AN EXAMINATION OF VAN DIJK'S ANALYSIS OF PREJUDICE IN NEWS DISCOURSE

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Mass media have an important effect on the culturally dominant group's exposure to and assimilation of attitudes toward minority groups. Information about outgroups covered by the press is filtered to the members of the social majority (Wilson and Gutierrex, 1985). One aspect of this reflection by the media of the dominant group is that "news production strategies involve ideologically shared values" (van Dijk, 1987, p. 41). Who gets attention and access, and how news is selected and summarized is defined by the dominant group.

This holds particular relevance for minority groups and ethnic relations (van Dijk, 1987). For instance, the topics selected by those in power involve stories about diverse ethnic groups that are disseminated to widely dispersed geographic areas (Tuchman, 1978). The result is the forming of opinions about groups with which the individual may never have had any personal

contact. As was noted by Said above, news may be the only way that many Americans know anything about Moslems. Newspapers are agents of socialization that provide information about differing groups.

Millions of people are exposed to newspapers which "form the source of topics and beliefs for everyday talk and comment" (van Dijk, 1987). This makes the print media a significant choice for study. News stories interpret occurrences in a form that is easily passed on and recalled (Tuchman, 1978). Their "objective" status gives them an aura of legitimacy, based in part on the belief by their readership in their editorial diversity. The content of newspapers is for the most part seen as text of neutral, useful information that is accurate and woven into a "web of facticity" (Tuchman, 1978). Contributing to this perspective is their division of text into news stories and editorials. This creates an apparent distinction between fact and opinion, wherein the news features represent "the facts."

Most important for this study are large media operations such as wire services or papers established as "flagshipe" in the field, either by tradition or copyright services (e.g., the New York Times and <u>Washington Post</u>). Even though each locality may have a separate newspaper, the coverage of national and international events is dictated by the wire services and flagship papers. Thus, the impact of the large news operations is that they hold the greatest significance for study.

One of the most visible ethnic groups treated by U.S. flagship papers since the 1970's has been the Moslems. From the earliest years of the energy "crisis" in the 1970's, the hostage "crisis" of the Carter administration, and the numerous and on-going confrontations between the U.S. and Islamic nations, Moslems have been portrayed as volatile and powerful to the West.

The purpose of this report is to explain van Dijk's analysis of prejudice in news discourse. This will be done by combining van Dijk's work on discourse, news media, and prejudice. Chapter Two of this report will examine van Dijk in detail by describing his global and local analyses of discourse using examples from The New York Times coverage of Moslems to illustrate. Chapter Three will discouss the significance of his work.

KEY CONCEPTS ASSOCIATED WITH PREJUDICE

Before an explanation of discourse analysis related to prejudice, there is a need to describe the concepts associated with prejudice. Attitudes that create a division between ingroups and outgroups operate prejudicially. For example, ingroup attitudes can consist of negative feelings toward individuals of the outgroup based only on their membership in that group. The concepts of ingroup and outgroup are not necessarily concrete. For example, in the U.S., ethnic minorities may be members of outgroups in relation to power structures and economic status. However, these outgroups can be identified as part of the ingroup when a larger international context is considered. The identification is based on the attribution of characteristics and traits that create a difference between the ingroup and outgroup. Blacks could be defined racially, Jews religiously, and Soviets politically. Moslems, for instance, could be seen as a "condensation" outgroup as they could be differentiated in all the categories above and more.

 $\boldsymbol{\lambda}$ stereotype is a means by which the identification of outgroups is maintained. Stereotypes are beliefs

held about members of an outgroup that do not account for intra-group differences or personal experiences. They can create serious distortions in the perception of the outgroup. Stereotypic beliefs toward the outgroup give rise to prejudice. Prejudice is an overall negative evaluation of a group of people based on stereotypic beliefs about the outgroup. The pejorative aspect of prejudice occurs when members of an outgroup are treated in an unequal or unjust manner in thought or action because of their affiliation with the outgroup. These negative evaluations are the result of faulty generalization. This can be caused by a lack of interaction with the outgroup, or a biased interpretation toward the outgroup. Also, any prejudices that exist serve a group function in the preservation of the existing power (order) of the ingroup in society.

Prejudice operates as an attitude toward a group of people. This "group attitude" is organized in distinct categories. The categorization of such an organization is based on well recognized groupings. The first group is based on appearance. In this society those being "non-white" are perceived as an outgroup. Though there

may be gradations or degrees of difference, there may also be blanket exclusions based on socially recognized differences no matter how slight. A second basis for prejudice is origin. The mere fact of being classified as a "foreigner" may serve as grounds for negative evaluation, or there may be a focus on a specific point of origination. A third basis is socioeconomic position, or distinctions made along class lines. A fourth basis consists of socio-cultural properties, such as differing social norms of cultures. A fifth basis is personal characterization. Ethnicity is often defined in terms of personality. Often situations involving ethnic peoples are decoded based on the personal attributes given to that particular group.

The concepts of ingroup, outgroup, stereotypes and prejudice are part of our social interpretation of people. They are constructs that affect the way we interact with others (e.g., meeting new people, conversation, waiting in line). What is important in terms of communication study is that these social cognitive elements do not originate from within the person, but are obtained through our communication environment (van Dijk, 1987). Van Dijk's approach is

based on the communicative aspects of prejudice, mainly its expression and transfer through discourse.

VAN DIJK'S COGNITIVE EXPLANATION OF PREJUDICE

Van Dijk believes that prejudice is a "form or result of...social information processing" (1984, 1987). An individual coming in contact with a prejudicial message actively processes such a message. It is not just reacted to as in a behavioral model.

Specifically, van Dijk's cognitive framework assumes humans actively process information rather than merely react to it. A person's short-term memory (STM) has only limited capacity for storage and consequently sends the information to a long-term memory (LTM). This act is being monitored by a control system that insures the information flow is occurring in an orderly fashion. Strategies rather than rules are utilized to control this transfer.

Long-term memory is divided into an episodic memory (EM) serving as a record for personal episodes or experiences, and social memory (SM) organizing language and customs. Long-term memory employs cognitive schemata, or scripts, that can be recalled or employed

in specific situations. The schemata serve as a means to organize complex sets of information and to network relevant thoughts and ideas into interpretations and reinterpretations.

A student coming into contact with international students provides an example of these concepts. When lab-partners are assigned there could be anxiety about being placed with a international student. The student from the dominant group could recall from EM past trouble in communicating with foreigners ("they don't speak my language"; "it takes twice as long to get something across", etc.). The two lab-partners could have SM differences, such as the native student seeing the instructor as an "employee" not hesitating to ask for assistance, and the international student seeing the instructor as a "boss," and hesitating to interrupt the instructor's activities. These differing social views could add another episode to the native student's negative outlook ("we just don't work well together", "my partner isn't interested in finishing as quickly as I am", etc.). Not only are the native student's own past and present experiences interpreting the situation, but those of the native student's peers that have been

shared through talk, or instances that have been read about are being recalled to aid in interpretation.

A further extension of van Dijk's cognitive theory holds that there are particular types of schema that correspond with episodes. These are "situation model" schema (van Dijk, 1987). When there are differing types of events, there are differing cognitive organizations that are recalled to help order such experience. Continuing from the example above, the student has differing schemata for meeting international students than for meeting native students.

Even though these schemata are internal, many of them are shared with other individuals. There is a great deal of information that is socially shared about common cultural experiences without being discussed in detail. When an action is discussed such as driving a car, there is no need to go into minute detail about the act (e.g., a key is used to start the car, the meaning of traffic signs, gas is needed, etc.), as many of these assumptions are shared.

It is obvious having developed the cognitive framework that van Dijk is using theories from outside the field of communication. His analysis is a merger of

linguistic, content, and rhetorical analysis. There is also a borrowing of "relevant advances" from neighboring fields. Van Dijk's purpose is pragmatic in that he wants to use appropriate and expedient tools to explain racism. However, his use of other disciplines is tempered (or filtered) by a linguistic point of view that focuses primarily on the text as the main unit of analysis. These eclectic influences aid in the evaluation of the text in a holistic manner and provide accessibility to the analysis by a number of disciplines.

With the work of van Dijk it can be shown that the cognitive processes represented through the media affect the cognitive processes represented through the media affect the cognitive protein a communication and the media purely communication and the second of the cognitive process of prejudice IS communication. Sociologists might observe a group's or culture's actions to find existence of prejudice, and psychologists might survey attitudes of individuals, but such procedures are studying the end state of prejudice. Communication can study the dynamic and static actions of the development and transfer of prejudice rether than be limited to pronouncements on its presence or result.

Chapter Two

GLOBAL AND LOCAL ANALYSIS

This chapter will combine van Dijk's analysis of prejudice in discourse with his newspaper analysis, using newspaper examples of various middle eastern events to illustrate. We are primarily interested in providing a descriptive account of how the analysis produces evidence of prejudice in news discourse.

Before examining the components of his analysis, a review of theoretical influences on van Dijk will be presented. He draws upon a diverse pool of resources, the earliest being classical rhetorical theory. Early rhetorical concerns dealt with the style and form of oral discourse. In van Dijk's analysis, these concerns are applied to written discourse (1983, 1987, 1988b).

Within this century the schools of formalism and structuralism have also contributed to van Dijk's theory of discourse by analyzing the text and its components. There is a concentration on elements that make up discourse, and how those elements are assembled into a meaningful package. Van Dijk's professional background in linguistics is another influence on his approach to discourse analysis. But his approach goes beyond the traditional focus of linguistics on the sentence. Van bijk sees the sentence as an artificial boundary of inquiry (1983). In the development of a grammar there are rules that apply to textual structures beyond the single sentence. One such rule is the way that the themes and topics of a news story are handled at a textual level; for instance, a summary occurs first, followed by development of detail in subsequent persegraphs.

Another influence on van Dijk's discourse analysis is sociolinguistics. In addition to examining text, van Dijk analyses its social context. Language serves as social communication. The creation of text is for the social transfer of meanings (van Dijk, 1988b). Thus, the linguistic rules derived from this social transfer are culturally significant. The perspective of sociolinguistics also stresses the importance of oral language, specifically, "everyday" or naturally occurring language. Rules that apply to "everyday" talk have an influence on the structure and meaning of all written discourse.

Last, there is a significant influence of cognitive psychology on van Dijk's analysis as well. Language is a creation of the mind and therefore tends to mimic the process of the mind. Oral communication is the verbal representation of the inner workings of a cognitive system (van Dijk, 1984 and 1987).

These influences have four implications for van Dijk's analysis (1983). First, he utilizes a wide variety of social science theories. His examinations look at contexts in which language is used, such as the political and economic climate. Second, he sees language as interconnected to cultural dimensions (e.g., the various social usages of the word "cool"). There are rules of structure and usage that are culturally and situationally bound. Third, there is more emphasis on informal dialogue, or everyday talk. This allows one to examine the extent of rules usage in situations where there is "active utilization" of rules by a language user. Fourth, there is an expansion of the available genres of discourse to study. Not only is the importance of everyday discourse enhanced, but genres not seen previously as discourse are open to study, such as movies, cartoons, and fiction.

GLOBAL AND LOCAL STRUCTURES

Within van Dijk's analysis of structure, a division is made between two main types of discourse structure, global and local (1983, 1985a, 1985b, 1985b, 1985b). Global elements are those dealing with the overall or larger segments of discourse. For instance, the way the thematic structure of paragraphs is ordered or the construction of a theme for the whole discourse are global concerns. Local elements are at the sentence level, such as semantics and clarity.

Even though these two elements are different, they become interrelated in their contribution to coherence. Coherence is the ability of the reader to recreate a message that is meaningful from the text. This means that sentences are constructed in a socially recognized manner, and that the overall organization of the text contributes to an orderly, progressive understanding. "To be meaningful, a discourse should not only be locally coherent but globally coherent—there must be some type of 'semantic unity' to the whole discourse (van Dijk, 1983). For exemple, the headline "Oil Prices To Rise" sets up a certain thematic structure for a

story that follows. A meaningful, grammatically correct sentence about the opening of an art exhibit would not be understandable in light of the headline example above, because it is not topically related.

THEMATIC STRUCTURES

One of the major concerns of global analysis is theme or topic. Theme is what the discourse is about. The topic is the summary of what the discourse covers, in terms of the most important pieces of information. The thematic structures of news discourse are more "crucial" than for other discourse types (van Dijk, 1988). When a news article is read, the "gist" of the article is its theme. Readers actively process the information as they read, and focus on topics to make discourse coherent.

There may be a multi-layered organization (to be discussed later as "News Schemata") to a news story in which each paragraph may have a different topic, while on the holistic level the paragraphs all contribute to a central theme. When we look for a topic in a discourse we are breaking down the text into the smallest possible propositions. These discourse level propositions are

known semantically as macropropositions. When these macropropositions are put together in longer discourses they form macrostructures. Macrostructure refers to organized sets of propositions within the discourse.

Macrorules deal with the ordering of macropropositions. Macrorules help to work through the multiple levels of topics by reducing information in three manners. First, information no longer relevant may be deleted. Second, groups of topics may be replaced by a generalization that links the topics. Third, there may be a substitution of a proposition that characterizes a series of usual conditions, components or consequences (e.g. "going to school" may entail transportation, classroom situations, time). These rules can be applied at lower and higher levels of discourse. An article broken into three parts may have the rules applied within each segment, and then at the conclusion have the rules reapplied to organize the whole

These macrostructures are open for interpretation by the reader. The topic attributed is dependent on factors associated with the individual reader. While there may be clues in the discourse as to what the intended topic is, the reader may not necessarily pick them up. Or, even after encountering such clues, the reader may redefine what is important, subjectively ignoring the intended meaning. Often to understand a macroproposition there must be a great deal of shared knowledge. The text itself does not generate the only clues as to the meanings it contains. Often the subject of a proposition requires a familiarity with a "script" that is being assumed.

Macrostructures are understood by the reader through well-established strategies. The initial paragraph or summary acts as a major control for the interpretation of the rest of the text. The clues for topic also help readers to start processing the material by making it easier to understand the order, in what is known as top-down processing (i.e., larger, more important pieces of text are interpreted first).

MEDIA AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

News is seen as a form of discourse by van Dijk (1988b). In applying discourse analysis to news, the interest is on finding meaning in the discourse. The analysis is based on breaking the discourse down into observable parts and describing its underlying structure. Also, there is a concern with the rules that govern construction of topics, production of discourse in the cognitive sense (how the mind utilizes social rules to create discourse), and understanding of discourse.

News schemata serve as the macrostructure of discourse for news stories. Just as human thought employs cognitive schemata to organize the person's world, the news employs a distinct schemata to organize discourse (van Dijk, 1988b). These are organizations at the global level to help create order or coherence.

The news schemata is a conventional pattern employed by journalists to frame a news story. It is a set of rules that news discourse usually follows. While there is no intrinsic prejudicial quality associated with the news schemata, its particular usage can give rise to prejudicial attitudes toward members of an outgroup. Much of the reader's processing of news involves topics rather than processing of details, adding concern for the way that topics are handled (van Dijk, 1988b).

One of the most important topic indicators is

Summary. The first part of news stories is the headline and lead. These two elements act in combination to create the Summary. Van Dijk has noted the importance of Summary to set the role and tone for development of the macrostructure that follows (1988a). "Since headlines and leads are often the only information read or memorized, they play an important role in further information processing..." (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 189). Consequently, if there is negativity about outgroups in the headlines, then this impression is cognitively stored by the reader.

DESCRIPTION OF NEWS SCHEMATA

In this section, the elements of news schemata will be described. Appendices 1 through 8 contain the text of the articles used for examples and analysis of schemata for each article.

The major component of news schemata is Summary, the combination of headline and lead. The Headline is the most recognizable aspect of the news story. It indicates to the reader the content of the text and it summarizes the whole of the story in a few words.

This Summary may occur rather succinctly (see

Appendix 7), or can be more complex (see Appendix 2). Some Headlines include a main headline, followed by subheadlines. In combination with the Lead, the Headline acts as a single topic Summary for the rest of the article (van Dijk, 1988b).

The Lead may be set apart from the text or occupy the first parts of text (see Appendices 2-8). The Lead fleahes out the Readline, but does so in a manner that is still succinct and Summary oriented. These two elements, Readline and Lead, create the Summary of the text in a brief fashion, setting the overall tone of the macrostructure to follow.

The second component of the news schemata is the Episode. The Episode is the event referred to in the Readline developed in the news story by Main Event, Previous Events, Background and Context. The Main Event is the actual situation being reported upon. In <u>The New York Times</u>, May 19, 1985, the headline states "Islam Awaits Onset Of Ramadan," and in paragraph three, the main event-Ramadan- is explained in terms of the signal for its onset for that particular year.

In other stories the Main Event may be embedded in Context. Context describes the situation, consisting of other related events. For example, context may be a Main Event topic in another story. Context does not apply to a general situation (e.g., the Cold War, the Oil Crisis), but particular events within a general structure (such as a protest march, see Appendix 5, pare, 2).

Context is differentiated from Background, which provides a more general evaluation or setting. Background may include History, or cultural level information, as in the explanations of Ramadan observances (see Appendices: 7, paras. 2, 5-11; 2, paras. 3-6, 9; 8, paras. 3, 4, 6-9, 11, 13, 15-17, 21, 24, 25). Background and Context may add new topics not included in the headline, so their presence is of special concern. Previous Events deal with those items which contribute to Context but are historical in dimension (see Appendix 3, paras. 5, 7).

The next category of news schemata examines the Consequences of the described episode. Rather than looking at events in isolation, the reader of news is presented with a causal chain of events (X happened, so Y will follow as a result). As Gwertzman reports in The New York Times, the consequence of the embassy takeover

in Teheran is the safety of those held hostage (see Appendix 4, para. 5). Consequence may help set the stage of Context, as in the ongoing effects of the observance of Ramadan (see Appendix 8, paras. 18-21).

Verbal Reaction is another distinct category of news schemata, as in the reactions of important news participants or prominent political leaders. The appearance of diverse reactions promotes the perception of apparent objectivity. But, as van Dijk comments, "the selections of speakers and of quotations need not be objective" (1988b, p. 56).

A final category of the news schemata is Comment, comprised of Expectations and Evaluations. Despite the ideal that news and opinions not be mixed, journalists' own feelings may be present in the story. Evaluations may look at the impact or context of an event (see Appendices: 4, para. 16; 1, paras. 19, 21). Expectations are the journalist's own forecasts or predictions of future events.

Not all news stories incorporate every feature of the schemata (notably Appendix 6), minimally there is the Meadline and Main Event. Other stories may repeat categories at various points throughout the text (see Appendices 3, 5, 8). As well, some text may be serving several schemata functions simultaneously.

The most elementary rule for news schemata is the presentation of the Summary first (the Headline-Lead combination), preceding all other text. The Main Event then follows the Summary. Episode, of which Context may be a coinciding part, is then presented. At this point in the text may be the appearance of Background, History, and Previous Events. These are usually subservient in order to the Main Event, as are Consequences and Verbal Reactions. Comments are toward the end of the text, though their presentation may sometimes be indirect.

The most general way of describing these rules is that they are top-down based on order of importance. The most important information (such as Main Event) comes first, followed by relevant details provided in Context or Background and Verbal Reactions.

One factor that overrides this top-down order is the general relevance principle which may pull up categories usually placed toward the end (as in Appendix 8, where Background precedes Main Event). In some cases the Consequence may be as significant as the Main Event leading to parallel hierarchy with the Main Event or even a presence in the Headline.

EVIDENCE OF PREJUDICE IN NEWS SCHEMATA

What is important for the study of prejudice is an examination of the roles of minorities and the attributions that the association of topics implies. Are minorities acting or being acted upon? And in what manner? As described by van Dijk, even though minorities appear in the headline, the actual agents of the story are those of the dominant group (1988a).

A headline that identifies an outgroup emphasizes the fact that they are not part of the dominant group. Additionally, the appearance of minorities in headlines often involves a negative attribution, as outgroups are identified with crime, violence, etc. (van Dijk, 1988a).

In Verbal Reactions there is the favoring of the powerful and accepted. For minoritie's opinions to be included, there may be the need of a newsworthy act in which they are key figures rather than observers (see Appendix 5, paras. 10, 11). Otherwise, they are ignored or quoted only when their opinion mirrors dominant values (see Appendix 7, para. 22).

A final overall consideration of news schemata is the intersubjectivity of interpretation, or the difference of opinion among readers as to what is most important. While the schemata may be recognizable, there may not necessarily be agreement on meanings by the reader. Factors of importance may also vary along ethnically differing value systems (i.e., ingroup readers find a story's organization coherent, whereas outgroups may have difficulty understanding the hierarchy of importance).

GLOBAL ANALYSIS OF PREJUDICE IN NEWS: PRESENTATION

One of the eclectic elements van Dijk employs in the discourse analysis of news is the examination of presentation. Presentation is an aspect of global organization of a discourse concerned with its form. In van Dijk's analysis, presentation is a technical term referring to the structural occurrence and visual properties that influence "chances of perception and attention" (van Dijk, 1988a). Presentational factors can be analyzed and compared both quantitatively and qualitatively. From these observations, van Dijk theorizes that "routine" (non-negative) news about

minorities, will express a marginal position in society by "(1) relatively infrequent articles; (2) relatively short articles; and (3) less prominent position" (1988b, p. 163).

For frequency of appearance, simple calculation can be made to compare the number of times that there are stories about minorities covered by the media. These measurements, though quantitative, reflect a qualitative interest in topic. If the stories are negatively framed (e.g., terrorism and crime) rather than routine or neutral, the number of appearances should be analyzed to consider this qualitative interest. Such analyzis would look at total number of stories and compare the percentages of types of stories that received coverage. Frequency is a useful means of assessing the relative status that the dominant group confers on outgroups.

Size of article is another presentational element that assesses visual and textual content. The amount of news coverage a story receives also indicates relative status or importance. A single issue of a paper or the paper's total coverage of a news story for a specific study period can be examined.

The nature of the topics in the Headline or Lead

(negative or neutral) is particularly of importance. It is likely that it is the only aspect of a story that is remembered. The size of space occupied presents a measure of the attention the dominant group devotes to outgroups. Size relationships are also present in headline choices. A larger headline denotes more importance. Size of headline considers both the type size (large or small), number of words used in a headline, and the use of subheadlines (see Appendices for example measures).

Location factors involve two differing levels of placement: the entire edition of a paper and a particular page. The location of an article within the paper relates to its importance or perceived relevance. Those stories appearing on inner pages are not as prominent. Thus, if stories about outgroups are consistently placed in the inner pages, or in sections following the first, there is a direct indication of perceived status. However, spectacular events that are printed on the first pages tend to be negatively framed. For example, the stories on the embassy takeover are indicative of a "crisis" (see Appendices 3 and 4). More neutral coverage receives less prominent status, such as

the human interest story on Moslems in Detroit begins on page 45 (see Appendix 1).

A purely visual feature accompanying the text is the use of photos or other graphics (e.g., diagrams and cartoons). Quantitatively, they hold importance for size and number comparisons, and they attract attention. Graphics can also have qualitative or symbolic significance. For instance, a picture accompanying Appendix 5 shows the Statue of Liberty obscured by a large protest banner.

A final presentational element is type of text.

"News objectivity" stems from the clear delineation
between fact and opinion. Articles identified as one or
the other are interpreted differently. The presentation
of a story as hard news, sidebar story (or background
article), editorial, opinion article, column or other
form effects the reader's interpretation. Objectivity
is identified as hard news and editorials are known as
opinions.

The presentational factors hold meaning but are used as only a part of the overall methodology in discourse analysis. Van Dijk explains

...selective attention and memorization especially for negative (crime or problem) stories

is such that autochthonous people may think that they read or hear shour "them" all the time. This means that the frequency and size of minority to coverage only tell part of the story. Much more important is the question what is written about ethnic groups.

LOCAL ANALYSIS OF PREJUDICE IN NEWS

The review above of thematic analyses suggests implications for the local level. If the global level analyses yield negative framing, there is no reason to doubt the existence of negative meanings at the local level. While there are many examinations of local structures that can take place, van Dijk has focused on several key factors which are particularly sensitive to prejudicial framing (1988s).

One of the most important of these factors is the determination of who is speaking. Van Dijk presents data which indicates most often, in stories about minorities, the dominant group is quoted more proportionately (1988a).

The explanation for such occurrences has several structural and cognitive causes. First, there is a lack of organization and access of the media to outgroups.

Second, the lack of inclination for journalists to seek out or listen to minority sources is prevalent. Third,

there is a perceived lack of objectivity of outgroup sources. The presence of more numerous and explicit quotation marks when minorities are quoted is an indication of such attitudes. Fourth, there is a lack of membership in outgroups by those in the press, or even contacts with outgroups by journalists. And fifth, those sources and institutions attributed with the most credibility and hence the most desirable to solicit commentary from are firmly ingroup dominated. Even subtle factors such as who is quoted first, and who is in a subordinate position are indicative of prejudicial judgments.

News coverage of minorities emphasizes the expression or implication of opinion. While not overt, the evaluation is often negative and occurs in word selections that subtlely treat the outgroup negatively. One example comes from an article by Kifner (see Appendix 8), who describes the holy month of Ramadan, of which a key aspect is fasting during daylight. However, in paragraph 21 he mentions that "many people manage to gain four or five pounds during Ramadan, despite the ostensible fasting." This creates the impression that the participants are gluttonous, not devout, or both.

Another occurrence in the same article is from paragraph 19, where there is mention of "ritual editorials complaining that Ramadan should not be an excuse for sloth." The suggestion is that the "editorials" by being "ritual" are not serious. The defense is not given credibility, but the charge is as the next sentence states "By midafternoon, men are stretched out sleeping on the sidewalks" and are attended by files. The impression of non-industrious people asleep during a business day surrounded by insects is a biased evaluation, but a proper inference given the story's context.

Word choices can also implicate without being explicit. In an article by McFadden (see Appendix 5), protesters at the Statue of Liberty communicate by "demanding," while the superintendent of the park and police "talked with" the protestors in an attempt to end their protest. In the same article, a march that followed a documentary film on Iran was reported as "what some of them called a spontaneous protest march." The implication is that those who participated in the march are part of an "us" versus "them" scenario. It is also implied and that they were less than honest about

the formation of the event due to the evaluation of the verbal reaction and a heading phrased "March To Hospital Staged."

Presupposition, or the assumed characteristics of a person or situation, is also important when looking at local level semantics. As with the previously mentioned categories, evaluation and implication, it is the unwritten inference that is filled in by the reader that presupposition works on. An example of an article by Miller (see Appendix 7) offers a case where the material for the presupposition exists in the text itself. In one paragraph (4), there is mention that "as usual" there has been a sharp "exodus from the region." The next piece of text that follows is a subheading which proclaims "Travelers Exempted." The explanation that follows in the text for the heading is that the Koran exempts travelers from the fast in observance of Ramadan. There is also mention that those who are away are to fast at a later time in the year, "but many defer the fast indefinitely." The presupposition created is that most Moslems wish to avoid their commitments, and will use loopholes to do so.

Doubt is another local structure that incorporates

semantic usage to create a both a mask and reflection of prejudice. Accusations of racism are referred to as "alleged" racism in many press reports. The impact is that the dominant group reduces discrimination to a "subjective feeling, not a social fact" (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 195).

The intensity of events or actions is another factor of local semantics. When a paper adds intensity to events or actions, there is a sharpening effect. Conversely, a paper may mitigate actions or expressions. For example, this contrast occurs in the coverage of the takeover of the U.S. Embassy (see Appendices 3, 4). The New York Times reports that the Embassy was stormed by "tens of thousands" of people. The use of a large unspecified number creates a sharpened negative act. In contrast, there is mitigation of the damage done when smaller State Department figures for the number of hostages are used more prominently then the figures reported by the students who seized the Embassy (a difference between 40-50 and 90-100). The conclusion van Dijk draws is that the negative action of authorities is mitigated, and the negative actions of outgroups are sharpened (1988a).

Perspective, while a local concern, provides an overall world view of the events of the story. Most of the news is framed by the dominant group, for the dominant group. The problems of minorities are seen as burdens on the "system" (van Dijk, 1988a). Such local operations involve negatively discussed issues in terms of minority problems, rather than reference to issues of a similar nature which may occur in society overall (e.g., crime and domestic violence).

Within the explanatory framework of news, the attribution of causes or sources of problems is presented to enhance comprehension. When dealing with outgroups, though, the tendency at the local level is to blame the victim. If racism is commented on in a report, the source of such feelings is attributed to the unrest or economic problems caused by the presence of outgroups (van Dijk, 1988a). These types of attributions may occur independently in the text, or be embedded in comments of the dominant group. The type of perspective employed in a story often has the result of blaming the victim as well.

A final local operation that is highly sensitive to prejudicial influences is description. They way the

media treats or phrases the handling of members of an outgroup is an indicator of distance between the dominant and outgroup. While blatantly racist terminology is not tolerated, or at least avoided, the consistent identification of outgroup members by such modifiers as: Moslem, Arab, etc. points to the nonassimilation of the outgroup and its lack of acceptance by the dominant group. There is also the tendency to group all outgroup members as "foreigners" or "immigrants" (van Dijk, 1988a). In an article by Stevens (see Appendix 1), people in a coffeehouse are described as having the "dark skin and dark eyes of Bedouins" (paragraph 2). The physical appearance of the actors is relevant only to pointing out they are not like "us" and has no relevance to a story on "zoning conflicts."

Van Dijk concludes that at the local level, outgroups in a sulfiethnic society "are consistently associated with problems, conflict, and difficulties, if not with violence and illegality" (1988a, p. 199). Further, it is not the explicit usage of prejudicial language, but the "vague association" that is present that creates the cognitive consequences. It is the

"extant prejudices" that cause readers to attribute the negativity of a whole situation onto the identified outgroup or member thereof.

Global and local analyses are important to the understanding of prejudice in news discourse. Global and local elements are actively processed by the reader and are as much a part of the text as the words. These elements show how the framing of a story is as important as the details written in the story. But, van Dijk's analysis goes beyond the interpretation of a few examples. There is the ability to conduct replicable and valid analysis of content with van Dijk's analysis. Possible study designs are discussed in Chapter Three.

Chapter Three

CONCLUSION

RESEARCH ON PREJUDICE AND COMMUNICATION

Van Dijk's analysis of discourse is a form of content analysis. One difficulty with content analysis is its inability to examine the effects of the discourse on readers or listeners. However, it is likely that researchers of prejudicial communication will want to make claims about its effects on readers and listeners. To make such claims based pm van Dijk's analysis, any researcher will have to sensitive to matters of sampling, reliability, and validity.

Sampling procedures depend on earlier decisions made about the focus and design of the study (Molsti, 1969). Ideally, all samples of news fitting the study frame would be exemined. Although discourse analysis can be used to examine one story (e.g., an exemplar or popular story) for meaning, greater numbers of stories provide more clarity and greater validity.

One example would be a time line study based on the development of an interesting or current event. If there is a case of significant social unrest over a racial issue, the news of that event can be analyzed to determine if racial prejudice existed in the reporting of the event.

Another example would be random sampling of a single source, such as <u>The New York Times</u>. The entire contents of the paper would be analyzed, and stories dealing with outgroups could be analyzed in comparison to non-outroup stories for evidence of prejudice. Or, a researcher could randomly sample from all sources available within a specific time. Such a study might be concerned with comparing level of prejudice in the press as a whole across decades.

Closely related to the issues of sampling are questions of reliability and validity. To ensure the highest level of inter-coder reliability, the use of more than one coder must be employed. Stability requires a need to have well developed, distinct, and clearly defined categories for coding. As has been noted, often text in news is serving more than one thematic or semantic function. In such cases, coding which is sensitive to these factors must be employed.

A form of concurrent validity can be tested by interviewing the readers of news stories to determine if there is a reflection of prejudice found in a particular source of news. Finding that readers reflect the cognitions of the press demonstrates validity for the analysis. If the press shows signs of prejudice, then it can be predicted to exist in the reader.

Another form of concurrent validity can be tested by examining stories about outgroups and comparing them to similar stories about ingroups using the same analysis. If there are significant differences in the way the groups are covered (as in positive and negative perspectives), then some evidence of prejudice has been found.

To check construct validity a limited opportunity exists for comparing minority-owned media to dominant group-owned media. Hypothetically, it could be assumed that minority-owned media would exhibit less prejudice in discourse toward outgroup issues than dominant-owned media. If dominant-owned papers contain more prejudice using van Dijk's analysis than minority-owned papers, and the everyday talk of readers of dominant-owned press is more prejudiced than readers of minority-owned press, there is evidence of construct validity.

THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE

While van Dijk's analysis of prejudice is a

practical tool, the measure of its value goes beyond its pragmatic applications. The theoretical significance of his analysis could potentially lead to many contributions to the field of communication.

The analysis provides a comprehensive system for the analysis of text. Such discourse level elements as thematic structure are important in news. By incorporating global and local level elements, the total cognitive construction of a discourse is able to be analyzed.

One of the most significant contributions of van Dijk's analysis is its ability to uncover institutionalized prejudice in a society where blatant racism is taboo. Given the social and legal climate of the U.S., examples of explicit racism will likely not be found in the press. The editorial process removes objectionable terminology, and checks for representation of "both sides." What results are sanitized forms of text professing objectivity.

Yet, even this sanitized text can contain root cognitive elements that may express prejudice in structure or semantics. As noted in Chapter Two, it is the subtle structural forms of prejudicial expression

along with inferences made by the reader that form the prejudice. One story may not explicitly state that all Moslems are terrorists, but the net effect of repeated thematic representation contextually and over time in combination with local evaluations may create that result. Van Dijk's systematic analysis allows the researcher to uncover these hidden forms. It provides a means to go beyond surface meanings and find those embedded in structure and semantics.

Van Dijk's analysis is also unobtrusive and naturalistic. There is no awareness on the source's part that analysis is taking place. This eliminates the possibility of the study's presence eltering the source's discourse (Weber, 1985). News study also focuses on language that exists normally. Newspapers are a part of everyday society. There is no need to ask a source for a sample of discourse.

Van Dijk's analysis allows an examination of the role of communication in shaping our attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Prejudice is one example of a social cognition in which communication plays a foundational part. Van Dijk's analysis allows us to understand the role of communication in shaping prejudicial belief.

THEORY DEVELOPMENT

While van Dijk has devised a comprehensive system of discourse analysis, there is still a great potential for future study and theoretical development. In working with articles collected for this study, it became obvious that there is a need to develop ties between international events and coverage with domestic interactions of dominant and outgroups. Most of the stories about Moslems are stories thematically based as international or foreign news. How this impacts the large population of Moslems in the U.S. needs further theoretical understanding and research.

A major development in discourse analysis would be its extension to other media, most obviously the electronic. There are significant arguments that television news is more viewed and trusted than print (Tuchman, 1978). Given such arguments, there is a need to examine broadcasts as discourse. Many of the features of print are applicable to broadcast analysis (such as placement which is analogous to order, and size which would be time length). Still, there are factors unique to broadcasting's visual/audio format that would

require development of the analysis.

There is also a need to expand the scope of discourse analysis. Even within the United States there are distinct cultural media ripe for analysis (e.g., music lyrics and special interest journals). Study could also be done in examination of claims of western culture's dominance of world media by studying other nations in comparison to the United States. Studies could be done on the unique aspects of differing nation's coverage of events (i.e., Are there differing schemata?, Are outgroup stories covered differently?).

Van Dijk's discourse analysis is a tool which can easily be utilized by a variety of researchers in differing disciplines. There is sufficient development to proceed without further methodological or theoretical additions, but still enough room within the system to expand and create analyses for unique questions or problems of interest. The use of such analysis to examine prejudice and racism could yield findings of relevance to communication and could impact society at large.

Lack of awareness is the greatest obstacle to

social change. If the public is unaware of prejudice in its sources of news, then those attitudes will be replicated over and over. By exposing the institutionalized aspects of racism and fostering awareness and sensitivity to the problem, there is capacity for change. Van Dijk comments to researchers, "As (white) scholars, we are involved and even more responsible than others because we have the instruments to study and criticize" (1987, p. 15). Following along the lines of Lentricchia (1985), we must not be cultural "dupes," but commit to research with critical goals. The role of researcher (critic) should be to advance social change. Van Dijk is clear on the purpose of his study, it

is not just motivated by its attractive theoretical or interdisciplinary principles...The fundamental reason and the ultimate goal is to contribute to a more profound and effective understanding of a major social problem of our "Northwestern" societies: racism. (1987, p. 14)

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APPENDIX 1

Stevens, William K. (1973). Moslems in Dearborn Fight For Survival of Community. New York Times. 21 Feb., sec. I 45:1.

Moslems in Dearborn Fight For Survival of Community

- [1] Dearborn, Mich., Feb. 20 Aside from the modest gold dome stop the mosque at the corner of Verno Highway and Dix Avenue, there are only sketchy hints Arabic script here and there, restaurant signs advertised and state of the same state of
- [2] Step inside the Jerusalem Coffee House on Dix, however, everything changes. All is warm, all is easy, Old men, young men, middle-aged men, most of them with the dark skin and dark eyes of Bedouins, gather at round tables to play pinochie and whist. In the back, Mohammed, the manager, lights his water pipe.
- [3] With striking grace, Abee Abraham. a young Pelestinian, insists that a visitor accept two cigars and a stemming demitasse of the biting Turkish offse-solid, maddy is such that one dare not drink it to the solid, maddy is such that one dare not provide the solid, maddy of the instant hospitality.

A Center of Life

[4] The coffeehouses are a major center of life in the Arab South End. Surveys have shown that neighborhood men typically spend three-quarters of their leisure time in the houses, and they are a daily magnet for Arabs from throughout the Detroit metropolitan area. They serve the function of a neighborhood bar (alcohol is forbidden by Moslem law and custom) and more. Much business is settled there and many problems are aired. [5] Of late, a fear has pervaded the coffeehouses: That the South End is in danger of extinction at the hands of the city of Dearborn. Charging that the city is deliberately trying to force them out of the its deliberately trying the converted to industrial use, the residential it sight be converted to industrial use, the residential that the converted to industrial spainst the city in United States District Court in

Detroit. The suit is in trial.

[6] The residents allege, essentially, that the city has used a variety of tactics, in violation of due process and the citizen's right to be heard, to depress property values and force them to sell their home. Numerous South End properties near the heart of the Arab contend that if the city's policies come plantifies community will be destroyed. The city denies the charge saying that is not its intention.

A Refugee's Story

[7] To understand what the South End means to its Arab inhabitants, one must talk to them - such as 32-year-old Abdel Mughabi, who has lived all over much of the Arab world Since his family was forced from its home in Jaffa during the 1948 Palestine war. He has lived in the

South End for the last three years.

- [8] Over coffee at the Jerusalem Coffee House this week, he said his family had been driven at gunpoint to the Gaza Strip, where he went to school but could find the Gaza Strip, where he went to school but could find the was looking for work in Cairo when the 1997 Add that he was looking for work in Cairo when the 1997 Add that Israell was broke out, that his family was moved to Jordan when the Israelis occupied the Strip: that he and the Israelis occupied the Strip: that he and Libys and Libys for a little money, and in Jordan and Libys find no place to stay in 13, 14
- countries." he said, till finally he need to the South End to stay with a friend, a former Jerusalemin. It was, he said, the only place he could come to rest. [10] Mr. Nughabi now works as a press operator in a Benghasi, to marry his sweetheart. He has brought her to, the South End.
- [11] His course is one that has been followed by thousands of Arab Moslems from Lebanon, Palestine and Yemen since the nineteen-twenties, when the Rouge and

other auto plants drew Arabs, as well as men of other nationalities, searching for work.

[12] The South End is removmed in parts of those countries as an oasis, a kind of halfway house, where refugees and more deliberate immigrants can be assured of finding a stable community of friends and relatives. There they can stay until they decide to remain in the neighborhood or move out - as thousands have done - to to the parts of the betroit area. In some cases, 400 and in the South End.

[13] So, behind the rude exteriors of Dix Avenue and in the sometimes comfortable, sometimes pinched homes of the predominantly working class community, Moslem culture flourishes.

[14] It flourishes in the coffeehouses, in the mosque,

in the Yemeni Club on Dix.

[15] It flourishes in Kamel's and Uncle Sam's restaurants, where the menu includes not only American food but grape leaves, keftm (ground beef mixed with paraley), hummus (a savory paste made of mashed chick peas, sesame butter, lemon and garlic, eaten on unleavened bread), galay (diced lamb fried with tomatoes

and onlons), shish kebab and raw kibbee (lamb).
[16] It flourishes in the music pouring from the juke boxes, where three-quarters of the titles are written in Arabic, and singers in the minor keys are accompanied by

Araolc, and singers in the minor keys are accompanied by the distinctive eight-string guitar called the oud and a drum called derbaka.

[17] Nost of all, if flourishes in the interlocking oldcountry network of family life that is the bulwark of Moslem existence. This network has been transplanted to the South End and nutrured into a delicate social entity that is as closely interwoven as the fibers in a sheet of paper.

[18] That, in fact, is the analogy Mr. Mughabi uses when he is asked to describe what would happen if the South End were to be uprooted. He grasps an imaginary piece of paper in his hands and rips it into bits. "It would be like that," he says.

[19] Things are no more perfect in the South End than in some other communities. But many of its residents, nonetheless, feel they have something special going. Although they universally complain about pollution from the Rouge plant, they say they are safe. Although there

many believe they are kept in bounds by a general spirit of folerance that has grown up almost of necessity: The Arabs, who make up half the South End's 5,000 people, share the neighborhood with Italians, Rumanians, Poles, Tugoslavs, Greeks, Mexican-Americans, Serbs and Southern Arabs and Southern and S

[20] "If I were to win the million dollar lottery I wouldn't move from here," says Mrs. Helen Atwell, a faithful Moslem who married a Christian and who has lived in the South End all her life.
[21] In the coffeehouses, many would agree, And worry,

Schemata Structure

(paragraphs)
Background: 1, 2, 3, 4, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17

Main Event: 5. 6

Previous Events: 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12

Verbal Reaction: 18, 20

Comment: 19, 21

Rule Observance

Does not follow hard news format (no lead), background is precedes main events. Verbal reactions mixed with comment.

Presentation

Location (paper): section I, p. 45

Location (page): top left corner

Size: 21 paras.

Size (headline): medium

Photos: 2 of people in coffeehouse, 1 of local mosque,

graphic of locator map

Type: human interest

APPENDIX 2

- In Cairo, Arab World's `Sin City,' A More Conservative Islamic Mood Is Present During Ramadan. (1976). New York Times. 29 Aug., sec. I 4:1.
 - In Cairo, Arab Worlds 'Sin City,'a More Conservative Islamic Mood Is Apparent During Ramadan
- [1] CAIRO, Aug. 26 The shelks could not find the thin crescent of the new moon in the sky over Egypt Wednesday night. It was discerned over Saudi Arabia, however, so Shelk Mohammed Khater, the mufti of Egypt, ordered the firing of the cannon from the Citadel to signify the beginning of Ramadan.
- [2] For the plous among the 350-million Momlams of the world, the month-long fasting began. From surrise until sunset, they are forbidden to eat, drink, smoke or make love. The peasants in the fields under the desert such covers the sunset of the surriverse of the
- [3] Ramadan, because it follows the lunar calendar every year. This year's Ramadan will be particularly harsh, because temperatures are still over 100 during the daytime in much of the Arab world.
- [4] Very little work is done during Ramadan, because those who are fasting do not have the strength and those who are not use it as an excuse. Many offices open late in the morning and close shortly after noon.

Arab World's Sin City

- [5] Cairo, with its bars, gambling casinos, night clubs and prostitutes, has a reputation as the sin city of the Arab world, at least now that Beirut has lost its allure in a civil war. Yet
- the fast of Ramadan is quite strictly observed here. [6] One of the many Lebanese now living in Cairo says he ordinarily does not observe the fast at home, but feels ashamed in Cairo if he does not. "I find myself ashamed of smoking a cigarette in the streets," he says. "But in Betrut, even though I am known there, I do it. [7] Indeed, many people perceive a stricter religious tome in Egypt than before. Like the sighting of the

crescent that signifies Ramadan, Egypt may be taking its cue in this from Saudi Arabia and other strict Moslem countries.

[8] "Egypt used to be a cosmopolitan city," said a distressed Egyptian-American on a trip back to his

birthplace this week.

[9] He noticed, he said, a more conservative religious tone than before, pointing to women with their heads covered in the Moslem tradition.

[10] He was having difficulty finding a restaurant to have lunch. Most of those outside the big hotels were

closed for Ramadan.

[11] The proprietor of a small Greek restaurant here confessed he was worried that Moslems would take offense at seeing others eating during their fast.

[12] In October, the sale of alcohol will be illegal

except in certain establishments designated as tourist areas. The new law, although weakened from the original proposal that the sale of alcohol to Egyptians be totally banned, was the result of a strong movement in the People's Assembly toward Islamic law.

[13] Proposals were debated in the Assembly that would have decreed a fine for anyone who publicly broke the fast. Another would have reinstituted the Islamic

penalty of cutting off the hands of thiefs.
[14] Despite this new conservatism, Cairo still has a

[14] Despite this new conservatism, Cairo still has a festive air during Ramadan, with a night full of enough eating and merriment to make up for the deprivations of the daytime.

[15] At the sound of the cannon after sunset, the ifter, or breakfast, begins. Those who can afford it have huge meals, then go out to visit with friends or go the Russein Mosque, where there is a party throughout the night until the fast begins again.

Schemata Structure

Lead: 1

(paragraphs)

Main Event: 2

Background: 3, 4, 5, 6, 9

Verbal Reaction: 6, 8

Consequences: 10, 11, 13, 14, 15

Previous Event: 12

Rule Observance

Summary followed by main event, then background.

Presentation

Location (paper): section 1, p. 4

Location (page): across top of page

Size: 15 paras.

Size (headline): medium

Photo: none Type: news

APPENDIX 3

Teheran Students Seize U.S. Embassy and Hold Hostages. (1979). New York Times. 5 Nov., sec. I 1:6.

TEHERAN STUDENTS SEIZE U.S. EMBASSY AND HOLD HOSTAGES

ASK SHAH'S RETURN AND TRIAL

Khomeini said to Support Attack by Several Hundred Youths -No Casualties Reported

[1] Teheran, Iran, Nov. 4 - Moslem students stormed the United States Embassy in Teheran today, seized about 90 Americans and vowed to stay there until the deposed Shah was sent back from New York to face trial in Iran. [2] There were no reports of casualties in the takeover of the embassy building, although witnesses said some of

the several hundred attackers were armed. [3] A student spokesman told reports at the embassy

that 100 hostages had been taken and that 90 percent of them were Americans. He said the embassy staff was being treated well.

Has Khomeini's Support

[4] In the holy city of Qum, a spokesman for Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini said the occupation of the embassy had the revolutionary leader's personal support.

[5] [In New York City, a small group of Iranian

students chained themselves to railings inside the Statue of Liberty for three hours and unfurled a banner from the monument's top demanding that the deposed Shah be returned to Iran. Page All. 1 [6] Iranian Revolutionary Guards at the embassy gates

did not intervene during the attack, which came as tens of thousands of people marched through the streets of the Iranian capital on the first anniversary of the shooting of students at Teheran University by the Shah's security forces.

[7] Western diplomatic sources said Bruce Laingen, the charge d'affaires who heads the United States Mission here, was not among the Americans seized by the students. They said he was in touch throughout the day with Foreign Minister Ibrahim Yazdi, who had just

returned from an official visit to Algiers.
[8] The Iranian Foreign Ministry, in a statement reported byu the official Pars new agency, said:

Embassy Files Captured

- [9] "Today's move by a group of our compatriots is a natural reaction to the U.S. Government's indifference to the hurt feeling of the Iranian people about the presence of the deposed Shah, who is in the United States under the pretext of illness.
- [10] "If the U.S. authorities respected the feelings of the Iranian people and understood the depth of the Iranian revolution, they should have at least not allowed the deposed Shah into the country and should
- have returned his property."
- [11] The students showed reporters embassy files captured in the raid. They said staff in the building had been trying to burn documents when the embassy was taken over.
- [12] The students who invaded the embassy compound wore badges with the portrait of Ayatollah Khomeini, and they put up a banner saying: "Khomeini struggles, Carter trembles,"
- [13] They read a statement they said they had received from Ayatollah Hossein Ali of Ayatollah Khomeini, and they put up a banner saying: "Khomeini struggles,
- Carter trembles. [14] They read a statement they said they had received
- from Ayatollah Hossein Ali Montazeri, head of Iran's Constitutional Assembly of Experts, in which they quotes him as saying: [15] "A few days ago, the Imam said the Iranian nation
- must clean up its situation vis-a-vis the Unites States. This action is a kind of recognition of that situation. American must know it can't play with the feeling os the Iranian nation.* The Imam referred to is Ayatollah Khomeini.
- [16] The embassy takeover followed a series of strongly anti-American speeches by Aystollah Khomesini, who said recently he hoped reports that the former Shah, Mohammed Kiza Pahievi, was dying of cancer were true. The Shah, last January, is but no revolution led by the Aystollah last January, is but not shaped to the Aystollah (Mospital-Cornell Medical Center.
- [17] The official Iranian radio broadcast a statement by

the Islamic Society of University Teachers and Students commending the embassy takeover. "We defend the capture of this imperialist embassy, which is a center for

espionage," the statement said.

[18] This was the second time the embassy has been taken over since the revolution. Gunmen believed to be dissident revolutionaries invaded the embassy last Feb. 4, killing one Iranian and taking 101 people hostage, including Ambassador William H. Sullivan and 19 Marine guards.

[19] The takeover came when both the Iranian and United State Governments appeared to be seeking improved relations.

[20] The students involved in the takeover quoted from a recent speech by Ayatollah Khomeini in which he said, "What do we need a relationship with America for?"

[21] In the speech in Qum, the Ayatollah declared: "Those who support great powers like Britain, which has given asylum to Bakhtiar, and the United States, which has given refuge to that corrupt germ, will be confronted in a different manner by us if they continue." Shapur Bakhtiar was the last Prime Minister

under the regime of the deposed Shah.

[22] The newspaper Islamic Republic, which speaks for the ruling clergy, called on Prime Minister Medhi Bazargan today to explain what was discussed in his 75-aunts meeting with President Catter's national security control of the property of the property

Schemata Structure

Lead: 1

(paragraphs)

Main Event: 2, 3, 6, 11, 12

Background: 4, 7, 18, 20, 21, 22

Sidebar: 5

Verbal Reaction: 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 19

Previous Events: 15. 17

Rule Observance

Summary first followed by recurring main event and background.

Presentation

Location (paper): first page

Location (page): top right

Size: 23 paras.

Size (headline): medium

Photos: poster being put on embassy by students, spokespersons (2), locator map of Embassy

Type: news

APPENDIX 4

Gwertzman, Bernard. (1979). Government In Iran Vows Help In Siege. <u>New York Times</u>. 5 Nov., sec. I 1:5.

GOVERNMENT IN IRAN VOWS HELP IN SIEGE

U.S. Is Uncertain Despite Promise by Teheran to `Do Its Best'

[1] WASHINGTON, Nov. 4 - The United States said today that it had been told by the Iranian Government that it would "do its best" to free the Americans being held hostage in Washington's embassy in Thehran. But officials here were uncertain how quickly the Iranians could fulfill their pledge because the takeover apparently has the approval of Iran's powerful religious authorities.

authorities.
[2] The takeover by about 500 Iranian students at 3:45 A.M. Eastern standard time caused a crisis in

Washington. Top officials were roused before dawn by the State Department's operations center and a special task force was set up headed by Harold H. Saunders, Assistant Secretary for Near East and South Asian Affairs.

Carter Is Kept Informed

- [3] The State Department said later that no Americans had been injured and that the takeover was relatively peaceful. A few tear gas shells were fired by the Marine security contingent of 14, but officials denied there had been a battle for the embassy, as some reports from Teheran had asserted.
- [4] Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance, just back from South Korea, where he attended the funeral of the late President Park Chung Ree, spent several hours at the department and President Carter was kept informed at Camp David, Md. But no high-level meetings were scheduled.
- [5] The problem facing the Administration, which is deeply concerned about the safety of 40 to 50 Americans the State Department estimates are in the embassy, was that the takeover was another example of the disorder and disunity that has plagued Iran since the fall of

Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi in January. There is no clear power center in Iran and there is uncertainty over

who is making decisions.

[6] The Iranian students occupying the embassy, who put the number of Americans in the embassy at nearly twice the State Department figure, said in statements issued in Teheran that their actions had been approved by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Iran's spiritual leader and its de facto head of state. The indications in Washington were that neither Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan nor Foreign Minister Yazdi were involved. [7] This division at the top has been the pattern

throughout the year of turmoil in Iran. The United States, concerned about Iran's political future and with insuring a continued flow of oil exports, has been trying to establish a businesslike way of working with the Bazargan Government.

political motives involved.

[8] There has been a recognition here that the Avatollah Khomeini and his followers are extremely anti-American and that the close ties that existed between Washington and Iran under the Shah made it difficult to expect any quick improvement in relations. [9] Aware of the enormous hostility toward the ousted

Shah on the part of the Ayatollah's followers, the United States. The Administration was concerned that his presence would touch off a wave of anti-American protests, endangering the few Americans left in the embassy. The number of staff members, which once totaled about 1,500, has since been reduced to some 65. [10] But last month, at the urgent request of the Shah's doctors and highly placed American friends such as David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, the Carter Administration agreed to let the Shah into New York on humanitarian grounds for treatment of a gallstone ailment and a worsening cancer condition. The Iranian Government was told of the reasons and strenuous efforts were made to convince Teheran that there were no

American Position Restated

[11] Two days ago, Zbigniew Brzezinski, the President's national security adviser, met with Mr. Bazargan in Algiers to restate the American position. [12] L. Bruce Laingen, the charge d'affaires at the embassy, was at the Foreign Ministry at the time of the takeover, at about noon Teheran time. He raised the matter with Mr. Yazdi.

[13] The State Department said late today that Mr. Laingen had reported Washington's concern "about this

threat to American personnel and property."
[14] "The Government of Iran has given assurances that

our people being held are safe and well," a statement of Iran has given assurances that our people being held are safe and well," a statement said. "The charge d'affaires has been given assurances by the Iranian Government that it will do its best to resolve the matter satisfactorily."

[15] "We appreciate the efforts of the Iranian

Government," the statement said.

[16] The substance of the statement was unusual. When as incident of this kind takes place, the host government is usually held responsible for embassy security and a protest is made. But because the Carter Administration recognizes the fragile influence of the Bazargam Government, it chose to offer encouragement

rather that berate it for the incident.

[17] Soon after the United State statement was issued, the Iranian Foreign Ministry issued its own comment, which was sympathetic toward the students. It said that the state Soverment 'natural reaction to the United States Government' has the states Government' has the states Government' has states Government' has states Government' has states Government of the states Government of the states Government of the states Government of the states of t

[19] Reports from Teheran last week indicated that preparations were under way for a huge anti-American campaign, seizing on the Shah's presence in New York. A march to the American Embassy had been averted last

Thursday.

Schemata Structure

Lead: 1 (paragraphs)

Consequences: 2, 5

Main Event: 3

Background: 4, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13

Previous Events: 9, 10, 11, 19

Verbal Reaction: 14, 15, 17, 18

Comment: 16

Rule Observance

Summary followed by lead.

Presentation

Location (paper): first page

Location (page): under main picture, right side

Size: 19 paras.

Size (headline): medium

Photos: as in Appendix 3

Type: news, accompanying Appendix 3 coverage

APPENDIX 5

McFadden, Robert D. (1979). Iranians In Protest At Liberty Statue. <u>New York Times</u>. 5 Nov., sec. I 11:1.

IRANIANS IN PROTEST AT LIBERTY STATUE

Students Hang Banner Demanding Shah Be `Tried and Punished'

[1] A small band of Iranian students chained themselves to railings inside the Statue of Liberty for three hours yesterday afternoon and unfurled a huge banner from the monument's crown demanding that the deposed Shah of Iran be returned to his homeland to be "tried and punished." [2] At the same time, about 100 demonstrators shouting "Death to the Shah" and other slogans marched peacefully across Manhattan from the Upper West Side to the New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center on East 68th Street, where Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi has been recovering from gall bladder surgery last month. [3] The hospital yesterday declined to provide a report on the condition of the Shah, who also has advanced cancer of the lymph nodes and is scheduled to undergo extended chemotherapy. A spokesman for the Shah said that his condition was satisfactory and added that he would have no comment on the New York protests, which came as Moslem students occupied the United State Embassy in Teheran to demand the return of the Shah for trial by revolutionary courts.

[4] The demonstrations here generated no violence. But the seven young men who invaded the Statu of Liberty were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct after authorities cut their chains, and thousands of tourists authorities cut their chains, and thousands of tourists the National Park Struice of From the monument after the National Park Struice of Deep Liberty Island for the afternoon.

Scene of Many Demonstrations

[5] The Statue of Liberty, a 95 year-old, 152-foot-high gift from France that is mounted on a 150-foot pedestal on the western reaches of New York Harbor, has been a scene of frequent demonstrations in recent years by opponents of the Vietnam war, Puerto Rican nationalists, Cubans opposed to the Castro regime and other Iranians opposed to the Shah. [6] More than 1,000 visitors were on Liberty Island

shortly after noon yesterday when the seven protesters chained themselves to railings, three in the crown of the statue and four on the pedestal balcony. Those in the crown then unfurled a 180-foot banner that the control of the statue and punished. The statue are statue and punished. The statue was immediately evacuated and closed and hour later the island was closed to visitors for the rest of the afternoon. Some visitors from out of town and abroad expressed disappointment as they salled about Battery Park, where boats to liberty the statue was immediately exactly and the statue was immediately exactly the statue was the stat

Sorvice police officers talked with the protesters, who identified themselves as members of the Muslim Students Association of the United States and Canada. But the negotiations made no progress, and the police cut the chains and arrested the protesters shortly after 3 P.M.

March to Hospital Staged

[9] In Manhattan, meantime, a crowd of demonstrators emerged from the Thalia Theator at 95th Streat and Broadway after viewing a documentary film on the Iranian revolution and staged what some of them called a spontaneous protest march down Broadway and across Central Park South to the New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center at \$25 East 68th Street.

[10] "The Shah is not in this country for medical

reasons - he is here for political reasons; said Larry Zadeh, who identified himself as a leader of the Islamic Student Association, which had arranged a special showing of the film for Iranians. [11] Other demonstrators accused the Shah of

[11] Other demonstrators accused the Shah of responsibility for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Iranians.

[12] The 60-year-old Shah, who fled Iran last Jan. 16, came to New York from Mexico on Oct. 22 for treatment of a jaundice condition caused by a blocked bile duct in his gall bladder. He underwent an operation two days later.

[13] The Shah is scheduled to begin chemotherapy treatments in a week or so and to remain in the hospital for several weeks. Doctors have said that the treatment should continue for a year to 18 months.

Schemata Structure

(paragraphs)

Lead: 1 Main Event: 2, 6

Background: 3, 9, 13

Consequences: 4, 7, 8

Previous Events: 5, 12

Verbal Reaction: 10, 11

Rule Observance

Summary first followed by main event.

Presentation

Location (paper): section 1, p. 11

Location (page): left most column under accompanying photo

Size: 13 paras.

Size (headline): medium

Photos: Picture of Statue of Liberty (front view), with banner obscuring draped from crown

Type: news (is the sidebar mentioned in Appendix 3)

APPENDIX 6

Guards Arrest 500 Iranians For Breaking Islamic Codes. (1985). New York Times. 1 May, sec. I 10:6.

Guards Arrest 500 Iranians For Breaking Islamic Codes.

- [1] ATHENS, April 30 (UPI) The Revolutionary Guards of Iran arrested about 500 people in Teheran in the past two days for violating the strict code of Islamic behavior, the semi-official Iranian newspaper Jamhuri Islami said today.
- [2] The newspaper, published in Teheran, said the guards arrested the people for "violating the rules of public morality" a phrase normally used to mean women not wearing veils and men wearing tight-fitting clothes such as jeans, T-shirts or short slewed shirts.
- [3] Teheran residents reached by telephone from Athens said the announcement of the arrests "shows that the Campaign to enforce the veil and discourage Western dress has continued "

Schemata Structure

Lead: 1

(paragraphs)

Background: 2

Verbal Reaction: 3

Rule Observance

Summary followed by background.

Presentation

Location (paper): section 1, p. 10

Location (page) farthest right column, top corner

Size: 3 paras.

Size (headline): small

Photos: none

APPENDIX 7

Miller, Judith. (1985). Islam Awaits Annual Onset Of Ramadan. New York Times. 19 May, sec. I 7:1.

Islam Awaits Annual Onset Of Ramadan

- [1] Cairo, May 18 Speculation has begun about the onset of Ramadan, the holy month of Islam during which Moslems abstain from food, drink, gambling, cigarettes and sex from sunrise to sunset.
- [2] The beginning of Ramadan varies each year as it depends on the sighting of the new moon by Moslem sheiks, traditionally in Saudi Arabia, where Islam's most holy shrines are situated.
- [3] Egyptian newspapers predicted today that Ramadan, observed as the month in which the tenets of the religion were first revealed to its prophet, Wohammed, we will be a supported that the religion were first revealed to its prophet, Wohammed, we will be supported to the religion with the religion will be religiously the religion will be religiously the religion will be religiously the religion. Figure 3 minutes with a sharp scodus from the region. Planes have been with a sharp scodus from the region. Planes have been supported that the results of the results of the region of the results of the region will be religiously that the results of t

Travelers Exempted

- [5] The Koran exempts travelers, along with children, the sick, pregnant women and people who perform exceptionally hard labor from fasting requirements. Observant Moselems are supposed to fast later in the year if they are away during Ramadan, but many defer the fast indefinitely.
- [6] Prince Sultan bin Salman of Saudi Arabia will be among the Moslem travelers during Ramadan, but his will be no ordinary voyage. The Prince, 29 years old, is
- scheduled to become the Arab world's first setronaut. [7] Now in training at the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center in Houston, the Prince is scheduled to fly on the American space shuttle Discovery on June 12, a flight that will also send the second Arab communication satellite into orbit around the earth.
- [8] The Prince recently discussed the difficulties he faces in performing his Islamic duties in his space

Prayer Problems in Orbit

[9] Shortly before leaving Jidda, Saudi Arabia, he observed that since the Discovery would orbit the earth once every 90 minutes, it would be "impossible to pray in the direction of Meoca," referring to Islam's most holy city and the direction in which all Moslems pray. [10] "Since i will be traveling, Islamic law permits me to pray three times a day instead of the normal five, and not to fast, the Prince said in an interview with most office of the property of the problematic.

[11] The Prince said he would probably bathe with a washcloth. Otherwise, he noted, "water will fly

everywhere due to the loss of gravity."
[12] For most of the faithful among the world's estimated one billion Moslems, Ramadan poses more mundane problems.

Too Hungry to Work

- [13] In Islamic societies like Egypt's Government and private business comes to a virtual standstill because, Egyptians say, most people are hungry and exhausted by their fasts.
- [14] After completing three days of talks here this week aimed at improving their strained relations, Israeli and Egyptians negotiators privately agreed that even in the unlikely even that all their differences were resolved of Egypt and Prime Ministreen President Hosni Mubarak of Mart until end of Ramadan.
- [15] Israeli officials would feel compelled to share their Egyptian counterparts' abstention from food and
- drink, a senior Israeli negotiator said.
- [16] "I think Shimon Peres could endure lengthy meetings without tea or coffee," said David Kimche, the director of the Foreign Minister's office. "But I doubt he could last without a cigarette."
- [17] Non-Moslems are also affected by Ramadan, especially this year, when Islamic fundamentalist fervor appears to be increasing. Many of the country's six million Coptic Christlans refrain from eating or smoking

in the presence of Moslems.

Fine for Eating in Public

- [18] Last week, a proposal was introduced in Egypt's Parliament to fine Egyptians who eat or smoke in public places the equivalent of about \$60, the average monthly income for most Egyptians.
- [19] No alcohol is served in most restaurants. Egyptian law has banned the sale of alcohol in all but a few designated tourist areas. But this year, fundamentalists have also been pressing for a total ban
- fundamentalists have also been pressing for a total ban here on alcohol.
- [20] Several Members of Parliament privately expressed concern that such measures could jeopardize tourism, Egypt's fourth-largest source of revenue.
- [21] "First they'll force us to ban alcohol during Ramadan," one legislator said. "Next, they will want us to ban alcohol, full stop. Next, they will demand that videos be prohibited."
- [22] "We all know it's crazy," the legislator said with a shrug, deeply inhaling his soon-to-be prohibited cigarette. "But none of us wants to appear anti-Islamic, especially this month."

Schemata Structure

Lead: 1

(paragraphs)

Background: 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11

Main Event: 3

Consequences: 4, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20

Verbal Reaction: 16, 21, 22

Rule Observance

Summary first followed by main event, most of text consequences.

Presentation

Location (paper): section 1, p. 7

Location (page): left most column, top to bottom

Size: 22 paras.

Size (headline): medium

Photos: none

Type: news

APPENDIX 8

Kifner, John. (1986). Cairos Bare Cupboard: Ramadan Unsweetened. <u>New York Times</u>. 5 June, sec. I 2:3.

Cairo's Bare Cupboard: Ramadan Unsweetened

- [1] CAIRO, June 4 The sun dropped like a brilliant orange ball in the evening sky as the three soldiers waited on the parapets of the citadel built by Saladin in the 12th century.
- [2] Just as the sun disappeared behind the minarets on the horizon, they fired a cannon to signal the time for Ifter, the end of the day's Ramadan fast.
- [3] Actually, the sun had disappeared well before its appointed hour, lost in the permanent haze of pollution and dirt that hangs over Cairo mere breathing is the equivalent of smoking two packs of cigarettes a day,
- equivalent of smoking two packs of cigarettes a day, according to a recent Government survey. [4] First Lieut. Abdul Hafez Ali, a veteran of 25 years of Ramadan cannon duty, consulted his digital wristwatch
- instead for the scheduled sunset, 6:43 on this evening.

 A microphone dangled from the branch of a shade
 tree, to carry the cannon report to tens of millions of
 Egyptians waiting to break their fast. The soldiers
 themselves had bottles of water and a bunch of radishes
- themselves had bottles of water and a bunch of radishes for their modest Iftar; in an office below, the desk drawers of the local police commander were stuffed with goop pastries, containers of yogurt and packs of Cleopatra cigarettes.

Cloud of White Smoke

- [6] "Cannon of Iftar, fire!" bellowed Lieut. Fahni Moustapha into the microphone at his chief's signal, and Sgt. Abdul Hakim Youssef touched a smoking stick to the 1871 German cannon, setting off a great boom and a cloud of white smoke. In the city below, green neon lights on the mosques cut dusk's gloom and the voices of the faithful Welled in prayer. At dawn, the cannon would "Sithful Welled in prayer. At dawn, the cannon would [7] It is Ramadan, another day of fasting, [7] It is Ramadan, and the green of life slows.
- [8] Throughout the day, devout Moslems will not eat,

drink or smoke. but, particularly in Sgypt,' the nights become a kind of festival, with homes and streets hung with lanterns, enormous ifter meals spread for family and friends, and everyone staying up for the last meal. its schedule, with special Islamic serials, a Ramadan quiz and American movies at 3 o'clock in the morning.

Sweet's Imports Banned

- [9] This year's Ramadam, however, reflects Egypt's grim economic spiral. Prime Minister All Lutfi, an economist brought in last summer in a Cabinet shuffle, has made brought in last summer in a Cabinet shuffle, has made seconomy, an already difficult task now compounded by oil price cuts spreading recession across the Arab world and he fear of terrorists crippling tourism. Flour and sugar are in short supply, and throngs of women besiege word on the street is that chickens and eggs will be running out soon because of lack of imported feed. [10] Perhaps most seriously, hard times have cut into fruit and must beloved traditions, a dish of dried fruit.
- Strapped for hard currency, the Government has banned imports of the sweets, which come mostly from Syria and Turkey, saying the country cannot afford the \$70 million outlay.
- [11] "Mafeesh yameesh," Cairenes moan, is the order of the day - no favorite dish this year.
- [12] Ramadan, like other Moslem holidays, follows a lumar calendar, in this case commencing with the sighting of the creacent of the new moon. Nobody's perfect however, and, as usual, there is a certain amount of debate over when the holiday was supposed to begin.
- [13] "The day they announced the new creacent, the moon was not yet born," insistand Dr. Sobhy Wohammed Massan, the deputy director of the astronomy department of the property of the strength of the stre

[14] At the Dar el Iftar's (literally, the House of Rules), which issues religious proclamations, Moustapha Maarouf brushed aside the scientist's claim.

'Saw With Naked Eve'

- [15] "We saw it with the naked eye, which is what the Sharia dictates," he said. "Also, we got it from Saudia Arabia." Sharia is the religious law. [16] As the time approaches, Mr. Maarouf said, groups of ulema, or Islamic scholars, are sent out to various outless, the properties of the properties o
- [17] In Saudi Arabia, King Fahd gave away 500,000 bottles of water to fasting residents and visitors to the Prophets mosque in Medina. In Kuwait, men lounging and eating as nightly meetings worried over falling oil prices. In amman, Jordan, nearly all the restaurants closed, although the Marrich Kotel's dining room provided food and drink, by dint of putting up a sign saying they
- wouldn't serve Arabs.
- [18] Only in Lebanon did life go on as normal: a proposal for a Ramadan cease-fire was brushed aside, and Moslem and Christians shelled each other, shirte Moslem Anal militiamen poured trankfire into Palestinian refugee quarters, Palestinian guerrillas filtered in more arms quarters, Palestinian guerrillas filtered in more arms to the control of the test beint with control of the control of th

Feast of 3 Days

[19] As the fasting wears into its fourth and final week, many people grow tired and irritable. Ramadan is expected to end this Friday or Saturday, starting a three-day Eid, or feast, largely devoted to eating sweet cakes.

[20] Among the battered steel desks and huge mounds of dusty pagers of Egypt's swollen bureaucray the mood dusty pagers of Egypt's swollen bureaucray the mood sessionablent, and newspagers carried the annual ritual editorials compilating that Ramadan should not be an excuse for sloth. By midattermoon, men are stretched excuse for sloth, by midattermoon, men are stretched and in donkey carts, many attended by a nimbus of files. [21] But at night the square in the old Khan Khalili bazar between the Al Ahzar and Musseain mosques takes on a carnival air. Crowds throng the coffeehouses and and down on the tables.

[22] In a tent outside the Hussein mosque, members of a Suff order chant their prayers, working themselves into a state of eostsay. Other tents hold performers or artists who sell sketches, and nearly everyone in the crowds seems to be eating some kind of confection. The sell sketches are some sell of the confection and many people manage to gain four or five observed that Ramadam, despite the ostensible fasting. [23] "Consumption of most foods, especially flour and

Logic Communication or most rooms, especially flour and sounding s

[25] "You call that a Umm Ali," a diner protests when a waiter slaps down a leathery, ugly dish. [26] "That," replies the waiter, "is an Umm Ali Lutfi,"

Schemata Structure

Lead: 1. 2

(paragraphs)

Background: 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26

Main Event: 5

Verbal Reaction: 10, 12, 14

Consequences: 18, 19, 20, 22

Rule Observance

Summary followed by main event, mainly background.

Presentation

Location (paper): section 1, p. 2

Location (page): right three columns, top

Size: 26 paras.

Size (headline): medium

Photos: none Type: news

AN EXAMINATION OF VAN DIJK'S ANALYSIS OF PREJUDICE IN NEWS DISCOURSE

by

STEVEN GENE WOODS

B.S., Kansas State University, 1987

AN ABSTRACT

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Speech

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY Manhattan, Kansas

1989

ABSTRACT

This report examines van Dijk's analysis of prejudice in discourse and explains by using examples of Moslems in the press. The examination begins by looking at the theoretical influences on, and theoretical constructions of van Dijk's method. Global and local levels of discourse are outlined as focal points of analysis to discern prejudice in news text. The particular importance of global thematic structures to news discourse is discussed. Future study is discussed in relation to issues of sampling, reliability and validity.