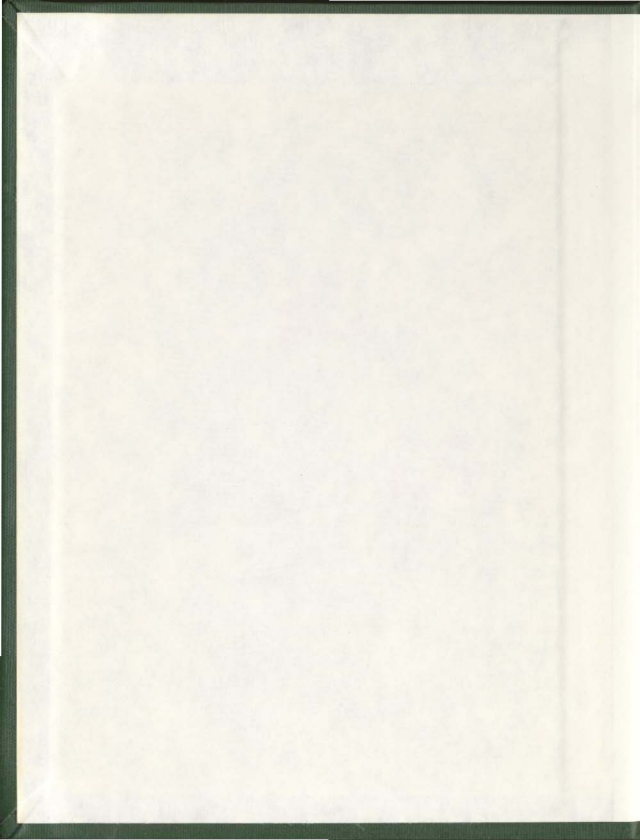AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE
SUITABILITY OF SELECTED
NEWSPAPERS AS RESOURCE
MATERIALS IN SECONDARY
SOCIAL STUDIES

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AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE SUITABILITY OF SELECTED

NEWSPAPERS AS RESOURCE MATERIALS IN

SECONDARY SOCIAL STUDIES

by

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Abstract

Because current affairs form an important part of the social
studies curriculum in high school, it was decided to attempt to assess
the amount of bias which might be found in the resource materials (news-
papers) which were believed to be used for this purpose. Through a
sampling process, the Daily News and the Evening Telegram of St. John's
and the Globe & Mail of Toronto were chosen as sample newspapers and the
Yom Kippur War of 1973 was chosen as the sample event to study for bias.
Four types of analyses were conducted--one of reliability, one of head-
lines, one of column-inches, and one of illustrations.

The Globe & Mail showed measurable bias in the same direction on
each of the four analyses. Although the Evening Telegram and the Daily
News showed statistically significant bias on only one measure, the
Daily News showed bias in the same direction on all four analyses, and
the Evening Telegram showed bias in the same direction on three of the
four analyses. Besides this, many of the accounts were lacking in
essential details. Consequently, it was concluded that a teacher using
one source as resource material for current events would be depriving
students of essential information. It was recommended that the teacher
attempt to find a variety of resource materials and attempt to teach
students to recognize commonly used techniques of implanting bias.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In recent years there has been increasing emphasis in high
school, especially in social studies and language arts, on current
information involving controversial situations. In many cases educators
have verbalized the rationale for bringing controversial current events
into the curriculum without giving sufficient attention to the sources
of information they are using (Hodgetts, 1968; Levin, 1972; Massialas &
Sprague, 1974). The major concern of this study is to investigate bias
in the content of newspaper sources that are commonly used in current
events programs in Newfoundland high schools.

Newspapers, as opposed to other media, were chosen for the study
for three main reasons. First, newspapers give day to day reactions to
events as opposed to magazines which are published less frequently,
giving the magazine writers time to react in the light of later inci-
dents. Secondly, newspapers are readily available to most Newfoundland
high schools. Thirdly, on the basis of two studies of Canadian use of
the media, it might be concluded that newspapers are used in the study
of current events. Hodgetts (1968) pointed out that current events
teachers in Canadian schools used "topics torn from the pages of the
morning newspaper" (p. 31). Later, in 1970, Martin Goldfarb Consultants
made another pertinent conclusion, while studying public opinion of the
mass media for the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media. These con-
sultants, in the Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media,

<u>Vol. III</u> (1970, pp. 3-183), state: "For facts, background and interpretation, people are more inclined to rely on newspapers than on television, radio, or magazines" (p. 5).

There would appear to be inherent dangers in bringing a newspaper into the classroom and studying and discussing its text as factual. If the newspaper does not carry sufficient data on the various opposing sides in a controversy, the students who depend on it as their only source of information will not have sufficient data to make a competent judgment.

Rationale for Current Materials

The philosophy for bringing more controversial current materials into the curriculum might be considered to understand more fully the rationale for this study. There are several commonly stated reasons. First, in modern society a person can be confronted with such masses of information and quickly changing circumstances that it is possible to become disoriented, and incapable of making rational judgments. This phenomenon has been pointed out by Toffler (1970). The <u>Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, Vol. I</u> (1970) comments on how a responsible press can help to overcome this type of confusion:

> Change is the constant of our times, and the media, by definition, must deal with change—not only through reporting the isolated, dramatic event, but by probing the hidden shifts in attitudes and institutions by which most change is accomplished. To insist that this is the media's main job is not to suggest any built-in bias for or against the notion of "progress." A new pulp mill on the edge of town may or may not be "progress;" but it is definitely change. The media's job is to bring forward as many facts, as many informed judgments on that change as possible. (p. 85)

Secondly, it might be assumed that instant communication with

all parts of the world would give immediate understanding of other people and societies. However, this is not consistent with conclusions made by many researchers in the field of human perception (Cohen, 1966, pp. 133-145; Postman & Weingartner, 1969, Chapt. 6). It is widely believed that people tend to see in terms of what they have known, what is familiar to them. Lippmann (1966, pp. 67-75) describes this figuratively by quoting a distinguished art critic. The art critic demonstrates that we, as untrained observers, seeing a new type of art attempt to mould:

> whatever we look at into the forms borrowed from the one art with which we are acquainted. There is our standard of artistic reality. Let anyone give us shapes and colors which we cannot instantly match in our paltry stock of hackneyed forms and tints, and we shake our heads at his failure to reproduce things as we know they certainly are, or we accuse him of insincerity. (p. 69)

Lippmann points out that it is possible to substitute the word "politics" for "art," and the statement would be equally true. He feels that human beings attempt to fit new situations to preconceived expectations. On the basis of a great deal of evidence, it might be concluded that people's judgments are highly influenced by what they have known in the past. Not only are their perceptions influenced in this way, but many social psychologists who have studied communication believe that they actively avoid information which is inconsistent with what they believe, while perceiving information which is consistent (Mills, 1969, p. 129). This selective exposure implies the necessity of exposing students to a wide range of knowledge in the hope that they will not be confined to a narrow, provincial point of view as they grow up.

Another support for this wide exposure even on such an elemental level as the ability to use language effectively is given by Carney

(1972). He refers to a study which suggests that the children of middle class families can handle their thinking with more ease than working class children because they are exposed to a wider variety of words, and that this gap widens as the children grow older. The working class children, "thus have a narrower view of life's potentialities--and their own" (p. 96).

It might be concluded that children need to be exposed to new words, new ways of thinking, and new and different cultures during their schooling if they can be expected to understand the complexities of the situations with which they are presented daily in life. Start (1974) discusses the role of the newspaper in this area:

> Prejudices are broken down through studies of this nature as students learn about different people and their philosophies of life, and are helped to understand why people live and think differently. By studying news items, editorials and editorial cartoons in a regular and organized program, students will soon become familiar with national leaders, countries, local and world problems and philosophies of governments. (p. 5)

Thirdly, if Canada is to survive as a nation there must be communication between the various sectors about areas where there is controversy (for example, French and English versions of Canadian history) as well as mutual problems and goals (Hodgetts, 1968: Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1963; Stamp, 1972). The importance of the press in conveying these ideas has been noted by Butler (1975):

> The impact of cultural forces such as the mass media, the education system, and the arts in general has long been identified as a central variable in the formation (or non-formation) of a clear sense of national identity. (p. 3)

Fourthly, living in a democratic country it is essential that people have all possible information on an issue so they can choose

alternatives intelligently (Muessig, 1975, pp. 3-43; Schramm, 1966, pp. 206-219). Although it would perhaps be desirable to have all citizens actively involved in the government, this does not seem very likely to happen. However, with sufficient education in reflective thinking through discussion of controversial issues, it seems possible for most citizens to be able to make intelligent, well-founded judgments. Newman and Oliver (1970) say:

> the value of rational analysis of controversy does not rest solely on its possible contribution in increasing citizen activism. Its value lies less perhaps in enhancing participatory power, and more in developing intellectual power for comprehending the controversies that impinge upon us. (p. 33)

It has been pointed out, however, that the school and the mass media are not the only agencies of political socialization. The home and the peer group are often identified as among the most powerful in many countries. Several studies have pointed out that a number of basic political attitudes and values are established in the United States by elementary school age (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969; Greenstein, 1965). Since Canadians tend to be influenced to a great extent by American literature, it might be assumed that the same is true for Canadian children. However, there is reason to believe this is not so. Pammett (1971) conducted a study to see if there were any differences in political socialization between Canadian and American children of the same age. He contends, as a result of his study, that Canadian children become politically aware at a later age (in early teens) than American, an age at which the family's influence has diminished. He states:

> Partisan orientations develop slowly until by the time they reach Grade 8 approximately half of the children express a party preference. There is little awareness of issues which divide parties. . . . Since many political orientations are not found in children of elementary school age studied here,

these orientations will either be formed later in life under the influence of agencies other than the parents or not be formed at all. (p. 140)

The implication of his study would seem to be that it is possible for the school to play a greater role in the formation of political ideas in Canada than would be the case in the United States. He concludes as well that children have a low level of awareness of political issues because these issues are not discussed in the home or community. The responsibility as a result seems to fall on the school to make sure that important political matters are discussed and that children have some practice in making political judgments based on sound evidence.

From these four factors, it would seem in theory that studying controversial current events would be an important factor in the general intellectual development and political socialization of the student. However, it might be questioned if a deliberate program of studying controversial current events is necessary, since the contention can be made that students will read, comprehend, and think on their own. Muessig (1975, pp. 3-43), as editor for the 45th Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, states that he:

hopes to demonstrate that dealing with controversial issues is far more important than many people in social studies education have yet to realize. Without intending to overstate the case, a crucial facet of the future of children and youth, of education, of our own society and of the world is at stake here. One cannot predict how much time is left to develop reflective persons who can attempt to improve the human condition and to save mankind, but it is apparent that we must be engaged seriously now in this crusade. (p. 18)

Further arguments against the contention that students are capable of understanding the complex issues on their own, can be found in social psychology in the field of perception of communication, as well as reports on educational practices.

Some studies in the area of perception of communication have implied that people are most likely to believe a person who is expert in the field he or she is discussing who has nothing to gain by proposing a certain point of view (Hovland, Janis, & Kelley, 1953). For this reason they contend that newspaper reporters have a lot of credibility. As a support for their contention, they refer to the way that some advertisers and public relations men take advantage of this credibility. They state: "That publicity men assume greater credibility will be accorded news stories as compared with advertisements is manifested by their repeated attempts to obtain publicity for clients in the news columns" (p. 23).

Spears (1970, pp. 187-207) comments on the influence that newspaper writing has on most people:

> It follows that the influence of the newspaper is enormous--not because of the packaged opinions of the editorial page in which editors and publishers tell people what to think, but because they are reporting to their readers what the world is like; by selection and presentation are passing on their own view of it. . . . The printed word carries a mysterious authority; what we read is true. "All I know," said Will Rogers, "is what I read in the papers." He spoke for most of us. (p. 188)

It would seem apparent that students would have a tendency to believe whatever they read, so it would be possible for a newspaper to influence their thinking. Coupled with this general tendency to believe what has been published in a newspaper, it would seem equally true, from personal observation and consultation with colleagues, that many if not most teenage students tend to be disinterested in news, particularly foreign and political news.

Recent communication theory adds further evidence about the possible influence the media can have on people who have no knowledge about a particular subject. Martin (1977) refers to recent contentions

that the media do not tend to change most peoples' opinions (due to selective exposure). He does note, however, that people who have no opinion are vulnerable. He states:

> when nothing is competing from past experience . . . media experience becomes real and their values are adopted as one's own.
> Theoretically, of course, it [adopting media values as one's own] could happen to people who do not expose themselves to many media or who do not take an interest in political issues. (p. 130)

The assumption might be made that the tendency to believe anything published and a basic disinterest in understanding it, give rise to a potentially dangerous situation, especially in modern society where the mass media is so pervasive. The possible results of unquestioning belief have been well portrayed in Orwell's 1984.

Importance of Study

The above discussion would seem to make evident the importance of the sources of information used in the study of current events. Unless the students are presented with the "truth" as it is seen by various sides in a controversy, it would not seem possible for these students to learn to make intelligent, well-founded judgments in a fast changing, complex society.

The purpose of conducting this study was to demonstrate the type of bias that can exist in newspaper accounts, and to underline the fallacy of depending on only one source in the study of current events. It was felt that if bias could be demonstrated in a sample population of newspapers, the implication would be that it exists in other newspapers. The study is conducted by picking sample material from each of three newspapers: the Globe & Mail, the Evening Telegram, and the Daily News.

The Daily News and the Evening Telegram were chosen because they are local papers and are most readily available to the students. The Globe & Mail was chosen as one of the largest circulation papers in Canada.

An international event, the Yom Kippur War of 1973, was chosen as the sampling event for the study and the sampling period was from three days before the war for two months. A random sample of 12 days during that period was chosen.

Each sample was subjected to four tests: 1) reliability, 2) pictures, 3) column-inches, and 4) display index. The scores on each of these studies were then tested for significance using chi square. Any score which had a probability of less than .05 was considered to be statistically significant.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

Since Watergate in the United States, the press has been given a greater status and importance by some. It has been placed more strongly in the role of adversary, digging for information beyond that which government officials are willing to expose. Some consideration might be given to questioning whether most individual newspapers are worthy of this new credibility. A review of some of the studies of the Canadian press conducted in the recent past can be revealing.

Influence of the American Press

Perhaps the most comprehensive of these studies was the Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media (1970). The Special Committee of the Senate was appointed in 1969 "to consider and report upon the ownership and control of the major means of mass public communication in Canada," and to examine "their impact and influence on the Canadian public" (Terms of Reference). One of its more important statements regarded ownership of the press in Canada. The Report states that most newspapers in Canada are owned by a few individual companies. Free Press, Southan, and Thomson are named as the three largest. Among them they control 45% of Canadian circulation. It goes on to state that:

> Using this approach, we find that the 14 newspaper groups in Canada between them own or hold substantial interest in 77 dailies with a combined circulation of 3,614,354--about 77 per cent of total Canadian daily circulation. (Vol. I, p. 20)

Although Wagenberg and Suderlund (1975) conducted a study which

demonstrated newspapers in the same newspaper group (that is those with the same ownership) do not necessarily have the same editorial leanings, there is the ever present danger that one of these groups could use its tremendous influence to create public opinion on important issues. They say:

> That the overconcentration of power in any sector of society is cause for concern is a well-worn maxim for those who value democratic norms. At present there is no way of ensuring that those who own large segments of the Canadian newspaper industry will not use that power to mould Canadian opinion to their own advantage. (p. 98)

Of the chain groups discussed, the Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media (1970) appears to be most critical of the Thomson group. The Report seemed to imply that all Thomson papers were inferior at the time of the study. Keeping in mind that the Evening Telegram is a Thomson paper, the necessity of broadening the scope of Newfoundland students from just that one paper gains more importance.

The Report is critical of Canadian papers for buying cheaper syndicated American columnists' works, re-printing cartoons from other papers, and not having enough news staff, instead relying on wire services for a great deal of their material. Douglas Fisher, well-known syndicated political columnist, is quoted about an interview he conducted with the late Lord Thomson:

> Would he consider having my column bought or that of George Bain or Peter Newman bought for the News Chronicle, my point being that I thought the interpretation of Ottawa politics was covered rather slightly considering the high political interest in the area? The answers were: "Port Arthur is a dandy, one of the best profit makers in our Canadian operations, and I got a great deal on the building from the federal government." The second answer went: "Frankly, what would be the point of it? It wouldn't sell one more paper in the market area." (Vol. I, p. 64)

As a rule the Report has unfavourable comments about the attitude

of the media towards spending money. In spite of having higher rates of profit than most other businesses in the country, the media owners at that time (according to the report) were unwilling to put much of their money into improving the quality of their productions.

The area in which there is possibly the greatest failing is in relying too much on wire sources for information; although, as the Report points out: "small papers need CP most, and benefit most from it. The point was made clearly by J. R. H. Sutherland, publisher of the New Glasgow _News_ which has a circulation under 10,000." Mr. Sutherland is quoted as saying:

> Because of CP, the New Glasgow _News_ can have the same news report as is provided for much larger papers in Sidney and Halifax and Saint John and Moncton and Quebec and Montreal, and so on across Canada. (Vol. I, p. 231).

The fault may be said then to lie not with the idea of having a Canadian wire service which collects information from all parts of Canada and the world, and distributes that information to newspapers in all parts of the country. The trouble apparently lies with the method of operation, particularly in CP's reliance on AP. Butler (1975) points out in his paper:

> The AP-CP agreement is a straightforward business arrange-ment, with some advantages accruing to both agencies. In addition to receiving Canadian news through the services of CP, the annual cash payment received by AP serves to lower the assessments for the U.S. members of the Associated Press. For its part, Canadian Press acquires an international news ser-vice albeit not a Canadian one, at a fraction of the cost of sending more Canadian correspondents abroad. The result is that with the exception of infrequent stories filed by the few Canadian correspondents presently active internationally, an extremely high proportion of what Canadians read and hear about the rest of the world originates directly or indirectly with the Associated Press. (pp. 7-8)

If the American news copy were clearly marked with the AP byline,

the situation would not be so disturbing, but he goes on to say:

> In addition to the AP wire copy that is reproduced verbatim by
> Canadian newspapers, much of the CP international reporting is
> based upon AP reports that are received in CP's New York
> office and after minor editing, are sent out to Canadian news-
> papers under the CP byline. Thus, much of what passes for
> Canadian international reporting, in fact originates with and
> is largely written by AP. (p. 9)

It might easily be said, to quote Scanlon (1974): "Canada sees
the world through US eyes" (p. 34). The extent of the problem can be
realized by looking at some of the content analysis described by Butler
(1975). He found that of the Evening Telegram total of foreign news
stories, 30% came from CP and 53% came from AP--a grand total of 83% of
foreign news which may have been directly or indirectly influenced by
the American viewpoint. Of the five papers studied (the Evening Tele-
gram, the Montreal Star, the Globe & Mail, the Edmonton Journal, and the
Vancouver Sun), the Evening Telegram percentage was the highest; how-
ever, the average was 13% by CP and 36% by AP, for a grand total of 49%.
When other United States news agencies are included in this total, the
average for the five newspapers in the study becomes 67% possibly influ-
enced by the American viewpoint (p. 14).

Another disturbing fact about the coverage of news in the
Evening Telegram was brought out by Cahill (1971) in a study she con-
ducted of three Canadian papers (the Evening Telegram, the Globe & Mail,
and the Halifax Chronicle-Herald). She found that 46.6% of the news in
the Evening Telegram was international; when this is added to the 1.9%
dealing with Canadian/U.S. relations, a total of 50.5% of the Evening
Telegram was devoted to foreign news. Keeping in mind that 83% of this
possibly comes either directly or indirectly from U.S. sources, it can
be seen how much the Evening Telegram news can be influenced by U.S.

opinions. There would seem to be two implications about the Evening
Telegram from these studies. First, it is presenting less national news
than the other papers which were studied. Gordon (1966) tends to con-
firm this contention, since he found, out of the fifteen Canadian news-
papers he used in his study, the Evening Telegram devoted the lowest
number of column-inches to national news. Secondly, they are cutting
local reporters and depending on wire service copy in order to increase
their profits. The dangers of this situation are pointed out in the
Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media (1970), when they
plead for "better" information on international affairs:

> By better in this context, we simply mean more Canadian
> . . . . no amount of tinkering with AP copy in CP's New York
> office will give it a Canadian character. An American
> reporter, writing for an American audience, writes in the
> American idiom, which is not yet the Canadian idiom. He
> writes from a background of American experience and American
> national interest, which are not the Canadian experience and
> the Canadian interest. He uses American illustrations which
> are not Canadian illustrations, and he draws on a literature,
> a history, and a political tradition which are his and not
> ours.
> Every reporter has a bias. We think it is immensely
> important that reporters who give us our picture of the world
> should reflect the kind of bias that Canadians tend to share,
> rather than the bias that Americans or Frenchmen or Englishmen
> tend to share. (Vol. I, pp. 233-234)

In summary, several conclusions can be reached from the research
conducted on the media in Canada. One central factor is that Canadians,
including students in school, look to the newspaper "for facts, back-
ground, and interpretation" of the news (Report of the Special Senate
Committee on Mass Media, Vol. III, 1970). This dependence on newspapers,
coupled with the strong evidence that people who are uninformed in poli-
tical affairs have a tendency to believe what they read (Martin, 1977),
implies that students should not be subjected to studying the information

contained in one newspaper.

The difficulty of finding a single newspaper which is a reliable and unbiased news source among Canadian newspapers, according to the studies which have been carried out, would seem to be readily apparent. Many Canadian newspapers are owned by large chains, and therefore are subject to the dangers of being influenced to publish biased news by the owners. Also, this chain ownership has the danger of bringing a type of uniform editorial set-up which makes the newspapers suffer from a bland sameness. Canadian newspaper publishers, too, are often more interested in making a big profit than in turning out a product that is acceptable under strong standards of judgment.

In order to economize, publishers want their editors to rely more heavily on wire service stories, in order to cut the cost of employing, in the case of small papers, competent local staff, or in the case of large papers, national or international staff. For this reason, Canadian newspapers are highly influenced by the reporting of CP, which is in turn influenced by AP.

Since the influence of the American wire services on Canadian newspapers has been documented (Butler, 1975; Cahill, 1971; Hart, 1963; Scanlon, 1968, 1969, 1974), a brief review of recent studies of the American press would seem to be necessary. Because of this high American content, it might be assumed that the view of the world contained in the Canadian press would be similar to that of the American press. Some idea of this world view has been assembled in a study by Gerbner and Marvanyi (1977). In comparing the United States Press to that of several other countries (not including Canada) by content analysis, they concluded that the United States gave less attention to the outside world

than any other of the countries surveyed, including the Soviet Union and
Eastern European countries (p. 56). They also state that the American
Press gave great emphasis to certain areas of the world to the exclusion
of others. They point out:

> Looking at the world of U.S. newspapers, we can see that
> foreign news events happening in Western Europe, South Asia
> and the Far East, North America, and the Middle East (includ-
> ing Israel), make up two-thirds of the U.S. foreign news map
> of the world. The war in Vietnam made that small region loom
> larger than all of Africa and China combined. The Mideast and
> Israel attracted more attention than the Soviet Union plus
> Eastern Europe. (pp. 57-58)

Further confirmation of causes for concern is expressed by Martin
(1977) who points out that the news media provide "the facts, for the
most part, that make up the cognitive world of each individual" (p. 130).
He goes on to state that the news media does not merely react to events
which are most prominent, but that it actually establishes certain
issues to emphasize. He says:

> This agenda-setting power of the press is directive rather
> than reactive. The press does not merely reflect developments
> which also influence the general public in the same way. The
> press actually picks certain issues to play up at times that
> do not necessarily parallel the significance of those events.
> (p. 120)

Earlier studies by Lindley (1974), Snider (1967), and White
(1950) had researched what news wire editors decide to print and why.
They found that the published news was based on two factors primarily:
1) the budget list, that is, a list of major stories expected to be
filed in a given cycle, sent out by the individual wire services, and
2) the subjective opinion of the wire editors. Lindley (1974) concludes
that these wire editors have little contact with general public opinion,
and therefore, do not tend to be responsive to public tastes or needs.
Their findings seem to serve as further evidence for Martin's (1977)

statements.

Graber (1976), in discussing the issues emphasized in two recent elections in the United States, draws a similar conclusion about the way the Press established the issues for the campaigns. She states:

> Judging from content analysis of press and television information in two recent elections, and from general observation of other elections in the television era, it seems clear that media audiences receive most information about general human qualities of candidates rather than about their professional qualifications. As for issues, the media stress the excitement of campaign skirmishes, instead of dwelling on the manifold problems facing the country and the merits of the solutions proposed or ignored by the candidates. (p. 301)

She goes on to point out the dangers of this type of emphasis:

> These information supply patterns, which are characteristic of press and television throughout the nation, encourage electoral choices on the basis of personality characteristics of the contenders. Although there was ample information on a limited number of issues, the heavy stress by the media on other types of data made issues appear insignificant by comparison. (p. 301)

Applying these findings to the Canadian press, the expectation would be first, that Canadian papers would stress similar events and show similar bias to the American papers. Again the studies by Scanlon (1968, 1969, 1974) tend to confirm this contention. Secondly, it would be reasonable to assume that Canadian newspapers would concentrate on similar issues in a federal election to those of the American presidential elections. The findings of Pammett, LaDuc, Jensen, and Clarke (1977), in a study of the issues in the 1974 federal election, again tend to agree with this premise. They identified one of the three major issues in the election as leadership. Canadians were asked to choose between the leaders of the two major national parties. This was rather incongruent in the Canadian government system where Prime Ministers are not directly elected, but receive that position as the leader of the

party with the most seats in the House of Commons, if they can maintain the confidence of a majority of members.

These studies tend to show that the Press does not reach the standards which many observers contend it should. Yet, attempting to define the standard it ought to meet and to attempt to measure if an individual paper reaches this standard is a difficult and multifaceted problem. However, one aspect of the Press seems to be an implicit part of all these studies, and that is bias. As a result some consideration might be given to the question of defining and measuring bias.

Role of Individual Reporter

Perhaps the role of the individual reporter can be discussed first. In the post-Watergate era, concepts of the function of the reporter are in the process of changing. An analysis of ideas regarding the role of the reporter reveals there are two extreme opinions: one which sees the reporter as an objective, fact oriented observer making every attempt to present all sides of an issue (the objective reporter) and the other which defines the reporter as a participant, analyzing the news and interpreting its significance (the investigative reporter) (Starck & Soloski, 1977).

The concept of investigative reporting implies that an individual reporter who signs the article will search out all the information on a given subject asking questions, and seeking until he or she can arrive at "the truth" on the basis of the evidence. Because the writer is placing his or her own interpretation on the available evidence, investigative reporting might be confused with biased reporting. However, there is another way of viewing investigative reporting. Since the

reporter's views are clearly expressed and his or her judgments were made through a study of the whole situation, it can be seen as similar to editorial commentary.

Definition of Bias

Bias is defined as attempting to present a particular opinion without openly stating that it is opinion. The following statement which was part of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Press in Britain (1947-1949) was found to most closely comply to the concept of the Press this study wishes to imply. The Royal Commission names two requirements which newspapers individually and the Press collectively should fulfill:

> The first of these requirements is that if a newspaper purports to record and discuss public affairs, it should at least record them truthfully. It may express what opinions it pleases--and nothing we say hereafter is intended to criticise the opinion of any newspaper or to question its right to express them--but opinion should be advocated without suppressing or distorting the relevant facts. If a paper adheres to a political party it should be plain to the reader that it does so but from the columns of opinion, not from the colouring given to the news. A paper's politics and those of its readers will inevitably and legitimately affect its judgment of the relative interest of certain items of news, but the news it reports it should report truthfully and without excessive bias. The second requirement is that the number and variety of newspapers should be such that the Press as a whole gives an opportunity for all important points of view to be effectively presented in terms of the varying standards of taste, political opinion, and education among the principle groups of the population. (pp. 541-542)

Several phrases might be singled out for attention. Firstly, that a newspaper should record and discuss public affairs truthfully; secondly, that it should not suppress or distort relevant facts; and thirdly, that its political affiliation should be evident from its opinion columns and not from the "colouring given to the news." None of

these phrases imply a lack of investigative reporting, merely that opinions should be openly labeled rather than passed as factual, objective accounts.

The second requirement seems to support the idea that newspapers should have editorial policies and opinions, since it states that "the number and variety of newspapers should be such that the Press as a whole gives opportunity for all important points of view to be effectively presented."

The suggestion that there ought to be newspapers expressing various points of view supports the contention that it is apparently unwise for schools to rely on one source of information. However, the wisdom of exposing students in high school to opposing points of view might be questioned. There may be fears that allowing contradictory opinions to be reported and read will confuse or at worst convert young people to undesirable attitudes. However, as long as the school presents and points out socially accepted norms, research has demonstrated there is little danger of this happening. Hovland, Janis, and Kelley (1953) state as a result of research which had been conducted that people are less prone to be easily influenced when they have been furnished with all the arguments on both sides in a controversy. They say:

> However, if the initial communication is, instead, a two-sided one it will already have taken into account both the positive and negative arguments and still have reached the positive conclusion. When the listener is then subsequently exposed to the presentation of negative arguments in the counterpropaganda he is less likely to be influenced in the negative direction. He is already familiar with the opposing point of view and has been led to the positive conclusion in a context where the negative arguments were in evidence. In effect, he has thus been given an advance basis for ignoring or discounting the negative arguments, and thus "innoculated" will tend to retain the positive conclusion. (p. 111)

The implied role of the school when students are presented with a number of conflicting views is to help them to decide on a socially acceptable one. When they decide on a socially acceptable one in the light of the arguments against it, according to the study quoted, they would be more likely to hold their convictions when they are later presented with arguments against them. Through the study of controversy from various points of view, the student will hopefully learn to distinguish reliable news accounts from unreliable, biased ones. As well, there would be an opportunity for them to engage in critical thinking and the decision making process which seems to be lacking at the present. Dieterich (1974), in discussing the susceptibility of the modern audience, points out that the effectiveness of persuasion is "heightened by the fact that the educational community has done so little to prepare students in the critical reception of persuasion" (p. 477).

Methods of Implementing and Measuring Bias

It has been stated that an open expression of an opinion was not defined as bias. Consequently the question of how to identify bias arises. Therefore, it was necessary to discover methods by which bias can be implanted. An attempt was made to find a quantitative list of methods by which a newspaper could colour its stories, or imply attitudes which it did not openly state. As well, an attempt was made to find a method to objectively measure this bias. A useful summary of these methods of detection of bias was detailed in a "catalog of hidden bias" compiled by Cirino (1971, pp. 134-179). Most of these will be listed and discussed with elaboration from other sources, a discussion of the methods which have been used to measure them, and the results.

Firstly, there is bias in news sources. It can be important to
know the point of origin of a news story. For example, on June 5, 1967,
the _Daily Star_, in Toronto, carried a story on the Middle East War by
Arnold Bruner, who was not further identified. At that time Mr. Bruner
was living with his family in Israel, working from there as a freelance
reporter (Scanlon, 1968). His position as a citizen of Israel could
have influenced his account of the war, but the reader was not informed
of this possible bias (p. 23). Scanlon (1969) also points out that in
the two major stories monitored during the period of the survey, the
Vietnam War and the Middle East War, the major American wire services
appeared to show bias. In the case of the Vietnam coverage by AP, bias
appeared to be shown for the American position. He points out: "However
critical some stories may be of the U.S. position, they reflect the
orientation of the reporter and his audience" (p. 10). As well, in the
case of AP and UPI coverage, there appeared to be a bias for the Israeli
side in the Middle East War. The influence of the American news services
on the Canadian press has been well documented (Butler, 1975; Cahill,
1971; Hart, 1963; Scanlon, 1968, 1969, 1974). Each of these studies
employed content analysis methods using column-inches as their unit of
measure. Although there have been many questions raised about the reli-
ability and validity of content analysis studies (Lasswell, Leites,
Fader, Goldsen, Grey, Janis, Kaplan, Mitz, Sola Pool, & Yakobson, 1949),
the high level of agreement in findings by these independent researchers
tends to give credence to their conclusions.

Scanlon (1969) points out several specific instances where AP
copy with just a few words changed (for example, "President" to "presi-
dent," p. 24) has been sent through the Canadian Press wire services as

a Canadian press report.

He, as a result, is pointing to the difficulty of distinguishing what is actual Canadian material from what has originated with American wire services. From all this evidence it seems logical to conclude that Canadian newspapers can become biased as a result of their news service sources.

Secondly, there is bias through selection of news and omission of news. Martin (1977) states that the press decides which issues will be important. This has been entitled the agenda-setting function of the press. He states:

> Does this mean that the media also determine the relative importance of issues? That is exactly what agenda-setting studies have shown they do. Through the sheer frequency with which a story is told, length of the story, headline size, and positioning, the media suggest to the general public how important an event, issue, or candidate is. . . . Not only is this true of media impact on the public, but the news agencies have a similar impact on newspaper wire editors, as several studies both in the United States and abroad have shown. The editor tends to use more of a story, news category, or issue on which he receives more items and longer items from the wire services. (p. 131)

In other words the press can, by omitting one item and including another, determine what topics or issues the audience will evaluate as most important. He says:

> What is especially noteworthy and supportive of the agenda-setting role of the press is that the peaks in news coverage coincided with peaks in the proportion of people who picked these issues as the "most important problem facing America" in Gallup Polls. On the other hand, they were not the issues that people felt the government should devote most of its attention to. Funkhouser concluded that "the average person takes the media's word for what the 'issues' are, whether or not he personally has any involvement or interest in them." And, one might add, he rates them as important whether or not they have the salience in reality that the press gives them. (p. 130)

Sometimes at the discretion of a few people on the editorial

staff of a newspaper, a reader can be deprived of the most important news events, that is, those that are necessary to draw sound conclusions. Because of the importance of this source of bias, a search was made for a method to measure if any important items of news were being omitted.

Such standard texts as those by Berelson (1952); Budd, Thorp, and Donohew (1967); Carney (1972); Holsti (1969); Lasswell, et al. (1949) were consulted. These sources primarily discussed methods for measuring the content, not what was omitted. However, a satisfactory method was ultimately located. It was devised by Price (1954) and consisted of searching each newspaper during the study period for thirty-five events which were felt to be significant by a panel of judges. Although his study dealt with political events during an election campaign in the United States, it could be applied to other related subject material that dealt with a distinct, two-sided event that lasted for a finite sampling period.

Thirdly, there is bias through placement. Booth (1970) in his study found that items favourably placed are more easily recalled. McCombs and Mauro (1977) found that the greatest factor determining readership was the page on which a story was located. The number of readers was inversely proportional to the page on which a story was located. The second largest factor in determining readership was the size of a story. It might be concluded that an editor can make an article appear important or highlight one side of a controversy to the detriment of another through placement of a report.

Again the method evolved by Price (1954) to measure display of stories was chosen for two main reasons. Firstly, his method dealt only

with headlines and was directional, as opposed to studies such as those
of Gordon (1966) which dealt with total area of a news item, and were
not directional. Secondly, he says:

> The "display index" derived from the experiment was con-
> sidered to be an appropriate weighting device, an index of the
> prominence of display corresponding closely to reader inter-
> pretation of the display designed by news editors of standard
> format newspapers. (p. 453)

The formula takes into account such factors as size of headline
and page on which the story occurs, which have already been noted as
important factors in display.

Fourthly, there is bias through "coincidental placement." The
favourable impression for one side can be increased by placing a story
that enhances that side, beside one that discredits the others. Another
way in which this method can be applied is associating the person or
idea one wishes to discredit with a person or idea which has unpleasant
connotations. Some studies have demonstrated that what Leon Festinger
has called "cognitive dissonance" occurs (Carney, 1972; Mehling, 1959).
The cognitive dissonance theory contends that people want to hold con-
sistent beliefs, and upon hearing or seeing an item which is inconsis-
tent will attempt to mould what they have observed to fit their beliefs.
For example, Richard Nixon has an unfavourable public image. If a photo-
graph were published in which the Prime Minister was shown consulting
with Nixon in a secretive manner, the person would either improve his or
her opinion of Richard Nixon, or, as would be more likely, lower his or
her opinion of the Prime Minister.

In order to test for this effect, a study can be made of the
illustrations in the newspapers checking for coincidental placement,
since Mehling (1959) contends as a result of his study that it can form

attitudes.

Fifthly, there is bias in headlines. A reader gets an overall view of the news by looking at headlines. Even though several newspapers may receive the same wire services with the same news, the individual editors of each newspaper decide which headlines to use for each event (Scanlon, 1968). Through these headlines the editors can achieve the impression they want to leave with the reader. Scanlon (1969) gives three versions of a story about the investiture of Prince Charles as Prince of Wales, which appeared in the Canadian press during the period of his survey. All of these versions came from lead stories by CP, but individual editors emphasized different points. One group emphasized the activities of extremists, another group mentioned both joyful cele- brations and extremists' activities, and a third group only mentioned joyful celebrations. Depending on which paper or which headline a person read, they would receive practically opposing concepts of the situation (p. 36).

In order to test for bias in headlines the "display index" by Price (1954), which has been discussed previously, appeared to be effec- tive, since it took into account not only the content of the headline, but also its size and direction. In order to make a judgment of the direction of the headlines, a method had to be devised to judge direction which was as scientific as possible. A discussion of such a method is contained in the following few pages.

Sixthly, there is bias in words. The use of semantics to create a desired effect has been studied, especially since the advent of the Nazi propaganda machine in the mid 1930's. The extent of the problem with semantics in modern communications has been recognized by the

National Council of Teachers of English in the United States, since in their 1971 convention they passed the following resolution: "'to keep track of, publicize, and combat semantic distortion by public officials, candidates for office, political commentators and all those who transmit through the mass media'" (Rank, 1976). Rank goes on to point out that they formed the Committee on Public Doublespeak the following year.

Knowing that bias in words and "doublespeak" exist is one matter, but recognizing instances of usage is another. Osgood (1952) pointed out that all words in all languages have several measurable dimensions such as: strength-weakness, active-passive, good-bad. By measuring the norm for a society for a word on each of these scales it is possible to arrive at an approximate understanding of what connotations that word has for that society. Through this type of measurement it is apparently possible to ascertain if a writer is attempting to implant bias for or against his or her subject. Pratt (1969, 1972) prepared a semantic list of words with norms for Canadian society which he found have positive, negative, or neutral connotations towards a subject.

This method, although thorough and objective when applied properly, has a few weaknesses. Goundrey, Goundrey, O'Brien, Penney, Brown, and Furlong (1976) point out some of these. First, it does not deal with stereotyping (which is a form of bias which does not require the use of literally degrading words). Secondly, it does not allow for inferences which a writer may be making. Thirdly, there is no way of effectively dealing with words not on the list or with phrases. Pratt does suggest substituting a word from the list for a word or phrase which is not included; however, this involves a judgment on the part of

the reader which tends to undermine the supposedly objective base of the measuring tool (p. 76).

As a result of these objections, studies which employed theme analysis were surveyed. Few attempts, however, according to Rank (1976), have been made to classify basic propaganda themes. He describes what happened in the 1930's.

> In America, some scholars and teachers recognized early that Hitler's propaganda blitz had serious consequences for the world and that "something ought to be done." Thus, a small group of concerned people joined together, formed a group which called itself the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, and managed to publish a few pieces, including what became a well-publicized and widely used list of what they considered to be the seven most common propaganda devices: glittering generalities, name-calling, transfer, testimonial, plain folks, card-stacking, and bandwagon. (p. 3)

He goes on to say:

> . . . after 40 years of the most significant changes in communications, in persuasion techniques, and in propaganda, the most commonly used item to analyze such propaganda is still the old list of the Institute of Propaganda Analysis. (p. 4)

He, therefore, attempts to establish a new, simplified method which places all propaganda into two basic classifications: intensify and downplay, that is, to intensify the side one supports through techniques such as repetition and association; and to downplay the other side through such techniques as omission, and diversion (pp. 7-17).

Although this type of classification can be useful, it appears to lend itself to subjective classification. Because of this subjectivity an attempt was made to find a method which more succinctly classified themes and yet did not require word by word analysis. Such content analysis studies as those by Batlin (1954), Breed (1958), Budd (1964), Bush (1951, 1960), Carter (1957), Evarts and Stempel (1974), Klapper and

Glock (1949), Klein and Maccoby (1954), Kobre (1953), Maccoby and Sabghir (1950), Markham and Stempel (1957), Price (1954), Schultz (1958), Stoodley (1960), Weingast (1950), Winham (1969) were consulted. As a result, a method devised by Bush (1951) which seemed to accomplish a union between word analysis and theme analysis was found. From Bush's (1951) study it might be concluded that there is a method by which bias in use of words can be measured, so that the scorer does not either have to record direction of a word without regard to context, or have to place subjective judgment on the material that is being read.

Seventhly, there is bias in news images. In a similar way, words can be used to create a negative opinion of a person or object. This results in negative stereotyping. Carney (1972) points out that:

> In our thinking, it would appear, we have the ability to deal simultaneously with only a rather limited number of bits of information: about seven or so. The mind cannot increase the number of bits, but it can increase the size and complexity of each individual bit. . . . A concept consists of a bundle of associations clustering around one or two key verbal labels. It should be able to be revised if its holder comes upon experience that expands or corrects it. Sometimes it cannot be revised like this. It (or rather the readiness to perceive which make up the attitude set in which it is embedded) resists the implications of new information, for they would necessitate extensive realignments internally. In such cases we are dealing with what is termed a stereotype. (p. 94)

An editor making use of stereotypes can implant an image in the reader's mind. Because themes convey images it seemed important to locate a study which dealt with phrase units, instead of just word units. As a result, the content analysis method devised by Bush (1951) seemed particularly suitable.

Lastly, there is bias in photograph selection and captions. By placing a certain photograph in a newspaper the editor can create an impression which is biased. An example of biased photographs can be

observed in the way the news media in the United States often showed pictures of ex-President Ford tripping and stumbling. This created the impression of a fumbling, incompetent person. This type of portrayal was one of the main reasons for studying photographs.

Implications of Studies

There would appear to be little reason to be confident that individual newspapers are worthy of increased credibility. In Canada they are highly influenced by the American wire services, with their American biases. While in the United States there is reason to believe that the issues the newspapers present to the public are not those of greatest importance to the general public, especially in the field of politics. There is the possibility that through omission of certain events, and emphasis on others they are setting an agenda for the general public that has little to do with the actual situation. Dieterich (1974), in discussing the problem involved in dealing with modern communications, refers to comments made by Professor Konrad Lorenz. He says:

> Professor Konrad Lorenz of West Germany's Max Institute for Behavioral Physiology recently compared thought manipulation in the West, through advertising, opinion research, and news management, with the same process in the communist bloc, concluding that the goal of reducing the individual to an easily controlled unit is the same in both systems. As Lorenz suggests, the aim of much modern persuasion is not communication; is not an increase in understanding; according to Jacques Ellul, the aim is not even to modify people's ideas on a given subject. Rather, the aim is to achieve conformity in the way that people act. (p. 477)

This conformity of thought can be accomplished through biased reporting in several ways that have been verified by a number of sources. Some of these are display of a story, size and position as well as wording of headlines, and use of illustrations. It might be

questioned whether newspapers commonly used in Newfoundland schools employ these methods either consciously or unconsciously.

The teacher who uses one newspaper to discuss current events is assuming that paper will give the students all the relevant information. The studies which have been recently conducted on newspapers in North America would seem to raise many doubts about this assumption.

Statement of Hypotheses

Although a considerable amount of information on the press can be inferred from studies which have been already conducted, there is no specific information on the adequacy of any particular paper's coverage of an event for the purpose of current events studies. Since there is evidence that teachers do use newspapers for this purpose, it would seem necessary to measure the newspapers in some manner to determine if they do carry sufficient information on both sides of a controversy to be used in the classroom so that students can learn to make well-founded judgments based on critical thinking. If it can be demonstrated that the newspapers give biased information on one particular issue, the suggestion can be made that they are doing so on others.

Methods of determining bias in newspapers have already been devised by other researchers and can be applied in new situations. Using these methods and keeping in mind results of studies which have been conducted, it is possible to make several hypotheses about the contents of a sample of newspapers for a given event.

1. The display of headlines as measured by the "display index" in the sample newspapers will show measurable bias.

2. The content of the sample newspapers measured in column-inches

will show measurable bias.

3. The illustrations in the sample newspapers measured in column-inches will show measurable bias.

4. The selection and omission of stories in the sample newspapers will show measurable bias.

5. The sample newspapers will tend to show similar bias to each other.

6. The sample newspapers studied will tend to show similar bias to that which has been found to occur in the American press.

7. Each newspaper studied will show bias in the same direction on each measure used.

Chapter 3

Methodology

The purpose of this study was to determine if newspapers are biased in their coverage of current events. In order to determine if this bias existed, it was decided that some type of a sampling method was necessary since the volume of news events and newspapers, even in one year, would make a complete study of all news events impossible. Consequently, it was necessary to carry out sampling techniques on several different levels. First, a sample of newspapers was taken; secondly, a sample event within these newspapers was chosen; and finally, a sample of coverage of the event from each newspaper was chosen. In order to assess the content of the sample, four separate analyses were carried out. The first analysis examined the reliability of the newspapers; it attempted to ascertain the percentage of important news items for each side which were carried by each paper. The second analysis was of the display of headlines which was to ascertain the amount of display given to each side. The third analysis was of illustrations measured in column-inches to see which side had been given more coverage pictorially. The final analysis was of the number of column-inches devoted to each side. Each of these analyses was tested with chi square to see if there was any significant difference in coverage between the two sides.

Composition of Sample

Selection of Newspapers

The first decision to be made involved which newspapers to study.

It was considered necessary to examine newspapers to which Newfoundland students in all probability would be exposed; that is, those published in the province. As well, it was decided to attempt to compare those sources to others from outside the province. This comparison was an attempt to find out if provincial newspapers were any more or less suitable for school use than their counterparts in other parts of the country. It was decided as a result of these criteria to study the Daily News and the Evening Telegram as the two largest circulation provincial newspapers. Because of the amount of work involved, the study of papers from outside the province had to be limited to one paper. The Globe & Mail was chosen as one of Canada's largest circulation papers in one of Canada's largest cities. This was done on the assumption that it would have many more resources to supply news at its disposal than the two Newfoundland papers. (Circulation figures and ownership for each paper in the study are included in Table 1.)

Sample of Events

A selection of events to examine was necessary. Because the purpose of this research was to examine bias in materials which might be used by high school students to study controversial current events, it was decided to take one national event and one international of the type they would be likely to deal with in the classroom. Also, most of the research which had previously been conducted dealt with two-sided events, which had lasted for a finite period of time (e.g., American Presidential elections). As a result, it was decided to examine the federal election of 1974 as a national event and the Arab-Israeli War of 1973 or the Yon Kippur War, as an international event. Both events involved a finite

Table 1

Circulation Figures and Ownership of Papers

Title	Publisher	Owner	Circulation Figures[*]
<u>Daily News</u>	Daily News Ltd.	Crosbie Group of Companies [a]	8,360[d] 10,623[e] 10,193[f]
<u>Evening Telegram</u>	St. John's Publishing Co., Ltd.	Thomson[b]	30,878[d] 48,228[g]
<u>Globe & Mail</u>	Globe & Mail, Ltd.	Free Press[c]	262,111[d] 266,107[g]

[*] All circulation figures were obtained from <u>Ayer Directory of Publications</u> (1977)

[a] Information obtained from <u>Daily News</u> office.

[b] Information obtained from <u>Evening Telegram</u> office.

[c] Information obtained from <u>Report of Special Senate Committee on Mass Media</u> (1970)

[d] Weekly circulation figures.

[e] Wednesday circulation figures (South Coast Supplement).

[f] Friday circulation figures (last publication for week).

[g] Saturday circulation.

period of time and in both cases there were two sides. In the case of
the war there were the Israelis and Arabs, and in the case of the elec-
tion there were pro-government and anti-government forces. Because of
the limitations of the   thesis, it was not possible to analyze both
of these events, using the four methods of analysis which had been
selected. Consequently, it was necessary either to limit the number of
analyses to be conducted to one or to limit the number of events to be
analyzed to one. Because each of the analyses was thought to measure a
different aspect of biased reporting, and because the establishment of a
methodology for future studies was considered important, it was decided
to analyze only one event. The Arab-Israeli War was picked because it
was two-sided and it could be more easily fitted to the type of instru-
ments which had been designed for studying bias in American elections.
There would have been some problems with the Canadian elections since
they involve four parties instead of two.

Sample of Material

Once the papers and the event had been selected, some choice of
material had to be made. It was decided to use material which came from
the news columns of the papers in the sample. In order to define this
material it is perhaps best to describe what material has been omitted.
It has been stated before, in setting up criteria for the press, that
a newspaper has a right to express editorial policies. ("If a paper
adheres to a political party it should be plain to the reader that it
does so but from the columns of opinion, not from the colouring given to
the news," Royal Commission on the Press, 1947-1949, p. 541.) Conse-
quently, there was no coding of editorial material. Editorial material

was defined as any material included on the editorial pages, as well as any items which were labelled editorial, "assessment," or "analysis" on other pages. Included with this editorial material as well were any articles which involved investigative reporting. Investigative reporting was defined as any article or articles where: 1) a reporter signs his name and affiliation, and 2) he or she states openly which side he or she is supporting and why.

Next, an attempt was made to take a sample of the events over a period of time. Before doing this, several articles on content analysis sampling were reviewed, particularly those by Budd (1964), Coats and Mulkey (1954), Davis and Turner (1952), and Stempel (1952). In Stemple's (1952) analysis of sampling newspapers for a period of one year, he found that "increasing the sample size beyond 12 does not produce marked differences in the results" (p. 333). Consequently, it was decided to take a sample of 12 newspapers during the sampling period. As a sampling period, it was decided to begin three days before the war, for a period of two months.

The general plan for sampling was similar to that described by Budd et al. (1967). A list of all the dates during the sample period (excluding Sundays, when there were no papers) was drawn up; then a table of random number was employed to choose the dates for the study. As a result the following dates during the sampling period were chosen: October 8, 12, 19, 23, 25, 29, 30; November 8, 13, 15, 17; and December 3. (Except in the case of the Daily News, Monday, November 19, was chosen instead of November 17 because the Daily News was not published on Saturdays.)

At the end of the process of sampling the material to be sub-

jected to analysis had been considerably narrowed. The number of news-
papers had been limited to three (the _Daily News_, the _Evening Telegram_,
and the _Globe & Mail_), the sample event had been chosen, the type of
material to be analyzed had been determined (the contents of news col-
umns), and the dates for the analyses had been picked at random.

Content Analysis of Materials

The type of analysis to be performed on this material had to be
selected. As a result of investigating various methods of implanting
bias, and various types of content analysis studies, four methods of
analysis were chosen, as well as an overall method of cataloguing
stories directionally.

Some researchers who have compared content analysis methods
consider it is sufficient to measure column-inches (Markham & Stempel,
1957; Price, 1954). However, the number of different methods by which
bias can be implanted seemed to point to the necessity of conducting
several different types of analysis. As well, different influences
produce different parts of a newspaper. For example, the content of an
international story in a paper like the _Evening Telegram_ or the _Daily
News_ usually comes directly through the wire services; whereas the head-
lines are written by editors in the individual newspapers. As well,
selection and rejection of news stories has a great deal to do with the
editorial policy of a newspaper. For these reasons, it was decided to
include separate analyses for: inclusion-exclusion of stories (relia-
bility), headline display and direction, column-inches devoted to each
side, and illustrations.

Besides these considerations, it was felt that bias shown in the

same direction on all four analyses would be a check for the reliability
and validity of the study.

Direction of Material

In attempting to define instances of bias it is particularly
helpful to have specific guidelines to determine direction. Kaplan and
Geldsen (1949) found that coder reliability could be improved to a 90%
level by giving them some practice and making guidelines as specific as
possible. Consequently, a search was made for some type of an instru-
ment to objectively place items in pro- or anti- categories to determine
bias. Pratt's method (1972) (that is, using certain words, which have
been semantically measured for favourability-unfavourability, to deter-
mine bias in coverage) was considered, but rejected for reasons already
outlined; although his list was kept to help in deciding the direction
of difficult items. (Favourable-unfavourable words, pp. 39-41, were
listed as well as his rules for using them, pp. 15-26.) Ultimately, it
was decided to use an adaptation of propaganda themes devised by Bush
(1951) for his study. The list of themes was as follows:

1. active-passive -- the group is capable (or incapable) of carrying
   out policies advocated; individual leaders are presented as
   active, competent individuals (passive, incompetent).

2. honest-dishonest -- the leaders or people are shown to have
   personal virtue (or lack of it) (e.g., accusing one side or the
   other of attacking civilian populations or mistreating prisoners
   of war would be negative).

3. powerful-unpowerful -- the leaders, armed forces, or people are
   shown to have high morale, be united, or to be assured of vic-

tory (or the opposite of these).

4. positive values-negative values -- leaders, armed forces, or people are associated with socially approved (or disapproved) values (e.g., associating one side or the other with Communism or Communists would be unfavourable in our social context).

5. strength-weakness -- a statement presenting the leader's position on an issue or event in conjunction with a favourable (or unfavourable) evaluation of the issue or event.

These were constantly referred to, especially in cases which were difficult. In the case of the column-inches study, a similar method was used, but an attempt was made to see if both sides were given equal treatment during the course of the article.

Analysis of Reliability

The first content analysis study to be performed on the material was one for reliability. Reliability was defined as the amount of coverage given to each of the two sides in the following way.

For the entire sampling period, that is, every day between October 5 and December 3, a list of what were thought to be the 100 most important events was compiled. As references to develop this list, the following sources were employed: 1) the Christian Science Monitor, 2) Keesing's Contemporary Archives, 3) Facts on File, 4) the Times (London), and 5) the New York Times.

A questionnaire was next developed which was given to people involved in the study of current events from an academic point of view. It was thought they would be well suited to completing these questionnaires because: 1) they would be less likely to be influenced by the

"agenda setting" role of the press, and 2) they would have historical insight in choosing their importance. Although this may indeed have been true, they each pointed out the difficulty, if not impossibility of the task of deciding which event was more important. It was pointed out verbally a number of times, "Important from whose point of view?" Ultimately, in spite of these objections and reservations, three professors, Dr. Geoffrey Jones (Social Studies Education), Ms. Louise Dawe (History Department), and Dr. Steven Wolinetz (Political Science Department) did agree to complete the questionnaire. (See Appendix A for an example of the questionnaire.) They were asked to pick the 30 most important events from the 100, to rank them from most important to least important, and to assign each event a direction. The list which had been developed for determining direction was included in the questionnaire, as well as instructions stating that a "+" was to be given to items which were either pro-Israeli or anti-Arab and a "-" was to be given to events which were pro-Arab or anti-Israeli.

When the questionnaires were returned, the results were entered into a previously constructed table (see Appendix B). The events which were chosen by two or more readers were noted along with the direction which had been assigned. Altogether a total of 35 events was compiled. (Two readers had marked several events tentatively, and gave permission to use those if it became necessary to complete the list of 35.)

Each of these 35 events was written on a separate index card. Next, a table was constructed (see Appendix C) so that the presence or absence of these events could be noted for each newspaper, as well as their direction, position in the newspaper, and whether or not they rated a headline. Besides this a note was made of a lack of detail in

any story.

Each copy of the <u>Daily News</u>, the <u>Evening Telegram</u>, and the <u>Globe & Mail</u> from October 5 to December 3 was studied to see if it contained each of these 35 events. The results were then recorded in Tables 2 to 7. The final percentages for pro-Arab and pro-Israeli stories included were then tested with a chi square test to see if the omission of stories for one side or the other was statistically significant. As well, the percentage of stories included (that is, in all categories, positive, negative, and neutral) of the total possible stories (35) was determined.

The listing of events was also used to check the reliability of the researcher in assigning direction. Since these 35 stories were the most important during the war, it was helpful to be able to see how other independent people had coded them.

Analysis of Headlines

A formula was used to calculate headline display. Price (1954) defined this formula as: "an index of prominence of display corresponding to reader interpretation of display designed by news editors of standard format newspapers" (p. 453).

The formula is as follows:

$$X' = 15 X_1 - X_2 + 5 X_4$$

where:

X_1 is the position in the newspaper on the following 3-point scale:

1 = 1 to 6 inches high on page 1; 1 to 16 inches high inside

2 = 7 to 16 inches high on page 1; 17 inches to top of inside pages

$3 = 17$ inches to top of page 1

X_2 is height of headline from bottom of page in inches

X_4 is size of type in main deck of headline in points

X' is display index

As well, each headline was given a pro-Israeli, anti-Arab (+) or pro-Arab, anti-Israeli (-) direction. Direction was determined by looking at the directions coders had assigned on the listing of major events, by using the guidelines for propaganda themes, and by referring to Pratt's list (1972).

Each headline in the 12 sample issues was scored using a table (see Appendix D). For each of the 12 issues of each newspaper, all positive scores were totaled and all negative scores were totaled. The results were placed in Table 8, and tested for significance using a chi square test.

Analysis of Column-inches

The column-inches devoted to each story, excluding the headlines, were measured and tabulated on a score sheet (see Appendix E). Each story was assigned a direction using similar criteria to those already described. The totals for each newspaper were calculated in a similar manner. The results were enumerated using Table 9, and these results were tested for significance using chi square.

Analysis of Illustrations

The illustrations (including the caption) of personalities or events of the war during the 12 day sample period (excluding editorial material) was measured in column-inches. It was also assigned direction using similar criteria to that for assessing headline direction. These

were tabulated on a score sheet (see Appendix E). The totals for each
direction for each newspaper were then included in Table 10. The results
were tested for significance using chi square.

Chapter 4

Results

The results of all four analyses were enlightening. The results
of each study will be discussed first, and afterwards, these will be
considered as they apply to the hypotheses.

Reliability of Newspapers

One of the most informative results of the analyses turned out
to be the replies to the questionnaires to pick the 35 most important
events. As has already been stated, the three professors who coded them
did so in spite of objections and reservations. These reservations
would seem to be justified since there were only seven events which all
three picked as important (see Appendix B). Two of the three found it
impossible to rate the events in order of importance. These difficul-
ties forcefully illustrate the dilemmas which daily face wire editors,
who are under pressure to meet deadlines, as well as being presented
with volumes of material from which they must choose the most important
events and stories to include in their papers. The reasons for their
reliance on the wire services' "budget" lists becomes clear. Also, this
difficulty in choosing underlines the necessity for teachers to look to
a number of sources so that the students can observe a number of editors'
assessments of the most important events. In spite of the coders'
reservations and the obvious difficulties, it was possible to choose 35
events for which to check the three newspapers (see Appendix B). This

was accomplished by choosing the events that two or more coders had marked. (Some of these had been marked tentatively by the coders, who gave permission to use them if necessary to complete the list.) The results of this study can be observed in Tables 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, as well as Appendices A, B, and C.

Results for Globe & Mail

The results of this analysis of newspaper reliability for the _Globe & Mail_ can be observed in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2

Reliability of Newspapers. _Globe & Mail_. Events.

	Pro-Israeli	Pro-Arab	Neutral
Reported	14	11	5
Omitted	2	3	0
Total	16	14	5

Table 3

Reliability of Newspapers. _Globe & Mail_.
Difference in Coverage

% Pro-Israeli Included	% Pro-Arab Included	% Included of Total Possible
87.5%[1]	75.6%[1]	85.7%

[1] chi square indicated a significant difference between coverage, $X^2(1) = 4.704$, $p < .05$.

It can be seen from Table 3 that the _Globe & Mail_ included 87.5% of the pro-Israeli stories and 75.6% of the pro-Arab stories. Chi

square indicated a significant difference between the coverage,
$x^2(1) = 4.704$, $p < .05$.

On the other hand it was found that the Globe & Mail included
30 of a total possible 35 stories; that is, 85.7%. This could be taken
to mean that the Globe & Mail was presenting most of the important
events to its readers.

Results for Evening Telegram

In Tables 4 and 5 the results of this analysis for the Evening
Telegram are recorded.

Table 4

Reliability of Newspapers. Evening Telegram. Events.

	Pro-Israeli	Pro-Arab	Neutral
Reported	11	8	4
Omitted	5	6	1
Total	16	14	5

Table 5

Reliability of Newspapers. Evening Telegram.
Difference in Coverage

% Pro-Israeli Included	% Pro-Arab Included	% Included of Total Possible
68.7%	57.1%	65.7%

It can be seen that the Evening Telegram included only 68.7% of
the Israeli stories, and 57.1% of the Arab stories. This was not found
to be statistically significant. However, there were a higher number of

stories favouring the Israeli side.

Also, it can be seen that the _Evening Telegram_ included only 65.7% of the total 35 stories. From Appendix C, it can be observed that many of these were without detail. A person reading the _Evening Telegram_ for information about that event apparently would not be able to ascertain all that was necessary for thorough understanding.

Results for Daily News

The results for this analysis for the _Daily News_ can be seen in Tables 6 and 7.

Table 6

Reliability of Newspapers. _Daily News_. Events.

	Pro-Israeli	Pro-Arab	Neutral
Reported	7	5	5
Omitted	9	9	0
Total	16	14	5

Table 7

Reliability of Newspapers. _Daily News_.
Difference in Coverage.

% Pro-Israeli Included	% Pro-Arab Included	% Included of Total Possible
43.7%	35.7%	48.5%

It can be seen that the _Daily News_ included 43.7% of the pro-Israeli stories and 35.7% of the pro-Arab stories. This was not found to be a statistically significant difference. However, there were a

higher number of stories favouring the pro-Israeli side.

It can be seen that the <u>Daily News</u> included only 48.5% of the total of 35 stories. Like the <u>Evening Telegram</u>, the <u>Daily News</u> seemed to exclude many necessary details, as can be observed in Appendix C. Although, in fairness to the <u>Daily News</u>, it makes no claim to be anything more than a local St. John's paper, it would seem it could do a better job of reporting international news.

Measure of Headline Display

Each headline in the sample period in each newspaper was measured in three ways. The height of the headline itself was measured in points, the distance of the headline from the bottom of the page in inches was recorded, and the page on which the headline appeared was noted. The indexes for each headline were then calculated using the formula which has already been mentioned. Each headline was assigned a direction. The total indexes for each newspaper for each of positive and negative were totaled and noted in Table 8.

Table 8

Headline Display

Paper	Total Indexes	A Pro-Israeli		B Pro-Arab		Difference of % (A – B)
Globe & Mail	8488	Indexes	5295	Indexes	3193	+25%
		% of total 62%[1]		% of total 37%[1]		
Evening Telegram	3023	Indexes	1381		1642	−8.6%
		% of total 45.7%		% of total 54.3%		
Daily News	2828	Indexes	1675	Indexes	1153	+18.6%
		% of total 59.3%		% of total 40.7%		

[1]Chi square indicated a significant difference between coverage, $X^2(1) = 4.76$, $\underline{p} < .05$.

Results for Globe & Mail

As can be observed in Table 8, the Globe & Mail devoted 62% of the measured space to headlines which were pro-Israeli, and 37% of the measured space to headlines which were pro-Arab. This indicated a significant difference between coverage of the sides, $X^2(1) = 4.76$, $p < .05$. This might be interpreted to mean the Globe & Mail was showing a measurable pro-Israeli bias.

Results for Evening Telegram

As can be observed in Table 8, the Evening Telegram devoted 45.7% of the measured space to headlines which were pro-Israeli and 54.3% of the measured space to headlines which were pro-Arab. This was not a statistically significant difference. However, it can be observed as a reversal of the previous measures for the Evening Telegram's bias. Since headlines are written by individual newspaper editors, the possibility could be considered that the paper's editors were attempting to present a different viewpoint from that which was being received from the wire services. This possibility will be discussed more fully later in the light of all the results.

Results for Daily News

As can be seen in Table 8, the Daily News devoted 59.3% of the measured space to pro-Israeli headlines and 40.7% of its space to pro-Arab headlines. This was not statistically significant. However, more space was devoted to the pro-Israeli point of view.

Measure of Column-inches

This was the most difficult analysis to complete, since a large

number of stories in all three papers contained comments from both sides.
An attempt was made to ascertain if an equal amount of space within each
story was devoted to each side's version of the situation and if each
side's version was given equal credibility (if there were no impartial
outside observers to confirm or reject). In many cases the researcher
found this to be true, so the story was marked neutral. In some cases,
however, one side or the other was given an advantage, and these items
were coded accordingly.

The results of the analysis of size of stories in column-inches
(exclusive of headlines, since these have already been measured) can be
seen in Table 9.

Table 9

Column-inches

Paper	Total Col.-inches	Pro-Israeli	Pro-Arab
Globe & Mail	928.25	col.-inches 652[1] % of total 70.23%	col.-inches 276.25[1] % of total 29.76%
Evening Telegram	296.25	col.-inches 167.75 % of total 56.6%	col.-inches 128.5 % of total 43.4%
Daily News	190.5	col.-inches 102.75 % of total 53.9%	col.-inches 87.75 % of total 46.2%

[1]Chi square indicated a significant difference between the coverage,
$x^2(1) = 16.37$, $p < .05$.

Results for Globe & Mail

The Globe & Mail devoted 70.23% of its space to stories that
were pro-Israeli and 29.76% of its measured space to stories that were

pro-Arab. A significant difference was noted between the coverage,
$x^2(1) = 16.37$, $p < .05$. Consequently, the Globe & Mail might be said to
be displaying a pro-Israeli bias.

Results for Evening Telegram

As can be seen in Table 9, the Evening Telegram devoted 56.6% of
its measured space to stories that were pro-Israeli and 43.4% of its
measured space to stories that were pro-Arab. This was not statistically
significant; however, it does show that more space was given to the pro-
Israeli point of view.

Results for Daily News

As can be seen from Table 9, the Daily News devoted 53.9% of its
measured space to stories that were pro-Israeli and 46.1% to stories
that were pro-Arab. This was not significant, but did show more space
devoted to the pro-Israeli point of view.

Measure of Illustrations

All illustrations dealing with the war or persons involved in
the war were analyzed for direction and then measured in column-inches,
including captions. The pictures were analyzed for themes (the same as
those employed in other analyses) in order to assign direction. For
example, a picture of Arab prisoners was counted as pro-Israeli, since
it showed the Israelis in a powerful position. The method of coding can
be observed in Appendix E, and the results are displayed in Table 10.

Results for Globe & Mail

As can be seen in Table 10, the Globe & Mail devoted 95% of its

Table 10

Illustrations

Paper	Total Col.-inches	Pro-Israeli	Pro-Arab
Globe & Mail	269.25	col.-inches 257.25[1]	col.-inches 12[1]
		% of total 95%	% of total 5%
Evening Telegram	50.5	col.-inches 50.5[1]	col.-inches 0[1]
		% of total 100%	% of total 0%
Daily News	61.5	col.-inches 42.0[1]	col.-inches 19.5[1]
		% of total 68.3%	% of total 31.7%

[1] Chi square indicated a significant difference between the coverage for each of these.

illustration space to pro-Israeli material, and 5% of its illustration space to pro-Arab material. Chi square indicated a significant difference between the coverage, $x^2(1) = 81$, $p < .05$.

Results for Evening Telegram

As can be seen in Table 10, the Evening Telegram devoted 100% of its illustration space to pro-Israeli material. Chi square indicated a significant difference between coverage, $x^2(1) = 100$, $p < .05$.

Results for Daily News

As can be seen in Table 10, the Daily News devoted 68.3% of its illustration space to pro-Israeli material and 31.7% to pro-Arab material. Chi square indicated a significant difference between coverage, $x^2(1) = 13.38$, $p < .05$.

Discussion of Reliability

A short discussion of the reliability of these results would seem to be necessary. Although the researcher did most of the coding, an attempt was made to clearly define the categories, and each of the analyses was performed twice. The testing periods were several months apart, giving the researcher an opportunity to rethink some decisions, as well as to more clearly conceptualize the propaganda themes. There were obviously some items which were difficult to code. For example, the Arab oil embargo was very difficult to place. Was it pro-Arab because it showed the Arabs in a position of power, or was it pro-Israeli because it was adversely affecting Western countries? For the most part, stories about this event were thought to be pro-Arab; however, in a few cases where there were references such as "refusing to submit to Arab blackmail," these were coded as pro-Israeli. Another factor which was helpful in coding was the list which was compiled from the three returned questionnaires. Since most of the 100 events were given a direction by at least one of the three professors who did the coding, this researcher's reliability could be checked by referring to this list. Finally, there may have been items which were omitted through oversight. However, since these omissions were unintentional, they were, in effect, random, and were as likely to favour one side as the other. Consequently, in the opinion of the researcher, these analyses were as reliable as possible.

Discussion of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: The selection and omission of stories in the sample newspapers will show measurable bias.

This hypothesis was supported only for the Globe & Mail. In the two other newspapers, although they both had a larger number of stories favouring one side than the other, a difference was not statistically significant.

In this analysis, the total number of stories omitted was of interest. The Evening Telegram only carried 65.7% of the 35 stories, and the Daily News only carried 48.5% of the 35 stories. In addition to this low percentage of coverage, many stories lacked essential detail when compared to the list of events which had been compiled for the questionnaire. For example, the terms of the ceasefire outlined by the Security Council on October 21, 1973, were not given. These terms seemed to be essential to understanding the situation which developed later.

Hypothesis 2: The content of the sample newspapers measured in column-inches will show measurable bias.

This hypothesis was supported only for the Globe & Mail. The other newspapers, although they both demonstrated bias in the same direction, did not demonstrate a statistically significant difference.

Hypothesis 3: The display of headlines in the sample newspapers as measured by the "display index" will show measurable bias.

This hypothesis was supported only for the Globe & Mail. The Daily News showed bias towards the same side as in the previous analyses, but not to a statistically significant extent. The Evening Telegram showed bias in the opposite direction, but again, not to a statistically significant extent. Since headlines are written locally, and every

other measure showed a pro-Israeli bias, it might be concluded that the local editors were displaying a different bias from the wire service coverage.

Hypothesis 4: The illustrations in the sample newspapers will show measurable bias, when measured in column-inches.

This hypothesis was supported to a statistically significant level for all three newspapers.

Hypothesis 5: The sample newspapers will tend to show similar bias to each other.

This hypothesis was not supported. The intention of this hypothesis was to point out the "agenda setting" function of the news services, as well as the dependence of newspapers on similar sources. This was quite a small sample about which to draw such a conclusion, especially since many of the measures were not statistically significant. However, it might be noted that 11 of the 12 measures showed bias in the same direction.

Hypothesis 6: The newspapers studied will tend to show similar bias to that which has been found to occur in the American press.

This hypothesis was not supported. However, there appeared to be a tendency for the results in this study to agree with Scanlon's statements (1968). He pointed out that AP and UPI appeared to show a pro-Israeli bias. This pro-Israeli bias was also demonstrated in 11 of the 12 studies conducted, although not always to a statistically significant extent.

Hypothesis 7: Each individual newspaper analyzed will show bias in the

same direction on each measure used.

This hypothesis was supported for both the Globe & Mail and the Daily News on every measure. In the case of the Evening Telegram, it was found to be true on three of the four measures. The significance of the score on headline display index has already been noted.

Limitations to Study

There were several limitations to this study. Most of these resulted from the constraints of conducting research, where funds and the amount of work which can be done are not without bounds. It was necessary to cut the number of newspapers to be analyzed to three from an original design of ten, partially because of work limitations, and partially because some of the newspapers were not available in the university library. It was also necessary to dispense with the study of a national event or to dispense with some of the types of analysis which were being conducted. (That is, just to conduct a column-inches analysis.) It was thought to be necessary to conduct each of these analyses to detect bias, since bias can be implanted in so many different ways; besides, the establishment of a methodology for detecting bias seemed to be important; consequently, the study of a national news event had to be omitted. It is hoped that another study of a national news event will be conducted, utilizing the established methodology.

Perhaps the greatest limitation was the lack of coders. The researcher was the only person to code the bulk of the material in the study; consequently, the researcher's own bias could have influenced the results. However, because the criteria for placing material in pro-Israeli and pro-Arab categories had been carefully determined and

because many of the events covered had been placed in categories by the three coders in the reliability analysis, a great deal of the subjectivity was removed from the coding. For a sample of the type of coding which the researcher did, it is possible to refer to Appendixes D and E.

Chapter 5

Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

The rationale for bringing controversial current events into the curriculum has been discussed earlier. In order to decide if each newspaper studied carried sufficient information on both sides of a controversy to be used in current events classes as resource material, this rationale will be reviewed briefly. Four of the reasons for bringing current events materials into the classroom were stated as follows:

1) to prepare students for the future in a fast changing world;

2) to bring about greater understanding of other societies;

3) to develop better understanding among the sectors of Canadian society;

4) to teach students to make logical political decisions based on reflective thinking.

The hypotheses which were tested will be discussed with reference to how well these goals of instruction could be expected to be implemented using newspapers similar to those in the sample.

Discussion of Hypotheses

Discussion of Hypotheses 1, 2, 3, and 4

The analyses of selection and omission of stories, column-inches devoted to a story, display of headlines, and illustrations in the sample newspapers each had a tendency to support the hypotheses which were set out. This result would seem to have significant implications

for the use of newspapers in studying controversial current events. The
Globe & Mail appeared to be demonstrating measurable bias in each of
these analyses. As a result, it might be concluded that a teacher who
utilized the Globe & Mail in the classroom in an attempt to keep students
advised on future happenings would probably be presenting a biased view
of the future. The Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media
(1970) states: "The media's job is to bring forward as many facts, as
many informed judgments on that [i.e. changes in society] as possible"
(p. 85). A newspaper presenting a larger number of stories supporting
one side more than the other is not likely to accomplish this purpose.
The same comment can be made about the goal of teaching students to make
logical political decisions based on reflective thinking. If the source
they are reading is presenting more arguments for one side than the
other, students would probably tend to support the side which is more
favourably presented, because they do not have enough knowledge about
the subject to make a logical decision.

The Daily News and the Evening Telegram appeared to be even less
suitable for classroom study as a result of these analyses. Although
they demonstrated no measurable bias on some of the individual analyses,
in the case of the Daily News all four analyses showed bias in one
direction, and in the case of the Evening Telegram three of the four
analyses showed bias in the same direction. As well, each of these
papers omitted a large number of the 35 stories which had been chosen as
important as a result of the questionnaire. (The Evening Telegram
included 65.7% and the Daily News included 48.5%, see Tables 5 and 7 and
Appendix C.)

If a teacher used either of these papers for instructional pur-

poses, some of the information necessary to understand either side's point of view would probably be missing. Therefore, what happened in international affairs would in all probability be difficult for average students to understand since cause and effect relationships might not be readily apparent in the events they were studying.

In many cases the _Daily News_ and the _Evening Telegram_ appeared to be concentrating on "human interest" stories; as a result they lacked space either to deal with basic military, political issues or to help expand their readers' knowledge of other cultures. For example, the _Daily News_ carried a story entitled "Soldier Marries on Battlefield" (_Daily News_, October 12, 1973, p. 9) which, although of probable interest to a few people, would do little to further knowledge of the Middle East. Another article in the _Daily News_ was supposed to be about the difficulty of becoming a liberated woman in Cairo (_Daily News_, November 8, 1973, p. 5). It went on to describe an Egyptian woman who was completely atypical of Muslim culture. As a result, it might be concluded that students reading these papers would learn little to generate empathy toward other cultures.

Without sufficient information students would find it difficult as well to make logical political choices based on rational thinking. A student cannot consider the relative merits of each side when he or she does not have sufficient information to understand the controversy.

Discussion of Hypotheses 5 and 7

Although the first hypothesis was not statistically supported (that the papers analyzed would show similar bias to each other), there was a tendency towards this conclusion since 11 of the 12 measures showed

bias in the same direction. The second (that each individual paper tended to show bias in the same direction on each analysis used) was supported. The implications of these findings for the classroom teacher would appear to be that in international events, many of the newspapers they see will probably show similar bias to each other. Consequently, the only defence for this type of overwhelming influence would appear to be to teach students methods by which they can detect biased reporting. If they are aware a report is biased, they can at least look to other sources of information to find another point of view.

Discussion of Hypothesis 6

Although the sample was too small to make a definite conclusion, and the results were not always statistically significant, the sample newspapers tended to show similar bias to that which has been found to occur in the American press. This result coupled with other studies (which have been reviewed) implies that Canadian newspapers do not "reflect the kind of bias that Canadians tend to share;" yet the Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media (p. 234) contends they should. This means that the view of the outside world Canadians are receiving is not necessarily in keeping with any Canadian philosophy. As a result, one opportunity for Canadians to develop a consistent attitude towards the outside world, in keeping with Canada's pluralistic, multi-cultural view of society, is apparently lost. Although it is not possible to discuss, as a result of the analyses, how well the press has presented the various sectors of Canadian society, it is possible to point out that the view Canadians are receiving of the outside world is perhaps more in keeping with American social philosophy than Canadian.

Usefulness of Newspapers

As a result of considering each of the hypotheses, considering the four instructional aims and of considering the results of the study, it would appear that a teacher could not expect to instruct students in controversial current events using a SINGLE newspaper as FACTUAL resource material.

However, the stress in the above statement is on "single" and "factual." Although it seems to be reasonable to expect a newspaper to cover any event thoroughly (for this reason, there seems to be evidence that the _Daily News_ and the _Evening Telegram_ are of little value in studying international affairs), it does not appear to be a human characteristic to be without bias. As the coders who were picking the important events pointed out: "important from which point of view?" In choosing news stories to print or from what point of view to write them, individual human beings are making judgments, and can reasonably be expected to show bias in arriving at their conclusions. As a result, the ideal situation for teaching controversial current events would seem to be when the "number and variety of newspapers give an opportunity for all important points of view to be expressed" (Royal Commission on the Press, 1947-1949).

Since many schools cannot afford to purchase large numbers of newspapers, there are two possible ways the difficulty of bias can be overcome. These will be discussed at some length.

Methods of Improvement

The two basic methods of improvement would seem to be either to

look for sources of material outside the school and/or to teach students
to recognize cases of biased reporting when they observe them.

Utilization of Outside Services

One method to improve a school's coverage of international and
national events would be to give students access to news gathering
services such as Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Facts on File, and
Canadian News Facts. These sources give quotes from various newspapers
in order to ensure coverage of all aspects of an event; however, their
cost makes them prohibitive for individual schools to purchase. If a
school were a member of a large school board, the district resource
office could subscribe to these services. Teachers would then have
access to them for preparing lessons in current events. If a school
does not have the advantage of a district resource office, a request
can be placed with the public library service to obtain clippings from
various sources on questions which are being discussed in the classroom.
Public libraries are quite willing to provide this service.

Methods of Implanting Bias

Another method which can be employed is to help students to
understand that a newspaper can be biased, and to help them to recognize
instances of bias. Once they are aware of methods of implanting bias,
they are less likely to accept biased reports as factual.

First, a teacher could give the students the list of propaganda
themes noted in Appendix A. These themes could be adapted with little
difficulty to various situations. The teacher could assign the students
the project of finding instances of usage of these themes in magazines
and newspapers which they commonly utilize in studying current events.

Secondly, a teacher could ask students to utilize some of the methods employed during this study to detect bias. It would not be necessary for a student to become involved in the tedious procedure of measuring column-inches in an article or points in a headline. They could, however, be asked to read a paper carefully, searching for examples of the methods of implanting bias. These methods will be listed briefly along with activities which might help students to detect cases where they have been employed.

Bias in Newspaper Sources. Students could run a simple check on the datelines of news articles to see with which wire service and in which location an item originated.

Bias through Selection and Omission. Students could take issues of such magazines as Macleans, Time, and Newsweek, and make a list of important events in some news story, assign the events direction, and then check the Daily News and the Evening Telegram to see if they have included all these events in detail.

Bias through Placement. Students could run a simple check during an election campaign and see which party or candidate is receiving most front page coverage.

Bias through Coincidental Placement. Students could see if there are examples of comments by one candidate followed by remarks which discredit what he or she has said. They could also look at pictures to see if the candidate has been shown talking to someone who does not have a good public image.

Bias through Words. Students could study headlines, looking for usage of words with favourable (unfavourable) connotations to describe participants in a controversy.

Bias in News Images. Students could check a particular person who receives a lot of press coverage to see if a particular image of that person is being presented by an individual newspaper.

Bias in Photograph Selection and Captions. Students could check all the photographs which were presented in a newspaper during a controversy, and using the propaganda themes, see if one side or the other was receiving favourable (unfavourable) treatment.

Through using a combination of these two methods teachers would hopefully be able to teach students to think critically about written material which is presented to them through the press.

Implications for Future Studies

As a result of this research there are some questions which have arisen. These could make informative topics for further research.

First, it would be valuable to conduct a bilingual study, with a similar design to this study, of a sample of Canadian newspapers to see if there is a significant difference in the treatment they have given the Separatist cause in Quebec. (The Canadian Radio Television and Telecommunication Commission (CRTC) has conducted a study of the CBC French language radio network with a similar purpose to the proposed one.) This type of survey would give Canadians an indication of the adequacy of newspaper coverage of national news events.

Secondly, more information about the "agenda setting" role of the media would seem to be essential. A poll of the type to which Martin (1977) refers could be conducted to see if there is any discrepancy between what people think the main issue in the next federal election will be, and what they think is the greatest problem facing our nation today. This study would give some indication of whether the press and the politicians are placing issues before the public, that the public does not think are of the first importance.

Thirdly, a new study similar to Scanlon's (1968, 1969) could be conducted to see if American influence on Canadian reporting of international affairs has decreased.

Fourthly, an instructional package could be developed on reflective thinking and the decision making process through the study of controversial current events. Newspapers, magazines, radio, and television could be used as resource material. Recognition of propaganda themes and methods of implanting bias as well as the ability to make well-founded judgments, having been presented with two or more sides in a controversy, could be the objectives.

Concluding Comments

As a concluding comment, it seems important to restate that it appears to be unwise to allow students to accept information which they receive through newspapers as factual. This study has attempted to point out, in a measurable way, that much of the material which students read can be biased or lacking in information essential to understanding a situation. With the uncertain future that is facing young people today, it would seem essential for them to develop skills in detecting

propaganda and "doublespeak," as well as to develop skills in thinking

in a rational manner. To requote Muessig (1975):

> dealing with controversial issues is far more important than
> many people in social studies education have yet to realize.
> . . . One cannot predict how much time is left to develop
> reflective persons who can attempt to improve the human con-
> dition and to save mankind, but it is apparent that we must
> be engaged seriously now in this crusade. (p. 18)

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE -- THE YOM KIPPUR WAR

QUESTIONNAIRE

The Yom Kippur War

Of the following one hundred events of the Yom Kippur War, 1973, please
indicate in RANK ORDER the THIRTY which you believe to be most important
by checking ( ). If you believe the event was favourable to the
Israelis, mark it plus (+); if you feel it was unfavourable to the
Israelis make it minus (-). If you believe an event was favourable to
the Arabs, mark it minus (-); if you believe it was unfavourable to the
Arabs, mark it plus (+).

The following may be helpful guidelines in determining if events are
favourable or unfavourable:

1. active-passive -- the group is capable (or incapable) of carrying
   out policies advocated; individual leaders are presented as
   active, competent individuals (passive, incompetent).

2. honest-dishonest -- the leaders or people are shown to have
   personal virtue (or lack of it); e.g., accusing one side or the
   other of attacking civilian populations or mistreating prisoners
   of war would be negative.

3. powerful-unpowerful -- the leaders, armed forces, or people are
   shown to have high morale, be united, or to be assured of
   victory (or the opposite of these).

4. positive values-negative values -- leaders, armed forces, or
   people are associated with socially approved (or disapproved)
   values; e.g. associating one side or the other with Communism or
   Communists would be unfavourable, in our social context.

5. strength-weakness -- a statement presenting the leader's position
   on an issue or event in conjunction with a favourable (or
   unfavourable) evaluation of the issue or event.

EVENTS....

1. Egyptians cross canal at 5 points, overrun the "Bar-Lev" line.
   Construct 12 pontoon bridges and bring 400 tanks along the 100 mile
   length of the canal. Syrians launch an offensive with 1,400 tanks,
   want to recapture the Golan Heights.

2. Mrs. Meir makes TV broadcast on the attack condemning the Arabs for
   attacking on Day of Atonement.

3. Although both sides blame each other for the attack, the UN truce
   observers on the Suez Canal and the Golan Heights report that the
   ceasefire lines in both areas had been initially corssed by the
   Egyptian and Syrian troops.

4. Size of forces entering the war. The combined Arab forces greatly outnumbering the Israeli.

5. Tass agency USSR gives a pro-Arab report. Said the blame for the attack lay wholly with Israel, condemned extreme reactionary circles which have constantly encouraged Israel in its aggressive ambition, and spoke of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. The West felt the statement was moderate since it did not support Syrian and Egyptian claims that Israel started the war.

6. Egypt announced they held the whole length of the east bank of the Suez Canal in Egyptian hands. They said they had reoccupied Qantara (Kantara), heavy losses inflicted on Israelis and a number of prisoners taken. They claimed to be "pouring" into the Sinai with "desperate" resistance by Israelis. Syrians drove more than 15 miles into Israeli-occupied territory, recapturing Quneitra (Kuneitra), advanced across Golan Heights toward Israel Proper.

7. The Security Council held inconclusive meetings on October 8 and 9. Both sides and their allies making conflicting statements.

8. Damascus was bombed. There were a number of civilian casualties, particularly in a part of the capital where there were many foreign embassies. The Norwegian UN observer and his wife were among these.

9. Mr. Brezhnev, of the USSR, sent a letter to President Boumedienne in Algiers saying to "use all means at their disposal and take all steps required with a view to supporting Egypt and Syria."

10. A correspondent with Israeli Army said Israel was engaged in "one of the most bitter battles in its history."

11. Aharon Yariv said Israeli forces had evacuated the Bar-Lev line and established a "firm base for operation--2 or 3 miles and in some places 4 miles east of the Suez." He said the situation would not be easily redressed and there was still a lot of fighting and that "it is not going to be a short war."

12. Big air battles were fought over the Golan Heights and Israeli Forces bombed Damascus (in retaliation for Syrian rocket attacks which caused damage to Israeli Kibutzim in Upper Galilie, and an undisclosed number of civilian casualities). In the attack on Damascus, carried out by Phantom jets, Israeli planes scored direct hits on the Syrian Ministry of Defence and headquarters of Syrian radio. Damascus airport and the town of Homs were also attacked as well as a radar station in Lebanon.

13. Egypt's ability to take and hold bridgeheads in Israeli occupied Sinai, growing cooperation between Arab capitals, and a new grounds-well support from Africa, Asia, and Latin America have caused a powershift in the Middle East.

14. Mrs. Meir announced on October 10 that the Golan Heights were entirely in Israeli hands and that the Syrian army was driven back

into Syrian territory.

15. According to eye-witness reports, air-to-air sparrow and Sidewinder missiles were loaded into a Boeing 707 with painted over Israeli markings on October 10 at Oceana Naval Air-Station near Norfolk, Va. (<u>Christian Science Monitor</u>).

16. Mr. McClosky, a US State Department spokesman, said that the USSR had sent "very big tonages of military supplies" to Egypt and Syria-- that these "massive" supplies tend to put a new face on the situation.

17. Dr. Walkham issued a statement on October 11 urging the nations engaged in the Middle East conflict "to consider alternative courses before it is too late, so that fighting and bloodshed may cease." That parties involved should "redouble their efforts to seek an end to the fighting and resumption of the quest for a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East."

18. The Syrian Army had been driven behind the '67 ceasefire line in all areas and Israeli troops and armour had penetrated some six miles into Syria proper, encountering strong resistance. In Tel Aviv, where it was claimed Israeli Army was about 35 miles from Damascus, Mr. Dayan said, "The Syrians will find that the distance from Damascus to Tel Aviv is the same as from Tel Aviv to Damascus." As well, there were bombing attacks on Damascus airport and other targets and Israeli gunboats hit oil facilities at Banias and Tatkia.

19. Senator Fulbright of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee pointed out the US government is not capable of cutting supplies to Israel because the Israelis control the policies of the Congress and the Senate--He said, "The emotional and political ties are too strong, I have witnessed that. I can speak from my own experience in the Senate."

20. There were continuing naval encounters between Israeli and Egyptian naval units, including one in which a Greek freighter was hit and sunk, as well as a 12,000 ton Soviet merchant vessel, both by Israelis.

21. Egyptian forces launched an offensive eastward into the Sinai along the whole 100-mile front. They were heading for the three passes (the Milta, the Giddor, and the Khatmia) to the Bir Gifgafa area which was Israel's main defensive position in the Sinai. Both sides had heavy losses in men and materials.

22. Jordan and Saudia Arabia enter the war; although Jordan did not open a third front. Instead, Jordan sent troops to Syria to fight.

23. Reports in Tel Aviv on October 13-14 said the Lybian Mirage jets supplied by France were seen with the Egyptian Air Force. Although this was denied by Lybia and this denial was accepted by France, the Israelis claimed to have shot down two of them.

24. Israel claimed a major victory over the Iraqi forces fighting beside the Syrians. In a great tank battle 2 Iraqi armoured brigades with some 250 tanks were eliminated as an effective fighting force. This was claimed by the Israeli Military Command: as well as an attack on Saassaa (Sasa), the main Syrian defensive position covering Damascus.

25. US had begun an "appreciable airlift of military supplies" to Israel to offset "massive" Soviet Airlift. To prevent Soviet airlift from "unsettling the military balance in the area." Washington estimated that since October 10, the USSR had airlifted 400 tons to Egypt and Syria.

26. President Sadat addressed People's Assembly in Cairo. He says the sole condition for ceasefire was complete withdrawal by Israel from Arab Territories occupied in the 1967 war. Describes crossing of the Suez as "a miracle at any military level." He said Egypt had ground-to-ground missiles which could cross Sinai and reach heartland of Israel. Five points of Egypt's "theory of peace" addressed to President Nixon:

    1) recovery of "occupied lands" and legitimate rights of Palestinians.

    2) acceptance of ceasefire and immediate and complete withdrawal of Israel to pre-'67 borders.

    3) attending a peace conference of all parties including Palestinians at the UN.

    4) readiness to reopen the Suez Canal, initial steps underway.

    5) did not want "vague promises" but wanted "clarity of intention and targets."

27. Israeli task force made major incursion on the west bank in Central Sector between Great Bitter Lake and Ismailia. A statement to that effect made in the KNESSET on the afternoon of 16 by Mrs. Meir.

28. Major General Uni Narkiss said more tanks were being used than in the British offensive in Alamein in 1942, or the German attack on the Soviet Union in 1941. He said the Egyptian offensive had been brought to a standstill in all sectors, and was making little or no headway. Israeli tanks and armour were taking a heavy toll. Brigadier Herzog--chief military spokesman and analyst--confirmed one of the biggest tank battles in history taking place--biggest since World War II.

29. Ten member states of OAPEC decided to reduce production of petrol by at least 5% progressively each month with effect from October, on the basis of the preceding month's production, until Israeli forces had withdrawn completely from territories occupied in June 1967 war and legal rights of Palestinians had been restored.

30. Mrs. Meir denounced "criminal war" in Knesset, launched by Syria and Egypt on the holiest day of Jewish calendar. She said it was a war for "very existence of Israel and of the Jewish people." She said Israel's forces were operating on the west bank of the Suez and that Syria had been "badly beaten" and driven back. She spoke of the "sinister role" of the Soviet Union. She contrasted American action to that of other "enlightened countries," i.e., Britain for cutting weapons to both sides and France for permitting Lybia to use Mirage fighters on the Egyptian front.

31. President Sadat assumed personal command of the Egyptian army. He said special JIHAD (holy war) measures were passed by the Egyptian Parliament—including: wide range of taxes, gradual increases in income taxes, compulsory savings, and increased price for petrol.

32. President Nixon requested $2,200 million in immediate military aid for Israel to prevent "substantial inbalance" of military power.

33. Major General Mucktar admitted that "strong" Israeli forces had crossed the Canal—however, he continued to claim that they were surrounded.

34. Major General Mucktar claimed that Israeli losses in the Siani were very high, over 300 aircraft, 600 tanks, 400 half-tracks, and other armoured vehicles, 25 helicopters, in addition to 25 naval vessels. He said their death toll was 3,000 up to the outset of the tank battle alone.

35. Israeli tanks continued to pour over the Suez Canal expanding their bridgehead, "taking out" many of the missile sites on the west bank. According to Israeli correspondents at the front almost all SAM missile sites had been knocked out by October 21. The Israeli Air Force, according to Israeli sources, had virtually complete control of the skies on both sides of the canal.

36. Israel claimed to have destroyed about 850 Egyptian tanks since the start of the war and to have shot down 210 Egyptian planes.

37. The Security Council adopted a resolution presented jointly by US and USSR calling for a ceasefire in the Middle East. It was adopted 14 to nil with China abstaining. It was worded as follows:

The Security Council:

a) calls upon all parties to the present fighting to cease all fighting and terminate all military activity immediately, no later than 12 hours after the moment of the adoption of the decision in the positions they now occupy.

b) calls upon all parties concerned to start immediately after the ceasefire, the implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 in all its parts.

   c) decides that immediately and concurrently with the ceasefire,
      negotiations start between parties concerned under the appro-
      priate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace.

38. Israel wanted an end to the Arab blockade of the Straits of Bal-el-
    Mandeb imposed by the Egyptian Navy. The Israeli cabinet accepted
    the ceasefire after a 4-hour debate. Israeli acceptance was
    announced one hour later, although this was on the condition that
    Israel adhere to it. Cairo interpreted the resolution to mean that
    Israeli forces must withdraw immediately from the current ceasefire
    line as well as from territory occupied since 1967. Iraq announced
    it would not be a party to any resolution, procedure, or measure in
    armistice or ceasefire negotiations with Israel, now or in the
    future.

39. At the time of the first ceasefire on October 22: an estimated
    12,000 Israeli troops with 200 tanks were holding a bridgehead west
    of the Suez running for 30 miles to the north and south of the Great
    Bitter Lake and about 200 miles inland leaving some 500 sq. miles of
    Egyptian territory in Israeli hands. The important Cairo-Ismailia
    road had been cut thereby seriously jeopardizing one of the main
    Egyptian supply routes between Cairo and the front, though alterna-
    tive routes were available farther north. Although Egyptians were
    holding some 400 to 450 sq. miles of territory in Sinai--i.e., east
    of the canal, at the ceasefire, the Egyptian Third Army had, as
    stated, been encircled in the southern sector near the town of Suez.
    Moreover, by reaching the port of Adabigu south of Suez, the Israelis
    had severed all road communication between Suez and Cairo.

40. Egypt announced that it approved ceasefire but only if Israel
    adhered to it. Cairo interpreted the resolution at the UN to mean
    that Israeli forces must withdraw immediately from the current
    ceasefire line as well as from occupied territory held since 1967.

41. Security Council met in emergency session on 23rd at the request of
    the US and USSR. A new ceasefire resolution (339 of 1973) was
    passed 14 to nil (China abstaining). It stated:

    a) confirms its decision on the immediate cessation of all kinds of
       firing and all military actions, and urges that the forces....

    b) requests Secretary General to take measures....

42. Mr. Malik, the Russian representative, accused Israel of having, he
    alleged, used truce violations to improve its military position on
    the Suez front.

43. Dr. Waldheim announced Syria would obey the ceasefire resolution of
    October 22. The Syrians said their acceptance was conditional on
    Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories (1967) and the protec-
    tion of "the legitimate rights of the Palestinians."

44. Mrs. Meir explains acceptance of ceasefire to a special session of

the Knesset on October 23. Three reasons for Israeli compliance were named. Two points Israel considered essential for peace:

a) peace must be achieved through direct negotiations between Israel and Arabs.

b) borders must be negotiated by parties concerned.

45. By October 24 the Israelis had occupied the whole Golan Heights, driven deeply into Syria, advanced to within 20 miles of Syria proper. In the hours before the ceasefire on the Northern front the Israelis obtained an important success by recapturing the 9,000 foot Mount Hermon, which dominated the Damascus road and had been taken by the Syrians early in their offensive. Regained the last of the positions lost to Syrians at the outbreak of the war.

46. Israel announced it planned to supply plasma to the trapped Egyptian troops through the Red Cross and said the men were in no immediate danger dying of thirst or hunger. Israel had cut their water pipe-line to the eastern bank. It was believed the Egyptian force had water tank trucks and food.

47. Israelis claimed to capture Adabiya, 10 miles south of Suez. This placed them 30 miles inside Egypt controlling territory from the outskirts of Ismailia to Adabiya--about one-half the length of the Suez Canal.

48. New York Times reported October 24 that US was hampered in sending shipments to Israel because European nations would not permit the use of their bases as stopovers, e.g., Greece, Turkey, Spain and Italy publically took this stand. It was felt that England did privately point out military aid was being given to Greece, Turkey, and Spain so that they could help out in a crisis situation in the Middle East.

49. Justice Minister Shapirio called for resignation of Defence Minister Dayan because of his failure to interpret correctly evidence of war.

50. The night of October 25 the Security Council adopted another resolution for the creation of a UN Emergency force made up of neither of the permanent members of the Security Council. It also repeated two earlier resolutions.

51. Dr. Kissinger gave a detailed press conference telling of developments in Middle East, and contacts between the US and the USSR to bring it to an end. He emphasized US does not favour and would not approve the sending of joint US Soviet forces into the Middle East. That it was "unconceivable that we should transplant the great power rivalry into the Middle East" or "impose a military settlement by the US and USSR and that the USA was "even more opposed to the unilateral introduction by any great power, especially a Nuclear Power of military forces into the Middle East in whatever guise these forces should be introduced." Disclosed President Nixon had

ordered "certain precautionary measures" to be taken by US--a reference to a world-wide military alert of US forces, to which President Nixon referred next day. He said "the conditions that produced the war were clearly intolerable to the Arab nations, and the US was prepared "to lend its diplomatic weight both bilaterally and unilaterally" to seek a solution "just to all sides." He said that Israel in Security Council Resolution 338 had "been given an opportunity for the negotiations it had sought for all its existence," and it must be ready for a just and durable peace.

52. President Nixon in a press conference disclosed that prior to the Security Council's resolution of October 24, a "potentially explosive crisis" had arisen as a result of information...." Dr. James Schlesinger, US Defence Secretary had given three reasons for President Nixon's decision for military alert:

    a) the altering of Soviet paratroops in East Europe.

    b) doubling in size of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranian Sea to over 800 ships.

    c) the apparant preparation of Soviet aircraft, including large transport planes.

53. Addressing a "World Congress of Peace Forces" in Moscow on October 26, Mr. Brezhnev spoke of "certain elements" in the NATO countries which in recent days had "artificially fanned passions by all kinds of fantastic rumours about the intentions of the USSR in the Middle East." Accused the US of "artificially drumming up" of a crisis to justify its world-wide military alert October 25. Said the USSR had sent men to observe the ceasefire and hoped US would do the same.

54. A plan drawn up by Dr. Waldheim for a 7,000-man UN force to serve in the Middle East for an initial 6-month period was approved in the Security Council by 1,400 votes to nil, with China abstaining. Main tasks--to supervise a full ceasefire on the Suez Canal front, to ensure a return to the positions held by both sides at 16:50 hours GMT on October 22 when original truce came into effect. Terms:

    a) selection of contingents.

    b) act impartially.

    c) enjoy freedom of movement, armed with defensive weapons used in self-defence including resistance to attempts to carry out its duty.

    d) commander appointed by Secretary General in agreement with Security Council and responsible to Secretary General; cost $30,000,000 for six month period.

55. Egypt and Israeli officers met (the first meeting since 1956) to arrange details of convoy to encircled Egyptian Third Army.

56. Demonstrations in Tel Aviv entered their third consecutive day on October 31. They demanded a strong government position on prisoner return and opposed resupply of Third Army.

57. Canada accepts request from Waldheim to provide logistic support.

58. Statement by International Committee of the Red Cross asked for list of prisoners of war, authorization to visit them. ". . . it received a positive reply from Israel, but no response from Syria. Egypt gave list of 46 names to ICRC and single visit was made to wounded about ten days ago has constituted a first step not followed by further action. It deplores that wounded prisoners should be deprived of protection and assistance afforded by the conventions which are not subject to any condition of reciprocal treatment and forbid measures of reprisal," "to put into practice without restriction or delay the undertakings they have assumed from the respect and safeguard of human persons."

59. Nixon advised Congress to delay consideration of the most-favoured-nation status for the Soviet Union, until the situation in the Middle East was more settled. Also deny US credit and credit guarantees to nations restricting Jewish emigration.

60. Dr. Kissinger met in Washington on October 29-30 with Mr. Fahmy to attempt to bring the two sides closer to direct negotiations for permanent settlement of the Middle East conflict.

61. Skeik Ali Khalifa el-Sabah, head of price commission of OPEC said Arabs feared the US might resort to military moves to assure continued deliveries of Arab oil.

62. Sadat held press conference. Said he was not prepared to enter into direct talks as such with Israelis; he was willing to take part in an international conference in which Palestinians must participate as soon as Israel withdrew to the first ceasefire line established under the Security Council's October 22 resolution. Denies Third Army completely cut off. Could wipe out Israelis with two divisions of Third Army and attack those on West Bank with First Army. Reveals Mr. Heath sent message four days before saying Israelis would "release" Third Army if Egypt lifted naval blockade of the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. To this Sadat replied that Israel should first respect Security Council's October 22 resolution, and return to original ceasefire line.

63. Syrian authorities accused Israelis of shelling civilian buildings and factories, of throwing time bombs into civilian areas, of expelling thousands of Syrian villagers, and of forcing Syrian prisoners of war to march ahead through mine fields. Also of violating the 1949 Geneva Convention on the protection of war victims. Israel must return Syrians expelled from villages occupied during the recent fighting and must return the bodies of Syrians killed.

64. More than 800 Swedish, Finish, Austrian, and Irish troops, almost
    all from UN peace Keeping Force in Cyprus, had been flown to Egypt.
    Many by the RAF and deployed to the Egyptian-Israeli front. Further
    reinforcements from these four countries were expected to bring
    total to 2,000 early in November, that Canada had agreed to provide
    "logistical component" of the UN force and that General Ensio
    Silasvico of Finland had been appointed Commander of the UN Force,
    with his headquarters provisionally in Cairo.

65. The International Committee of the Red Cross:

    a) called upon the Egyptian Government to enable it to repatriate
       the wounded POW's and to visit POW's held in Egypt, to provide
       POW lists not yet supplied.

    b) called upon the Government of Israel to enable it to repatriate
       wounded POW's and ensure evacuation of wounded from Sinai and
       Suez areas, and to fulfill the duties laid upon it in the newly
       occupied areas.

    c) called upon the Syrian Government to enable it to repatriate
       wounded POW's and to visit POW's held in Syria and provide lists
       of POW's held. (Geneva Convention: 1) conditions of wounded, 2)
       protection of POW's, 3) protection of civilians in occupied
       territories)

66. Mrs. Meir stated in Washington that she had never heard of plans to
    relieve Egyptian Third Army, that she would not return to the cease-
    fire line, that nobody could place definitely, would not give any
    territory for a Palestinian State located between Israel and Jordan.
    But was ready for peace talks without pre-conditions.

67. Security Council decided to enlarge Emergency Force by getting addi-
    tional states: Ghana, Indonesia, Nepal, Panama, Peru, Poland, and
    Canada—the latter two with regard to logistic support—and it was
    further agreed that two more African countries, not yet designated
    should also be approached.

68. Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia have agreed on joint political stand
    on peace efforts, but the two main Arab combatants have drawn up
    contingency plans should ceasefire deadlock persist. Result of
    meeting between President Sadat, King Fisal and President Assad to
    prepare for the Arab front for the visit of Dr. Kissinger.

69. Meeting of OAPEC implementing extra 5% cutback for November to be
    increased in December by further 5%. The Algerian minister and
    Saudi Arabian minister to visit Western capitals in order to explain
    Arab view, including complete embargoes to US and Netherlands.

70. Libyan officials denounced Soviet support of the truce and assailed
    Moscow for permitting the continued emigration of Soviet Jews to
    Israel.

71. Foreign Ministers of nine member countries of ECM met on November 5-6 (i.e., immediately after Arab Oil Ministers had met in Kuwait) to consider both the political and economic implications of the war. Called for both sides in the war to return immediately to the position occupied on October 22 (i.e., after first ceasefire--in order "to facilitate a solution to other pressing problems concerning prisoners of war and the Egyptian Third Army," and to Israel to end the territorial occupation which it had maintained since 1967, and recognize that any settlement must take account of the "legitimate rights of the Palestinians." The resolution was regarded generally as placatory towards Arabs and aroused strong criticism in Israel.

72. The first official figures of Israeli casualties, said on November 6 by the Israeli General Staff, said that a total of 1,850 wounded were still in hospital. The number of soldiers missing or believed to be held in Arab captivity was about 450, though precise figures could not be given as Egypt and Syria had not made POW lists available to the International Red Cross. No figures of Egyptian and Syrian casualties had been published in Cairo or Damascus by the first week of November.

73. Dr. Kissinger was in Cairo for talks with President Sadat, which according to press reports were of a very cordial nature; while he was in Cairo it was announced that the US and Egypt had agreed to resume full diplomatic relations for the first time since the 1967 war, and Dr. Kissinger told press that "I think we are moving towards peace."

74. It was officially disclosed that the US had reached a formula with Egypt and Israel for ceasefire. It was hoped it would lead to lasting settlement. It was believed, though not officially stated, that the proposals had been brought by Kissinger. The agreement would be submitted to UN before it was published.

75. A six point ceasefire agreement negotiated during Kissinger's mission in the Middle East and accepted by both Egypt and Israel was signed on November 11 by Egyptian Major General Mohammed Abdel Ghamy el-Gamasy and Israeli Major General Aharon Yariv, in the presence of General Silasvuo, the Commander of the UN Emergency Force. Both sides became deadlocked in a controversy over control of check points on the Cairo-Suez road--vital for the supply of the Third Army. The text of the agreement had been made public in a letter from Dr. Kissinger to Dr. Waldheim dated November 9, as follows:

    1) Both agree to observe ceasefire called for by Security Council.

    2) Both agree discussion will begin immediately to settle question of return to October 22 position in framework of agreement on the disengagement and separation of forces under the auspices of the United Nations.

    3) Town of Suez receive daily food, water, and medicine. All wounded civilians evacuated.

4) Shall be no impediment to movement of non-military supplies to the east bank.

5) Israeli check points on the Cairo-Suez road will be replaced by UN check points. At Suez, Israeli officers can participate with UN to supervise the non-military nature of cargo.

6) UN check points established, there will be exchange of prisoners of war, including wounded.

This was the first major agreement between Israel and an Arab country since armistice agreements which ended Palestine War 1948-1949 was signed at the Kilometer 101 check point, in a UN tent set up in a 100-mile strip of "no-man's" land.

76. Two-level investigation of the conduct of war was ordered in Israel: 1) political decision, and 2) military aspects.

77. Mrs. Meir met with world socialist leaders in London in an effort to muster support for her government. Denounced the November 6 statement of the EEC foreign ministers. West German Chancellor Willy Brandt said to have replied that it went no further than the UN Security Council resolution 242.

78. Finish UNEF forces became engaged in a fist fight with Israeli soldiers on November 12 after Fins established two check points at Kilometer 101 and Kilometer 119, just outside Suez. Fins took over after another meeting between Israel and Egypt ended in disagreement. Finish commander said Israeli commander invaded Kilometer 119 and threatened to fire if UN did not pull out. Fights erupted. The tension abated when 60 UNEF replacements arrived but Israelis positioned other forces just outside check points.

79. Mrs. Meir said Israel will not withdraw to first ceasefire positions and that it still believed in depth and defensible borders. There can be no large scale withdrawal from 1967 occupied territory.

80. It was announced in Beruit that Iraq was not abiding by the November 5 decision by Arab oil producers to cut production by 25%. An Iraqi government statement warned against creation of a general "shortfall in supplies" to all industrial users that might provoke the "US to launch new military adventures in the Arab region."

81. Following ceasefire agreement a further agreement was reached by senior Egyptian and Israeli officers on November 14 to begin exchanging prisoners of war as from 7 a.m. on November 15, beginning with wounded prisoners. The agreement reached at Kilometer 101 check point provided that two International Red Cross aircraft based in Nicosia would shuttle the exchanged POW's between Egypt and Israel. Disputed check points on Cairo-Suez road held by Israel would be handed over to UN control. Since the ceasefire a total of 175 lorryloads of supplies had passed through Israeli lines to the town of Suez and to the Egyptian Third Army. The Third Army to receive food, water and medicine and wounded to be evacuated.

82. Meeting in Vienna on November 18 OAPEC decided to implement the
    next 5% production cut scheduled for December but to exempt all
    members of European communities (with exception of the Netherlands)
    in appreciation of their political stand on November 6.

83. Ceasefire talks resumed on Cairo road concerning exchange of POW's
    evacuation of dead from the battle field and supplies to Third Army.

84. Dr. Kissinger announced he expected Arab-Israel conference next
    month. At the same time he threatened oil producers with retalia-
    tion. He said US would be forced to take countermeasures, would
    have to consider retaliatory action if the Arab oil embargo con-
    tinued "unreasonably and indefinitely." He said US would not "be
    pushed beyond this point by any pressure." He did not specify what
    form countermeasures would take and if there was a deadline.

85. Dr. Kissinger said, "we have no confirmation that the USSR has
    introduced nuclear weapons in Egypt. There are USSR public state-
    ments rejecting this accusation." He said, "if USSR were known to
    introduce nuclear weapons into local conflict this would be a funda-
    mental shift in traditional practices and one hard to reconcile with
    an effort to bring about a responsible solution."

86. In a statement issued on November 22 and interpreted in the press as
    a move to reduce Arab hostility to Japan, the Japanese Government
    "deplored" Israel's continued occupation of Arab territories called
    on her to withdraw, and announced that it would "continue to observe
    situation in Middle East with grave concern" and depending on future
    developments "may have to reconsider its policy towards Israel."
    They cited Resolution 242 of the UN.

87. Dayan said while greeting the last of the Israeli prisoners at LOD
    airport that Egyptians may have murdered some captured Israelis. He
    said there were Israelis taken by the Egyptians who were not returned,
    that they must have been murdered or died in some other way.

88. The exchange of Israeli and Egyptian prisoners of war was completed
    November 22. Since the start of the repatriation of the POW's
    November 15, an airlift supervised by the ICRC had returned 241
    Israelis and 8,031 Egyptians, an ICRC official said.

89. Abba Eban said on November 22 that Damascus must free Israeli pri-
    soners before Israel "can sit with Syria at a peace conference." He
    said he had discussed details of the proposed parley in Washington
    November 21 with Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

90. Ahmed Zaki Yamane warned that his country would cut its oil produc-
    tion by 80% if the US, Western Europe, or Japan tried to counter the
    Arab oil embargo. To Kissinger's remarks about unspecified American
    reprisals, Yamani said if the US attempted military means, Saudi
    Arabia would blow up its oil fields. He cautioned Western Europe
    and Japan against joining US in any move, saying, "your whole
    economy will definitely collapse all of a sudden."

91. Palestinian hyjackers of the Arab Nationalist Youth for the Libera-
    tion of Palestine, took over a KLM 747 plane just after it left
    Beruit on a stopover between Amsterdam and Tokyo. Demanded that the
    airlines halt the transportation of arms to Israel, and that the
    Dutch government after its "pro-Israeli" stance and cease providing
    mediation or assistance in the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel.
    They threatened to blow up the plane if demands not met. They flew
    to several cities, finally freeing all their hostages in Dubi,
    giving themselves up. They were said by Dubai officials to be taken
    into custody on November 28.

92. King Hussein said he would not attend the Geneva conference if the
    Arab summit meeting designated the PLO as exclusive representatives
    of the Palestinians.

93. The Israeli Cabinet announced that it had accepted in principle a US
    proposal to attend a peace conference on the Middle East, scheduled
    to start in Geneva on December 18. Jordan also agreed in principle
    to be present. Israel said: "Upon receipt of an official invitation,
    it will be discussed by the Cabinet and a formal decision taken."

94. The semi-official newspaper Al Ahran reported that President Sadat
    would not attend until Israeli forces withdrew to the October 22
    ceasefire lines. Syria announced it would not exchange prisoners
    with Israel for the present. It said the exchange "will be carried
    out only within the framework of a total Israeli withdrawal from
    occupied Arab lands."

95. Dayan asserted that Israel must insist on retaining former Arab
    territories for its security. He said Kissinger's security guaran-
    tees could supplement defensible borders but were no substitute for
    them. Said Israel must retain Jordan Valley, Golan Heights, radar
    installations in Nablus Hill in West Bank, the Gidi and Milta passes
    in Sinai and Sharm el Sheilk which controlled passage between the
    Red Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba.

96. The heads of 15 Arab states and Palestinian leaders held a summit
    conference in Staoueli, Algeria to review October war and plan
    future Arab strategy. A communique issued November 28 announced an
    embargo on oil exports to Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa. It
    endorsed "political efforts" towards Middle East peace agreement,
    but only on condition that Israel withdraw from all occupied Arab
    territories "notably Jerusalem." The conference gave implicit
    approval to Egypt's decision to enter into peace negotiations with
    Israel. Two "paramount and unchangeable" conditions to achieve that
    end: "evacuation by Israel of the occupied Arab lands, and first of
    all Jerusalem, and re-establishment of the full national rights for
    Palestinian people." Qaddafi of Lybia would not attend because
    Libya "would be asked to recognize Israel."

97. The conference recognized the PLO headed by Yasir Arafat as the sole
    legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This was
    regarded as a blow to King Hussein who did not attend the confer-
    ence, but was represented by Bahjat Talhsuni, head of the King's
    Cabinet.

98. Israeli and Egyptian military negotiations broke off talks at Kilometer 101 November 29 after reaching an impasse on disengagement of their forces along the Suez Canal. No date was set for new meetings. Major General Aharon Yariv repeated proposal that Israeli forces withdraw to Mitla Pass in Sinai, 20 miles east of the canal in exchange for an agreement by Egypt to thin its forces.

99. Lybia closed its embassy in Cairo. The move was an apparent protest by Qaddafi against Egypt's conduct of the war, its acceptance of the Arab summit meeting to endorse peace conference with Israel.

100. Representatives of Saudi Arabia, Ahmed Zaki Yamane, and Algeria, Mr. Abdessalem, arrived in US for a week long tour to discuss the oil weapon.

APPENDIX B

STUDY OF RELIABILITY

Study of Reliability

	Reader 1	Reader 2	Reader 3		Reader 1	Reader 2	Reader 3		Reader 1	Reader 2	Reader 3
- 1	✓-		✓-	+35	*✓	✓+	✓+	-69	*✓	✓-	✓-
2				36				70			
+ 3		✓+	*+	o37	✓-	✓+	✓o	-71	✓-		✓-
4	✓-			+38		✓+	✓+	72			
5				+39	✓+		✓+	-73	✓-		*✓
6			✓-	-40	✓*	✓-		74		✓+	
7		✓-		o41	✓*	✓+		o75		✓+	✓o
- 8		✓-	*-	42				76			
9	✓-			43		✓-		77			
10	-			+44	✓*	✓+		78			
11			✓-	+45	✓*		✓+	79			
+12		✓+	✓+	46				+80	✓+	✓+	
13	✓-			47				81			
14		✓-		48	✓-			-82	✓*		
15		✓+		49				83			
16		✓-	✓+	50	✓-			+84	✓+	✓+	✓+
17	✓-			o51	✓-	✓-		85			
+18	✓+		✓+	52				86	✓-		
19				53				87			
20		✓-	✓-	o54	✓-	✓+	✓o	88			
21	✓-			55				89			
-22		✓+		56				-90	✓*		✓-
23				57				+91	✓*+	✓-	
+24	✓+		✓+	58				92			
25			✓-	59	✓+		✓+	+93	✓*+	✓-	
-26	✓-			60		✓+		94			
27				+61	✓+	✓+	✓o	95	✓+		
28				61				-96	✓-	-	✓-
-29	✓-	-	✓-	63				-97	✓-	✓-	
30		✓-		64			✓o	o98	✓o		✓o
31		✓-		65				99	✓+		
32				66	✓+			100			
33				67			✓o				
34				68							

✓items marked by coders.

*reader 1 and reader 3 marked several items tentatively, which they gave permission to use to make up the total number if it became necessary.

+pro-Israeli items.

ᵒneutral items.

⁻pro-Arab items.

APPENDIX C

INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION OF STORIES

Inclusion and Exclusion of Stories

Globe & Mail

Event	In	H	P	Pa
- 1	X			
+ 3	✓	N	TR	1
- 8	✓	Y	TR	1
+12	✓	Y	TR	1
+18	✓	Y	TR	1
-22	✓	N	BR	1
+24	✓	N	TR	1
-26	✓	Y	TL	4
-29	✓	Y	TL	4
+35	✓	Y	TR	1
o37	✓	N	T	1 (no terms)
+38	✓	N	T	2 " "
+39	✓	N	T	2 " "
-40	✓	N	T	2 " "
o41	✓	N	T	1 " "
+44	✓	Y	T	11
+45	X			
-51	✓	N	T	1
o54	✓	N	T	1
+59	✓	Y	T	2
+61	X			
-69	✓	Y	T	1
-71	✓	Y	T	1
-73	✓	Y	T	10
o75	✓	Y	T	10
+80	✓	N	B	1 (no detail)
-82	✓	Y	T	1
+84	✓	Y	B	1
-90	X			
+91	✓	Y	B	1

Evening Telegram

Event	In	H	P	Pa
- 1	X			
+ 3	X			
- 8		N	T	1
+12		N	T	1
+18	✓	Y	T	1 (no detail)
-22	✓	N	T	1 " "
+24		N	T	1 " "
-26	✓	N	T	1 " "
-29		N	T	1 " "
+35	✓	Y	T	1
o37	✓	Y	T	1 (no terms)
+38	X			
+39	✓	Y	T	1 (no terms)
-40	X			
o41	✓	Y	T	1 (no detail)
+44	X			
+45	X			
-51	X			
o54	X			
+59	✓	Y	B	15
+61	X			
-69	✓	N	T	2
-71	X			
-73	✓	N	B	1
o75	✓	Y	T	1
+80	X			
-82	✓	Y	T	10
+84	✓	Y	T	10
-90	X			
+91	✓	Y	B	1

Daily News

Event	In	H	P	Pa
- 1	X			
+ 3	X			
- 8	✓	Y		9
+12	✓	Y		9
+18	✓	Y		1
-22	✓	Y		14 (only Jordan mentioned)
+24	✓	N		13 (no detail)
-26	X			
-29	✓	Y		4
+35	✓	Y		1
o37	✓	Y		1
+38	X			
+39	X			
-40	X			
o41	✓	Y		1
+44	X			
+45	X			
-51	X			
o54	✓	Y		1
+59	X			
+61	X			
-69	X			
-71	✓	Y		1
-73	✓	Y		1
o75	✓	Y		1
+80	X			
-82	✓	Y		1
+84	X			
-90	X			
+91	✓	Y		1

Inclusion and Exclusion of Stories (cont.)

Globe & Mail

Event	In	H	P	Pa
+93	✓	N	T	12
-96	✓	Y	B	1
-97	X			
o98	✓	Y	B	1
+99	✓	N	B	1

Evening Telegram

Event	In	H	P	Pa
+93	✓	N	T	1
-96	✓	Y	T	2
-97	X			
o98	✓	Y	T	1
+99	✓	Y	T	1

Daily News

Event	In	H	P	Pa
+93	X			
-96	X			
-97	✓	N		14
o98	✓	Y		1
+99	✓	Y		1

In Inclusion
✓ Included
X Excluded

H Headline
Y Yes
N No

Pa Page

P Position
T Top
B Bottom
R Right
L Left

APPENDIX D

STUDY OF HEADLINES

Study of Headlines

Story	Page	Headline	Globe & Mail			Direction	Formula	Total
			X_2	X_4	X_1			
1	1	Israel says Arab tanks trapped	$19\frac{1}{2}$	72	3	+	$(15 \times 3) - 19 + (5 \times 72)$	368+
2	1	Israel tactical air power is shield for build-up of reserves to repel attacks. (cont. p. 2, Israel controls air	$12\frac{1}{2}$	24	2	+	$(15 \times 2) - 12 + (24 \times 5)$	136+
3	1	Military action by Egypt seen as move to bring settlement	$4\frac{1}{2}$	24	1	−	$(15 \times 1) - 4 + (24 \times 5)$	131−
4	3	Iraqis nationalize oil company interest held by two US firms	$22\frac{1}{2}$	24	2	+	$(15 \times 2) - 22 + (24 \times 5)$	128+
5	3	Arab leaders vow support, but few offer troops	17	24	2	+	$(15 \times 2) - 17 + (24 \times 5)$	133+
6	3	UN council divided informal talks on ceasefire call	22	24	2	o	$(15 \times 2) - 22 + (24 \times 5)$	128o
7	3	Iran and Iraq resume ties	$9\frac{1}{2}$	12	1	−	$(15 \times 1) - 9 + (12 \times 5)$	66−
8	3	Syrians free cruise ship	$3\frac{1}{2}$	12	1	−	$(15 \times 1) - 3 + (12 \times 5)$	72−
9	5	Jewish community gives $600,000 cash to aid Israeli war	22	24	2	+	$(15 \times 2) - 22 + (24 \times 5)$	128+
10	25	Israelis remain calm as men answer holi-day calls to combat	10	30	1	+	$(15 \times 1) - 10 + (30 \times 5)$	155+

APPENDIX E

Study of Pictures and Stories

Daily News

October 8, 1973

| Picture | | | | | | Story | | | | | | | |
Number	Page	Column	Inches	Total	Direction	Number	Page	Position	Column	Inches	Total	Direction	Story
						1	1	TR			11½	o	Middle East war enters second day
						2	3	LL			5½	+	Jews have no plans to send aid to Israel

October 12, 1973

Number	Page	Column	Inches	Total	Direction	Number	Page	Position	Column	Inches	Total	Direction	Story
1	4	4	5½	21	+	1	1	TR			28	o	Israel predicting victory in Syria
2	4	4	4½	18	+	2	1	TR			9¼	o	Seven Newfoundlanders smack...
						3	1	TR	2	2½	5	o	Pope fears war may damage...
						4	9	ML	1	3	3	+	Jailed men, volunteers in war
						5	9	TL	2	1½	3	+	Soldier marries on battlefield
						6	9	TL			10¼	+	Soviet planes supplying Arabs

October 19, 1973

Number	Page	Column	Inches	Total	Direction	Number	Page	Position	Column	Inches	Total	Direction	Story
						1	1	TR			14½	o	Ferocious battle underway
						2	1	M			6¼	o	Cuts oil exports to U.S.

October 23, 1973

Number	Page	Column	Inches	Total	Direction	Number	Page	Position	Column	Inches	Total	Direction	Story
						1	1	MR			5 3/4	o	Armies ordered quit shooting

Daily News

October 23, 1973

Picture			Story					
	Number	Page	Position	Column	Inches	Total	Direction	Story
	2	1	MR	1	4½	4½	o	Peace keeping role again in...
	3	4	TR			8½	−	Four more Arab states cut...
	4	4	BR	1	3	3	−	Work starts on reopening Suez...

October 25, 1973

	Number	Page	Position	Column	Inches	Total	Direction	Story
	1	1	LM	2	3	6	−	Arabs cut supply of oil to...
	2	1	LM	1	2 3/4	2 3/4	−	New war on Suez...
	3	4	TR			9½	o	Criticize Russia, U.S. for...
	4	4	TR	1	1½	1½	+	Downs 15 jets
	5	4	TR	2	3	6	+	Israeli feigns death
	6	9	TR			12½	−	Hair-raising, gruelling drive