the later months. As expected, status and reception receive attention especially in March and April. *Parool* has only a few stories with information about the reception of Tamils, but these passages or whole stories are comparatively long.

From these figures we may tentatively conclude that the conservative press is primarily interested in topics that also concern the authorities, viz., the safety of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, the "illegal" immigration to the

Netherlands, and the status of the refugees. The reception topic appears to be covered more or less equally by all newspapers. Overall, the two major topics are the refugee status and the reception of Tamils. In other words, the press primarily defines the immigration of Tamils in terms of political and social problems, as seen from the point of view of the Dutch government and the white majority population. Also, frequency, size, and distribution of the coverage, as well as the relative consensus in attention from the press for the Tamils, provide first indications about a press panic.

Actors

The thematic contents of the articles will be detailed further in another section. This quantitative summary focuses more specifically on the actors in the Tamil coverage, the space allocated to them, and their role as speakers or nonspeakers (Table 4.4).

The main actors in the Tamil immigration events are the Tamil refugees themselves, the Dutch government (ministers, ministries), parliament and the political parties, the cities, the refugee organizations, the police, the courts, lawyers acting for the Tamils, the UNHCR, Amnesty International, the authorities on Sri Lanka, the Tamil minority, and the Tamil resistance on Sri Lanka.

In principle, this cast would allow for a rather diverse role structure in the reports. However, this is not the case. Some actors occur more often and get more description and speaking space than others. Table 4.4 lists how often the major actors are mentioned and how often they are quoted explicitly. Since Tamils are the pivotal actor of this coverage, it is not surprising they come out on top. The Dutch government, however, appears to play a central role as well. Much less often we find first the main opponent of the

TABLE 4.4
Frequency of Mention (and Speaking Roles) for Main Actors
(Period January 1985 to March 1986)

<i>Actor</i>	<i>NH</i>	<i>PA</i>	<i>TG</i>	<i>TR</i>	<i>VK</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Tamil Refugees	93 (17)	50 (10)	62 (8)	80 (15)	83 (13)	368 (63 = 17%)
2. Government	81 (35)	45 (23)	41 (21)	65 (31)	90 (30)	322 (140 = 43%)
3. Refugee Org.	33 (25)	24 (14)	11 (5)	40 (24)	51 (29)	159 (97 = 61%)
4. Parties	24 (6)	21 (8)	9 (2)	23 (7)	25 (12)	102 (35 = 34%)
5. Cities	19 (6)	17 (8)	15 (9)	24 (12)	21 (11)	96 (46 = 48%)
6. UNHCR	21 (6)	8 (0)	7 (0)	18 (5)	21 (8)	75 (19 = 25%)
7. Police	12 (7)	15 (5)	20 (6)	14 (2)	11 (3)	74 (23 = 31%)

NH = NRC—Handelsblad; PA = Het Parool; TG = De Telegraaf; TR = Trouw; VK = De Volkskrant

TABLE 4.5
Total Space and Speaking Space
(in number of lines) for Different Actors
(May 1985—March 1986)

<i>Actor</i>	<i>Total space</i>	<i>Speaking space</i>
Government	5504	1106
Refugee organizations	2666	1176
Tamils	2451	725
Political parties	1468	356
United Nations	1052	343
Others	2998	443
TOTAL	16139	4149

authorities, viz., the refugee organizations (mainly VVN). These are followed by different political parties, the cities, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (or the representative in the Netherlands), and the police. Lawyers and the courts only appear a few dozen times. Not mentioned here is the occurrence of actors in Sri Lanka (altogether appearing about 200 times: government, Sinhalese, Tamil minority groups, and Tamil resistance).

Although both Tamils and the government are the central actors of the Tamil story, it is not surprising that the former say less than the latter: Tamil refugees or their representatives are quoted very little. The newspapers write much about them, publish many opinions about them but seldom let them give their own opinions or point of view. This role is taken over by the Dutch and international refugee organizations. The Dutch refugee organization (VVN) frequently appears in a speaking role. This suggests that their activities (helping Tamils) are not covered as much as what they have to say about the Tamil question, usually as a reaction to government decisions and actions. In other words, the white Dutch representatives speak for the Tamils, rather than the Tamils themselves. This is in agreement with a well-known feature of news reporting about minorities: they are quoted less often than the white experts who speak about or for them. This differential access to the press also follows from the routines of news gathering, which favor those organizations whose contacts with the press are best organized (Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978).

The differences among the newspapers are small. Conservative *Telegraaf* seldom quotes Tamils, and *Parool* and *Telegraaf* never quote the UNHCR (which is instead described). *Volkskrant* quotes the government less often than the other newspapers but lets the different parties speak more often.

Table 4.5 presents the size in numbers of lines of actor space in the news reports for the second period of coverage (May 1985—March 1986). These

figures first show that for all actors and newspapers together there is a regular proportion of 4 to 1 for actors and speakers: In general, 25% of actor space is speaking space. Compared to frequency of mention (see Table 4.4), this means that, generally, actors are quoted more often (35%) than the speaking space allocated to them. The space given to the government is about 5500 lines, whereas the Tamils have about 2400 lines, and the refugee organizations about 2600 lines. This shows that the Tamils and the refugee organizations together get more or less the same total space as the government. Together with the political parties (about 1400 lines), and other Dutch institutions, the description of government activities occupies nearly twice as much space as that of the Tamils and the refugee organizations. Overall, the government is allocated 28% of all news space about the Tamil question, whereas the Tamils and the refugee organizations share the same percentage (the parties 8%, the cities 3%). In comparison, a larger proportion of the space for Tamil refugees (30%) and especially of the refugee organizations (44%) is speaking space, for speaking space for the government is 20%. In absolute terms, then, the refugee organizations have more speaking space than the government.

From this brief quantitative analysis of actor roles, we conclude that the Tamil immigration story has a few main protagonists, viz., the Tamils and the refugee organizations (and the UNHCR), on the one hand, and the national and local authorities, on the other hand, with the political parties playing a third main role. Although the Tamils are mentioned more often than the government, they have only half as much news space. The refugee organizations have as much space as the Tamils but are quoted much more often, mostly in reaction to government actions and decisions and, therefore, are defined as speakers for the Tamils.

THE HEADLINES: DEFINING THE SITUATION

Undoubtedly, the most prominent feature of news discourse is the headlines. They subjectively express the most important information of the text, that is, the main topic or the top of the semantic macrostructure discussed earlier (van Dijk, 1980a; van Dijk, 1987d). They define the situation and, thus, program the reader with a preferred reading and interpretation plan (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983). Sometimes headlines also express lower-level information or secondary topics, which through headlining become semantically upranked. In that case, the headlines may be called semantically biased. Together with the lead, the headline forms the summary of the report, which strategically serves as the expression of its macrostructure. It has been shown that this macrostructure or thematic structure is best recalled by readers, especially after longer delays, and the same holds for the

information expressed by cognitively crucial, while organizing, headlines or tales (see van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983, for theoretical details and further references about these processes).

As our first step in the qualitative analysis of the Tamil coverage, we have systematically examined the headlines of all articles. What topics tend to be expressed in the headlines? What inferences can be drawn from their structural form or style? What specific contributions to the negative portrayal of Tamils find their initial formulation in the headlines of the daily press?

The major topic, expressed in 96 (23%) of the 424 headlines, deals with various actions of the authorities. Approximately half of these are about the decisions or actions of the government, cabinet ministers, or their agencies, that is, to refuse entry or asylum and to expel and generally to keep Tamils out. Typical examples include (translated as literally as possible to keep the stylistic flavor of the Dutch texts; the frequently-used term "Justice" refers to the Department of Justice, or the judiciary in general):

JUSTICE EXPELS 4 TAMILS TO FEDERAL REPUBLIC (NH, 1/10/85)

MILITARY POLICE SENDS ILLEGAL TAMILS BACK (NH, 3/4/85)

JUDGE DEEMS UNLAWFUL SENDING BACK TAMILS (VK, 4/26/85)

The ideological implications of these headlines are complex. On the one hand, they signal toughness by the authorities, which will appeal to those sections of the public that favor sending back the refugees. The use of the term "illegal" in the *NRC-Handelsblad* headline in example two is, of course, far from innocent and embodies an embedded justification of expulsion. We will come back to the use of such terms later. From another point of view, the headline may also be read as implying a negative action by the authorities, which would satisfy the more liberal sections of the readership. We see that by simply mentioning "the facts", the media define a situation in which Tamils are primarily seen as objects of government action, framed by routines of legal procedure (Department of Justice, the police, the courts, etc.), which in turn implies or explicitly expresses the illegality of entry by the Tamils.

Once the Tamils have managed to cross the borders and have applied for refugee status, another major topic hits the headlines: reception, housing, and welfare—a topic that occupies the other half of the actions of the authorities headlines. Although some headlines undoubtedly express care and empathy for the problems of the Tamils, most of the headlines emphasize the problems *caused by* the immigration and the presence of the Tamils: lack of housing, fights between cities and government about money, reception centers, welfare allowances, etc. Again, the major perspective is that of the Dutch authorities and how they "have to cope" with the unex-

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pected refugees. Whereas the headlines just mentioned emphasize illegal entry and tough government action, we here find a mixture of a government portrayed in a helping role, on the one hand, and the government wanting to keep it cheap, on the other hand. That is, the usual welfare allowance is replaced by the BBB-system (by which Tamils only get bread, bed, and bath, in state-funded pensions and \$10.00 pocket money weekly). Again, the preferred reading may be that the authorities do something about it and do not allow Tamils to go on welfare (resented by many Dutch citizens, probably also because of the direction of media reporting; see following headlines). Characteristic examples of such headlines are:

CABINET DECIDES TO RECEIVE TAMILS IN SPECIAL PENSIONS (VK, 3/9/85)

AMSTERDAM CAN NO LONGER HOUSE TAMILS (TG 3/21/85)

BED, BATH AND BREAD FOR TAMILS (NH, 4/3/85)

The next topic cluster (73 headlines) forros the complement of the previous one, and focuses on the reactions against government policies and action, resistance or protests by the Tamil refugees, or the organizations that assist them. The Tamil action and other forms of protest themselves are especially important because they have undoubtedly contributed to the widespread interpretation (e.g., in interview data we collected) that "Tamils are being helped, and yet they are ungrateful." They initially refused to move to the reception shelters, sought sanctuary in a church, protested against the BBB-regime, wanted more pocket money, went to court to fight expulsion, and finally set fire to their pensions:

GROUP OF TAMILS REFUSES TO LEAVE AMSTERDAM (NH, 4/2/85)

TAMILS WANT TO STAY TOGETHER (PA, 4/3/85)

HUNGER STRIKE OF 19 TAMILS (PA, 4/20/85)

TAMILS DESTROY INTERIOR OF THEIR PENSIONS (NH, 4/20/86)

The initial headlines about the Tamils are about their flight from Sri Lanka and their immigration to the Netherlands (20 headlines). We have seen, however, that instead of being defined as informal refugees, their entry is consistently framed as "illegal" (15 headlines). Also, their coming in vast numbers is an important feature of diese early reports:

TAMILS FLEE TO THE NETHERLANDS (NH 12/6/84)

TAMILS IN TAXILOADS TO DUTCH SHELTER (NH, 12/8/84)

STREAM OF TAMILS LEADS TO QUESTIONS ABOUT MOTIVES OF THEIR FLIGHT (TR, 1/18/85)

SOBER RECEPTION PUTS END TO TAMIL INVASION (TG, 4/20/85)

THOUSANDS OF TAMILS SMUGGLED INTO THE COUNTRY (TG, 4/27/85)

The opinion of the authorities, that many Tamils are not real but rather economic refugees also hits quite a number of headlines and matches the implications of the story that Tamils are here merely to profit from our welfare paradise and protest against their thrifty treatment.

Apart from illegal entry, doubtful refugee status, profiting, and ungrateful behavior, other headlines signal a variety of other negative dimensions related to the "invasion" of the Tamils. As we also saw earlier, emphasis is put on the shady organizations (travel agencies) that make money from the Tamil exodus. Tamils are being exploited by private pension owners, who sometimes house eight Tamils in one room and who make thousands of guilders per week with their run-down apartments. Again, these headlines may imply different interpretations, empathy with the Tamil as victims or else attention for the criminal (again illegal) aspect of such practices. The style of the headlines and the stories seems to prefer the second reading, which is more in line with the dominant news values. Only 18 of 224 headlines focus on the problems of Tamils themselves, either in their own country or in the Netherlands.

We conclude from this analysis that the vast majority of the headlines are about what the Dutch authorities do, focusing on refusal to admit Tamils, to grant them refugee status, or to give them welfare, on the one hand, and on housing and otherwise helping them on the other hand. Complementary are the headlines about Tamil reactions, but these seem predominantly highlighting the elements from which a dominant message of ungratefulness may be (and has been) inferred. Finally, association (even as victims) with fraud, illegality and exploitation, further emphasizes the dominant negative message. Overall then, the headlines define the immigration and presence of Tamils as a problem. This is consistent with what has been found for the coverage of other immigrating or minority groups, both in the Netherlands and other European countries. Not a single headline welcomes the presence of a new group of citizens or emphasizes the possible contributions of this group to our culture and economy (many immigrating Tamils have advanced education and professional job experience).

The syntactic style of the headlines reflects some of the dimensions of this analysis (see also Fowler, et al., 1979; Sykes, 1985, 1987). As for minorities in general, Tamils are often mentioned in the headlines, but primarily in passive roles. They occupy first topic position in about one third (132) of the headlines. However, whereas this position is predominantly that of the

agent/Subject, Tamils often appear to have nonagentive roles, e.g., as patients or victims of what others decide about them. If they have agent role in first position, it is mostly in negative rather than neutral contexts, whereas, as usual, the reverse is true when they have nonagentive role (and hence other actors, e.g., the authorities, have agentive role). Only in one case, does first position agent role have a positive implication for Tamils. In other words, in the headline definition of the situation, Tamils are not in control, unless they are agents of negatively-valued actions such as "massive" immigration, "illegal entry", and protests or demonstrations.

As may be expected from our thematic analysis of the headlines, first position agent role is reserved for Dutch authorities and organizations, such as the government (60 headlines); the cities (19); parliament (19); political parties (19); the judiciary and the police (16); and various other groups or organizations such as the UNHCR, the Dutch refugee organization (headlined in topical position in only seven articles), and high-level diplomats. Despite possible frictions and disagreement about details among these different groups, they nevertheless represent the power structure and the elites. Moderate opposition reaches the headlines only through the formal opposition parties in parliament or through official organizations. A high-placed civil servant (former ambassador in Sri Lanka) occupies first position agent role in the headline only when he voices his disagreement with the report of a government mission that found South Sri Lanka safe for Tamils. Alternative voices, and even the official Dutch refugee organization (VVN), may be mentioned and quoted in the text but only as a reaction to official acts and, hence, hardly occupy the headlines.

THEMATIC STRUCTURES

We now turn to an analysis of the full thematic structures of the news reports. The analysis of the headlines has shown that the topics or themes most frequently expressed in the headlines, are the actions of the authorities (e.g., expulsion, refusing asylum, reception, housing, and limiting costs) and the reactions of the Tamils and their allies. Although there may be biasing titles, most articles will be mainly about these topics as expressed in the headlines. Analysis of the thematic structure of half of the articles, those (191) published during the crucial first four months (January to April, 1985), shows that this is indeed the case. Two thirds of the articles feature the topic of the refugee status of Tamils, and/or their housing or reception generally. By far, these topics occupy the largest parts of the reports (each about 20,000 cm²). Especially in the first few weeks, the flight story and the situation in Sri Lanka appear as major topics (each in one third of the

reports), whereas during these first few months the reaction and protest themes appear in only 18 of 191 stories.

Interestingly, not all topics of the articles of these first four months appear to be equally fit for headlining. The refugee-status topic shows up in the headline in about 65% of the articles, whereas housing appears in 82%. And, whereas the situation in Sri Lanka appears in 52 stories, it hits the headline in only 12 stories. Protest and action, however, nearly always make it to the headline: Of 18 reports that feature a protest topic, 17 express that topic in the headline. This confirms the general tendency of minority news that violence, protest actions, and problems are treated as most important and hence to be signalled, topics, whereas backgrounds (such as the situation in Sri Lanka) hit the headlines much less. A few weeks after the first reports about Tamils, the press focuses on a number of topics that also prominently appear in the headlines:

Profitable traffic suspected in people from Sri Lanka:

ASYLUM SEEKING TAMILS DID NOT TAKE REFUGE (vx, 1/17/85)

PROFITABLE TRAFFIC IN REFUGEE TRAVEL BY TAMILS, SUSPECTS
MINISTRY OF JUSTICE (NH, 1/17/85)

Jet-refugees deny organized traffic of refugees:

STREAM OF TAMILS LEADS TO QUESTIONS ABOUT FLIGHT MOTIVE (TE,
1/18/85)

CRIMINALS CASH IN ON TAMIL EXODUS (TG, 1/19/85)

These rather similar headlines establish two basic dimensions of the press account about Tamils: doubts about their refugee status and the role of dubious refugee traffickers. Expression in the headlines suggests that these topics are also major topics in the texts. Also, if quotation marks or doubt markers do not appear in the headlines, the suggestion is one of factuality. When we examine the thematic structures of these articles, however, we find that refugee traffic is only a minor topic in some of the reports, and merely suspected by high officials of the ministry. The *Volkskrant* article does have several passages about the suspicion against travel agencies by the authorities and also focuses on the doubt about refugee status. The *NRC-Handelsblad* report, however, only mentions the suspicion of trafficking in the first paragraph; the rest of the report is about a previous event (sending Tamils back), the protest against this by the Dutch refugee organization, the route of the refugees, and the suspicion of ministry officials that the refugees are not real refugees, but economic ones. The denials by the Dutch refugee organization of this suspicion, which occupy half of the text, are not

headlined. These denials contradict the information in *Volkscrant* that the refugee organization also has severe doubts about the refugee status of the Tamils. *Trouw* is more subtle and only suggests that questions have arisen, but in a smaller headline it also signals the denials by the refugees about trafficking. As usual, *Telegraaf* highlights the crime angle, which further emphasizes the negative portrayal of the ways Tamils enter the country. The story itself, illustrated by an interview with a Tamil refugee, only suggests that the flight of Tamils may be organized but gives no evidence for exploitation, let alone criminal action.

These examples suggest (1) that headlines in practice may express only a lower-level topic and not the major or highest topic of the text; and (2) that the upgraded topics in the headline substantiate the schematic portrayal of Tamils as fake refugees and their migration as a form of frontier running, trafficking, or crime. Note that the dominant features of the press picture of Tamils that slowly emerges from this reporting during the first few weeks highlight illegality or fraud (profits by the travel agencies and wanting to profit of Dutch society by economic Tamil refugees themselves) and *not* the exploitation or the suffering of the Tamil refugees themselves. In other words, the main perspective is the assumed damage to Dutch society, not the interest of the refugees. Although both Tamils and the refugee organizations are quoted and sustain a different perspective, this angle of the story is not made prominent through headlining. We see that the newspapers do not simply render the facts or mention the evidence but rather transform these into a thematic structure that fits a prejudiced schema.

This process is most explicit in the popular *Telegraaf*, which reaches approximately a million and a half readers. The racist portrayal of minorities in this newspaper takes a blatant form regarding new Black refugees. This means that the well-known prejudice proposition "they profit from our social system" is heavily topicalized in its stories about Tamils:

Refugee trick admitted:

TAMILS SEEK ASYLUM EVERYWHERE TO GET EXTRA ALLOWANCE (TG
3/4/85)

This headline tops a story that in its lead accuses Tamils of "large scale" double applications in "several countries." This allegation is based on the fact that the police sent back a group of Tamils who, according to the police, had already applied for refugee status in Germany. The facts—that the police sent back a group of Tamils—do not appear in the headline. The suspicion of the police gets special attention, and the assumptions of the journalist fill most of the text and also appear in the headline: Here "everywhere" is used as a hyperbole for a single other country, and that Tamils play "tricks" is allegedly "admitted." If some Tamils did, indeed, see

asylum in Germany, this certainly will be primarily to enhance their chances to obtain refugee status in one of both countries and not to get extra welfare (payment of allowances after all presupposes presence). That *Telegraaf* explicitly focuses on profiting and fraud may also be concluded from a passage in the same article:

The refugees illegally enter the country by secret routes or hidden in trains or cars in order to profit—once they are registered as official refugees—of the much higher allowances in the Netherlands in addition to the assistance they receive in West Germany,

This kind of thematic topicalization, i.e., upgrading of doubts and suspicions by the authorities and the journalist to headline status, contributes to the construction of prejudices against Tamil refugees.

SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES

What about the schematic organization (superstructures) of the Tamil reports? Again, only a few general observations can be made and some illustrative examples given of these formal structures of the Tamil coverage. In general terms, most stories of our corpus have the immigration of Tamils to the Netherlands as explicit or implicit Context. The initial stories spell out this later context as their Main Events category. In broader terms, the situation in Sri Lanka may be interpreted as either current Context—as when it is argued that Tamils are not real refugees but economic refugees—or as History when the history of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka is given.

Interestingly, these Background categories may be manipulated. For instance, in a story that focuses on the doubtful refugee status of Tamils, background information about the persecution of Tamils would be inconsistent, information about the terrorism of the Tamil Tigers would be less inconsistent, and information about the relative safety of Tamils in South Sri Lanka, would be consistent. It is not surprising, therefore, that of the nearly 200 stories that appeared in the first four months, only about 50 feature information about the situation in Sri Lanka, and such information is topicalized (headlined) in only 12 stories. The following illustrates such biasing background information:

Van den Broek (the Minister of Foreign Affairs) remarked that a small separatist Tamil-movement in Sri Lanka is guilty of terrorist action, but the measures against this of the central government in Colombo are not entirely beyond criticism, either. (VK, 2/14/85).

We see that whereas a Tamil movement is categorized as "terrorist" the actions of the Sri Lankan government are rhetorically mitigated by a much softer qualification ("not entirely beyond criticism"). In that case, the expression "excesses of the army" is placed between quotes, unlike the term "terrorist." As usual, the news report strategy in this case is not to provide direct information about this context, but rather indirectly, through attribution to the minister of Foreign Affairs.

In some cases, Comments (Evaluations or Expectations) of the journalist are assigned a prominent position in Headline or Lead, as we saw in the examples of the *Telegraaf*. Here the allegations of welfare profiting are no longer a marginal conclusion by the reporter from ongoing events but instead receive Main Event-status in both Summary (Headline and Lead) and the text itself. Thus, prejudiced suspicion is transformed into a threatening social fact, whereas the actual Main Event (the police sending back refugees) is downgraded to a local detail or to context information.

Another typical schematic transformation is the upgrading of the Verbal Reactions category. This important category, which often organizes large parts of the news story, normally features the declarations of authorities or other important news actors about the recent events. Sometimes these reactions are made more relevant than the Main Event itself. The headline examples show how doubts or suspicions of the authorities about the refugee status of Tamils are promoted to Main Event-status or simply given special relevance by headlining. We also witnessed that the verbal reactions of the opposition, of refugee organizations, and especially of the refugees themselves seldom undergo this form of transformation.

A final example of schematic and thematic transformation may be found in *Telegraaf* in a story that bears the following prominent headline:

Help of German authorities suspected
NATIONAL POLICE INVESTIGATES TAMIL-INVASION (TG, 3/2/85)

The story itself, however, is about a government decision to organize the reception of Tamils and only secondarily about the investigation of possible German complicity in "illegal border crossings" of the Tamils. Indeed, *Parool* headlines the same story as follows:

CABINET WANTS SHELTERS FOR TAMILS (PA, 3/2/85)

Telegraaf apparently pays more attention to suspected fraud, illegal border crossing, and the actions of the police than to the less-juicy decision of the government to house the Tamils. More generally, however, the first few months of the Tamil coverage show repeated contextual descriptions of exactly how the Tamils flew to Moscow and East Berlin (literally a suspect

while communist connection in its own right), and from there through West Berlin to the Dutch green borders. Just as with the alleged actions of dubious travel agencies, the whole context of the flight and immigration of the Tamils remains associated with negative concepts such as human traffic, fraud, deceit, illegal border crossing, and organized crime. In this case, backgrounds are not so much given to provide more understanding of the motives for immigration of Tamils but rather to support the assumption that something is wrong with these refugees: They come in jets, are able to buy expensive tickets, come through Eastern Europe, cross unpoliced borders illegally, hire expensive taxis for long-distance transportation, and are said to be unable to tell horror stories about personal persecution.

We see that selective History, biased Contexts, negative Verbal Reactions of the authorities, and negative Comments of the reporter may get special attention, made more prominent in headlines, and may even undergo transformation as Main Events, i.e., become recent news facts.

LOCAL SEMANTICS AND STYLE

Although the global structures of news reports, such as their dominant topics, undoubtedly have a major role in news processing by the readers, the local structures may also contribute to the overall portrayal of Tamils. Here, stylistic phenomena, such as lexical choice and syntactic formulation of underlying actor roles, and a number of special semantic properties, such as presuppositions, implications, or associations, play a strategic role in the description and evaluation of the new citizens. Obviously, it makes a vast difference whether the Tamil refugees are pictured as persecuted victims of an oppressive government, as people fleeing a civil war, or generally as people who deserve our sympathy or pity; or as terrorists who are to blame themselves for the situation in Sri Lanka, as kids of rich parents, as people who illegally enter the country, or as refugees who merely come here to live off our pocket. We have seen that, thematically, the stories tend to favor the latter category. How are such categorizations—and their obvious possible consequences for ethnic-attitude formation and ideological transformation and legitimation—ultimately grounded in the meaning production and the stylistic expressions of the reports themselves? What inferences can be drawn from such local semantic and stylistic formulations about the attitudes or ideologies of the reporters or their newspapers?

Since it is not yet practically feasible to analyze the detailed local structures of some 400 news reports, we must again limit ourselves to a few important dimensions of the local typification of Tamils in the press, namely, those elements that may eminently contribute to the formation of negative attitudes. To focus on the initial definitions, which have a rather de-

cisive primacy effect in ethnic-attitude formation, we take our examples from the first crucial months of reporting, namely from January through April, 1985. In the summer and fall of 1985 and in 1986, the Tamil coverage gets a different slant, which we discuss later.

Illegality

The first description of the Tamils when they entered the Netherlands was, "illegal." During the first few months, all newspapers regularly featured headline definitions that unambiguously assign this evaluation:

JUSTICE SENDS ILLEGAL TAMILS BACK TO WEST-GERMANY (TR, 2/19/85)

DEPUTY MINISTER DEEMS ILLEGAL TAMILS TO BE NON-ASYLUM SEEKERS (VK, 2/20/85)

FIGHT ABOUT HANDLING STREAM OF ILLEGALS (TG, 4/25/85)

To be sure, strictly speaking, entering the country without the required documents is of course illegal. However, it is the special emphasis placed on illegality, as well as the various implications and associations related with this concept, that are important in the overall portrayal of the Tamil refugees. It goes without saying that refugees often do not have the required documents, so it would be at least more neutral to speak of informal immigrants. Had the Tamils all presented themselves to the immigration officers at the borders and applied for refugee status, many of them probably would not have been allowed to enter the Netherlands in the first place. After all, the general rule followed by the authorities is that the first receiving country, in this case mostly West Germany, is responsible for refugees.

The emphasis on illegal entry has wider ramifications, however. It is associated with rather juicy stories about the actual route the Tamils took when entering the country, viz., the small unguarded border roads and forests between the Dutch province of Limburg and West Germany:

"Increasingly they make use of secret roads through the forests of Limburg" (NH, 1/15/85).

"Through secret roads or hidden under train seats many of them avoid border control" (TG, 1/10/85).

In this way, illegality is associated with secrecy, frontier running, and other forms of organized crime. A notorious opinion article, published in *NCR-Handelsblad* on April 1, explicitly states the lawbreaking nature of

these illegals. To fully understand the implications of this initial typification, it should be added that extant minority groups in the Netherlands, especially Turkish and Moroccan guest workers, are regularly associated with the same kind of illegality and that this condition is always used as the official reason for expulsion. Whereas racist organizations and parties in the Netherlands could hardly say in their propaganda that foreigners should be sent back—a proposition that is implied, however, by their statements—they could legally emphasize that illegal foreigners should be sent back. In other words, by defining Tamils as illegals from the outset, the press already formulates a crucial reason for their expulsion and at least one negative point of view in the decision procedure about their applications for refugee status.

Fraud

The emphasis on illegality often relates to other negative concepts such as various forms of fraud. Thus, dozens of passages associate Tamils with deceit, trafficking, or other dubious practices related to illegally and residence.

Tamils may be portrayed as real or potential victims of such fraud or trafficking. This is the case in the many stories about travel agencies or frontier runners that make a "fast buck" from their misery by charging many thousands of dollars for a flight to Moscow and/or East Berlin and for the car or train journey through West Germany to the Dutch border. These stories become even more impressive of course when they go beyond the incidental exploitation of a travel agent and are able to construe the events under the label of organized crime:

LUCRATIVE TRAFFIC IN PEOPLE FROM SRI LANKA SUSPECTED

Although the authorities in the Netherlands do not have hard evidence, indications are increasingly taken more serious that a well-organized travel agency is behind this (VK, 1/17/85).

JET REFUGEES DENY ORGANIZED HUMAN TRAFFICKING (TR, 1/18/85)

CRIMINALS PROFIT OF EXODUS TAMILS

(. . .) there is increasing suspicion that criminals successfully cash in on the anxieties of the Tamil people . . . Indications are accumulating that the fast growing stream of Tamils has become an easy prey to a slick organization (TG, 1/19/85).

One should not conclude from such passages that the press is primarily concerned about the Tamils themselves. On the contrary, especially during

the first few months, it is the country as a whole and the authorities that are confronted with a new type of crime (see also the usual criminalization in *Telegraaf*) and, hence, the Dutch who are the primary victims of such crime: These agents facilitate the Tamil stream to the Netherlands, and cause our actual problems. In other circumstances, no government agency or newspaper would probably bother to investigate or prominently publish fraud by travel agencies or other private enterprises. The interests of the country are involved only when immigration is concerned; therefore it is not surprising when the ministry of Justice instructs a public prosecutor to investigate such activities. A few months later, *Telegraaf* triumphantly publishes the alleged results of such an investigation under a vast banner headline:

LEADER OF SYNDICATE ARRESTED

THOUSANDS OF TAMILS SMUGGLED INTO THE COUNTRY (TG 4/27/85)

The text itself speaks of a criminal organization that is being tracked by the police (i.e., not yet found). Note that this headline is published at a moment when the immigration of Tamils has virtually stopped. Yet, it suggests that thousands of new Tamils have been smuggled into the country. The empathy with exploited Tamils is nowhere to be found in this and many other stories.

The same prominent focus is given to the first housing problems of the Tamils in Amsterdam. As was the case with the Surinamese and immigrant workers from Mediterranean countries a decade or two earlier, "malafide" (the preferred media expression) owners of often decrepit pensions take advantage of Tamils by charging high rents for a single room to be shared by many people. Again, these stories may be positively read as media denouncement of Tamil exploitation, and indeed the authorities have moved quickly to close down some of these pensions. However, as is the case with the travel agencies (invariably put between quotes), this empathy with the plight of the Tamils can hardly be seen as more than a form of positive self-presentation.

Again, comparison shows why. First, there is no government or media outcry against high rents in the cities or against other forms of exploitation by house owners or speculators, usually denounced only by the squatter movement. Second, minorities in the Netherlands generally live in the worst houses or apartments in the inner cities, and there is no media or other public indignation against this form of housing. Third, when finally the government itself decides to house the Tamils in its own pensions, there are hardly first-class hotels. At the same time the usual welfare allowance is taken from the Tamils and replaced by the bread, bed, and bath system in addition to some 20 guilders (\$10.00) of pocket money per week. The major

reason for that action is to save money (and to deter further refugees from coming to the Netherlands). In this way, millions of guilders have been withheld that legally should be given to people who apply for political asylum. At least initially, no newspaper has denounced that kind of state exploitation and taken the side of the Tamils. Only months later, some political parties and newspapers slowly become convinced that this kind of reception can no longer be tolerated. In other words, the exploiting pension owners are portrayed in terms of criminal deviance from Dutch morals and not primarily as exploiting refugees.

Generally speaking, then, the dominating topic of fraud is presented from the point of view of the receiving society or authorities and not from the point of view of the Tamils. This means that, as part of the whole refugee picture, it further emphasizes that something is wrong, fishy, and indeed fraught with fraud with the whole Tamil immigration.

This may also be seen from those stories where the Tamils themselves are portrayed as active perpetrators of fraud or deceit. *Telegraaf* reports in its first article (January 10, 1985) that some refugees have false passports, and we have already analyzed an example from the same newspaper claiming that Tamils apply for refugee status in several countries (to get extra welfare). This story meshes well with the crucial topic emanating from a vast number of earlier reports, namely, that Tamils are fake, economic refugees (see the section "Economic Refugees"). *NRC-Handelsblad* (April 13, 1985) briefly adds that lawyers make fortunes by organizing work and refugee status for Tamils; *Parool* makes a similar claim in a headline and long story (April 27, 1985) for welfare workers who allegedly welcome these new refugees into their market. Thus, interestingly, instead of directly attacking the Tamils themselves, there is the indirect move of attacking those who, in fact or in fantasy, profit from their presence.

Crime and Drugs

It comes as no surprise that the negative portrayal of Tamils (and their bonafide or malafide helpers) regarding illegality and fraud finally goes all the way to straightforward crime, especially the crime most often associated with minorities—drugs. Obviously, the new Tamils have hardly had the opportunity to plan and commit crime, so the very fears of their likelihood to commit it are repeatedly expressed in the press. Most notably, rumors and allegations of links with the heroin scene—actively as dope smugglers to pay their air fare or passively as potential victims of dope peddlers—soon enter the stories. This association with real or potential criminalization is the closing and most persuasive link in the traditionally negative media portrayal of minorities, both in the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, other Western

European countries and the United States (see, e.g., Hall, et á., 1978). This is how the press subtly brings in the crime angle without straightforward accusations:

According to the city of Amsterdam these wandering groups are at great risk to end up in criminal or drug circles because of lack of money (PA, 2/14/85).

Again, the presentation strategy is one of empathy, showing concern for the Tamils, whereas the real fears amount to the projection of stereotypes and prejudices about the special inclinations, liabilities, and drug-related crimes of minority group people. •

Economic Refugees

Whereas the semantic implications of the topics previously discussed undoubtedly contributed to the negative portrait of the Tamils sketched by the Dutch press, no topic cluster is as explicit, unambiguous, and dominant as that of the Tamils being economic and not political refugees.

From the start in January 1985, the authorities did more than make it clear that this group of uninvited, irregular, and even illegal refugees was not welcome. The officials of the Justice Department repeatedly emphasized that they had reasons to believe that many of the Tamils came here only to take advantage of our social welfare system, not because they feared persecution in Sri Lanka. The government, therefore, consistently refused to grant political asylum to the Tamils as a group, despite the declarations by the UNHCR, Amnesty International, and other organizations that Tamils in Sri Lanka were collectively real or potential victims of state oppression. Individual examination of each case would allow the authorities to outwardly present itself as fair, while at the same time deciding negatively in most individual cases. This proved to be the case: In the fall of the same year it became obvious that only a few dozen of individual Tamils (of an estimated 3,000) would be recognized as refugees.

The newspapers have faithfully reproduced and legitimated this policy of the politicians, and in their own way helped produce a broad public consensus about this definition of the Tamils as fake refugees. The stories about illegal entry, fraud, and crime are only supporting media strategies to persuasively convey this prominent feature of Tamils being fake refugees. Dozens of headlines and local passages show how this dominant definition is formulated. The routine strategy is to prominently quote the authorities. Representatives of the Department of Justice are repeatedly quoted as saying:

In talles with them there is no question of political motives. In that case we are allowed to think of other motives, economic ones in the broadest sense of the term (NH, 1/17/85).

Trapped Western governments are increasingly convinced that part of the Tamils (. . .) did not leave Sri Lanka because of political reasons. (. . .) From the first interrogations it appears that stories about the persecution they suffered hardly stand up (TR, 1/18/85).

The very choice of the word "trapped" to describe the Western European governments shows that according to the speaker for the Department of Justice, we are the victims of this invasion not the Tamils. After a few weeks of emphasizing the economic nature of the Tamil refugees, the press and the public routinely use this evaluation of the situation. That is, no longer does the press simply report what the authorities think—allegations based on hearsay, wishful thinking, and individual stories, and not on hard evidence about the situation in Sri Lanka—but itself adopts this definition in its own newsgathering routines, interviews, and independent assessment of the Tamil immigration. Repeatedly, both in the Netherlands and Sri Lanka, authorities are being asked the question whether the Tamils should be regarded as real or economic refugees:

One may ask whether these people are really fleeing to Europe out of political motives, or whether they simply come here to profit of our social welfare system (NH, 4/5/85).

Even when a correspondent of *NRC-Handelsblad* interviews a Tamil leader who denies these allegations, he concludes from the admission that some young Tamils also seek better education that this must be the main motive for their flight to Europe (NH, 4/15/85). A day later, the same newspaper makes the crucial next step in this reasoning:

The point of view of Amnesty International can hardly be maintained (. . .). As far as the Tamils are concerned, we should quickly separate the wheat from the chaff and those who have come to the Netherlands only because of economic reasons should actual be expelled (NH, 4/16/85).

Apparently, both for the authorities and for much of the press, the discussion about the refugee status of the Tamils has only one major goal: formulating the argumenta in such a way that a face-saving case can be made for throwing them out.

The examples discussed in this section also show that the use of the term "economic refugees" by the authorities and in the press should not be seen

European countries and the United States (see, e.g., Hall, et al., 1978). This is how the press subtly brings in the crime angle without straightforward accusations:

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as a neutral counterpart of "political refugees." Rather, it is a typical example of bureaucratic jargon that dissimulates underlying meanings and implications. In its neutral sense (if there is such a thing as neutral meaning), it implies that refugees have no or fewer means of existence in their own country, that is, that they are poor and take refuge from poverty. However, its underlying and mostly intended meaning is that such refugees come here only to profit from our social welfare system, that is, they come here to live off our pocket. In several news reports and statements by authorities, this implication is explicitly spelled out. The alternative reading, that Tamils come here to work and thus may contribute to our economy, is never even envisaged. The well-known prejudice that minorities often live on welfare is simply applied here to the new group of immigrants. Refugees are hardly responsible for the tale that, pending the decision about their status, they are not allowed to work. Since many Tamils have a good education and professional experience, there is reason to believe that many of them will find a job despite the unemployment rate in the Netherlands. In other words, the term economic is a semantic and rhetorical strategy to convey ethnic prejudices with a technical euphemism.

Welfare

This typification of Tamils as economic refugees is particularly obvious in the passages where the press emphasizes the fact that Tamils will (or will no longer) receive welfare allowances. During the first months, until it was decided they should be put on the BBB-system previously discussed, they received the usual welfare allowance to which political refugees are entitled during their stay in the Netherlands as long as they remain unemployed. Several press reports, especially in *Telegraaf*, pay special attention to this welfare allowance and what it will cost us (one guilder is about 50 cents):

The Tamils (get) a card that entitles them to a welfare allowance (. . .) With the handling of applications alone tens of thousands of guilders are involved (TG, 1/10/85).

(they come here) to profit of the much higher allowances in the Netherlands (. . .) 600 guilders and welfare, a total of 1,500 guilders, and then the usual monthly welfare allowances (TG, 3/4/85).

The 2,000 Tamils cost the community two million guilders per month (TG, 3/9/85).

RECEPTION COSTS THE NETHERLANDS 116 MILLION
(. . .) 29 million this year, 43.5 million in 1986 and 1987 (TG 3/28/85).

The public is duly informed what the Tamil invasion will cost us and, thus, gets further information that may feed the application of ethnic prejudices about foreigners that come to live here off our pocket. In this political context of press mediated mass persuasion, it was not difficult for the Dutch authorities to put Tamils on a special system. This system was explicitly intended to dissuade further Tamils from coming to the Netherlands. When the influx of Tamils did suddenly stop in April, *Telegraaf* proudly announces the effectiveness of the new policy: "Since the drastic austerity measures in the reception of Tamils in the Netherlands, the move to our country has virtually been put to an end" (TG, April 27, 1985). Such passages may also be read as a post hoc proof of the assumption that Tamils did indeed come to the Netherlands because of its allegedly easy welfare system. The various dimensions of the meaning produced in the Tamil press accounts fit together nicely in a coherent whole.

Two other major meanings closely fit the previously defined semantic system: (1) their presence is a burden for the authorities, the government, the cities, and the social services; and (2) if they are not political refugees, then they should stay where they are. The latter topic has become dominant in May 1985, when the Dutch government decided to send a diplomatic mission to Sri Lanka to investigate the possibility of sending the Tamils back to the southern part of their country. After one week in Sri Lanka, the mission found that the south of Sri Lanka was reportedly safe for Tamils. This conclusion was rather forcefully opposed by a large number of national and international organizations who were quoted in the news reports, but their statements are seldom made very prominent and rarely appear in the headlines. A number of newspapers, such as the *NRC-Handelsblad*, pleads for the so-called regional option, which means that Tamils should be given shelter in their "own region", for instance in India. This barely veiled form of racism (Asians should stay with Asians) is defended in an editorial with the strategic appeal to an assumed (and unfortunately correct, but see "Semantic Coherence") attitude of the population, who would oppose accepting more immigrants.

Numbers and Metaphors

Finally, from the first days of the Tamils' arrival, the press takes care to keep the score by producing factual information about the numbers of immigrants. This number game is well known in reporting about immigration (see also Hartmann & Husband, 1974) and fits the more general tendency of news report to rhetorically enhance objectivity by providing hard figures about ongoing events. This number game, however, has very special presup-

positions and other implications for minorities and immigrants. The statements in absolute numbers, often accompanied by a measure of daily or weekly increases, are not merely a rhetorical ploy to enhance factuality, but also an operation that emphasizes the very concept of large numbers itself. Whether immigrants come by the hundreds or thousands is not important. The message is that large numbers of refugees are coming to the country, a statement that would be less effective if for instance percentages of the total population would be specified.

Despite their apparent exactness, however, numbers appear to be mostly estimates and vary widely in the day-by-day score. One newspaper may mention 2,000 Tamils one day and 3,000 the next day, and even when the same sources (e.g., the police or the Justice Department) are mentioned, there may be differences. Such differences are never explained or corrected when they appear to be wrong, which confirms our assumption that they do not primarily serve to provide exact specifications but merely function as rhetorical means to suggest factuality. The prototypical number passage reads like this:

According to a speaker of the Dept. of Justice the stream of Tamils to our country continues unabated. The number of refugee applications is estimated to amount to 100 to 150 per week. He says that about 2,000 asylum applications are being handled at this moment (NH, 3/4/85).

This example further shows that the qualification of immigration itself becomes associated with a set of metaphorical expressions, borrowed from the style register of various types of aquatic disaster, such as "stream", "flow", "torrent", and "wave." *Telegraaf* even speaks of an "invasion", which suggests the imminent presence of a hostile foreign army. In the Netherlands, which has a long nationalistic tradition of struggle against the water, the flow metaphors are particularly revealing and effective. The remedy against such tidal waves is to build dikes, and much of the reception of Tamils can be interpreted in that metaphorical context. To keep them out, we must build dikes, dams, or barriers against the flow of foreigners. *Volkscrant* (2/15/85) speaks of a "gigantic stream" of Tamils that the authorities in Amsterdam can no longer handle. The number associated with this torrent appears to be 1,200 in a city of more than 700,000 people and which annually receives millions of tourists. It is not surprising that in its editorial of April 6, 1985, *NRC-Handelsblad* has to admit that the Tamils can hardly be called a "demographic time bomb", but it hastily adds that nevertheless "their steady influx causes concern."

The effect of repeatedly mentioning the daily or weekly increase has its inevitable effects upon readers. One large opinion article published in *NRC-Handelsblad* (4/1/85), replete with blatant prejudices against Tamils and

resident ethnic minorities, calculates that about 40,000 Tamils will come to the Netherlands during this year! Eventually, the estimates remain hovering around 3,000 (with an occasional 4,000 in *Telegraaf*, the popular newspaper that usually adds its own percentage to the official figures). A few weeks later, it is found that about half of this group of Tamils has suddenly disappeared, probably to surrounding countries. Note, however, that the decreasing number of Tamils is *not* carefully documented by the media, which also shows that the numbers as such are not important, only the large number of those coming in.

Semantic Coherence

Our illustration of a few prominent features in the semantic structure of news reports about Tamils has shown first that the immigration of Tamils is portrayed in terms of a few simple traits: They invade our country massively and illegally, making use of dubious or criminal services and organizations; they are obviously economic, that is, fake refugees, who are coming to live off our pocket. Also, the Tamils are associated with fraud and even may fall prey to drugs or other forms of crime. Their presence is a burden for our society, especially for the authorities who have to deal with them, and, therefore, the only solution is to either send them back to Sri Lanka or to its closest neighbor, India.

These semantic features form a coherent system of ethnically or racially based opinions, which closely resembles the current racist prejudices against resident minorities in the Netherlands: There are too many of them, they live off our pocket, they are criminal and able to use drugs, and they are generally a problem for our society; we should try to send them back to their own country (van Dijk, 1984a, 1987a). In other words, the press depicts the Tamils and their immigration along the familiar lines of projected racist prejudices. Having little or no alternative information about Tamils or refugees, the public may be easily persuaded by this kind of dominant discourse, which also happens to fit very well with the policy of the state.

The example of the thousands of Polish and Vietnamese refugees who came to the country a little earlier shows that when sound ideological reasons can be found (e.g., flight from communism), the press is far from vociferous in denouncing the "invasion" of refugees. It is not surprising, therefore, that some press accounts, as well as the authorities, stress the terrorist background of Tamil resistance in Sri Lanka. For anticommunist *Telegraaf* this movement is additionally branded as Marxist. Thus, political ideologies may also be combined with the racist ideologies about black refugees. Consequently, reception of Poles and Vietnamese was regarded as

a sign of true Dutch hospitality. We have reason to believe that public opinion about Polish and Vietnamese refugees is accordingly much more positive than that about Tamils (see "Public Opinion"). This suggests that the press does not simply register public opinion alter the fact but, at least in this case, is the primary source of its formation. It seems plausible that if the immigration of Tamils would have been covered in a few small items and if the press had prominently shown empathy with their plight, for example, by giving the refugee organizations the opportunity to challenge government policies, public opinion about Tamils would have been less pronounced and less negative. Without public support, parliament, and maybe even the government, would probably have felt less secure in implementing a tough immigration policy against Tamils.

The various dominant semantic features of the Tamil account in the press also form a coherent whole because they mutually support each other. Defining Tamil immigration as illegal fits well with the set of negative features of fraud and crime, and the emphasis on large numbers supports the heavy burden topic and the seriousness of the central topic of the media stories, that the Tamils are economic refugees. If they are economic refugees, the Tamils have lied about their condition, which again coheres with illegality and fraud. In other words, the selection of semantic features that portray the Tamils and their immigration is not arbitrary. They form a coherent whole that not only fits well with current stereotypes and prejudices but that also makes good copy for compelling stories according to the criteria of the dominant ideology of news production, such as the prominent attention for negative events.

PUBLIC OPINION

A final semantic feature is public opinion. After weeks of negative reporting in the press, as well as on television, about Tamils, it comes as no surprise that the public begins to show signs of concomitant reactions. Negative letters to the editor abound, and even in everyday talk people seem to be concerned with those Tamils. In a characteristic and rather cynical completion of the informational circle, the press pays attention to the panic it helped to create in the first place:

In the Amsterdam city council, which yesterday also talked about the Tamils, a large number of parties showed concern for the growing 'popular feeling' that the Tamils have come here only to profit of our economic paradise (TG, 4/4/85).

Anyone who, in an Amsterdam café or elsewhere, listens to the opinions about Tamils as refugees in our country, has to conclude that the publicity around the refugee problem has not been to their advantage . . . (TR, 4/5/85).

(Editorial:) There is no support for another policy in Dutch society (NH, 4/6/85).

(Refugees should be received in their own region, e.g. India). Not because the Netherlands would not be able to shelter a few thousand Tamils more, but because economic misery should be fought against with development aid. Furthermore, the Tamil question already has a negative repercussion on the attitudes regarding aliens in general (NH, 4/13/85).

The government is aiming at helping Tamils to go back to the region where they came from and thereby takes into account the growing objections in our society against the uncontrolled arrival of large groups of people seeking asylum (TG, 4/18/85).

The cynicism betrayed by these and other passages lies in the fact that the press views public opinion as an objective, independent reaction to the immigration of Tamils and uses these attitudes as a post hoc confirmation of its own negative portrayal that has been the main source of these opinions in the first place. Two other newspapers, not systematically analyzed here, *Vrije Volk* and *Algemeen Dagblad* (together having half a million subscribers), explicitly discuss this role of the media but conclude "not guilty" and justify the negative portrayal of the Tamil immigration by reemphasizing the dominant prejudices against them: We already have so many refugees (in fact, the Netherlands has among the lowest percentage of refugees in the Western world), Tamils are economic refugees, etc. Here, we find an emblematic case of a press-mediated panic, which is in turn covered up and justified by the press, thus contributing to the further development of the panic.

TALK ABOUT TAMILS

The repeated journalistic impressions of public talk about Tamils seem to be correct. In the spring of 1985, we did fieldwork in one of the poor inner-city neighborhoods of Amsterdam for our project about everyday talk about ethnic minority groups (van Dijk, 1984a, 1987a). Striking in these interviews was that, in contrast to our many earlier interviews, people not only spontaneously talked about Surinamese, Turks, Moroccans or other foreigners but also brought up Tamils, although it is doubtful that a single Tamil lived in that neighborhood. We may conclude that this topic was a typical media topic, informally reproduced in everyday conversation. It came as no surprise, therefore, that such talk faithfully mirrored the dominant media meanings we have analyzed above:

(Tamils) they have been here just for a short time, and are being helped very much, and right away they are filing a complaint here, with the judge . . . I tell

you, they have the nerve to do that (you don't do that in another country, when you are a guest). They want to show that they are political refugees. But they aren't! ... They have come from Germany, came across the border . . . they have money; they have free entry to this country . . . they simply come to Holland, they get an allowance, right away 600 guilders, they get shelter . . . They should be grateful (VRS2, 205-250).

(Tamils. Generally I agree that these people should be helped, get shelter). But yes, I find them a bit too demanding. Those allowances, and what have you. . . They don't like their food here. You know. They actually, they come here through, yes, devious routes. Often illegally (VRS6, 162-174).

These typical fragments of talk show a few things that are relevant for our discussion. First, the media account of Tamils is unusually well remembered (the interviews were held in early May). Even details about devious routes nearly literally find their reproduction in talk. News recall generally is highly fragmentary (see Graber, 1984; van Dijk, 1987e), but in the case of the 'model as it is derived from press and TV stories. Second, the dominant meanings of the press also appear to be the dominant topics of talk. Third, speakers also supply their own inferences. The press itself does not explicitly formulate the opinion that Tamils are ungrateful. Yet, by emphasizing the fact that Tamils didn't like the Dutch food provided to them under the BBB-system and that they went to court to fight expulsion, the press focuses on precisely those premises that allow a common-sense conclusion about the Tamils being ungrateful. The additional premise that supports that conclusion is that they are guests and should behave as such. (This passage features, as usual in such talk, a comparison with what the speaker would have done when abroad.) We have found that the prevailing topics of the press account rather closely fit the dominant racist prejudices about foreigners in the country.

These interviews provide further evidence for the assumption that the overall Tamil story of the press appeals to ready-made prejudices about foreigners in general. Furthermore, this appeal not only has a generalized form but is supported by easily-memorized events and details, which large segments of the public may use for everyday storytelling. Hence, the media supply the contents as well as the strategies for the everyday conversational reproduction of their own biased story.

TELEVISION NEWS

For brief comparison, we also examined the text of all news broadcasts on Dutch television between November 1984 and May 1986 (NOS-Journaal).

During this period, the immigration of Tamils was addressed in 40 stories (usually repeated in several of the four or five daily news programs). Usually, the first story was broadcast at 5:30 p.m. and with slight modifications and additions repeated at 7:00 p.m., 8:00 p.m., and 10:30 p.m. or a later bulletin. Sometimes stories were aired only in the later bulletins. The first stories about Tamils (in the summer of 1984) were not about the immigration of refugees but about the situation in Sri Lanka. Attention was paid in those stories to the terrorist attacks by the Tamils and the ensuing reactions of the Sri Lankan army or government. This background is important because it shows that the first televised definition of Tamils, at least for some viewers, related them with sectarian violence and civil war, if not with terrorism.

The TV stories about the Tamils in the Netherlands were usually brief (just over 100 words of presentation on average, discounting the words of interviewers and interviewees). Most stories were broadcast in the spring of 1985, when the Tamil reception and housing and the government decisions about their refugee status were most prominent, and in April 1986, when the Tamils destroyed some of the reception shelters. These attention peaks coincide with those in the press.

The major topics of the stories were, respectively, the question about whether the Tamils should stay or leave (the status topic) (11 stories), their reception and housing (11 stories), protests against the reception of Tamils (8 stories), sending Tamils back (7 stories), their flight to Europe (6 stories), the persecution of Tamils in Sri Lanka (5 stories), and the political debates about their status or reception (5 stories). Other topics were presented less frequently. The major actors, besides the Tamils themselves, were the government (in 22 of 40 stories), the cities, the local or international refugee organizations, the police, and the political parties. This actor distribution mirrors the one in the press.

Most stories were a combination of spoken presentation of the story and (1) an interview with different parties involved, such as government members, representatives of the national and international refugee organizations, the police, or city administrators; (2) footage about activities of the Tamils (staying in a church in Amsterdam, being expelled from pensions, being moved to reception shelters, etc.); and (3) film or photos about the destroyed reception shelters after the protest actions in April 1986.

Television news only focuses on the headlines, such as the initial massive immigration of Tamils to the Netherlands, the problems associated with their housing, government decisions about their reception and status, and of course various types of filmable protest actions by Tamils. The first story about the Tamil immigration to the Netherlands appears on November 15, 1984, a few weeks before the press discovers the story and supplies more

details. This brief first story provides the major ingredients of the dominant slant of the Tamil story:

During the past few weeks, 250 Tamils have asked asylum in our country. They are part of a large stream of Tamils who flee to Europe from Sri Lanka. In Sri Lanka the Tamils form a minority which is regularly being threatened. For a lot of money they are now being smuggled to Western Europe via East Berlin. From there they travel to Western Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. Most of them ask for asylum as soon as they have illegally crossed the border.

Here the main negative features of the media representation of Tamils already occur, even in a short item: the numbers and the flow metaphor, the trafficking and big-money association, as well illegal entry into the country. A few weeks later, on December 4, when the first newspaper stories also begin to appear, another short item adds a few details about illegal border crossing (their route through forests and fields), and their traveling by taxi, which implies that they spend much money for their illegal flight. Later that evening, a first interview appears with a representative of the Dutch refugee organization (VVN), who states that Tamils should be granted political asylum in the Netherlands because of the actual situation in Sri Lanka. Weeks later, the story about 45 Tamils having been sent back to Sri Lanka by the border police hits the headlines of both the press and the television news program, followed by protests by Amnesty International and other organization. Early in February 1985, the government policy, that not all Tamils are in danger in Sri Lanka and that each case will be examined individually, gets television coverage. This is followed during the next weeks by major stories about the reception problems in the cities, especially in Amsterdam, and the final housing in reception shelters. Then, for more than seven months (between July 1985 and February 1986) there is not a single television follow-up about the present situation of the Tamils. Only when they set fire to their shelters, are the Tamils the subject again of television news, which covers the destruction and the condemnation of their actions by the leading politicians.

From this summary of some aspects of television coverage, we conclude that contrary to the attention in the press, television news is rather modest in size and frequency in its coverage of the Tamils. The major events covered in the press are, however, also briefly summarized on television. Some of the negative associations of the Tamil immigration appear in early television stories. The main topics of the television stories are the refugee status and reception of Tamils, followed by the various protests against their condition. The main actors of the television stories, besides the Tamils, are the national and local authorities, the political parties, and parliament, on the one hand, and the refugee organizations, on the other hand. Although

the Tamils hardly speak on TV, refugee organizations appear often in interviews, usually protesting against government action—a property of the Tamil story we also found in the press. Protests and especially violent action are prominent elements of the thematic organization of the Tamil story on TV. Thus, television brings a dominant story that is fairly close to the summarized events of the press. It should be added, however, that several current affairs programs during the same period have extensively highlighted the situation of the Tamils. Unfortunately, text and film of these programs cannot be analyzed here.

CONCLUSIONS

The immigration of Tamil refugees to Western Europe, and in particular to the Netherlands, sparked a special type of media coverage that is usually described as a panic (Cohen, 1972/1980). Our press analysis has shown that
" rac Fi rst, it does not stand alone: Due to their organized and routine contacts with the political power structure, the media largely reproduce the concomitant political panic of the authorities in The Hague. This reproduction has itself a number of well-known dimensions, such as preferred attention for and focused selection and transformation of political source texts as data: government declarations and reports, press conferences, and statements of individual ministers or of high officials of their ministries or agencies. In this respect, the media panic, particularly in the conservative press, shares in a broader sociopolitical panic of the leading power elites (van Dijk, 1987d).

Second, however, the media have their own institutional and ideological goals and strategies that allow the political panic to become public and, hence, effective and legitimized, in the first place. Their interest and concern are not so much directed towards the Tamil events themselves but to its productive transformation into a tellable story for a reading or watching public. This means, among other things, that certain aspects of the events are emphasized or magnified, whereas others are downgraded to details or marginal events. News production, also constrained by budget, deadlines, size, news report formats, and available source texts, thus, is not only a form of summarization. It also involves the specific formulation of this summary into a stylistically adequate and rhetorically persuasive, that is, credible, account of the events. In this way, the Tamil story as a form of public discourse is a semiautonomous and specific media-product: a reconstruction of the facts rather than a direct description or rendering of what happened.

Although we here touch upon general characteristics of news production, the press panic is constituted by a number of specifics of these well-known

processes. Frequency and size of coverage are the first, obvious, signals of the magnification processes involved: During the first few months of 1985, each newspaper brought dozens of sometimes pagelong news reports and background stories about the Tamil "invasion". Compared to the immigration of other refugees in the last few years, this measure of attention appears to be remarkable in its own right. Second, the news discourses themselves in many ways this relative importance, e.g., through banner headlines and prominent (front page) position in the paper. Third, some aspects of the Tamil immigration are repeated, e.g., their flight through East-Berlin, their "illegal" border crossing, and the role of fraudulent agents or frontier runners. Fourth, of the many thematic dimensions of the immigration story, only a few main topics are selected, constructed, and rhetorically emphasized, such as the discussion about the refugee status of the Tamils, and the "problems" associated with their reception and housing. Last, the style and rhetoric of description further emphasize the seriousness and the urgency of the problem, for example, through the use of the well-known flood metaphors.

In these ways, the press has made it clear that the Tamil immigration is to be seen and discussed as a prominent, national issue. The construction of a panic, however, requires that at all these levels of news discourse the events be formulated at the same time as a threat or as a public danger. This presupposes that the Tamils, their immigration, and their presence overtly or more obliquely must be qualified in negative terms. This is precisely what happens. The main theme is constructed so that the topics that have negative implications are covered most frequently and most prominently: prior (and for some newspapers also later, integrated) coverage of terrorist Tamil actions in Sri Lanka; the dubious detour through Moscow or East Berlin, that is, through communist territory; illegal border crossings; and the many associations with fraud are only the prelude to the main issues of refugee status and reception problems. Thus, from the outset, much of the media adopts and magnifies the politically dominant theme of the economic nature of the Tamil immigration or at least accepts the legitimacy of this allegation. In various stylistic ways, this dominant topic conveys a clear but implied message to the public: The Tamils are fake refugees and only come here to live off our pocket.

This media construction of the Tamil story is further supported by the extraordinary attention for the problems of reception, housing, and the nonallocation of welfare allowances. Whereas ten years earlier more than 150,000 Surinamese immigrated to the Netherlands, (an event that received similar coverage), the immigration of some 3,000 Tamils was constructed as if 300,000 were invading the country. The number game that conveyed this interpretation, enhanced by the panic metaphors of the unstoppable deluge

coming over us, emphasized this numerical strategy of the persuasive rhetorical formulation of this topic.

Similarly, the strategic use of sources and quotations further emphasizes the prevailing definitions of the situation. Tamils themselves are seldom sources or speakers. Although prominent actors, they are seldom agents but mostly patients, unless they are agents of negatively-valued actions such as protests, demonstrations, and illegal action and violence. At most, the refugee organizations are recognized as legitimate representatives, and, through them, fragments of an alternative definition of the situation may be heard. However, size, frequency, and textual organization of these interventions are framed primarily as reactions or protests against the primary speakers and actors of the political and social stage. The government, parliament, the political parties, the cities, and the police occupy the largest actor and speaking space of the press. The crucial accusation, that ethnocentrism and racism may be involved, is not even admitted as a legitimate alternative interpretation of the events and appears only briefly in a few, marginalized opinion anides.

In other words, at all levels, the Tamils were characterized negatively and their immigration represented as a threat to the social status quo. In this respect, the coverage shows striking similarities with the general media coverage of foreigners or minorities. Widespread stereotypes and prejudices are subtly exemplified for this new group of (Black, Third World) immigrants, that is, for these new minorities. This also explains the emphasis on illegal entry and residence, the allusions to crime and drugs, and the assumed profiting of welfare.

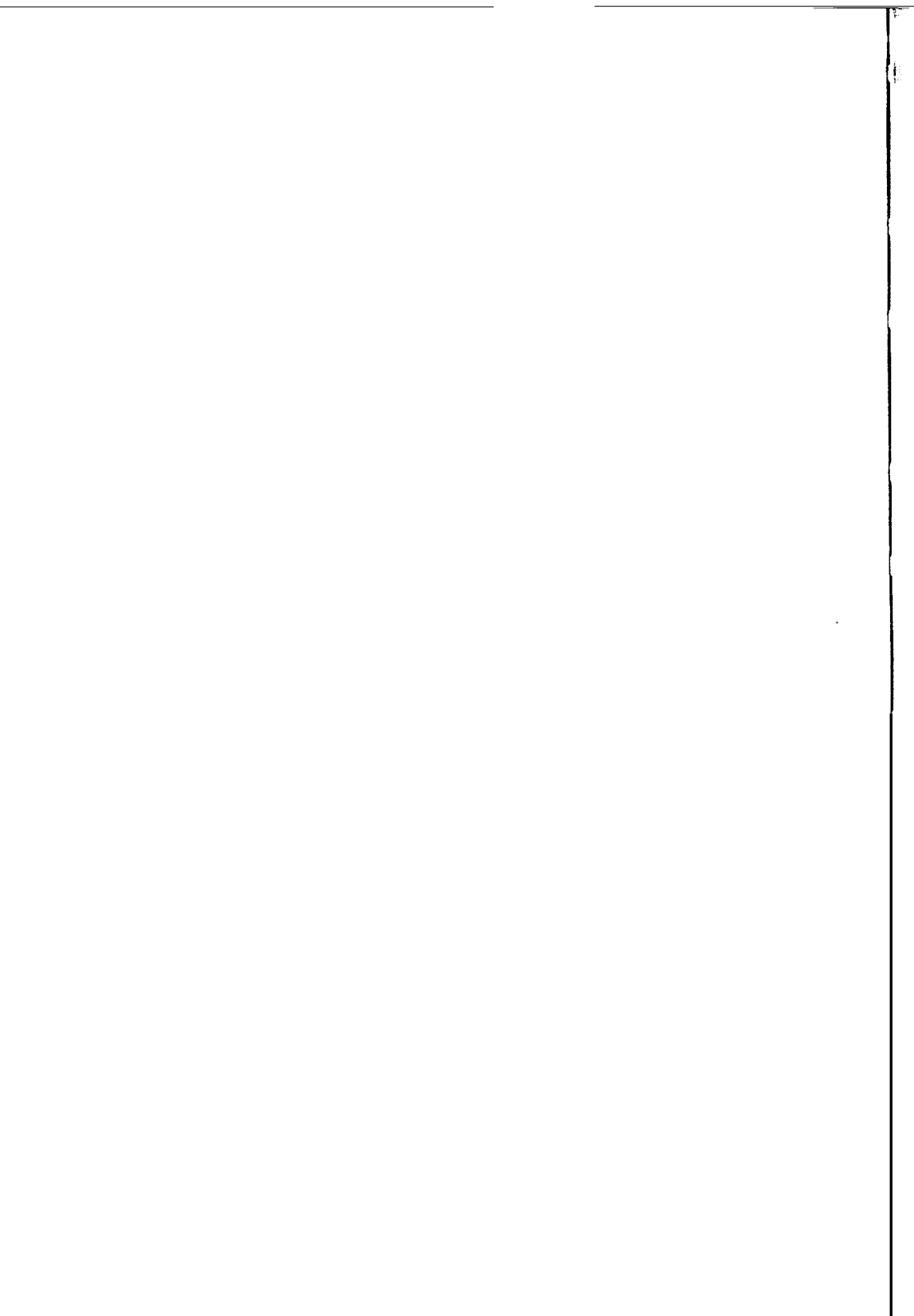
Cynically, but interestingly, some newspapers seem to sense this implication but either justify it, by emphasizing the seriousness of the facts, or have recourse to the well-known racist strategy of attributive transfer: The public, especially the people in the poor inner-city neighborhoods, will not tolerate more immigrants; therefore, Tamil immigration will enhance prejudice and racism, both against Tamils themselves and against other minority groups. In other words, we, the political or media elite, are not prejudiced; but the public is. Once assumed this mediated reaction of the public, the press can in turn speak on behalf of the public, thereby fulfilling its own prophecies.

Finally, the panic is as suddenly over as it has emerged: After the first few months of 1985, only a handful of news reports keep track of the fate of the Tamils. The political and social effects, in the meantime, have been disastrous: The government has felt itself supported by the media and the public to take a tough stance on immigration and reception, and it soon appears that only a few dozen of the Tamils will be given refugee status. With this unattractive expectation in mind, more than 1,500 Tamils continued their flight to other countries, whereas the other half eatcls up in desolate and

isolated pensions to wait for the things to come. At that point, the story has lost its interest. Only occasional attention is paid to the situation of Tamils who are not allowed to work or to otherwise integrate into Dutch society.

Thus, after a year, both the media and leading party politicians, urged by the potentially explosive (and later indeed actually exploded) situation of the Tamils, slowly began to modify their policy and started to envisage a longer and more integrated stay of the Tamils in the country. The social damage, as witnessed by letters to the editor and the interviews we conducted after four months of negative Tamil reporting, however, had been done: The Tamils were henceforth defined and branded as the next group of (Black, Third World) immigrants who came here to profit at our expense and to cause all kinds of problems.

While it is true that with continued media silence, the public soon focuses attention on another issue and the Tamil immigration is no longer a prominent issue, in their everyday lives (housing, work, daily interaction, education), the Tamils will continue to bear the stigma that the press and the politicians have put on them in the first place. The panic may not have fully achieved its implicit goals (*viz.*, to send them back), but it has at least resulted in effectively marginalizing and subjecting the new citizens. And this effect may be lasting. Fieldwork carried out in the spring of 1987 about memory for news about ethnic minorities suggests that two years later the Tamil story is still better remembered than most more recent news reports about minorities and refugees.



5

SQUATTERS IN THE PRESS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a case study about the press coverage of squatters. An analysis is made of the national and regional press account of a police action against a group of squatters occupying a building in the center of Amsterdam and of the demonstration and disturbances that followed that event. During the 1970s, squatting has become widespread in the Netherlands and other countries where housing in cities is a serious problem. This study has several aims. We want to know, first, how the news media handle such a relatively new form of social action. Second, squatting is mostly engaged in by young people. We want to know how it is associated in the press with other facets of youth protest. Third, the violent action of the police raises the problem of how the media deal with law and order in the context of socially motivated illegal actions. Fourth, demonstrations and civil disturbances "riots" are a preferred topic of news media, and we want to get more qualitative insight into this attention of the press for such forms of social unrest. Finally, even in Amsterdam, squatting is somewhat controversial, so we may expect that the same event may be described from different points of view and with different explicit or implied evaluations. That is, the press coverage of a squatting event is an ideal example to examine different social ideologies and their expression in the press accounts of domestic news.

Since each of these aims would require analyses are beyond the limits of this book, we focus our study on an account of the press coverage of a single double-event: a police eviction of squatters and the ensuing demonstrations and unrest in the inner city of Amsterdam. As for the other case studies reported in this book, our analysis has a modest quantitative dimension and a qualitative dimension, in which the various topics, the local semantics, the style, and the rhetoric of the news are examined.

BACKGROUNDS: HOUSING AND SQUATTING IN AMSTERDAM

The occupation of the "Grote Wetering" was one in a long succession of squatting events in Amsterdam. Although occupation of empty buildings was not unknown in earlier decades, it was only towards the end of the 1970s that squatting became a widespread form of social action and civil disobedience. Due to various circumstances, such as the rapid population growth after World War II, changing life styles that lead to earlier independence of young people, and the failure of the authorities to build enough houses, Dutch cities have been confronted with serious housing shortages. For low-income residents, cities have a housing authority that controls the distribution of low-rent apartments; however, the demand is much larger than the supply. Of a total population of about 700,000, for instance, Amsterdam has a list of approximately 50,000 families entitled to a larger apartment. People often have to wait more than two or three years for an apartment. Conditions to join the urgency list are very strict. Until recently, for instance, singles were excluded from city-controlled distribution. Young people, therefore, had to find housing on the free market, where rents are high: up to about 1,200 guilders (about 600 dollars) for a simple two-room apartment, which is about the same amount as a monthly student scholarship or welfare allowance. Since unemployment for young people is high in the Netherlands (up to 40% of those leaving high school or university), there are few possibilities for them to get decent housing.

These various social conditions were further exacerbated by increasing housing speculation during the 1970s. Whereas rents and prices were comparatively low during the 1950s and 1960s, they rapidly increased afterwards. Real estate agents and companies found a lucrative market here to make fast and easy money. Houses bought one day could be sold for a nice profit the very same day to another buyer. When the market became less profitable, however, houses or office buildings often stayed empty for years. In a city with a serious housing shortage, this situation was rather generally felt to be socially irresponsible. So when at the end of the 1970s the first squatters occupied empty buildings, public reaction was rather tolerant.

Even the courts ruled that certain forms of occupation were legal. Squatters occupying an empty house may be entitled to full residence protection, for instance against owners or the pollee. The government and the city authorities, who had done very little against speculation, announced stricter rules for the management of real estate. To reduce the number of empty houses, a maximum delay between buying and actual usage was set.

Although after a few years thousands of apartments were occupied by squatters who often made a rent deal with the legal owners, thus bypassing the city controlled distribution system, there were also cases that caused serious conflict. When house owners had a good case, the courts soon began to rule that squatters had to vacate the building. Against the background of the generally felt right of occupation, however, such court orders were often ignored. The regular city police was hardly equipped to evict dozens of often heavily barricaded squatter homes, let alone face hundreds of sympathizers who would immediately be summoned to defend the building against the police. In the spring of 1980, the first large-scale violent street fights resulted when police attempted to evict squatters from occupied buildings. Since the middle and end of the 1960s, Amsterdam had not known riots of this size. National riot police (the well-known ME, an abbreviation for mobile unit in Dutch) and tanks were called in to break the barricades built by squatters and their allies.

These first squatter fights coincided with the coronation of Queen Beatrix on April 30, 1980, in Amsterdam. This event alone was sufficient to provoke many of those, especially in Amsterdam, who are against the institution of a royal house. And with the effective rhyming slogan "Geen woning, geen kroning" (No housing, no coronation), Amsterdam was turned into a large battlefield. Henceforth, squatter actions and demands became associated with violence. That same and the following year witnessed repeated large-scale police operations resulting from court orders in favor of house owners. Larger squatter buildings were usually christened with catchy names, based on street names and hence became well known social institutions of social protest of a fast growing movement among large parts of the juvenile citizens of the capital.

THE EVENTS OF OCTOBER 8, 1981

The Eviction of the Residents of Grote Wetering

The Grote Wetering (literally "Great Wetering") on Weteringschans, opposite the Rijksmuseum, was one of those squatter houses. Acquired by a well-known real estate speculator, it was to be torn down to make room for modern office buildings and expensive apartments. After a long admin-

istrative and legal battle with the city authorities, the real estate agent finally obtained permission to carry out his plans, and the squatters were ordered by the courts to evacuate the building. An earlier police attempt, in December 1980, to dislodge the squatters failed: They simply came back. On October 8, 1981, another attempt was made, involving regular city police, national riot police (kept in the background), and heavy equipment: An armored car was used to break open the barricaded front door. After the violent confrontations with the police during previous evictions, both the police and the squatters had attempted to keep the action low-key: The squatters intended to resist passively against the eviction and promised not to defend themselves with violent means. After a fruitless phone call between the commanding police officer and the squatters, the police entered the building, both through the front door and, with the use of a crane, also via the roof. The squatters were brought outside and released. Compared with other police actions, this eviction was rather peaceful. Except for a few scratches, nobody was injured.

More dramatic, though, were the consequences. After the eviction, squatters, and other young people frustrated by the events, got involved in fights with the police in the immediate neighborhood. Some cars and windows of banks (seen as the institutions that support speculation) got smashed, and a few people, including two policemen, were injured. More organized was a planned protest demonstration that would take place the same evening. Passing through several expensive shopping *o'ne* members of the largely peaceful group of demonstrators again smashed several windows and expensive cars. These actions soon led to serious fights with the city and riot police, which continued until after midnight.

The Eviction of the Residents of Huize Lydia

The reactions of squatters and demonstrators were not only directed against the eviction of the Grote Wetering (henceforth: GW), however. After this eviction, between 2:00 p.m. and 4:00 p.m., the city authorities took advantage of the presence of the riot police in the city (units of these special police troops are usually stationed outside of the capital) and unexpectedly decided to evict residents of another occupied building, the newly restored honre (pension) Huize Lydia ("Lydia House"). This building, about which we have already briefly reponed in an earlier chapter, was occupied by Black Surinamese families, mostly mothers and children, in protest against the strict, patronizing house tales and the small rooms allocated to them in the new honre. Technically they were hardly squatters: They only had occupied somewhat earlier the building that was intended for them anyway, and this occupation was merely meant as a demonstration. The families

came from decrepit and fire hazardous pensions. The families were not prepared to stay in these pensions waiting for the results of an administrative fight with the housing authorities over the conditions or mies of their new home.

The police, hardly less surprised by the orders of the city authorities, were much less prepared for this task, and barely knew who occupied Huize Lydia (henceforth: HL) and why. Resistance, reinforced by those who had been involved in the eviction of GW earlier that afternoon, was fierce. Large-scale fights with the police ensued. The Surinamese families were evicted with force from the building and huddled into police vans to be brought to the police station. It was late afternoon, and many of the children hadn't come home from school yet, when their mothers were arrested and brought to the police station, from which they were later released after provisional housing for them was found. The Black women later accused the police of sexist and racist abuse at the police station. A few weeks later, they were allowed to return to the same home after the restrictive house rules were rescinded by the authorities. The whole police action appeared to be nothing more, in effect, than a demonstration of power. The authorities justified their action with the court order that had to be executed.

The fights around HL at the end of the afternoon (at a five-minute walking distance from GW, close to the Concertgebouw), fueled the emotions and the wrath of the demonstrators that same evening. The authorities had shown that the low-key approach to squatting and eviction were no more than a face-keeping policy. The brutal actions of special riot police against unarmed Black women and children, on the one hand, and the victory of a well-known speculator, on the other hand, had shown the squatters and their allies that the city authorities were not prepared to take a new approach to housing.

One Year Later: "Lucky Luyck"

One year later, the situation changed considerably. Even more violent riots followed the eviction of so-called "Lucky Luyk" (a name-pun modeled after the name of the street, Jan Luykenstraat, also situated in the museum quarter of Amsterdam). These riots, which resulted in much damage and the unusual sight of a burning streetcar, led to the application of strict policing and court tactics: Demonstrators could now be picked up by the police even outside the area, and people could be ordered to stay out of certain parts of town. Yet, despite some legal protests and much discussion, this last big police action also marked the end of large scale confrontations between squatters and the police. The escalation of violence was condemned by most parties involved, including those that had favored or con-

doned squatting. Whereas resistance against the police is rather generally tolerated in Amsterdam, real violence for social action is a widespread taboo. Also, the squatters of "Lucky Luyck" may have lost their credibility because they occupied a beautiful house that was bought by the city in order to build low-rent apartments. Henceforth, public opinion and the press no longer supported or tolerated the more radical forms of squatting.

Changing Attitudes About Squatting and Social Resistance

After these dramatic events between 1980 and 1982, a transformation in attitudes by the public and the press contributed to a different conception of radical civil disobedience and resistance, in other domains as well. The permissiveness of the 1970s was replaced by increasing forms of intolerance and conservatism in the 1980s. Comparable social changes have taken place in several countries in the last few years. The "race riots" in Great Britain took place more or less at the same time: Bristol, Brixton, Liverpool, etc. have become the well-known locations of similar forms of social protest also among young, often unemployed, people. There, too, police actions appeared to be one of the major direct causes that sparked the events (Scarmann, 1981; Bridges, 1983). An analysis of the press coverage of the events in Amsterdam, therefore, has broader relevance than just the study of a small local incident. It may show how the dominant Western press deals with the more radical forms of social protest.

THE ROLE OF THE PRESS: EARLIER STUDIES

Before we start our analysis of the press coverage of the events in Amsterdam, a few remarks must be made about the general role of the press in such events. It was already suggested that large scale police action, civil disobedience and resistance, and especially their violent dimensions attract journalists as few other events do. Invariably, riots are front-page news, even across national boundaries. The April 30, 1980, squatter riots in Amsterdam and the unusual appearance of tanks in the streets of a usually peaceful city, made pictures that even reached the press abroad. (When I was teaching in Mexico City that semester, front-page pictures in the Mexican press of fights in my home town were a unique phenomenon: The Netherlands hadn't appeared in the international news for months). The same holds for riots anywhere. They make good pictures and news film and are a prominent example of the prevailing news values of negativity, violence, and drama of international news reporting. Even the relatively low-key eviction of Grote Wetering and Huize Lydia, and the ensuing fights, were covered

by some international press agencies and led to a few small items in the foreign (German, British) press.

Since riots are prominent both as media events and social events, they are also a preferred object of social and media research. The same is true for demonstrations that have or are attributed violent dimensions. Exemplary has been the study by Halloran and associates (Halloran, Elliott, & Murdock, 1970) of the media coverage of an anti-Vietnam demonstration in London. Their main finding was that a largely peaceful demonstration against the American presence in Vietnam was by anticipation defined and actually perceived in terms of violence. A small incident during the march, in which a group of demonstrators and police got into a fight, became the major angle for the account of the demonstration as a whole. While giving little attention to the aims of the march, the news media paid much attention to real or assumed conflicts among the organizers of the demonstration and to the alleged presence of foreign agitators. In addition, the style in which events were described largely favored the police actions and were negative towards the demonstrators. Despite some differences, it was concluded that this overall perspective was shared by the different newspapers and TV programs.

Similar features define the coverage of the events in Amsterdam more than a decade later. In Chapter 2 we found an internationally-shared framework for the press account of violent international events. It is suggested here that there are similar frameworks for the press coverage of domestic news, namely a disproportionate focus on violence; internal conflicts and the role of isolated actors (foreigners); and a neglect of social backgrounds, reasons, and aims of social and political opponents or minorities.

Whereas Halloran and his associates (1970) focused on a political demonstration, we are confronted with social dimensions of juvenile protest and resistance. We have suggested before, following Cohen (1980), that juvenile deviance, as with the Mods and the Rockers in the 1960s, may be framed in terms of social categorizations, whereby groups of people may be perceived as folk devils. Along with the authorities, the press helps define a public reaction that is comparable to a moral panic. For ethnic groups, defined in the Dutch context as foreigners, we found that the public attitude was that they should adapt or leave. Similar attitudinal frameworks seem to operate for squatters. Where foreigners invade our country, squatters may be seen as invading our houses, not only in the authoritarian and conservative press. The proposed solution for such a moral indignation, is expulsion.

Cohen (1980) sketches the main features of this perception of juvenile behavior, which is not only categorized as deviant, but also as criminal, violent, and destructive. Also the Mods and the Rockers were portrayed as destroying "our" property, even when the actual damage in the sea resorts they rampaged was rather modest. Even here the foreign element appeared

as a category in the press evaluation of the Mods and the Rockers. The editor of a Brighton newspaper wrote: ". . . they were something frightening and completely alien ... they were visitors from a foreign planet and they should be banished to where they came from" (Cohen, 1980, p. 196). We suggested that the standard solution of this social problem, proposed by the authorities as well as by the conservative press, is expulsion: the image of devils provokes that of banning them, of literally casting them out. Moral panics apparently create both moral and social outcasts. The accumulative news strategies that contributed to this role assigned to the young, involved sensitization, dramatization, and escalation, respectively. Thus, the press publicly defined and confirmed the stereotypes that could be used to understand the actors and their actions as deviant.

As for the hippies in the 1960s, social opposition groups may, according to Young (1981), first attract fascination and then titillation, but the final attitude is often condemnation (see also Chibnall, 1977, Chapter 4). We have suggested that similar processes characterize the phases of public and press reactions to squatters in Amsterdam. The image of squatters as social heroes, as valiant fighters against real estate barons and the scandalous housing shortage, was soon transformed into a negative image. Squatters now became categorized as privileged, violent, and egoistic youngsters, threatening the base rules of society. Our case study shows how the events of October 8, 1981, and especially their press definition, became a crucial element in this remarkable transformation process in public attitudes.

SET-UP OF THE CASE STUDY AND SOME QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

The case study conducted of the media coverage of the events of October 8, 1981 in Amsterdam focused on national and regional newspapers. Yet, besides the 10 national newspapers and the 27 (of 49) regional newspapers (in which many reports were identical due to the use of common news services), we also collected other reports and background materials about the event:

1. Ten foreign newspapers, of which three carried a story.
2. Weekly magazines, which didn't pay attention to the events.
3. Radio and TV news bulletins and other programs.
4. The dispatches of ANP (the national news agency).
5. Dispatches of international news agencies, especially AP.
6. Reports in the squatter press.
7. Pamphlets and other forms of street media.

8. Press releases of the police.
9. Press releases of the city authorities (mayor, council).
10. Press releases of and interviews with the squatters.
11. News items about previous eviction incidents.
12. Studies and reports about squatters and evictions.

These various additional and often alternative sources are important in the reconstruction of the events and the analysis of the sources used by the media. Although these source materials cannot all be analyzed here, they form the background of our study and its conclusions.

The items taken from the national and the regional press were analyzed for their major quantitative and qualitative features. Table 5.1 lists the national and regional newspapers and their numbers of articles about the events in Amsterdam. A few foreign newspapers that carry the story are also listed here. All domestic newspapers are of the date after the events, that is, of October 9, 1981.

All national newspapers carried the story. Some cities even had several stories about the events, especially the Amsterdam city newspaper, *Het Parool*, and the communist newspaper, *De Waarheid*, both of which also appeared to carry most news about ethnic minorities (see Chapter 3). These two newspapers not only have the most items but also the largest coverage size measured in cm^2 . Regional coverage is only half as large as the national coverage, although some regional papers bring even longer stories than the average national paper. The foreign press has only a few lines about the events in Amsterdam. Most stories appeared on the front page, with further coverage on inside pages. The highly visible nature of the event was rendered by the use of a large number of spectacular photographs: the general situation in the street, the armored car breaking open the front door, policemen being put on the roof, and especially the picture of a demonstrator throwing a trash can through the window of a bank on the well-known shopping and airline office street, Leidsestraat. *Het Parool* carries five photographs and *De Waarheid*, seven. The average space occupied by the pictures is 190 cm^2 , more than half of the text space in the national papers and just under the average of text space in the total press. In other words, judged by the size of photo coverage alone, the visual dimension of this news event was important.

The headlines, while not being exaggerated, also indicate the importance of the event. They spread across three columns and measured 8 mm on average.

As is usual for domestic news, most national newspapers had their news from their own, often unnamed, reporters or carried background stories and editorials from staff writers of the city desk. The regional press only occa-

TABLE 5.1
Size of Coverage (in cm²) of the Squatting Events in Amsterdam
in the National, Regional, and International

<i>National</i>		<i>Regional</i>		<i>International</i>	
<i>Newspaper</i>	cm ²	<i>Newspaper</i>	cm ²	<i>Newspaper</i>	cm ²
1. Telegraaf	290	11. Stem	90	38. Frankfurter Allgemeine	36
2. Parool	1110	12. Utrechts Nieuwsbl.	140	39. Süddeutsche Zeitung	26
3. NRC-Handelsblad	230	13. Veluws Dagbl.	390	40. The Times	9
4. Volkskrant	140	14. Vaderland	250	41. International Herald Tribune	26
5. Trouw	340	15. Zierikzeesche Nieuwsb.	80		97 (I = 25)
6. Algemeen Dagblad	240	16. Zwolse Courant	100		
7. Vrije Volk	130	17. Haarlems Dagbl.	130		
8. Waarheid	630	18. Hengelo's Dagbl.	120		
9. Reform. Dagblad	250	19. Leeuwarder Courant	190		
10. Ned. Dagblad	50	20. Leidsch Dagbl.	260		
Total National Press	3410 (i = 340)	21. Nieuw Apeldoornse C.	170		
		22. De Nieuwe Krant	20		
		23. Nieuwsblad v.h. Noorden	80		
		24. Prov. Zeeuwse Courant	250		
		25. Rotterdams Nieuwsbl.	190		
		26. Alkmaarse C.	100		
		27. Amersfoortse C.	390		
		28. Brabants Nieuwsbl.	180		
		29. Drentse en Asser	120		
		30. Barneveldse C.	180		
		31. Deventer Dagblad	60		
		32. Friesch Dagblad	190		
		33. Gelderlander	40		
		34. Goudsche C.	190		
		35. Gooi- en Eemlander	240		
		36. Haagse Courant	190		
		37. Tubantia	120		
		Total Regional	4460 (I = 165)		
		Total A + B	7870 (it = 210)		

sionally made use of its own local correspondents in the capital and used **ANP** or joint news services as their main sources.

We established a list of events, based on all news items and on other available information (see previous list of events). For each component act or state of affairs, we calculated how often it was covered by the total press. We divided the events into seven, more or less separate, main episodes: (1) preparations; (2) the eviction of Grote Wetering; (3) official statements ; (4) events around the City Hall; (5) protest actions in town; (6) the eviction of Huize Lydia; and (7) demonstration and fights later that night. Of a total of 77 different events taking place during these main episodes, only a few are covered by large parts of the press (>10 newspapers):

1. Groups of demonstrators march through the city (20).
2. A crane is used during the eviction (16).
3. An armored car is used to open the front door (15).
4. Inspector Elout (who was in charge of the police action against GW) makes a phone call with the squatters (14).
5. Dogs and tear gas are used when the riot police fights against the demonstrators (14).
6. In the evening, windows are smashed by demonstrators (14).
7. Police officers are lightly injured (14).
8. The squatters of GW come out and are free to go (13).
9. Barricades are built in front of GW (12).

These and similar events dominate in the press accounts. Instead of the relatively peaceful solution of the eviction, the actions of the police in and around Huize Lydia, or the predominantly peaceful nature of the demonstration that evening, we find precisely the kind of event features that were also highlighted in the press analyses we have previously summarized:

1. Violent actions of squatters and demonstrators.
2. Spectacular instruments used by the police.
3. The peaceful intentions of the police.

The negative consequence of the eviction, namely the riots that took place immediately afterwards and the violence that was seen to mark the demonstration that night, draw most attention from the press. Few newspapers give background information about the squatters or about the history of the occupied building (GW), and still fewer newspapers provide even the

most elementary background about the Huize Lydia occupation by Surinamese families. The peaceful demonstration in front of City Hall is hardly covered.

The conclusions from these first results are straightforward. A social event such as the eviction of squatters from an occupied building and the subsequent protests against this police action is first defined in terms of fights and violence. Next, the spectacular dimensions of police actions are highlighted, while at the same time emphasizing the good intention of the authorities. Details about broken windows, damaged cars, petrol bombs, or even alleged looting are singled out from the ongoing events, focused upon, and exaggerated. This holds both for the text and the photographs about the events. Only a few newspapers pay attention to the structural dimensions of the situation such as the housing shortage, the role of real estate speculators, and the inadequate policy of the city authorities. These dimensions contain the deeper causes of the squatting phenomenon and the occupation of this building in the first place.

THEMATIC STRUCTURES

Next, we analyzed the thematic structures of most national newspapers and of half a dozen regional dailies. (The other regional newspapers appeared to have largely identical thematic structures.) These analyses allow us to reconstruct the topics focused on by the individual newspapers as well as their hierarchy and relevance in the news structure. To avoid irrelevant technicalities, the results of these analyses are presented in informal terms (see Chapter 1 for theoretical analysis of the notion of topic or theme).

Most news items (excluding for a moment the background articles, such as interviews, previous event features, etc.), have approximately eight major topics:

1. There were riots (fights, etc.) in Amsterdam.
2. The residents of Grote Wetering were evicted by the police.
3. The residents of Huize Lydia were evicted by the police and its occupants arrested.
4. Much property was destroyed by demonstrators.
5. Some shops were looted by demonstrators.
6. There was a demonstration later that night.
7. The authorities (police, Mayor) gave statements about the new, peaceful policy during evictions.
8. The squatters/demonstrators were aggressive.

The first topic was the major one in frequency, size, and prominence. Only the stylistic phrasing of this topic was different for the various newspapers. Conservative *De Telegraaf* and several regional newspapers spoke of "riots" ("rellen"), whereas other newspapers spoke only about "disturbances" or about a "demonstration". *De Telegraaf* also particularly emphasized the damage caused by the events: it is the information that opens the lead of the *Telegraaf* item.

Further topics are the success of the operation, the peaceful intentions of the police, or the background of the GW case (the legal baffle between the owner and the city authorities). Other topics occur only in one or a few newspapers, e.g., police look at riot through video (*Telegraaf*), peaceful intentions of the squatters (*Trouw* and *Waarheid*), and illegal actions and aggression of the police (*Waarheid*).

There are also differences in hierarchy and relevance. *De Telegraaf* opens with a description of damages and fighting. Most other papers start with the major negative consequence of the events: the fights (riots) with the police, then narre the main event (the eviction), and finally give other topics. *De Volkskrant* starts with the easy eviction and then specifies the demonstration and provides information about damages and looting. Similarly, *De Waarheid* and the regional newspaper *Utrechts Nieuwsblad* both start with the information about the two evictions, followed by the actions of the police. *De Waarheid*, however, has a topic involving illegal actions of the police, and the second newspaper specifies that police intentions were peaceful. *De Waarheid* also stresses that the young people⁵¹, whereas *Utrechts Nieuwsblad* talks about the aggressiveness of the squatters and demonstrators.

These few examples show that the thematic structures of the news in this case may be significantly different. Some newspapers will start with negative consequences such as riots, aggression, violence, or damages and then specify the two evictions, possibly with further backgrounds. Other newspapers just start with the two evictions and their backgrounds and then mention the demonstration, with or without emphasis on the violent nature of some demonstrators. Most newspapers feature the peacefulness of the police intentions as a topic, whereas only few, e.g., *De Waarheid* and *Trouw*, also mention the peaceful intentions of the squatters. Similarly, most newspapers mention the declarations of the police or the city authorities. Declarations of squatters hardly appear; *Trouw* publishes a declaration of squatters and discussions between policemen and squatters. Again, only *Het Parool* and *Trouw* pay extensive attention to the backgrounds, such as previous events and history, of the two evictions.

Figure 5.1 is the generalized thematic structure of the canonical news article about the events. The topics occurring first, most often, and in the most detail appear in the higher points of the diagram.

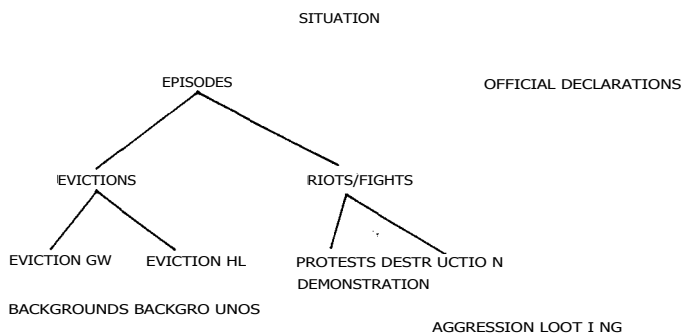


FIGURE 5.1. Generalized thematic structure of the squatting events in Amsterdam as covered by the press.

Headlines

The headlines signal the thematic relevancies previously mentioned. The characteristic headline in most newspapers is "RIOTS AFTER EVICTION." Secondary headlines may be more neutral and mention the number of policemen involved (*NRC*), the peacefulness of the operation (*Trouw*), or the negative actions of the police (*Waarheid*, which does not mention the negative actions of squatters or demonstrators in the headlines). In the regional press, too, frequent mention is made of riots, looting, damages, violence, and fighting. Thus 30 of 34 newspapers have negative headlines about squatters or demonstrators or that mention the violent nature of the consequences. Nine newspapers make use of more neutral headlines, whereas only three (*De Waarheid*, *Het Parool*, and *Tramo*) also or only have headlines with more positive propositions about the squatters or demonstrators. Overall, then, we may conclude that the majority of the press defines the event as negative and violent in the headline. That is, it shares the point of view of the authorities and the public at large. The successful, nonviolent nature of the eviction is mainly attributed to the police.

Leads

The summary of the events, given in the lead sections of the articles, conforms with the topics selected in the headlines. The following are two lead versions that occur in most of the regional press:

Eleven arrests, of which 9 still in jail, three lightly injured ME's (riot policemen, vD) and an unknown number of wounded among sympathizers of the squatters. This is the balance of disturbances in Amsterdam yesterday after the eviction of the squatter building at 89 Weteringschans, and of the Lydia reception center.

Around midnight, in the night from Thursday to Friday, most unrest had subdued. The police withdraw after the last disturbances had taken place close to the Central Station and Dam square. (*Zwolve Courant*, and other newspapers)

A group of several thousands of young people, of whom many were eager to riot, left a trail of destruction through the capital after the eviction in the afternoon of a squatter building on Weteringschans and of the city reception home Lydia, occupied since Sunday. Especially banks, travel agencies, airline agencies, expensive cars and shops selling luxury goods had to suffer from this. The worst unrest was over after midnight. After the main irregularities had taken place close to the Central Station, the police withdrew. (*Veluws Dagblad*, etc.).

These stereotypical leads mention not only more or less the same topics (even in similar words) but also express similar thematic structures. Negative consequences such as arrests, injuries, and damages are mentioned first, followed briefly by a description of the two eviction events, and finally the end of the story. The second lead explicitly mentions that many young demonstrators were "eager to riot" and singles out the list of characteristic bourgeois targets of the rioters. Note also the relevance of precise numbers in the first lead. (Later we show that although most newspapers cite numbers, they often contradict each other). The leads of the national newspapers are stylistically somewhat different but feature the same topics. Only *De Waarheid* and *Trouw* also mention the peaceful nature of the eviction, whereas *De Waarheid* emphasizes the power display of the police. Of the regional newspapers, only *Utrechts Nieuwsblad* also gives information about the reasons for the occupation of Huize Lydia (the strict home rules), while also identifying the occupants as Surinamese families. This last item of information is conveniently overlooked by many newspapers. In our case study of news about ethnic groups, it was already found that violence *against* ethnic groups is seldom a major topic in the press, especially when the authorities (police) are the agents. The violent behavior of the police and the arrests were given an ethnic angle only by a few newspapers, which sketched the previous events and the reasons for the occupation of Lydia.

We may conclude that the thematic structures, and their partial expression in headlines and leads, clearly suggest the overall perspective on the events, the criteria for topic selection, and the topical hierarchies in the news about this event. Most relevant for most of the press are the violence and damage topics and the negative consequences of the eviction, rather than its positive (peaceful) nature, the negative intentions and behavior of the squatters and their allies, the positive aspects of the police action, and the negative results for public property. *Not* relevant is all background information about the squatting events, such as the reasons for occupation, the actions (or lack of action) of the authorities, the rude police behavior against (Black) women and children, the arbitrariness of the unexpected

decision of the authorities to evacuate Lydia, etc. Part of these tendencies in thematic structure and expression may be explained by values such as the negative or spectacular quality of news. Yet, they cannot account for the full thematic structures. Only when an implicit, and sometimes even explicit as in *De Telegraaf* and some regional papers, identification takes place with the point of view and the opinions of the authorities (police, mayor, officials), does the specific selection of topics and their relevance hierarchy become understandable.

SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES

From this discussion, it may be concluded that specific categories from the news schema get specific attention in the eviction stories. The two main events, namely the evictions themselves, apparently are not the central categories in the schema here. Rather, consequences of various kinds are put into focus and usually precede main event information. Thus, the disturbances following the eviction, as well as verbal reactions of the authorities become much more important. We might even say that the interpretation of the events assigns a different schema to them. That is, Main Event is the riots, so that the less newsworthy evictions are assigned to a Previous Event or even Context category.

Similarly, categories such as Context (the actual housing situation in Amsterdam, or more specifically the circumstances of the squatting and eviction events) as well as History have low relevance, if they occur at all. In general, the Background categories are only minimal. Yet, for adequate understanding, they are crucial. The occupation of Huize Lydia can only be understood and evaluated if we know that the Surinamese families had decided to leave honres that were run down and a fire hazard and that HL had been restored specifically for their housing. Only a few newspapers provide this background, and only two of them (*Het Parool* and *De Waarheid*) pay attention to it in larger background features and follow-up articles during the next days and weeks.

LOCAL SEMANTICS

We now turn to an analysis of the details of description in the various articles. Local semantic analyses should explain how the meanings of words and sentences contribute to and confirm the overall bias by the media. We select a number of typical semantic features for closer inspection, while neglecting many others.

Objectivity

Both semantically and rhetorically, the news stories must signal the accuracy and objectiveness of their accounts. Especially where squatters, social protest, demonstrations, and police actions are concerned, there is a risk of opinion bias. If newspapers want to suggest neutrality, they use specific constructions to connote objectivity. Degrees of accuracy and objectivity may be distinguished by expressions such as "reportedly", "assumed", "alleged", (and other modal expression), or through reference to reliable sources. Striking in the news about the eviction is the general absence of such hesitation or distance markers, especially when the actions of the squatters or demonstrators are described. *De Telegraaf* bluntly reports:

From the diamond shop van Moppes things were robbed from the shop-window, and also from other shop-windows goods were stolen.

Whereas other newspapers and the national news agency ANP, at least mention the source (police spokespersons), this newspaper does not mention a source, nor other evidence, and even puts this assumed event in the headlines as **"looting. It later turned out that no shops had been looted at all but, rather, that shopkeepers had been afraid of looting."**

Necessity

One of the modal dimensions of objectivity is necessity. For instance, implied in the account of the events is the necessity attributed to the actions of the police. *De Telegraaf* typically reports that the "police *had to* make use of tear gas." This use of contextual necessity markers reduces the responsibility for negative agency: They couldn't help making use of tear gas because of the circumstances or because of the behavior of others who forced them to make use of violence. This is a well-known attribution strategy in the defense by ingroup members of negative actions of other ingroup members (Pettigrew, 1979). Many other newspapers report the incident, also portrayed in a catchy photo, in which two plain-clothes policemen are fleeing from unidentified others, with drawn revolvers in their hands. This incident is described as "the policemen had to draw their guns." *De Waarheid* describes the event from another point of view: "Policemen endangered the life of others by perilously waving their guns." The necessity modalities used to describe negative actions of the police are, of course, required to maintain coherence with the thematic information about the peaceful inten-

tions of the police. The blame for violence, thus, is wholly attributed to the squatters and the demonstrators.

Negation

Another important feature of local semantics is the use of negation. Negation is defined formally merely in terms of the truth value of propositions. But in natural language, the use of negation is usually constrained by presuppositions that make a denial appropriate. If we say that *p* is *not* the case, it is usually understood that *p* is the normal state of affairs, expected, predictable, or otherwise derivable from shared beliefs. Also, negation may be used for rhetorical purposes, for instance when we make an understatement or use the figure of a litotes. When we say that an operation was not easy, we want to emphasize that it was difficult. In our case, *De Telegraaf* writes that three policemen were not seriously injured. This does not simply mean that three policemen were lightly injured. Rather, it presupposes that under the circumstances policemen might have been seriously injured. Moreover, the use of a negation may have consequences for comprehension in this case. Superficial reading might even lead to the misinterpretation that policemen were in fact seriously injured when the presupposition overrides the interpretation of the negation. Similarly, when many newspapers say that the squatters left the building "without resistance", the presupposition is that this might have been otherwise, or even that usually squatters do resist eviction, if not that squatters are usually violent. In our case, this also holds for the police: The newspapers invariably mention that the action of the police was intended to be peaceful.

Perspective

In the description of the same events, perspective is an important discourse feature of language use. This does not only mean that the events are described from the point of view of the reporter but also that the points of view of others may or may not be represented or emphasized. In the news about the eviction, it is mostly the point of view of one major institutional participant that is focused on, namely the point of view of the police. It was already suggested that the declarations of the police, especially those of the inspector in charge of the operation, are an important topic of the accounts. Declarations of squatters, let alone of demonstrators or rioters, are seldom given. This could mean that, perhaps unconsciously, the reporter identifies with the point of view of the authorities. At the same time, however, the routines of news production themselves are an important condition for such an authority perspective. Reporters often depend on police statements for

their news about various aspects of the events, such as the number of policemen involved, police tactics and intentions, number of arrests, number of people injured, or estimates of damages. Obviously, this easy-to-get information can hardly be neutral when the police is itself involved. Most certainly the police spokespersons would not supply information about police brutality, even if they had it, or other negative aspects of police activities. And since news about events like evictions is primarily geared towards an account of negative or spectacular consequences, the reporter must turn to the police to get information about objective consequences such as data about arrests or damages.

It is interesting to note, however, that even these objective facts are far from reliable. Many newspapers give different figures. Numbers of arrests may not be centrally registered if different police stations or police units are involved, and we have found that no central data are available about damages caused by the events. The assurance companies each have their own statistics for such cases, and even then it is difficult to find out which assurance claims directly result from the events. Other objective data, on the other hand, may not be given at all. Only *De Waarheid* mentions how many people are now without housing as a consequence of the eviction, a detail with which the other newspapers do not seem to bother.

Sometimes the choice of perspective can be very concrete. *De Telegraaf* writes: chiefs saw on their monitors how windows of banks were smashed. The description of this detail presupposes that the reporter of this newspaper is present in the room where the police operation was coordinated. Here, most literally, the viewpoint of the police, via its monitors, is chosen. And it is the selection of what is seen, namely the smashing of bank windows, which confirms this view of violence and illegal acts committed by demonstrators. No mention is made of the possibly illegal acts of police officers. Perspective, therefore, necessarily implies biased description of the events.

Agency

In a previously mentioned study of the press coverage of the West Indian Carnival in London, Fowler et al. (1979) found that the expression of agency in the grammatical structures of news discourse may be an indication of the attitudes of the writer about the acts of the participants. The use of passives, for instance, allows the writer to leave unclear or unknown who the agent of an action is. The authors found that, rather typically, some newspapers tend to omit the police or other authorities as agents as soon as the actions are negative. A headline like MANY DEMONSTRATORS INJURED does not express *who* injured the demonstrators. Similarly, the indication of a

passive adverbial expressing agency, such as "by the police", assigns less prominence to this agent than when the police is placed in initial topic and subject position. Although there are many possible conditions for the use of passives and similar constructions in discourse (see e.g., Granger, 1983), this procedure of deemphasizing the role of agents, or of making agents invisible, is an expedient strategy in the expression of perspective on news events.

Similarly, the roles of the squatters and the police may be expected to be subject to such grammatical transformations. Interestingly, there are quite a few passive sentences of the type "windows of banks were smashed", in the context of the description of the demonstration during the evening. At first glance, this may be interpreted as a strategy to leave agency unclear, or to dissimulate the negative role of the demonstrators. However, on closer analysis, another interpretation seems more likely. Since it is perfectly clear that the windows were smashed during the demonstration, the immediate inference must be that demonstrators were the agents of the action referred to. And it is precisely the inference that is not quite correct because only a few demonstrators were involved in such acts. The use of the passive, then, allows a vague or implicit reference to an actor and leads to possibly biased inferences. In this way, all or any demonstrator could have smashed the bank and shop windows. Also, the use of a passive construction without agents emphasizes the action itself, and this may contribute to the inference that demonstrations and violence are closely related, or at least that violence is prominent in such demonstrations. In other words, the use of passives or similar constructions is a semantic and rhetorical operation of vagueness and suggestion. A perfectly grammatical and adequate sentence like "Some of the demonstrators smashed bank windows" is not used in this context.

Local Coherence

Relations among facts denoted by subsequent clauses or sentences form the basis of what was earlier called the local coherence of discourse (see Chapter 1). We distinguished between conditional and functional local coherence. Conditional coherence is based on temporal or conditional relations among facts and is typically used in a narrative description of the events: ". . . and then (therefore) ... and then (therefore) . . ." This type of coherence may be illustrated by the following example from the account in *De Volkskrant*:

During the evening a group of demonstrators marched via Leidsestraat to Huize Lydia on Roelof Hartplein. On the way, bank windows were smashed. The police intervened when gasoline bombs were thrown. Around 9:30 p.m. fire was set to the Lufthansa building in Vijzelstraat. In various parts of the city shop windows were robbed. Three people were injured on Thursday night. Seven persons were

arrested for breaking the peace. Two were later released due to lack of evidence. The group of demonstrators caused trouble until late Thursday night around Dam square.

In this brief description, a parallel can be seen between the order of clauses and the order of events: The story narrates the events as they occur in time. Notice also the use of the many passives. The police appears as subject and agent in the third sentence, namely as the agent of the neutral verb "to intervene", whereas the police is not mentioned in the later sentences about arrests and release, probably because the agents of those verbs are obvious. The agency of the demonstrators, involved in negative acts is made fully unambiguous in the last sentence, where demonstrators are explicitly mentioned as causal agents. The various acts are therefore explicitly attributed to *the* (all) demonstrators. There is not a trace of hesitation about this attribution. There are no qualifying quantifiers (such as *some*). The truth of the events is not questioned or doubted, e.g., by source indications like "according to the police" or distant markers such as *reportedly*.

Most of the news articles about the events do not have this linear, conditional style. The events are described according to the well-known relevance principle. We already noticed that the riots during the evening, and their consequences (damages, arrests, etc.) are usually mentioned first; the eviction topic plays a secondary role and appears later in the reports. This local ordering can be described not only in terms of news schemata and relevance principles but also requires a local connection structure based on functional relationships, such as specification, content, or conclusion. In fact, most of the events of the day are described in a rather complex order, so that the reader has difficulty trying to figure out what exactly happened during the afternoon and what happened during the evening. In this way, especially the conditional relations among the facts become blurred: It is not exactly spelled out *why* the acts of the afternoon and the evening were carried out. This is important because the motives of the demonstrators then become unclear or moved to the background. In this way, the actions are portrayed as arbitrary, a quality which, especially when violence is involved, makes the events even more serious. Rage, frustration, protest, and the social or political reasons of rational actors are made irrelevant. Arbitrariness, emotional violence, and irrationality are the stereotypical features of a mob, and this is how the groups of demonstrators are portrayed. It is mostly made very explicit, however, that the police actions around the GW building were provoked by youths throwing stones and paint bombs. Rationality and causality is explicit as soon as the police takes action, and especially when the action can be seen to violate the announced nonviolent policy. If reasons, motivations, or causes for the actions of the demonstrators are men-

tioned, they often are placed at the end of the article, as is the case of *De Telegraaf*, which first writes in detail about riots and looting and in its very last sentence mentions that there was a demonstration of 2,500 people to protest the eviction. The same holds for the delayed specification of the reasons why the Surinamese families occupied Huize Lydia in the first place. A combination of relevance hierarchy, functional relationships, and the reporter's own attitudes, thus, may considerably influence local coherence and the comprehensibility of the news story.

STYLE

Few discourse features are as revealing as style in a press study of social conflict involving the police and marginal groups such as squatters. The choice of words used to denote such groups may especially signal journalistic as well as public attitudes about news actors and events. Table 4.2. (established by Wine Baljet, 1983, who made a style study of the press accounts of the evictions) lists all designations for the groups involved. A distinction was made among neutral, negative, and positive designations. Of course, different evaluations are possible in such a categorization. Neutral are all designations that do not, in general or in this context, imply an evaluation. This means that routine actions of the police including arrests are taken to be neutral, even when for the demonstrators themselves or for groups of readers the reasons for such actions may be far from neutral. Categorized as negative are those terms of police actions that are not routine but result from conscious decisions to use violence when this could or should have been avoided. The same is true for the use of the word squatter, which we take to be a neutral word (in Dutch, "kraker"), even if many people have negative evaluations about squatters. Hence, the evaluation must be implied by the conventional meaning or use of the lexical expression and is not based on the variable evaluation of persons or groups designated. Terms like "hooligan", "rioter" or "rowdy", when used to denote demonstrators, imply a negative evaluation. Interestingly, Roget's Thesaurus (1947 edition) categorizes "rioter" and similar terms under the concept of "disobedience", and in that same list we also find concepts like "revolutionary", "insurgent", "rebel", on the one hand, and various words to denote communists, on the other hand. Rioting is apparently associated with left-wing protest and violence, not with right-wing violence, and such associations may still exist for many readers in the Netherlands, United States, and elsewhere. More difficult is the evaluation of words such as "destruction", "destroying", or "smashing windows." Again, strictly speaking, there would be possibly neutral descriptions of negatively evaluated actions, especially if there is no other word to denote such actions in neutral

terms. In this case, however, the words are categorized as negative because they result from the specific selection of such acts in descriptions as well as from a process of exaggeration, which is also a rhetorical operation. In principle, the newspaper could have written "Some shop windows were broken, and there was some damage." Obviously, a purely formal or semantic decision about the values associated with concepts cannot be made: Meanings and concepts are cognitively represented and not only associated with words but also with the denotations of such words and with the contexts of their use. Consequently, the analyst cannot avoid making personal value judgements in such categorizations. Interesting though, for us, is to see how the press handles such concepts.

Inspection of Table 5.2 reveals that the neutral terms "demonstrator", "squatter", and "occupants" are used most by the press. On the other hand, a negative designation is used more frequently for these groups than for the police or the authorities. Only a few newspapers (*Het Parool* and *De Waerheid*) also use negative-action terms for the police or the authorities, such as "coup", "display of power", "crime", "bad policy", or "blunder." Some newspapers mix their stylistic choices and sometimes use neutral words such as "demonstrator" or "squatters", together with "rioter", "insurgent" or "hooligan" in the same story. Most straightforward is *De Telegraaf*, which predominantly uses words like "rioter" and "hooligan" and sometimes words that have political associations, such as "agitator." In general, then, we may conclude that the style of description confirms the overall topics of the press stories about the events: Squatters and demonstrators are not only represented nearly exclusively in the context of violence and illegal action, they are also often designated with negatively associated lexical terms. This occurs much less when the authorities or the police are characterized, even

TABLE 5.2
Frequencies of Positive, Neutral, and Negative Lexical Expressions
for Participants and Their Acts in the Press Coverage of a Squatting Event

	<i>Squatters/Demonstrators</i>		<i>Police/Authorities</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
1. Participants				
a. Negative	6	16 (10.5%)	1	4 (2.1%)
b. Neutral	21	137 (89.5%)	34	182 (97.9%)
c. Positive	0	0 (0%)	0	0 (0%)
	27	153 (100%)	35	186 (100%)
2. Acts				
a. Negative	26	99 (57.5%)	26	56 (25.8%)
b. Neutral	24	73 (42.5%)	35	150 (69.1%)
c. Positive	0	0 (0%)	5	11 (5.1%)
	50	172 (100%)	66	217 (100%)

in the description of apparently negative actions (if they are mentioned at all). Selection of aspects of news events, hierarchy and order of presentation, and lexical style appear to be the best indicators of implied attitudes.

RHETORIC

The choice of style and especially the specific use of surface structure and semantic operations may also form the basis for the persuasive uses of language in this example. Although the various news dimensions such as choice of topic and its description may already have rhetorical functions, we will now focus on the rhetoric of the news in a somewhat more specific sense and select some significant rhetorical features from the news about the evictions. Besides the usual rhetoric of objectivity, which we already encountered in our previous analyses (e.g., the use of numbers), this case also provides examples of other rhetorical features of news, such as metaphors, exaggeration, contrast, etc. Police actions, demonstrations, riots, and violence also allow, or maybe even invite, a minimum of rhetoric in serious news accounts. In general, the use of exaggerated, hyperbolic forms of rhetoric is considered not serious, irrational, or too emotional for written discourse in the Netherlands. In the Dutch press, such rhetoric is associated with the popular, tabloid (boulevard) style of reporting. Most quality newspapers in the Netherlands explicitly attempt to describe events in low-key, unemotional, and nonexaggerated terms, if not in understatement. The use of rhetorical devices in our case can only be evaluated against this anti-rhetorical culture in our Northwestern countries, in general, and in the Netherlands and the Dutch press, in particular.

Exaggeration

Despite the general preference for factuality and understatement, the press accounts of the eviction and the disturbances show several examples of exaggeration (hyperbole). *De Telegraaf* does not simply report destruction, but "massive destruction." Similarly, to clear up the rubble, the city garbage collectors are reponed to have to "work at full capacity." The negative consequences of the events are thus emphasized. The same holds for the very use of the words "riots" and "looting", which imply not only massive fights but also large-scale stealing from shops. Both events, however, either did not take place, or their size could be disputed. As we shall see, the reference to hundreds of thousands of guilders in damage, may also be an exaggeration. On the other hand, the eviction by the police of the squatter buildings, is said by *De Telegraaf* to be "dead-easy, without any problems."

Yet, 500 riot policemen were held in reserve for this "easy task." Exaggeration is often expressed by metaphors such as a "trail of destruction through the city" or "waves of violence", found especially in the regional press. Such exaggerations and metaphors are mostly used to describe the negative actions of the demonstrators. Only *De Waarheid*, in its critical stance against the police actions, describes the police as "dragging out" the occupants of Huize Lydia, and the interior of the home as a "terrible sight" after the eviction, which itself is characterized as a "bolt from the blue."

Contrast

In a description of conflict between the authorities on the one hand and social protesters on the other hand, we may expect to find the rhetorical figure of contrast. In the event descriptions and the choice of style and perspective, the squatters and demonstrators are systematically portrayed as violent, and the police as nonviolent. The nonviolent tactics of the police is explicitly topicalized in quotations of the mayor and the inspector directing the action. The nonviolent intentions of the squatters are not a special topic, or are only mentioned briefly. The eviction itself, of course, is not categorized as a violent action of the authorities. The same is true for the use by the police of tear gas, dogs, and guns. Police violence is always portrayed as necessary or provoked as seen in the following examples:

About 250 sympathizers of the squatters reacted with stones and paint bombs to extremely calm chief inspector H. Elout, who asked for eviction without violence. (*De Telegraaf*)

Whereas the eviction of "De Grote Wetering" took place without too many problems, fierce fighting broke out later in many parts of the city between aggressive demonstrators and about 600 men of riot police (*De Telegraaf*).

Police tactics... to insist on non-violence from the demonstrators, facing a non-violent police action .. failed (*Het Parool*).

These few examples of the generally contrastive rhetoric of the press accounts show that the press may contribute to the polarization of the views about the role of the police and the squatters in such social conflicts.

Numbers

We have suggested several times in this book that numbers especially are among the central rhetorical devices for objective news reporting. We also found, however, that precision as such is not the implication of the use of

numbers. The data about the eviction events suggest that the various newspapers have quite different figures for the number of policemen, demonstrators, damages, or other facts. We have compared, for some of these numbers, how the newspapers may vary regarding their hard facts, even when they are based on the same police sources. The number of not police varies between 200 and 600, whereas the number of demonstrators varies between dozens and 2,500 (in *De Telegraaf*). The number of injured range from one to seven, and usually only refer to policemen. Numbers for arrests, on several moments of the day, total **14** in many papers; but again there may be variations in the numbers for such occasions. In general, damages are high and run into the hundreds of thousands of guilders. All numbers and estimates are attributed to police authorities. No newspapers have tried to obtain independent evidence, e.g., from hospitals, or counterevidence from the other party. Numbers that appeared to be wrong are not corrected in follow-up reporting. This suggests, indeed, that they have a rhetorical function: They suggest exactness and factuality but do not establish it. Some newspapers, such as *De Telegraaf* may also use numbers in exaggerations and thereby enhance the dramatic nature of the riots.

The Metaphors of War

Fighting invites war metaphors. This means that a civil conflict and public resistance may be framed in military terms of armed opposition. This alone dramatizes and sharpens the events. The newspapers talk about a "mini-war", a "squatter bulwark", "battles", "arms", "armored", "fights", or a "coup". These metaphorical expressions add to the picture already created by references to paint bombs, Molotov cocktails, tanks, tear gas grenades, and the other paraphernalia of policing civil disturbances.

Conclusion

It may be concluded that the definition of the events in Amsterdam as it was conveyed by topics and local semantic operations is further confirmed at the level of stylistic and rhetorical expression. The dramatic polarization between a nonviolent police and violent squatters and their sympathizers is further enhanced. Not only are many of the events and their consequences thus exaggerated in the press accounts, but also the attitudes expressed and conveyed about squatters and squatting are dermately negative for most of the press. Even when opinions are not clearly signaled, the very news criteria of the press tend to force the journalist to focus on negative and violent consequences, which are attributed only to the squatters.

PHOTOGRAPHS

A few remarks are in order about the press photographs that accompany the news items about the evictions and the disturbances that followed them. About 20 different pictures are used by the newspapers. We indicated previously that the size of photo coverage is half that of the text coverage. We have concluded from these data that pictures in this case are rather important.

Analysis of the photos (van Rooij, 1982) reveals that most portray violent events: fights between police and demonstrators or destruction (smashing windows, attacking police cars). A few photos are used frequently, especially by the regional press. In Table 5.3, a list of different types of picture shows first that, in general, the regional press emphasizes even more the violent nature of the events. The national press, using its own photos, is somewhat more diverse. It also features pictures of the preparations or the locations of the eviction. The representation of social backgrounds (such as the results of police violence in Huize Lydia or of the situation before the evictions) is exceptional. Besides violence, it is apparently the dramatic and spectacular nature of the event, as well as the technology of the police that draws the attention of the press photographs.

The three most frequently used photos represent (1) a demonstrator throwing a street trash can through the window of a bank (the most popular picture); (2) a police dog snatching a fleeing demonstrator by the coat; and (3) two plain-clothes policemen, guns in hand, running from invisible demonstrators. These are true action and violence pictures: attack on a bank, attack by police dog, and attack on police or police with guns drawn, running. They are taken from rather close distance. The more static photos are wide-angle pictures of streets with many people. The three action pictures only have one, two, or a few participants. Photo one clearly associates the demonstrator(s) with violence, whereas the other two pictures also associate

TABLE 5.3
Type of Photos Used in the Press Coverage
of the Squatting Events in Amsterdam

<i>Type of Photo</i>	<i>National Press</i>	<i>Regional Press</i>
a. Violence during demonstration	6 (27%)	24 (65%)
b. Riot police in action at GW	3 (14%)	7 (19%)
c. Preparations/scene around GW	4 (18%)	2 (8%)
d. Action against HL	5 (23%)	4 (11%)
e. Social backgrounds of HL	3 (14%)	(0%)
f. Peaceful demonstration	1 (5%)	(0%)

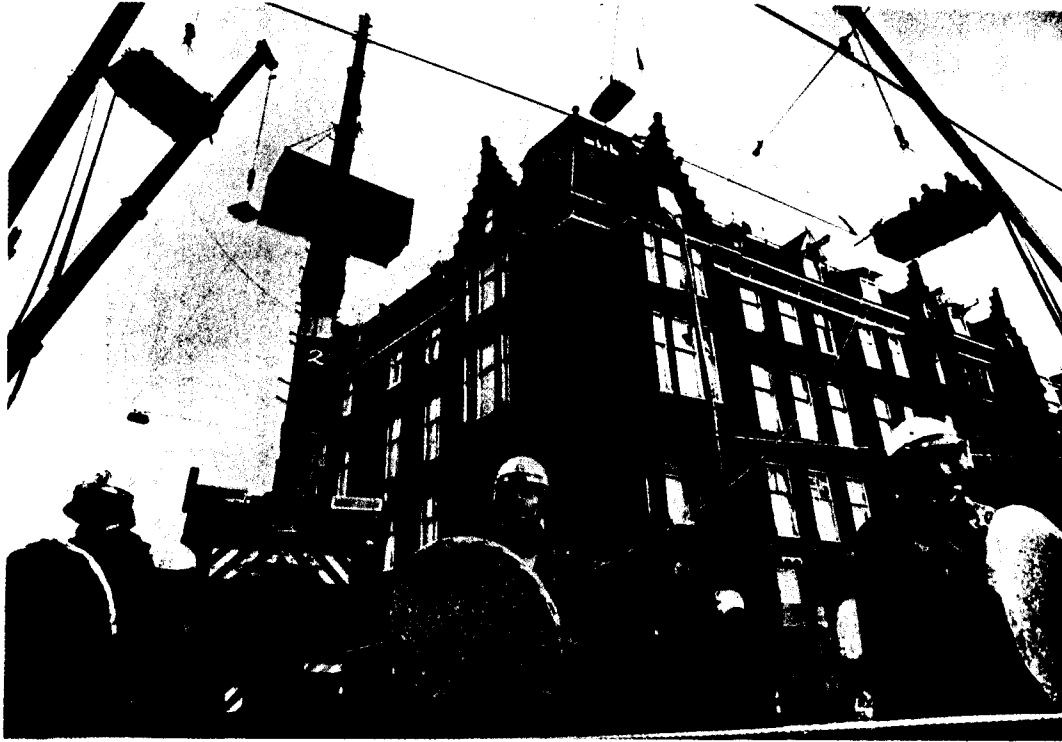


FIGURE 5.2.



FIGURE 5.3.

the police with violence, albeit as a means to control (violent?) demonstrators.

Analysis of the pictures allows us to draw further inferences from the ways the situation and their participants are represented. Just as for the comprehension of text, we need models and knowledge schemata (scripts) to interpret the photos. We only see a fragment of a scene, and only a still from ongoing action. The throwing movement of a demonstrator and the trash can touching the starred glass of the bank window, together allow the inference that the demonstrator is engaged in the action of smashing the window of the bank. The word "bank" is written on the front of the building, above the window. That the actor throwing the trash can is a demonstrator may be inferred from the fact that he(?) is masked with a shawl. Hence, it is somebody in half-disguise, apparently wanting to remain anonymous. The inference lies at hand that an illegal act is being performed.

These various dimensions of visual comprehension may be completed with further, connotative, sociocultural interpretation. A demonstrator is attacking a bank by trying to smash a front window. The fact that it is a bank, and not any building, is of course significant. The news reports sometimes stress that demonstrators attacked expensive shops, banks, and cars. This suggests that they are involved in anticapitalist action, interpreted as protest against those who support, or are otherwise associated with, the speculators. Hence, the picture of the person smashing a bank window may also be interpreted as an attack on the most prominent instance of the power and status institutions of bourgeois society. Thus, the demonstrators and squatters intend to attack if not overthrow our most important and safest institutions, viz., the bank. Characteristically, the bank is attacked with a trash can. This not only signals an opposition between the trashy street weapons of the demonstrator, on the one hand, and the money attacked, on the other hand, but also associates demonstrators with trash.

We may conclude that this is not just a nice action picture. Rather, it symbolizes concretely the action of demonstrators and squatters against the status quo and its most treasured institutions. If the attacking demonstrator is not attributed with such intentions, the alternative is hardly better. In that case, window smashing could be seen as an irrational act of destruction. The exercise of irrational destruction is also felt as a basic attack against the values of society (compare with the wide attention paid to soccer hooliganism). Readers that sympathize with the squatters and their actions may adopt the first connotations but also take the picture as the representation of an expression of rage and of a protest against the eviction. Yet, this interpretation is seldom supported by the meanings of the text of the news reports. The dominant interpretation, then, is that of attack and violence, exerted by the demonstrators. It is this interpretation that is in line with the macrostructures of most news reports in our data.

OTHER MEDIA AND MESSAGES

After this analysis of the newspaper accounts of the evictions, let us briefly examine some other media or sources of the events in Amsterdam.

The National News Agency, ANP

The national news agency (ANP) covers the events in detail, both in the afternoon and during the evening. Since the eviction event (at least of GW) was known in advance to the reporters, ANP was able to put a long background story on its telex network (to which all newspapers are connected). This information includes a history of the legal dispute preceding the occupation of GW, as well as the motivations and the protests of the squatters. This information is barely used by the press: The regional press focuses mostly on the violent events themselves, and the national press makes use of its own reporters and not only of the ANP dispatches. Declarations of the squatters hardly reach the press. ANP style is generally more neutral than that of the press: No negative designations are used for squatters and demonstrators. The press, when using the ANP dispatches, often assigns more negative interpretations to the events, while on the other hand copying a number of catchy or metaphorical phrases from the ANP telex. Interestingly, the eviction events during the afternoon are described more neutrally by ANP than the demonstration and the disturbance during the evening. One of the reasons for this difference appeared to be that these events were covered by different reporters, which suggests that there also individual differences in the accounts of the same source.

Other Media: Radio and Television

The other media were able to report the events earlier than the newspapers of the next day. The three evening news programs on TV all show pictures of the conflict, especially of fighting in the streets. At the end of the afternoon, various radio stations broadcast direct reports from the scene. The well-known city radio station (STAD radio) paid most attention to the events and to the backgrounds and, much like *De Waarheid*, it does so mostly from the perspective of the squatters. On earlier occasions, this station had been criticized by the conservative press and politicians for paying attention to the squatters' point of view. Also on this occasion, it ran into difficulties with the authorities.

The other news and commentary programs focus on the topics that also dominate in the press. Much attention is paid to the declarations of the authorities such as the police and the city authorities (mayor, officials). No

information about the point of view of the squatters is presented, and little information about the background of their squatting is provided. These various media accounts, especially that of TV news, are important because they provide the first definitions of the situation, both for the press itself and for the public that reads the press stories of the next day. Since this first definition focuses on the negative consequences of the eviction, that is on violence by demonstrators, this will also influence the subsequent interpretations of later accounts.

Public Statements: The Pollee and the City

In an analysis of all public statements made about the events and of their coverage by the press, it was found first that the declaration of the police inspector in charge of the eviction was quoted most often (13 times), followed by the first statement from the city authorities. Both statements stress the nonviolent tactics of the eviction and emphasize that aggressive young people had violated this strategy. Two newspapers mention a statement by the owner of the building and his plans for the near future. A statement is quoted by one of the squatters of GW only once, a declaration from the occupants of Huize Lydia is quoted twice, a reaction of a communist city-council-member is quoted twice, and the statement of a Surinamese organization is quoted three times. Most of these opponent statements also appear in the same newspapers (*De Waarheid*, *Het Parool*, *Utrechts Nieuwsblad*, and *Trouw*). The voice of the authorities is heard far more often than that of the victims of the police actions and of the city policies. But even from the official statements, background and explanations are mostly ignored by the press.

Follow-up

In a study of the follow-up in the press the further consequences of the events on October 8, 1981, it was found that apart from one or two small items in the national press, most of the press did not pay further attention to these consequences. It was reported that those arrested were released the same or the next day, and only a few newspapers reported about another demonstration against the earlier arrests. There is a report that police had acted rather brutally in that new event a few days later, but this information did not reach the press. Indeed, there are no police reports about this. *De Volkskrant*, among others, headlines a follow-up item on the next day in a rather negative way: HOOLIGANS REMAIN IN CUSTODY. REVOLT AFTER EVICTION. Apart from some details about the legal aftermath of the events, this article is mainly about the Black families that occupied Huize Lydia. Racism

at the police station is mentioned, quoted, and referred to as alleged ; and police officials' quotes contradict these facts. Except from this immediate follow-up on the next day, there is hardly any information about what happened with the squatters. Only *De Waarheid* and *Het Parool* follow for several weeks the fate of the Surinamese families and provide further background information about the earlier events and motivations of the occupations, which were not yet known to the public and the press on the day of the evictions. The other newspapers do not bother to pay attention to this new information. As soon as the central, violent news event is over, the backgrounds are no longer relevant. We have witnessed in the previous chapter that no newspaper analyzes the eviction of Huize Lydia in terms of police brutality against Black families, that is, as an instance of institutional racism.

The Squatter Press

Analysis of a squatter newspaper published somewhat later, as well as of reports made by law agencies that record instances of police violence, show many events that never reached the press. Despite the claims of non-violence, it appeared that small squads of not and city police cornered single demonstrators and then assaulted them. The squatter paper revealed information about motivations, intentions, and actions of the squatters before, during, and after the eviction of GW. It reported about the earlier housing conditions of the occupants of HL, including names and numbers of house owners earning more than 10,000 guilders a month from Surinamese families living in small, dirty, fire hazardous apartments. Neither these names, nor these numbers reach the national press.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions from our study of reporting squatters and demonstrators in the press are suggested by nearly each dimension of our analysis. In line with the general news value of negativity, the negative consequences of the events receive most attention in the press: Violence, riots, attacks on private and public property, and fighting are the main ingredients of the press account of a largely peaceful eviction and demonstration. Yet, negativity, as such, is not the dominant criterion: Negative actions of the police, if known at all, are not dealt with, or mitigated and summarized in terms of tough actions. Only the negative actions of the social opponents are emphasized. On the other hand, the positive intentions of the authorities are focused upon selectively. This means that the news stories have a clear polarizing

effect and reconstructs the events as a drama with easily identifiable opponents.

Besides demonstrator and squatter violence, it is the spectacular and technological nature of the police action that receives primary attention: the use of cranes, an armored car, etc. Both appear to provide the raw materials for high visibility and, hence, for most photographs in the press.

Information about backgrounds, such as the housing conditions of the occupants, is minimal and not very prominent. Analysis of local meanings, style, and rhetoric further confirms the overall definitions of major topics, headlines, and leads. Emphasis is placed on violent conflict, and the two main actors, the squatters and the authorities, are further characterized in their respective roles of villains and the heroic protectors of law and order in the city. Information is based mostly on statements from the police or from city officials and never on statements or reports of the squatters and their supporting agencies. Generally, these various tendencies are more pronounced in the regional press. Regional papers sustain the widespread attitude outside the capital that Amsterdam is a dirty, violent, lawless, drug-infested city, where youths can do what they want. Of the national newspapers, some are intentionally more neutral (like *Trouw*) in their reports, whereas others (notably *Het Parool*) give extensive coverage of further consequences and of both the opinions of the officials and of the squatters. Only one small newspaper, *De Waarheid*, generally reports in an antiauthoritarian style, representing the view of the squatters and generally firm in its opinion about the background of the squatting and the eviction. Its counterideological voice however only serves some 30,000 readers of more than 4,000,000 newspaper-readers in the country. Generally, then, it may be concluded that the press coverage of an important social phenomenon like squatting focuses on isolated, negative, or violent incidents. Its portrayal of the events on October 8, 1981, further contributes to the rapidly changing attitudes toward squatting and seems to confirm the consensus regarding social protest in Amsterdam. Unwittingly, but professionally and ideologically, journalists represent the views of the authorities, if only by their selective uses of sources and statements. Their lack of interest in the backgrounds of the events, especially those that could explain the squatting situation and the motivations of squatters, obscures these for the public at large. The focus on spectacular and dramatic events on a single day reduces a social problem to the level of an incident. The social issue of housing shortage is thus redefined as a social problem of violence emanating from juvenile squatters and demonstrators and thereby conceals a lasting and real underlying problem in Dutch society.

The predominately British literature we have referred to suggests that this role of the press, faced with similar issues and social groups, is not just a Dutch phenomenon. It is part of the very definition of domestic news in

many countries, and a consequence of the routines of newsmaking, that have such news as its product. In the previous chapters, we have seen, for instance, that rather similar processes are at work in the representation of ethnic minority groups, both in the Netherlands and elsewhere. The results of this chapter show that the sweeping generalization, formulated as a conclusion of much critical media research—that the dominant Western press reflects, sustains, and helps create the dominant ideology in society, predominantly that of the authorities—appears to have more than a kernel of truth.

6

CONCLUSIONS

A dor da gente lujo sai no jornal
(*Peor' ' ;,,, ,iprwar in the paper!*)
—Chico Buarque, *A notícia de jornal*

This final chapter adds a few more personal and political remarks to the studies collected in this book. Serious scholarly discourse usually proscribes such personal and political dimensions. We have been trained to believe that scientific inquiry, just like news reporting, should be objective, nonpartisan, and disinterested. We have become accustomed to ignore its inherent contextual embedding, that is, its ultimate motivation, goals, and functions. However, if critical research has taught us one thing, it is to recognize such normative tales as characteristic instances of a dominant ideology whose function is to conceal the subjective, the political, and especially the interests involved in academic research. In complex structural ways, and mostly unwittingly, our work thus confirms, reproduces, and legitimates various types of hegemony, if only the dominance implied by our own social privileges as free-floating intellectuals. Academic freedom—much like the freedom of the press—thus often desintegrates into a self-serving condition of what has been called symbolic capitalism when it disregards its social responsibility or censors its critical potential.

During the twenty odd years (and in the twenty odd books) of my aca-

democratic career, these insights may have played a muted role in the background but only recently emerged as a more explicit program. To be sure, as for most of us, excuses are easy. When engaged as I was in the development of linguistic poetics, text grammar, discourse pragmatics, or the psychology of text processing, there seemed to be few obvious ways to realize such a program. The same may be true for most individuals working on similarly technical topics in other disciplines of the humanities, as well as in mathematics, medicine, or the natural sciences. After all, a job must be done for which we are hired: develop new theories, describe old and new phenomena, and educate students. Until we realize that such discourses are also culturally, socially and politically situated. The dominant, choice or priorities of paradigms, theories, topics, terms, and technology are seldom, if ever, innocent. This becomes apparent as soon as we unravel and provide answers to persistent questions such as whose language, whose literature, whose arts, whose history, whose bodies, whose minds, or whose technology have we usually been studying, and especially: in whose interests.

These well-known, but consistently ignored, implications of a few decades of marginalized critical scholarship are even more relevant in the social sciences. They hardly need to be spelled out again. Nor should be repeated the undoubtedly naive, facile, and somewhat outdated slogans that demand science about people to be science for the people. The real problem lies in the translation of our compliance with such demands for true academic democracy into serious, that is, effective research programs. It is easy to call for social relevance of our work, but when do its results go beyond the statement of a social problem or beyond the recommendation of a social policy which will benefit most who need it less? In other words, when do our analyses actually contribute, maybe even indirectly, to the solution of the no-less trivial sounding list of real issues, such as severe or subtle inequality, poverty, or oppression?

In the margin of dominant scholarship of the past two decades, serious attempts have been made to answer at least fragments of these awkward questions. Feminist research has shown, among other things, that questions about whose language, literature, history, body, mind, work, or social role were traditionally answered within a dominant context of male practices, from which women were banned. The same is true for the ethnic studies that emerged from centuries of Black resistance and decades of focused Black scholarship directed against slavery, Reconstruction, apartheid, segregation, and the more subtle forms of discrimination and racism of today in white academic research. Such endeavors in the realms of gender and race continue and further enrich what Marxist- or socialist-inspired research has long stated for the realm of class; and, they run parallel with similar political and academic fights by Third World peoples against old or new colonialisms and exploitation. In other words, many of those who were at first invisible or

at best treated as problems in academic theories, textbooks, classrooms, the mass media, and other forms of dominant discourses have now made themselves visible and heard, while at the same time reversing their earlier treatment by relocating the problem to the dominant (Northwestern, middle class, male, white) cultures.

Many of these developments defy traditional political divisions such as those between left and right, liberal and conservative, East and West. Women know that in many respects sexism is classless; and academic women know that they may expect more serious, while more consequential, chauvinism from some of their male colleagues, than from the blue color worker. People of color or other immigrants in our societies know that, although in different guises, racism comes from the rich and the poor, from men and women, from the educated or the ill-educated, and from left and right—that is from all those who have power because they are members of the white dominant group. The peoples of the Third World have demonstrated that their problems and interests do not follow primarily the East-West, but rather the North-South boundary.

The students who in the fall of 1986 demonstrated in Paris and elsewhere did more than recall the cry for academic and social democracy that our generation made in 1968. Generally thought to be apolitical, they protested against racism against their Black and other immigrant **against** growing competition in education, against the increasing power of technology, and against the pervasive lack of opportunities in a society that seemed to have resigned in accepting unemployment as a natural condition of life. Similarly, the ecological and antinuclear movements also appear to make demands for an environment and a world free of pollution and genocidal weaponry that cannot simply be explained in terms of left or right. True, the social and political left may have more experience and more theory that might make it more sensitive to all these developments, but it also showed that across different social realms this is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition.

It is within these intimately connected fields of society, polity, and academy from which the studies in this book, as well as much of my other later work, draws part of their inspiration, motivation, and goals. This does not mean that as a western, white, middle-class, male professor (in any order of these categories) I can speak *for* Third World, Black, or immigrant peoples, nor for squatters or others in our society who are powerless despite their resistance. By position and competence I feel only entitled to show solidarity by critically analyzing the social discourse of those who are in control, and whom I know so well because they happen to belong to the same categories that I do.

My contribution to such an understanding of some of the central, while ideological, processes of hegemony is further limited by the constraints of

academic discourse previously mentioned. We cannot fight social change in immediate practices unlike the pressure group or social movement such as the squatters who occupy the houses that are left empty by real estate speculators, Greenpeace activists who block dumping of nuclear or industrial waste into our rivers or oceans, or the women in Greenham Common who for years beleaguer a nuclear airforce base. Nor do we have the potential power of the journalist whose daily discourse about immediate political and social events reaches thousands if not millions. If any, our influence is indirect and distant, e.g., through publication of critical work and by educating tomorrow's elite.

This contribution to the construction of a counterideology, however, can be effective only through the persuasive means of scholarly discourse, i.e., by the power of theoretical, analytical, or methodological argument. Topic choice is free and easy enough. Analyzing the representation of the powerless in the mass-mediated reproduction of the ideology that underlies and legitimates their subjugation is hardly more than one choice among many others. We have to learn to ask the right questions, forge new terminologies, or rebuild dominant theories. We may have to leave the familiar field of our own discipline, simply because the problems under study are too complex to be framed in, and reduced to, simply, monodisciplinary analysis and understanding.

This, then, has been the formidable task of this and a few of my other recent books on the news media and on the reproduction of racism. I am afraid that as yet only little progress has been made. To study the ideological role of the media, we need to know about the details of its discursive practices. Formed in a tradition of abstract, structuralist, theory formation in linguistics and discourse analysis, I may at most dispose of a few tools for systematic analysis of these practices. Despite their sometimes apparent sophistication, however, these instruments often appear to be too blunt to unravel the subtleties of social discourse. The same is true for the undoubtedly necessary cognitive machinery we now have at our disposal to analyze the mental dimensions of discourse—and hence news—production and understanding that are central in the ideological process. But again, even when we have urged, with others, to focus on social cognition, our actual theoretical insights hardly allow for a detailed explanation of these cognitive foundations of discourse, interaction, and ideology. Finally, at the more global level of societal structures, the social sciences may have taught us about some of the abstract mechanisms of power, dominance, and institutions but as yet fail to show the precise workings at the microlevel of text, talk, and everyday interaction also in the field of mass communication. In other words, several disciplines are involved, and none of them has been able to bridge the theoretical gaps or to deliver the analytical instruments that allow us to study the full complexity of the structures and functions of

the media. Maybe we at least know the right questions, if not their answers. Maybe even our questions are misguided.

Obviously, the more critical questions should not be expected to come from the dominant scholarly paradigm themselves. These have consistently shown to prefer fashionable hobbyhorses over more substantial, let alone socially relevant, problem formulations, if they were theoretically or empirically adequate at all. Anyone can provide detailed examples from his or her own discipline. We remember the fate of decades of behaviorism, of simplistic learning or effect theories, of cybernetics and information theory, of scores of persuasion theories, maybe soon joined by much of semiotics or schema theories. Surely much of our scientific progress is only illusory. Trial and error, and often our academic playground is only filled with the beautiful theoretical self-made toys that fascinate so many of us.

These observations suggest (and persuaded me) that we might as well have the problems formulated by those in the real world who have no access to the power or the resources for their analysis and solution. I trust that in most disciplines (at least in those I know) this will engender vast amounts of relevant topics to keep us busy for a long time. Although these problems are often rooted in the objective, material, socioeconomic conditions of class, race, gender or region dominance, they have their autonomous ramifications anywhere in the areas the humanities and social sciences are bound to study: history, the arts, literature, discourse, communication, the media, education, as well as other societal and political structures and institutions.

Theories developed in this perspective must, by necessity, be grounded in an empirical foundation. They must be systematic and precise because otherwise they simply won't work. They are no longer limited to one discipline because the problems involved are always multidisciplinary. Research projects become functional elements in larger and more enduring research programs, which are no longer simply stopped when the fashionable theory has been abolished. Application is no longer the task of our second-rated colleagues but the final goal of the theorist of any academic work. The complexity of the problems will stimulate creativity and collaboration and prevent us from resigning in paradigmatic routine research. Teaching will train students less in memorizing theories, doing analyses, or running experiments, which a decade later appear outdated if not irrelevant and uninteresting. Finally, we may no longer appear to be helpless academics who will at best contribute to the cultural facade of those in power or who at worst sustain that power by our scientifically-based policy recommendations or legitimization. Rather, we may develop some counterpower by being able to provide our share of alternative ideologies, policies, and practices.

This means that we must redefine the goals and issues of our work in language, discourse, communication, cognition, and interaction. These and other closely related areas, all dealing with symbolic practices, provide an

ideal domain of purposeful exploration and experimentation. The media and education are only two of the large target areas for such work. This book and my other recent work refers to many critical studies by scholars from many countries who are trying to show how. We have already mentioned social and academic developments that also suggest why. Again, this is only a beginning. Before the turn of the century and the millennium, this should lead not simply to a new paradigm among many others but to a completely different way of doing academic work. Similarly, in the study of communication, we do not simply want a linguistic, discourse or cognitive turn but an overall critical turn.

When the fine Brazilian song writer and singer Chico Buarque rightly observes that people's pain doesn't appear in the paper, we may paraphrase him by saying that the same is true for most of our academic discourse. The time has come for change.

APPENDIX

List of regions, countries and newspapers and the frequencies and languages
of articles scored about the events in Lebanon
(Compiled by Piet de Geus)

						<i>N of articles scored</i>				<i>Language</i>
						<i>15</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>Tot.</i>	
A. NORTH AMERICA										
<i>1. Canada</i>										
	102	Ottawa Citizen	2	2	2	6	English			
<i>2. U.S.A.</i>										
	202	Los Angeles Times	3	4	5	12	English			
	203	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	3	4	0	7	English			
	205	The New York Times	5	8	5	18	English			
	206	The Wall Street Journal	1	3	0	4	English			
	TOTAL REGION		14	21	12	47				
B. CENTRAL AMERICA										
<i>9. Cuba</i>										
	901	Granma	1	1	1	3	Spanish			

(continued)

APPENDIX
(Continued)

		<i>N of articles scored</i>				<i>Language</i>
		15	16	17	Tot.	
11.	<i>El Salvador</i>					
	1101 El Diario de Hoy	1	1	1	3	Spanish
14.	<i>Guatemala</i>					
	1401 Diario el Gráfico	3	4	5	12	Spanish
	1402 El Imperial	0	2	5	7	Spanish
17.	<i>Jamaica</i>					
	1701 Daily Gleaner	1	2	0	3	English
19.	<i>Mexico</i>					
	1901 Excelsior	2	0	4	6	Spanish
	1902 Uno Más Uno	1	0	2	3	Spanish
21.	<i>Nicaragua</i>					
	2101 Barricada	2	3	2	7	Spanish
	2102 El Nuevo Diario	3	0	2	5	Spanish
	2103 La Prensa	0	2	2	4	Spanish
23.	<i>Puerto Rico</i>					
	2301 El Mundo	1	2	1	4	Spanish
	TOTAL REGION	15	17	25	57	
C. SOUTH AMERICA						
30.	<i>Argentina</i>					
	3002 La Prensa	1	0	0	1	Spanish
	3003 La Razón	0	0	1	1	Spanish
32.	<i>Brazil</i>					
	3201 Jornal do Brasil	1	1	0	2	Portugese
	3202 O Estado de São Paulo	2	1	0	3	Portugese
	3203 O Globo IN	1	1	0	2	Portugese
33.	<i>Chile</i>					
	3301 El Mercurio	2	3	1	6	Spanish
34.	<i>Colombia</i>					
	3401 El Tiempo	2	3	1	6	Spanish
35.	<i>Ecuador</i>					
	3501 El Comercio	1	7	4	12	Spanish
38.	<i>Paraguay</i>					
	3801 ABC Color	3	2	7	12	Spanish
41.	<i>Uruguay</i>					
	4101 El Día	5	4	7	16	Spanish
42.	<i>Venezuela</i>					
	4201 The Daily Journal	1	3	4	8	English
	4203 El Nacional	1	2	2	5	Spanish
	4204 El Universal	1	10	0	11	Spanish
	TOTAL REGION	21	37	27	85	

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APPENDIX
(Continued)

		<i>N of articles scored</i>				<i>Language</i>
		15	16	17	Tot.	
<i>D. WESTERN EUROPE</i>						
43.	<i>Austria</i>					
	4302 Die Presse	1	3	0	4	German
	4303 Salzburger Nachrichten	1	3	0	4	German
44.	<i>Belgium</i>					
	4401 Het Laatste Nieuws	1	5	1	7	Dutch
	4403 Le Soir	2	8	3	13	French
45.	<i>Denmark</i>					
	4501 Berlingske Tidende	0	3	2	5	Danish
	4502 Information	1	0	2	3	Danish
	5403 Politiken	1	2	1	4	Danish
46.	<i>England</i>					
	4601 Daily Express	1	1	1	3	English
	4602 Daily Mail	0	1	1	2	English
	4603 Daily Mirror	0	1	1	2	English
	4605 The Daily Telegraph	1	6	2	9	English
	4606 The Guardian	1	6	2	9	English
	4607 Morning Star	1	1	0	2	English
	4609 Sing Tao	0	2	0	2	English
	4611 The Times	1	7	0	8	English
48.	<i>France</i>					
	4801 Le Figaro	2	0	0	2	French
	4802 France-Soir	1	4	1	6	French
	4804 International Herald Tribune	2	5	1	8	French
	4805 Libération	2	1	0	3	French
	4807 Le Monde	0	10	5	15	French
49.	<i>Greece</i>					
	4901 Akropolis	0	1	1	2	Greek
	4903 Kathimerini	0	1	1	2	Greek
50.	<i>Iceland</i>					
	5001 Morgunbladid	1	4	3	8	Icelandic
51.	<i>Ireland</i>					
	5101 The Irish Times	3	0	0	3	English
52.	<i>Italy</i>					
	5201 Corriere della Sera	1	1	0	2	Italian
	5204 La Repubblica	1	1	0	2	Italian
	5205 La Stampa	1	1	0	2	Italian
	5206 L'Unità	1	1	0	2	Italian
54.	<i>The Netherlands</i>					
	5401 Algemeen Dagblad	1	7	2	10	Dutch
	5402 NRC Handelsblad	4	3	4	11	Dutch

(continued)

APPENDIX
(Continued)

	<i>N of articles scored</i>				<i>Language</i>
	<i>15</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>Tot.</i>	
<i>D. WESTERN EUROPE</i>					
43. <i>Austria</i>					
4302 Die Presse	1	3	0	4	German
4303 Salzburger Nachrichten	1	3	0	4	German
44. <i>Belgium</i>					
4401 Het Laatste Nieuws	1	5	1	7	Dutch
4403 Le Soir	2	8	3	13	French
45. <i>Denmark</i>					
4501 Berlingske Tidende	0	3	2	5	Danish
4502 Information	1	0	2	3	Danish
4503 Politiken	1	2	1	4	Danish
46. <i>England</i>					
4601 Daily Express	1	1	1	3	English
4602 Daily Mail	0	1	1	2	English
4603 Daily Mirror	0	1	1	2	English
4605 The Daily Telegraph	1	6	2	9	English
4606 The Guardian	1	6	2	9	English
4607 Morning Star	1	1	0	2	English
4609 Sing Tao	0	2	0	2	English
4611 The Times	1	7	0	8	English
48. <i>France</i>					
4801 Le Figaro	2	0	0	2	French
4802 France-Soir	1	4	1	6	French
4804 International Herald Tribune	2	5	1	8	French
4805 Libération	2	1	0	3	French
4807 Le Monde	0	10	5	15	French
49. <i>Greece</i>					
4901 Alarpolis	0	1	1	2	Greek
4903 Kathimerini	0	1	1	2	Greek
50. <i>Iceland</i>					
5001 Morgunbladid	1	4	3	8	Icelandic
51. <i>Ireland</i>					
5101 The Irish Times	3	0	0	3	English
52. <i>Italy</i>					
5201 Corriere della Sera	1	1	0	2	Italian
5204 La Repubblica	1	1	0	2	Italian
5205 La Stampa	1	1	0	2	Italian
5206 L'Unità	1	1	0	2	Italian
54. <i>The Netherlands</i>					
5401 Algemeen Dagblad	1	7	2	10	Dutch
5402 NRC Handelsblad	4	3	4	11	Dutch

(continued)

APPENDIX
(Continued)

		<i>N of articles scored</i>				<i>Language</i>
		15	16	17	Tot.	
67.	<i>Poland</i>					
	6701 Tybuna Ludu	1	1	1	3	Polish
68.	<i>Romania</i>					
	6801 Neuer Weg	0	1	0	1	German
69.	<i>U.S.S.</i>					
	6901 Izvestia	0	0	1	1	Russian
	6902 Pravda	0	1	0	1	Russian
70.	<i>Yugoslavia</i>					
	7001 Borba	0	0	1	1	Serbo-Croat
	7004 Politika	0	1	0	1	Serbo-Croat
		1	14	13		
F. MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA						
71.	<i>Algeria</i>					
	7101 El Moudjahid	1	3	9	13	French
75.	<i>Iran</i>					
	7501 Kayhan International	1	6	0	7	English
	7504 Teheran Times	1	1	0	2	English
77.	<i>Israel</i>					
	7701 Ha'aretz	1	10	0	11	Hebrew
	7703 Ma'ariv	3	2	0	5	Hebrew
80.	<i>Lebanon</i>					
	8004 Le Réveil	10	19	25	54	French
82.	<i>Morocco</i>					
	8201 Al Alam	0	1	0	1	French
	8203 L'Opinion	0	6	5	11	French
83.	<i>Qatar</i>					
	8301 Daily Gulf Times	2	3	0	5	English
	TOTAL REGION	19	51	39	109	
G. AFRICA						
90.	<i>Angola</i>					
	9001 Jornal de Angola	0	1	0	1	Portugese
97.	<i>Congo (People's Republic of the)</i>					
	9701 Mweti	0	0	1	1	French
106.	<i>Ivory Coast</i>					
	10601 Fraternité Matin	1	7	4	12	French
107.	<i>Kenya</i>					
	10701 Daily Nation	1	4	1	6	English
110.	<i>Madagascar</i>					
	11003 Matin	0	3	2	5	French

(continued)

APPENDIX
(Continued)

		N of articles scored				Language
		15	16	17	Tot.	
117.	Nigeria					
	11701 Daily Times	0	1	2.	3	English
120.	Senegal					
	12001 Le Soleil	2	12	0	14	French
131.	Upper Volta					
	13101 L'Observateur	0	1	0	1	French
132.	Zaire					
	13201 Bulletin Quotidien (AZAP)	0	1	1	2	French
133.	Zambia					
	13301 Times of Zambia	1	4	0	5	English
	13302 Zambia Daily Mail	0	1	1	2	English
135.	South-Africa					
	13501 Rand Daily Mail	1	1	3	5	English
	13502 Die Burger	1	2	2	5	Afrikaans
	TOTAL REGION	7	38	17	62	
H. SOUTH ASIA						
140.	Bangladesh					
	14001 The Bangladesh Observar	1	1	4	6	English
	14003 The Daily Ittefaq	1	1	0	2	Bengali
141.	India					
	14102 India Express	1	4	0	5	English
	14104 The Statesman	1	1	1	3	English
142.	Pakistan					
	14101 Dawn	1	3	6	10	English
	TOTAL REGION	5	10	11	26	
I. EAST/SOUTH EAST ASIA						
146.	China (Peoplis Republic of)					
	14601 Renmin Ribao	0	1	1	2	Chinese
148.	Indonesia					
	14801 Berita Buana	1	0	0	1	Indonesian
	14802 Indonesian Observar	0	5	5	10	English
	14803 The Indonesia Times	0	1	3	4	English
	14805 Suara Karaya	0	0	3	3	Indonesian
149.	Japan					
	14901 Asahi Shimbun		2	2	4	Japanese
	14902 Mainichi Shimbun		3	0	3	Japanese
151.	Korea (Republic of)					
	15101 Chosun Ilbo	0	1	0	1	Korean
	15102 Dong-A-Ilbo	1	0	0	1	Korean
	15103 The Korea Herald	0	3	0	3	English

(continued)

APPENDIX
(Continued)

		<i>N of articles scored</i>				<i>Language</i>
		15	16	17	Tot.	
154.	<i>Malaysia</i>					
	15401 New Straits Times	0	4	3	7	English
159.	<i>Philippines</i>					
	15903 People's Journal	0	1	1	2	English
160.	<i>Singapore</i>					
	16001 The Straits Times	0	2	0	2	English
161.	<i>Taiwan</i>					
	16101 The China Times	0	2	1	3	Chinese
162.	<i>Thailand</i>					
	16201 Bangkok Post	1	2	4	7	English
	TOTAL REGION	3	27	23	53	
<hr/>						
1.	<i>OCEANIA</i>					
<hr/>						
171.	<i>Australia</i>					
	17101 The Age	0	5	2	7	English
175.	<i>New Zealand</i>					
	17501 The New Zealand Herald	0	1	3	4	English
	17502 The Evening Post	1	3	2	6	English
	TOTAL REGION	1	9	7	17	

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