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NEWS MEDIA RHETORIC, SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AND THE REPORTING OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICT: A TWO-NEWSPAPER COMPARISON

By

Joseph C. Harry

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ABSTRACT

NEWS MEDIA RHETORIC, SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AND THE REPORTING OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICT: A TWO-NEWSPAPER COMPARISON

By

Joseph C. Harry

A multi-method case study was conducted regarding how a major metropolitan and a nearby small-town newspaper covered the same newsworthy issues relating to an environmental controversy in the smaller community. The controversy was mainly between supporters and opponents of a Swiss-owned hazardous-waste treatment incinerator, during its permitting, citing and construction phases. Research aims were both explanatory and exploratory. Analytical interest was directed at theory and method-building. The overarching attempt was to critique and extend social-structural media theory by means of primarily qualitative discourse analysis, and to develop a text-centered interpretive method sensitive to distinct rhetorical features of the news text. At the explanatory level, the study sought to explain each newspaper's coverage of the Waste Technologies Industries (WTI) controversy within the structural-pluralism hypothesis of Tichenor, Donohue & Olien, wherein different social structures are said to produce markedly different kinds of newspaper content. The exploratory aim was to comparatively study the news articles through quantitative content analysis of textual patterns, and through discourse analysis of various rhetorical features; the latter included such elements as each paper's unique narratives, metaphors and imagery, as well as each one's use of distinct types of argumentative claims and counter-claims.

A sample of "same-day/same event" news items produced by both papers between 1991-1993 was analyzed, the intent being to generate an in-depth, one-to-one story comparison of a range of interrelated discursive structures. To understand the historical context within which the articles were produced, in-depth interviews were conducted with reporters. A heuristic model – the Rhetorical Framing Model – was developed to account for journalism's status as a distinct communicative genre (the 'objective rhetorical form'), which functions to ideologically filter and reproduce the partisan discourse of news sources, each of whom frame their own rhetorical positions based on respective institutional ('motivational') interests.

Study findings, via cross-analysis and interpretation of quantitative textual patterns and of discourse-specific rhetorical structures, suggest mixed support for Tichenor et al.'s structural-pluralism hypothesis as an explanatory framework for why metropolitan and small-town newspapers cover conflict differently. The larger newspaper did in some respects produce more sustained conflict-focused coverage of the environmental dispute – especially with regard to a more balanced mix of pro, con and neutral-source statements – compared to its small-town counterpart, as the theory would predict. On the other hand, the small-town paper featured many more opposition-linked sources and claims than any other type. Its coverage was therefore more unbalanced but also more conflict-centered in this respect than was the big-city paper's, thus contradicting in some respects the main thesis of the structural-pluralism hypothesis.

On the exploratory level, discourse analysis revealed that in any given news text, a complex network of rhetorical elements cohere to produce, to varying degrees, a relatively straightforward or a much more ideologically complex narrative about the 'real world.'

To Adam, my one and only son, who never failed to remind me that at some point I would run out of things to say.

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Finally, I thank my loving son Adam for giving me many happy moments during break times, and a long list of friends who repeatedly convinced me that it was possible to work hard and play hard.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

On April 12, 1993, the Waste Technologies Industries plant – one of the largest hazardous-waste incinerators ever built in the United States – opened for business in the small Ohio Valley town of East Liverpool. The permitting and financing arrangements having begun as early as 1980, the WTI plant's opening more than a dozen years later marked what is surely one of the longest, most contentious political and environmental controversies in U.S. history involving the planning, siting and eventual construction of a privately owned hazardous-waste incinerator.

Just a few miles west of the Pennsylvania line and right across the river from Chester, W. Va., East Liverpool is a blue-collar town of about 13,000 overlooking the banks and bluffs of the Ohio River. The new plant, called WTI by locals, was first proposed in 1980 by a handful of private investors, with strong support from the Columbiana County Port Authority, which owned industrially zoned land along the Ohio River with readily available river-port facilities. When it churned out its first treated industrial wastes in 1993, the $160 million WTI incinerator was viewed by some as an economic dream-come-true, marking a new beginning for the struggling little working-class town. For opponents, it was the blackest day in the town's 160-year-long history. It was for them the day in which corporate greed had won out by being allowed to profit from the round-the-clock spewing of Middle America's collective industrial poisons into the air.

That the incinerator would eliminate – not create – 60,000 tons of hazardous wastes each year, and that the U.S. EPA required 99.99 percent of harmful particulates to be

removed from stack gases prior to release, were points apparently lost on vocal grassroots opponents. They saw WTI as an example of a greedy multinational corporation profiting by producing poisons that would threaten human health and well-being.

For more than a decade, WTI supporters and their environmentally inspired opponents, whose goal of shutting down the plant never wavered, battled it out in various news media outlets. The conflict was portrayed mainly by newspapers, which were more than happy to highlight the rancorous surface conflict and rhetoric, but often not much more, if only because in the last instance conflict and drama make for good copy. And the news sources who gained central stage in this social conflict made sure to supply plenty of drama. By the early 1990s, when the conflict between environmental opponents and WTI plant representatives was in full swing, it was almost dead certain the incinerator would open as planned; the plant was by that point well under construction and had most of its operating permits in place. But WTI opponents -- a mix of committed local and regional environmentalists who in the latter years of the conflict were joined by media-savvy professional environmental organizers affiliated with the international Greenpeace organization – made sure to extend that opening for as long as possible.

This dissertation is a text-centered analysis of how the high drama surrounding an intense social and environmental conflict was portrayed by two newspapers, in two distinctly different communities.

Focus of Present Study

Two newspapers – the local East Liverpool Evening Review, and the big-city Pittsburgh Post-Gazette about 40 miles east in Pennsylvania – paid particular attention to the story, in ways both similar and in other respects markedly different. This dissertation is framed

as a comparative case study of how these two newspapers covered WTI, based on how each covered a set of "same-day" issues or events – newsworthy items covered by both newspapers. It is an extended discourse-analysis of the similarities and differences in the way these two newspapers covered WTI, based on 74 same-day/same-issue stories, or 37 matched stories in each paper, systematically selected from a total sample of 422 stories written by both newspapers between 1991-1993. The East Liverpool Evening Review wrote 75 percent of these stories (n=315) and the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette the remaining 25 percent (n=107) during the study period.

As a theoretical grounding, the comparative news discourse is analyzed within the structural-pluralism hypothesis of P.J. Tichenor, G. A. Donohue & C.N. Olien, as best articulated in their influential 1980 work, Community Conflict & the Press.

General Research Goals and Study Outline

My research goals were basically two-fold. First, I strove to determine whether the big-city paper and its small-town counter-part, in reporting the same stories, would perform according to how the structural-pluralism hypothesis (Tichenor, et al., 1980) says they should. The thesis is that newspapers in larger cities, because of a sizable array of different powerbrokers, thus naturally reflect this inherent conflict, which is then covered actively in the big-city paper. On the other hand, the theory is that a comparatively smaller town, with fewer competing powerbrokers, will naturally tend to downplay or avoid covering many local community conflicts. Each newspaper in a given social structure should naturally reflect the conflict or lack of it that is inherent to their respective social structure.

Thus, research question along this line was:

Compared to the small-town East Liverpool Evening Review, would the big-city Pittsburgh paper report the WTI conflict in a more openly conflictual, critical manner, given its naturally conflict-embracing social structure?

I will attempt to make the case that in some important respects, pertaining mostly to source selection and balancing, the metropolitan paper did *not* perform this role, but that in other ways it did. In some respects, the big-city paper was actually less critical, more conservative than was its small-town cousin, which normally would be associated, according to structural-pluralist theory, with securing a more consensual tone in conflict reporting. That is, I found reasons to support structural pluralism theory, but not uncritically, yet in ways the theory itself already points to. Chapter 3 is devoted entirely to this question, arguing that what I call the 'buried counter-thesis' of social-structural media theory was at work in the way the small-town paper covered WTI, and offering possibilities as to why.

Second, I had a more exploratory aim:

The research question here was: How would the actual discourse of the two newspapers – which covered the same set of newsworthy issues or events – compare, if analyzed by a close-reading of the many discrete discursive/linguistic elements that serve as typical narrative features of the news text? Performing a close-reading via discourse analysis is similar to conducting an archeological dig: One roots around in a news article in hopes of locating discursive fragments that can be pieced together and read as reflecting some larger, more coherent structure of knowledge. The challenge on this score was simply to find out what the stories said, not only in their basic content but also in just how that content – including, perhaps most importantly, the contrasting views of news

sources – was formally structured into the texts, as meaning. I wanted to explore just how the news presented in these two newspapers did its work *as discourse*, as a certain kind of highly structured language projecting a meaningful view of 'real-world' events.

A discourse analysis conducted in this manner provides a logical complement to media research that engages questions of social structure and its influence on the news media's production of texts and, by extension, on what and how media consumers – from a textual perspective – might acquire and give meaning to news. Tichenor et al.'s (1980, p. 16) view that there are "marked differences in content among daily newspapers, weekly newspapers, and television," is a fundamental statement about the relationship between social structure and information production within a given community structure:

> The characteristic differences between the rural and urban press result from the differences in the newspapers' environment: the environment does not differ because of the newspaper. The content decisions, dependent as they are on community structure, constitute a pattern of information control that has far-reaching implications for what the community will hear about, think about, and talk about (Tichenor et al., 1980, p. 20).

From a socio or fuctional-linguistic perspective, where language is seen as a reflection of social functions and individual needs within specific situational contexts, the view is quite similar, although the emphasis is more directly upon studying language itself as embodying social structure. According to Halliday (cited in de Joia & Stenton, 1980):

> The investigation of language as social behavior is not only relevant to understanding social structure; it is also relevant to the understanding of language. A network of socio-semantic options – the representation of what we have been calling the 'meaning potential' – has implications in both directions; on the one hand as the realization of patterns of behavior and, on the other hand, as realized by the patterns of grammar. The concept of meaning potential thus provides a perspective on the nature of language. Language is as it is because of its function in the social structure, and the organization of behavioral meanings should give some insight into its social foundations (p. 87).

The present study is theoretically informed by both of these research perspectives – the social-structural and the discourse-analytic – in hopes of fleshing out some important connections between the two that will extend and enrich mass media theory. If the above-quoted theses are correct, then the study of language is, in the strictest sense, the study of social structure itself. The contribution of this theoretical approach might also be to provide more practical knowledge about how socially structured, discrete linguistic properties collectively cohere into the symbolic textual frame of the daily news story. By understanding what I consider the rhetorical framework of the typical newspaper text, both scholars and journalists might be better able to evaluate, appreciate and critique the complex nature of news reporting as an important form of public communication.

Bridging the theoretical insights of social-structural media theory with theoretical and methodological perspectives of a socio-linguistically based discourse analysis has provided me with the means of offering my own theoretical speculations about what I consider the fundamentally rhetorical nature of news as a discursive social practice. The concept of rhetorical framing, explicated in heuristic models in Chapter 2, as well as my general concept of the 'objective rhetorical form,' primarily detailed in the last chapter of this study, are notions gradually developed as the work progressed. At this level, the present work operates at an experimental stage of empirical exploration directed toward theory building.

On Discourse Analysis as Textual Method

As a method, discourse analysis takes the logic of metaphor on its own terms by being willing to accept and examine reality as a series of figures of speech attached to and thus motivated by actual social settings, by actual socio-cultural 'contexts' (van Dijk, 1997) or

situation-specific 'registers' (Eggins & Martin, 1997). Discourse analysis is an analysis of *how* texts mean. Just as the meaning of the literary work does not lie patiently under the surface of the words, waiting only to be unearthed by a careful reader (Macherey, 1978), the meaning of the mass media text is not something easily obtainable, if only because there are a variety of ways one can approach 'meaning' in the text. The approach followed in this study focuses on viewing a news text as a specific example of a contextual discourse situation, which exists within a specific social structure, that of either the big city or the small town. The Rhetorical Framing Model and its iterations in Chapter 2 attempt to formalize this basic idea.

The general social context of journalism is one in which the reporter seeks out and reproduces the official views of 'sources,' but these views are selectively filtered through the journalist's own professionally driven norms of objectivity, fairness, balance, and neutrality. As such, this preconditioned story-telling norm – the objective rhetorical form – reflects an ideology that can be expressed as an overriding communicative (generic) purpose: the desire 'to inform.' It is this desire that is imprinted in the symbolic frame of the news story, which assembles a set of facts and opinions into a discourse of the real. If ideology can be detected in a news text, it may be that its most obvious expression will be found in the texts' various syntactic-discursive structures, which convey the semantic meaning typically provided by sources in the social world.

The Rhetoric of Journalism

As a discourse founded in the professional journalistic ideology of objectivity, or as I eventually labeled it, the 'objective rhetorical form,' I discovered that the news stories were good examples of standard journalistic practice. Their rhetorical form, like that of

much of daily newswriting, is founded in an *a-rhetorical* rhetoric, an objective rhetorical form whose intention is to appear to not be openly persuasive toward any particular viewpoint (van Dijk, 1988a&b). Yet the persuasive element of journalism lies in its very attempt to render an accurate picture of the 'real world' (Jensen, 1986, 1987), via what will pass for, at least, a verifiable, certifiable set of facts, without the reporter overtly coloring these facts. It is news sources who provide the journalist with access to the 'real world.'

Given that news sources are of central importance to daily newspaper journalism, I ultimately construed the WTI news articles as *politicized* reporting about a marginally environmental subject. In the final chapter of this work I spend more time articulating this notion, and contrasting it to normative notions of properly political, critical, or explanatory reporting.

I constructed and often reconstructed a systematic method for single-coder content and discourse-analysis of the sub-set (n=74; 37 same-day stories each paper) of all WTI-focused articles (n=422) appearing in both papers between 1991 and 1993. Having completed the analysis, I was then in a position to discuss how the WTI story functioned as a complex, multifaceted brand of rhetoric devoted to persuading readers of the certifiable truthfulness of the events and issues being depicted as 'real-world' events. This 'discourse of the real' is ideological in the sense that news reporters, like all non-fiction writers, must select and present elements designed to construct a world, the facts of which are, in principle, *to be taken* as truthful. As Hodge (1979, p. 157) notes, "Newspapers inevitably given only a partial version of the world. They select, reorder, transform,

distort, and suppress, so that the final product is recognizably that paper and not another, whatever happened on the day in question."

I studied how these two newspapers reported the WTI story, and in a more explanatory vein, *why* each paper may have done so in the manner each did. Methodologically, then, the attempt was to make sense of this real-world rhetorical battle of wills by studying, primarily through the lenses of mass media sociology, rhetorical theory, content and discourse-analysis, and in-depth interviews with two reporters from each paper, the way both papers constructed WTI as objectivist *discourse* about an environmental controversy.

The Logic of Comparing Same-Day, Matched News Stories

The rhetorical claims-making of real-world opponents – WTI supporters (For sources), local and regional environmentalist opponents (Against sources), plus regulatory officials and others who, by institutional mandate, had to express officially 'netural' views (Neutral sources) – was studied intensively through the close textual reading of the matched sub-set of 74 articles, gleaned from all stories written by both papers between 1991 and 1993. It was during this three-year period that the vast majority of all WTI stories were written, as these were the years when WTI broke ground and constructed the plant.

Though representing a combined average of about 19 percent of all articles written by both papers during this period (13 % of 282 Review stories and 35% of all Post-Gazette stories) the importance of these 74 articles is that they do in fact focus on the exact same daily issue or event; although one story might sometimes have appeared a day before or a

day after the same story written by the other paper, because one (the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette) published as a morning paper and the East Liverpool Evening Review in the afternoon. Still, the method was to choose only those stories that matched in terms of the issue or event covered. I located only one other study (Bodle, 1996) that followed this "matched story" format. Though the purpose of that comparative newspaper study differed from the present study, the logic in comparing same-day stories was the same, as it allowed for "a direct newswriting and news content comparison..." (Bodle, 1996).

This idea of comparing matched stories is similar to the notion of studying "critical discourse moments" (Gamson, 1992; citing Chilton, 1987), which are news items covered by more than one news outlet. The research goal on this score is to attempt to gain a truly comparative knowledge of how each paper socially constructed the same event or issue, while keeping in mind that each paper served a vastly different audience.

The underlying notion is this: Reporters for both papers decided – as representatives of news organizations following common, institutionally mandated news values guiding story selection – a particular issue was important enough to cover. Thus it is reasonable to suggest these same-day reported events and issues would be socially, politically and environmentally significant to more than just a strictly local population of readers. It is also reasonable to suggest many of the themes and issues common to this subset of WTI stories might be fairly representative of themes and issues in most of the other WTI articles penned by both papers. The study focused only on news articles, *not* on editorials or letters to the editor, and only on staff-written articles, not on wire copy. The idea here was to track the community paper's commitment to covering the conflict by its own means. The purpose, as well, of studying only news stories news was based in the idea

that news is written specifically in the objective rhetorical form common to American journalism, in which reporters strive by various ritualistic means (Tuchman, 1972, 1978), based on media-institutional and legal norms, to keep their own viewpoints out, while recording faithfully the highly partisan views of others. It is for this latter reason that this study spends a great deal of time analyzing the ways news sources were positioned in news articles in terms of making rhetorical arguments (or counter-arguments) for their viewpoints, and not only what they actually said.

Social Conflict and Knowledge-Building in Society

The fact readers in the nearby but distinct regions of East Liverpool and Pittsburgh were informed about the same event or issue by their respective local newspapers means both papers engaged in one of the mass media's most important functions – 'social binding' (Vivian, 1997), providing common information that links diverse communities with knowledge seen as important to both. This kind of socially binding knowledge is an important element in drawing attention to, socializing, evaluating, educating and thus sustaining a well-informed, democratically minded citizenry. Knowledge itself is the crucial social resource thought to result from the dispersion of public information. As Tichenor, Donohue & Olien (1980) point out, "...it is quite clear that possession of information, or access to it, is a potentially critical resource for the power position of groups that are seeking to realize or protect their collective interests."

Simply by covering the WTI plant siting and construction story over the years, both the small-town and the big-city papers, as sub-system institutions within a larger social system, were fulfilling a 'social-control' role seen as functional for democratic society (Donohue, et al., 1973; Tichenor et al., 1980). Merely reporting a conflict in the

newspaper for at least a minimal time period may itself result in equalizing the distribution and acquisition of important social knowledge among different socio-economic groups (Tichenor et al., 1980, pp. 21-24). Conflict reporting may serve, that is, to lessen the infamous 'knowledge gap' problem among rich and poor, presumably because of the inherently dramatic nature of conflict that, when aired, may stimulate widespread discussion among all community groups.

Each newspaper's reporting of the highly fractious WTI story in its own community was, by definition, contributing at least in principle to reducing the knowledge gap between different socio-economic groups. Each newspaper was governed to a certain degree, however, by their own social norms resulting from their respective social structures, and thus were constrained by different story-telling logics. That is, the big-city metropolitan paper such as the one in Pittsburgh exists in a pluralistic social-structural setting where the airing of conflict is the norm; small towns like East Liverpool, conversely, are constrained by more interpersonal, face-to-face interactions that are usually thought to contain conflict and, by extension, the reporting of it in the local newspaper, which reflects its surrounding consensus-driven social structure (Donohue, et al., 1973; Tichenor, et al., 1980; Olien, et al., 1984).

Though American newspapers' philosophical grounding in the traditional news values -- timeliness, proximity, prominence, novelty, conflict/drama/controversy, and issue importance – provide a standardized set of professional norms for determining newsworthiness (Hough, 1988), respective social structures typically mean the difference between a social conflict being either reported openly, as tends to happen in large cities, or perhaps not written about at all, as is often the case in smaller communities (Tichenor

et al., 1980). Thus social structure, by this theory, is more or less a naturally existing independent variable that consequently has important implications for the way reporters select stories, for which news sources are quoted, and for how source views and the reporter's own story-telling decisions are presented as news *discourse*. As such, my attempt in discourse-analyzing all 74 same-day news articles written by two distinctly situated newspapers is an effort to bridge social structure and discourse, in a way that might flesh out elements of the structural-pluralism hypothesis.

With these speculations about social structure and its influence on shaping news content in mind, the present dissertation is construed not as an analysis of a series of events and issues that actually took place in the 'real world.' Rather, I conceive of it theoretically as a study of how 'realist discourse' in two differently situated newspapers socially constructed WTI as a certain kind of social conflict, especially as this conflict was articulated by reporters giving voice through various means to contrasting news sources.

Journalists and their Sources

As advertising supported and subscription-reliant purveyors of mainstream information for a general populace, both papers can be said to share the same ideological goal – that is, the same generic, rhetorical, communicative purpose – which is 'to inform,' without obvious persuasive slant, their readers about matters of public import, many of these issues being highly fractious. The raw information reporters gather from sources is anything but strictly informative. Unlike newspapers, sources have no obligation to abide

by the generic bounds of objectivity. Sources are by clear intention purveyors of interested opinions, either of their own or, more likely, of the predominant views and opinions of groups and organizations with whom they are affiliated. This phenomenon is especially true in a world where 'purposive communicators' such as public relations experts, social movement activists, and of course advertising interests, provide so much of the grist of news media content (Tichenor et al., 1980, p. 15).

In this study, I construe sources as representing Motivational Frames – the framework of accepted knowledge motivated by recognized interests and goals within a given group or institution. Within these Motivated Frames are social actors or what I call motivated sources, motivated to represent, through their own rhetoric, the accepted knowledge frames within which they are associated. The final link in the chain is reporters themselves, who are motivated to collect information supplied by sources as the grist for determining newsworthiness, and who are thus motivated to faithfully and accurately inform readers of these sources' views.

Because of the mandate of objectivity, embodied discursively in the objective rhetorical form, reporters are duty-bound to seek out and present contrasting viewpoints in a way that will induce readers to believe in the essential accuracy and truthfulness of the information. Generically and ideologically, the resulting text that is produced (which I construe as the *symbolic frame*) presents a 'realist' discourse which, rhetorically, corresponds to the cognitive interests (Warnick & Inch, 1994) of readers.

Linguistic Features of News Texts

The news texts discourse-analyzed in this study were broken down into 'schema categories' [see Chapter 4]. The schema categories are a linked set of syntactical narrative

properties that serve cognitive story-telling functions (van Dijk, 1983, 1988a&b, 1991). For example, headlines and lead sentences perform the summarizing role of supplying a recogniable story 'topic'; 'context,' 'background,' and 'history' provide basic knowledge important to understanding the immediate and more distant facts and issues surrounding a given story; 'verbal reaction' is the schema category associated with direct and indirect quotation; and 'consequences' and 'comment' provide, respectively, for reporter-centered analysis and more opinion-laden evaluation.

Understanding how these schematic categories collectively cohere into a semantic news narrative is an important way to dissect how the news story functions as its own kind of rhetoric – an objectivist rhetoric whose ideological design is to convince readers they are encountering something like a true, certifiable picture of real-world events and issues.

Claims & Counter-Claims

These schemas transmit the semantic information that, primarily through source quotes and information attributed to sources but sometimes generated by news reporters' own language, can rise to the level of argumentative claims. These are claim-laden propositions, sometimes met by counter-claims offered by opposing sources, and which are based upon different knowledge domains, or what I call Rhetorical Categories, the knowledge generated in the social-intellectual fields of science, the law, the regulatory agencies, but also, importantly, knowledge generated from a sense of moral outrage itself. Chapters 5 and 6 deal extensively with claims, counter-claims, and related rhetorical categories that provide the rhetorical force of this kind of primarily source-centered argumentation. Studying claims and counter-claims and the knowledge domains

(Rhetorical Categories) which they drew upon provides important insight into what kinds of social knowledge informed the rhetoric of the WTI conflict.

Regardless of which linguistic element was examined, it was through news sources themselves that most of the basic content of any story was provided. Sources – and this was especially true in the WTI controversy – are openly rhetorical, yet the mainstream newspaper is, by its own institutional ideology, duty-bound to simply inform. Moreover, newspapers are not especially well-equipped to initiate information campaigns, nor even to "examine proposals from different sectors in an evaluative or critical way, let alone create new proposals of their own. Fundamentally, the newspaper...deal(s) with the ideas and initiatives of their sources" (Tichenor et al., 1980, p. 19). This rhetorical tension, between interested sources and the assumed disinterest of reporters, makes for an inherent discursive conflict that has real implications for the way readers understand knowledge putatively directed at explaining and clarifying aspects of the social world.

Rhetorical Framing

In this dissertation, an important notion is that the newspaper, like any other institution, exists as part of a *rhetorical framing process* (see Chapter 2) located at the broadest level in society itself – the domain of ideology – and at the most discrete level – within specific news texts (*symbolic frames*) that construct aspects of that world. Chapter 2 offers the Rhetorical Framing Model and some iterations of it as heuristic devices. The basic model combines insights from functional linguistics (especially Martin, 1992, 1989; and Halliday, 1985, 1978, 1971; and Ventola, 1987) to provide a structural mapping of how the news as a rhetorical genre is informed and therefore constrained by ideological norms

at the broadest, sociological level, and in step-wise fashion how any news story proceeds through an increasingly microscopic set of social-discursive factors.

At the upper-most level, the above-mentioned schema categories borrowed from van Dijk (1988 a&b) are linked to the symbolic frame of the news story itself. Within this formulation, it hopefully becomes more clear how the newspaper story can be understood as a highly complex social text.

The Setting and Relevant Background

East Liverpool would seem a logical place for a hazardous-waste plant. Decimated by economic slowdowns in the once-vibrant regional pottery and steel industries, many whom found themselves out of work left for Florida and other warmer climates where jobs might be more plentiful. The town actually decreased in population by several thousand during the 1970s, leaving what remained of the downtown a tangle of empty, dilapidated turn-of-the-century buildings and a hardened look of defeat on the faces of those who still managed to find work.

In 1980, some saw hope on the horizon. The promise of even 100 jobs brought about by a new industry – WTI, as the locals called it – was a promise many in the community thought was worth believing in, even if it meant shipping in thousands of tons of hazardous wastes, burning them, and releasing them into the ambient air. Almost from day one, in early 1980, when investors first began talking about their plan to build what was then being pitched as a 'waste-to-energy' plant and accompanying landfill, a relatively small but highly vocal group of area residents objected. They didn't want hazardous and toxic chemicals polluting their environment, regardless of how safe the plant builders and government regulators said the facility would be. And, they added, they

certainly didn't want to see some of the end product buried in an area landfill. Community meetings were held, protests grew louder and better organized, and eventually the landfill plan was scrapped, but not the plant itself. By 1982, 'waste-to-energy' was no longer being used to describe what was now proposed as a hazardous-waste incinerator, capable of burning some 60,000 tons of non-nuclear industrial wastes each year and sending it, according to supporters, safely into the air.

Some city officials might have been leery. But the city council never officially went on record against the plant. The idea of collecting $600,000 a year in WTI tax revenues in a town steadily dying was enough to keep the council quiet, if not openly supportive of the waste plant. The local school board didn't take a formal position, either, even though the plant was sited 1,100 feet, about a football field away, from a public elementary school in the East End, the poorest section of town right along the river, where most of the African American population lives. The nearest home was just 300 feet away from the plant site. Plant opponents would repeat these few facts like a mantra for years, alleging the facility's location, so close to children and families and the Ohio River, was reason enough to squelch the deal before it ever got off the ground. Because it represented a new business, the local Chamber of Commerce put its weight strongly behind WTI, the scattered financing for which eventually was consolidated under the aegis of a Swiss multinational corporation, Van Roll Inc., which operated similar plants in Europe. Its local subsidiary was known as Van Roll America.

Once involved in the government permitting process, Van Roll hired public relations experts and media-savvy plant officials who were always willing to defend the plant in the local and regional press against the recriminations of increasingly well-organized and

articulate opponents. Two local grassroots opposition groups eventually joined forces with the international environmental group Greenpeace. Well-known for its high profile, dramatic and sometimes dangerous media-event strategies, Greenpeace remained true to that image once it set up shop in East Liverpool. Greenpeace organizers helped launch local protests and demonstrations. They were every bit as smooth as was WTI in churning out press releases and contentious rhetoric that made its way into local, regional, state, and even national news media as the protests and high drama intensified. Even CBS' "60 Minutes" and ABC's "Good Morning America" would eventually produce segments on WTI's battle with its environmental opponents.

The battle lines were clearly drawn and easily stated: WTI supporters, armed with government and their own studies, believed the incinerator would be the safest ever built, and that it would provide about 100 new jobs in a town badly in need of them, not to mention tax revenues that might spur other business development. The environmental opponents saw those new jobs as the wages of death – smack in the middle of a neighborhood along the rive, the plant, they contended, was in an almost unthinkable location that endangered community health and well-being, and their own scientific studies, they added, showed incinerators and toxic emissions were an environmental gamble, at best.

By 1991, the plant had endured numerous EPA permitting battles and several court challenges from opponents. It had won all but its final operating permits. With nearly every legal permit in hand, WTI gained U.S. and Ohio EPA approval for a handful of "test burns," designed to prove its readiness for commercial operation in 1992. Legal and regulatory challenges, some involving questions of how well mercury and dioxins could

be treated, ultimately delayed commercial start-up until the spring of 1993. Once it was clear in 1991 that WTI's $160 million hazardous-waste incinerator was well under construction and, for all practical purposes, a *fait accompli*, news media interest grew intense.

The East Liverpool Evening Review, at that time a six-day-a-week afternoon publication owned by the Thomson media chain (since acquired by the Ogden newspaper chain, and now a morning paper) and with a circulation of about 11,000, had followed the controversy all along the way. By 1993, the Evening Review had produced more than 300 stories. Of that number, the vast majority – 282 stories – were written just in the three-year period between 1991 and 1993.

The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, a morning metropolitan daily in the city of the same name less than 40 miles east in Pennsylvania, and with a daily circulation of about 260,000, never penned its first staff-written story until 1991, though it had run some Associated Press stories. (According to the newspaper's circulation record obtained from 1998, it had no daily subscribers in East Liverpool, and sold only about 200 papers there on Sunday. One would presume its circulation was similar during 1990 to 1993.) But as two of its staff reporters would acknowledge during interviews, once Hollywood actor Martin Sheen led and spoke at an East Liverpool protest march and demonstration in June 1991, the Post-Gazette finally deemed the story newsworthy. Apparently, drama, conflict, controversy, and prominence – several of the traditional news values of journalism – had finally made the story worth writing for Pittsburgh-area readers. Between 1991 and 1993, the paper produced 110 staff-written stories.

In both papers, the typical story was relatively short, between 12 and perhaps 20 column inches, providing readers with a daily dose of the controversy, the name-calling and the rancorous rhetoric – the *politicized* nature of the events and issues at hand. Much less often, Pittsburgh and East Liverpool newspaper readers could find stories that offered real insight and a more in-depth, critical awareness of the scientific complexities of WTI as an *environmental* rather than purely politicized story. But this latter kind of coverage was the exception.

To close out this chapter, and as a way of providing an example of how each same-day news story was evaluated for purposes of the present study, I offer below a detailed look at one of the last stories written: opening day at WTI.

A Brief Case Study: News Discourse in Action on Opening Day

On April 13, 1993, the day WTI went into commercial operation, the *fait accompli* as reported in both the Pittsburgh and East Liverpool papers was, in general tone, something of an anti-climactic event.

The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette's morning edition, arriving on doorsteps several hours earlier than would the afternoon East Liverpool Evening Review, produced a straightforward headline, including some dryly stated clarifying information, to mark the long-anticipated plant opening: 'WTI opens, burns waste: Some restrictions added by EPA.'

The Review headline was remarkably similar in information and tone: "WTI is open for business: EPA adds some restrictions as test burn comes up short.' The lead in the Review story sentence got right to the point: "Waste Technologies Industries has begun burning hazardous wastes after waiting for more than a decade."

The Post-Gazette's lead sentence managed to inject a somewhat more dramatic sense of the historical moment that had arrived after many contentious years: "After years of delay, the controversial hazardous waste incinerator in East Liverpool, Ohio, began limited commercial operations shortly after getting approval from the Ohio Environmental Protection Agency yesterday afternoon. The Pittsburgh paper's story was somewhat longer and more detailed and, as noted, infused with an underlying sense of the drama of an important event having transpired. Post-Gazette reporter Don Hopey quoted two WTI sources, one opponent, and one officially neutral source, a U.S. EPA official. Ironically, the East Liverpool paper's story, written by Dennis Wise, quoted *two* WTI opponents, a single WTI plant official and an Ohio EPA official – but even so, the story seemed to bury any inherent drama, almost as if the reporter was striving to downplay the event. There was an air of consensus in the East Liverpool paper's account of the plant opening, but a greater sense of drama and inherent conflict and a broader sense of history in the Pittsburgh paper's account.

Three of the four sources quoted in both stories were the same individuals, with the *Review* quoting an East Liverpool plant opponent whose views did not appear in the *Post-Gazette* story. There was an air of resignation in the statements attributed to the two directly quoted opposition sources in the Review, and both of their statements appeared only at the very end of the story.

' "Even under the can't-fail conditions of the trial burn, WTI failed," Terri Swearingen of Chester, W.Va., told the Review. "They failed to show they can safely burn wastes or even comply with EPA's weak standards." The reporter then closed the story with a quote from the second opponent: "Sandra Estell of Etruia Street said she was not surprised WTI

got permission to burn even though it did not pass all the requirements. 'Their technology has not proven itself, but they got the go-ahead anyway,' Estell said. 'But I still haven't given up hope. I haven't heard the fat lady sing yet'."

That was as dramatic as the story got. The WTI plant official and the Ohio EPA regulator supplied only the most technical kind of background detail, relating to the test-burn restriction information in the headline.

By contrast, the Post-Gazette story, though also focusing in the first half on the technical restrictions and quoting two WTI plant spokespersons in detail, contained more background and historical information that gave to the event a more historically relevant quality. For example, Terri Swearingen – the most frequently quoted opponent in all stories written by both papers over the years – was inserted, via direct quote, into the *Post-Gazette* article, which then resumed with related technical information that Swearingen had referred to in her quote. ' "Why the rush to burn?," Swearingen said. " If I took a test to drive a car, I wouldn't get my license if I failed part of it".' The very next paragraph provides background material about the plant's location on the Ohio River, its closeness to the local school and neighborhood homes, and the important information, not included in the *Review*, that, "Although its siting in that location was legal at the time it was issued, it would not be permitted under current Ohio environmental law."

After more technical information and another contentious quote by opponent Swearingen, the *Post-Gazette* adds more history to its story: "The incinerator has been the subject of a 12-year battle between backers, who say WTI will bring jobs to the economically depressed area, and environmentalists, who say the plant will pollute the countryside."

Following this is a paragraph of background material that, as written, contains information pointing to future consequences – a narrative-schematic element of a news story that serves to provide readers with a more critical, in-depth awareness of events and issues: "Opponents," the *Post-Gazette* reporter wrote, "filed a series of suits earlier this year to block the trial burn, claiming it posed an unacceptable risk of dioxin contamination. Dioxin is a suspected carcinogen and also thought to cause other health effects in lower doses."

The last four paragraphs consist of legal information pertaining to the plant, including the reporter's own independent commentary, via a metaphor, that, "Another loose thread in the WTI permit process is a company-proposed change" that would rename the legal owner of the plant. However minor a digression into commentary, that the reporter sees this development as a 'loose thread' is significant because it does show that the objective-reporting method strictly maintained throughout most of the article is not monolithic.

Given the carefully reported, contextualized details and comments that precede it, the reporter's commentary does not come off as out of place or as biased, but rather as a well-informed insight by someone who knows the facts and has thus won the right to comment, however slightly. The virtual lack of any open commentary or outright evaluation on the reporter's part makes it all the more noticeable when it does occur. It stands in stark contrast to the highly charged, one-sided rhetoric of quoted sources who, unlike the reporter, labor under no constraint to merely inform. This is the essential ideological tension every journalist faces – the struggle to simply 'inform' amidst a confluence of opposing voices, each one of which the journalist must strive to reproduce within some kind of rough balance, so as not to seem partisan toward any particular side.

The journalist's professional ideology is an ironic one, to produce a rhetorical discourse that is not openly persuasive in its own right.

Finally, within this article and that of the *Review's*, a series of claims and counter-claims – arguments and counter-arguments – occur, and they come not just from sources but also from each newspaper itself. The *Post-Gazette* story contains one newspaper claim – namely, that a "green light" was given WTI by EPA, allowing the plant to open, but that this green light "contained some cautions," the latter of which are then explained in the remainder of the article and which thus serve as a kind of *evidence* for the "green light" claim. Carol Cookerly, a WTI official quoted indirectly and the directly in the story, provides the verbal reaction (the counter-claim) to this newspaper claim by contending the aforementioned restrictions are unclear, and even at odds with the Ohio EPAs own standards. Her counter-claim is, in other words, that WTI is legitimately confused, because it has tried to follow but cannot understand federal agency rules governing its plant.

By providing a claim and matching counter claim, the *Post-Gazette* achieved another important quality of sound journalism – a balance of viewpoints. In the same story, however, the paper presented two additional claims, both of them from WTI opponent Swearingen. One claim centered on Swearingen's contention, a metaphor, that WTI 'failed the test' by not meeting exactly all the required EPA test-burn standards before being allowed to open. Neither this nor another opposition claim made by Swearingen in the same story was followed by a corresponding counter-claim from WTI supporters. In this regard, the story was somewhat unbalanced, at least in terms of serious charges presented but unmatched by counter-arguments.

Throughout this study, I found that the *Post-Gazette* would do a better job in maintaining this claims-balancing act than would the *Review* in covering the WTI controversy, though both papers ultimately gave more initiating "claim" space to WTI opponents. Both, in other words, were unbalanced in claims-making, giving opponents roughly a 3-to-1 edge in being allowed to make, rather than to simply respond to claims, the latter of which was the province of WTI supporters and spokespersons.

In the *Review* story, Swearingen's main claim (also relating to WTI's 'failure' to meet all test-burn conditions) was met with a counter-claim by Ohio EPA official, who was quoted as saying the agency was allowing the plant to incinerate only those wastes for which treatment measures have already been proven. A second claim, offered via WTI local opponent Sandra Estell, is unmet by any corresponding pro-WTI or EPA counter-claimant. Estell's claim, which is voiced through direct quotation, pertains to her contention that the WTI pollution technology "has not proven itself," but that the plant got the 'go-ahead' anyway. The fact that Estell's claim (regardless of its accuracy) is allowed to, in effect, *stand alone*, unmet by any counter-claimant, means that the story is, at least at this juncture, unbalanced, just as was the *Post-Gazette's* piece.

Basically, Estell's argument – as are all claims and counter-claims – is an act of rhetoric, a statement designed to persuade an audience of hearers of a specific viewpoint, regarding a distinct subject about which two people can legitimately disagree. What is important in this particular rhetorical statement is that it gains whatever persuasive force it may possess from what are two distinct domains of knowledge alluded to: science and morality.

Estell has alleged that the plant does not meet a certain regulatory standard that can only be based, ultimately, on scientific principles pertaining to the safe removal of chemical emissions from an incinerator's stack gases. It appears, at least on the surface, that she has done her homework in this regard, that she is drawing upon existing scientific knowledge as a rhetorical category, as a brand of knowledge that gives logical credence (in rhetorical terms, *logos* or logical force) to her assertion. Estell's view, while not that of a professionally trained scientist, is an important act of rhetoric because most readers in the small town of East Liverpool will know that Etruia Street is in the East End, next door to WTI. This fact alone helps establish her *ethos*, her personal credibility as a speaker making an assertive case against WTI.

Estell may well suffer whatever harms might come of WTI's plant operation, which is essentially in her backyard. The second part of her comment, that WTI was given, despite what she claims is scientific/regulatory evidence to the contrary, the "go-ahead anyway" is a simple declaration of fact. But it is followed by what can only be described as moral resignation tinged with faith in the future. "I still haven't given up hope. I haven't heard that fat lady sing yet." Taken together with the rest of her remarks, Estell has added an element of morality to her rhetoric, a statement of faith that is not logical but is based in emotion, or *pathos*. Sometimes, pathos alone is a forceful rhetorical device. But combined with what appears to be some logical reasoning, and her own status as someone living in the 'war zone' of WTI, a statement like Estell's can carry a lot of rhetorical weight. It qualifies as a strong act of rhetoric.

In hazardous-waste management disputes involving regulatory and scientific authorities and members of the "general public," the same controversial issue is often

likely to be evaluated from dramatically different viewpoints – the authorities seeing the issue as a "rational decision-making process," but the view from members of the public more likely containing "a higher emotional content, often heightened by a sense that the decision-making process is itself unfair" (Faupel et al., 1991, p. 294).

Dissertation Outline

The remainder of this study deals with each of the issues explained more generally in the preceding pages. In Chapter 2, more extensive theoretical issues are explicated, especially with regard to the Rhetorical Framing Model, social-structural media theory, and discourse-analysis as both theory and method. I then flesh out my textual methods, which include both quantitative content analysis and qualitative discourse analysis. To gain contextual understanding, I also conducted in-depth interviews with two reporters from each paper, and this information is used where appropriate in the study.

Chapter 3 examines in much greater detail the elements of social-structural media theory, and offers some of the content analysis results pertaining to differential source-use in both newspapers. Implications of these results are examined with regard to how the structural pluralism hypothesis might be extended to incorporate the findings relating to the small-town paper's high level of conflict reporting. I revisit and further analyze some of these findings in the final chapter of this dissertation, Chapter 8.

Chapter 4 offers content analysis results directed at tracking the occurrence and use of van Dijk's (1988a&b) schema categories – the collective narrative syntax of the basic news story, comprised of topic, context, background, history, verbal reaction, consequences, and comment. The importance of understanding these as the rhetorical structure of news discourse is evaluated. The second half of the chapter examines one of

the schema categories, verbal reaction, as to how it functions in two ways, as direct or indirect quotation. The implications for how the journalist either maintains or cedes rhetorical control of news discourse is examined. The attempt here is to broaden the scope of van Dijk's schema categories. Relevant examples are given throughout.

Chapter 5 links the schema categories to the claims-making process, which involves sources and newspapers themselves posing arguments and counter-arguments, or main claims and counter-claims. Claims are identified as either Type 1 (source-centered) or Type 2, (newspaper-centered), and the differences are evaluated. Examples of news discourse in both papers are offered.

Chapter 6 introduces and explores the concept of Rhetorical Categories, the knowledge domains underlying claims and counter-claims, such as the domains of morality, science, and the law. These and other knowledge domains lend persuasive force to arguments by linking them to higher-level ethical, logical or emotional groundings within which the claim itself gains persuasive force. A link is made between the Rhetorical Categories and my own concepts of Motivational Frame and Motivated Actors, as well as between the similar notions of 'intellectual fields' and 'discursive formations.'

Chapter 7 draws together discursive elements explored in preceding chapters through a comparative discourse-analysis of different matched articles. Comparative news articles are analyzed within each of the four major Motivational Frames that emerged: Regulation, Legal, Opposition, and WTI. The notion here is that the Motivational Frame itself dictates to a certain degree which sources will be featured most prominently in a story. As a result, the reporter's own news judgment and story-telling ideology are

constrained. This is so because of the reporter's need to produce newsworthy, factually accurate information from interested sources, whose respective legitimacy is certified only by virtue of their position within the socially recognized field of the Motivational Frame.

Chapter 8, the concluding chapter, revisits my central research aims, and discusses and speculates upon various findings and implications for both theory and method, as employed in the present study. It notes limitations of the present work and some future directions that may be worth pursuing. Chapter 8 concludes with my own normative attempt to contrast what I label the 'politicized reporting of an environmental subject' against different, more critically attuned reporting modes that several mass media theorists have suggested might better serve a democratic marketplace.

Chapter 2
Theory and Methods

In this chapter I explain the theoretical perspectives that underlie my study, offer my own theory of the journalistic text as a specific type of rhetorical communication, and define specific terms and methods employed in my comparative analysis of news stories from the East Liverpool *Review* and the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*. The general idea is to explain the newspaper text in terms of macro and micro levels of analysis, in a way that allows me to develop theoretical notions pertaining to the news media itself as a social/discursive institution that, by virtue of its own ideological and generic rules and practices, constrains it to produce a certain kind of rhetorical text -- the 'informative' news story. The informative news story relies on the 'realistic' presentation of events and issues within, for the most part, the public sphere -- the grouping of political and economic institutions (journalism being one of them) that for the reporter constitute the main news-gathering terrain (Jensen, 1986, pp. 50-60).

The key concepts devised for this study, and discussed in this chapter, include the related notions of Motivational Frame and Motivated Sources (real-world institutions and organizations people by institutional/organizational actors), and the concept of Rhetorical Claims-Making (the making of argumentative claims by drawing on the rhetorical authority of various real-world institutions and metaphoric/discursive domains). Additionally, I define my own notions of rhetoric and framing. I present, as well, a theoretical construct, which I call the Rhetorical Framing Model, devised to situate the news story within a larger, social-semantic theory of meaning, and which draws for

theoretical support on work in systemic-functional linguistics (Halliday, 1985; Martin, 1992; Ventola, 1987).

The model is a visual representation of how I understand, theoretically and practically, the journalistic news text as functioning within a network of various institutional forces, the mass media being one such institution. These institutions are best understood as discursive practices -- a series of rules and procedures expressed rhetorically, for persuasive means -- and not as somehow existing 'outside' of language. As such, the Rhetorical Framing Model conceives of what normally might be thought of in more traditional terms, as the general 'sociological' domain, as, instead, a linguistic construct or discursive formation (Foucault, 1972.) This is why specifications of, for example, such entities included in the model as 'institutions,' 'class,' and 'gender,' to name just a few, are grouped together within the 'meaning plane' of ideology -- ideology itself understood, linguistically, as 'coding orientations' (Martin, 1992; Threadgold, 1988; Bernstein, 1964, 1971, 1973). These coding orientations, importantly, are viewed as constraining (*framing*) linguistic activities in the three other meaning planes of the Rhetorical Framing Model -- 'genre,' 'register,' and 'language' itself, with language being the actual, physical elements of a text. Register, genre, and ideology, on the other hand, each constitute individual non-linguistic 'planes of meaning' that serve as important semantic, structural influences on text production.

The first part of the chapter deals with broad issues of theory, the latter half with more technical data collection procedures and a methodological outline pertaining to the content and discourse analysis of news texts as employed in this study. Before presenting various theories at work in the study and (in the final part of it) the methods employed in

gathering data and text analysis, it is helpful to provide a general idea of my own theoretically derived assumptions about the rhetorical/generic and, ultimately, ideological nature of the news text, and how these ideas relate to and strongly inform the discourse analysis of news stories throughout this study.

Genre as Rhetorical Purpose

I pay the most attention in this study to the concept of genre, as that term is linked specifically to the goal-oriented, intentional purpose of a communicative act (Martin, 1992). Genre, in this formulation, is construed as the most immediately *rhetorical* level of communication 0that, correspondingly, constrains choices in register (actual communicative contexts or social situations) and, ultimately, in language itself as expressed in an actual text. This, in a nutshell, is the entire schematic of functional-linguistics as applied to my own Rhetorical Framing Model. Within this functional-linguistic concept of genre, I am able to draw on other theorists (Jensen, 1986; van Dijk, 1988 a&b) to allow me to make my own theoretical case for understanding the specific nature of the journalistic text (the 'informational' news story) as a distinct kind of rhetorical communication.

In traditional rhetorical terms, where rhetoric is seen as the conscious attempt by a communicator to *persuade*, or to render identification with, a targeted audience by means of spoken or written arguments (Bizzell & Herzberg, 1990, pp. 3-15), the contemporary journalistic text would seem to be anti-rhetorical or a-rhetorical. This is because the institutional/professional norm of objectivity (Tuchman, 1978) constrains journalists, as institutional practitioners, to merely 'inform' but not persuade; indeed, the code of objectivity constrains journalists to provide the discursive means for anyone *but* the

journalist to be persuasive. The traditional news story follows the "objectivity principle and the norm of 'reporting mere facts'," (Kitis & Milapides, 1997, p. 561). As such, by declaring its faithfulness to the goal of 'informing,' news discourse would seem to officially and professionally *deny* any association with the clearly persuasional goals of rhetorical practice.

In the contemporary American newspaper, persuasive communication is the hallowed province of the editorial or 'op-ed' page. This physical demarcation in the newspaper itself between news, on the one hand, and opinion, on the other, is actually a significant generic distinction: It announces to readers that news will be reserved for one purpose, 'to inform,' and that opinion (the persuasion function) will be segmented in another, clearly identifiable section of the newspaper. But if we equate, as I do in this study (and as outlined later in the Rhetorical Framing Model) the rhetorical function of communication within the 'meaning plane' of genre (the goal-directed, intentional communicative *purpose* of communication) -- and with how genre is itself influenced by the even broader and more powerfully influential meaning plane of ideology -- then the news story becomes just one of many species of rhetoric. We can then envision the rhetorical intention or persuasive purpose -- the genre -- of the newspaper story as, 'to inform,' and can begin to make claims about how news discourse is, consequently, constrained to limit itself to this controlling, persuasive function.

As van Dijk (1988a, p. 179) points out, although news discourse is "nonpersuasive in principle or intention, it may well have a persuasive dimension in a more indirect sense: Even if it does not argue for a position or opinion, it certainly presupposes them, by definition of its social and therefore ideological embedding." Here, van Dijk's attention to

news discourse being "nonpersuasive in principle" points to the traditional journalistic view that the newspaper should be merely informative, not consciously persuasive or opinion-rendering. But the second part of the statement, regarding the "indirect" persuasive dimension of news discourse, which "presupposes" opinions because of news discourse's "social and therefore ideological embedding," points exactly to the idea that the news reflects the various official rhetorical positions of powerful institutional/ideologically situated and thus ideologically motivated actors. (This is the key notion behind, first, my own concept of Motivational Frame and, second, Motivated Sources, discussed in a later section of this chapter.)

Because journalism is itself part of a powerful public-sphere institution (Jensen, 1986) called the mass media, the journalist naturally defines the news as what happens *from within the operational logic* or rhetoric of various other institutions (Fishman, 1980; Tuchman, 1972, 1978), and most often by presenting an array of officially sanctioned sources (Ericson et al., 1989). The rhetoric of the mass media, again, in terms of its own generic/ideological purpose, is to inform an audience about events and issues in the 'world' according to the objectivity principle (Schudson, 1978), which constrains the reporter from taking a position, but *requires* the reporter to present the various positions of others *as a matter of professional duty*. In persuasional terms, the rhetoric of news discourse is devoted to presenting a story within a generic 'schematic structure' (Martin, 1992, p. 505; Ventola, 1987, p. 74) that persuades readers, listeners or viewers of its disinterestedness in the facts (van Dijk, 1988 a, pp. 82-88), while at the same time striving to present those facts comprehensively, from more than just one side. This comprehensiveness function is clearly linked to the traditional, almost mythical

democratic view (even among the most severe, left-wing media critics) that the news media, in an open, democratic society, should inform the public about all important matters deemed relevant for citizens to make informed decisions within the political realm (Tichenor et al., 1980; Bennett, 1996; Merritt, 1995), or within the public sphere (Jensen, 1986). As Bennett (1996), writing from a leftist, critical-theory perspective, acknowledges:

> The idea of democracy implies that people share a public communication forum in which to express their concerns and their debates...[T]he nature of our political communication process has something to do with how we act together politically -- how we define our goals and chart our actions as a nation.

To the extent that one agrees with this broadly democratic conception of the news media's social role, the generic, rhetorical purpose of news discourse -- 'to inform'-- fulfills a vitally important political function. News, as rhetorical discourse, corresponds to a truth function, the idea that much of our truths about the political and social world should come to us unvarnished, via the perspectives of a diversity of informed sources, but that the journalist should remain officially neutral in all of this.

Rhetorically, news discourse must "signal its credibility and therefore exhibit its truth claims" (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 179), and it does so through the conventional use of attributing source material, presenting factual and, especially, numeric information as a way of 'documenting' truth claims, and -- at the more abstract level -- presenting the news narrative in a detached, disinterested form, signaled by the third-person tense. In this respect news as narrative has a formal link to 'technical' discourse, whose hallmark is the presentation of "coherent" information in a clear, common-sense manner (Meyer,

1987, p. 8.) The fictional narrative can be quite incoherent but still be a 'good narrative' because of the more aesthetic, less directly practical interests of fiction as a genre; but incoherent technical discourse would not fulfill its purpose, which is simply to communicate in the most easy-to-understand means as is possible (Meyer, 1987, p. 8).

In the most basic sense, news discourse as a rhetorical practice can be said to be devoted to the communicative purpose of persuading readers of its veracity, both through easily identifiable 'textual' ways (diversity of sources, numeric or other documentary material) and by less clearly visible 'contextual' means (by conveying a narrative sense of *detachment.* rather than *commitment* to the facts and issues at hand.) The 'textual' and 'contextual' factors are, in fact, the two major elements that discourse analysis aims to examine. According to van Dijk (1988a, pp. 24-25):

> The major aim of discourse analysis, then, is to produce explicit and systematic descriptions of units of language use that we have called discourse. Such descriptions have two main dimensions, which we may simply call textual and contextual. Textual dimensions account for the structures of discourse at various levels of description. Contextual dimensions relate these structural descriptions to various properties of the context, such as cognitive processes and representations of sociocultural factors.

In his own news discourse analysis, van Dijk is careful to distinguish more traditionally understood rhetorical features of the text (such as alliteration, punctuation, hyperbole and the like) from other, more formal, non-rhetorical features, such as propositions and conventional, grammatical structuring of sentences (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 28). But importantly for my own notion of rhetoric, van Dijk does allow that rhetoric "is often understood in a broader sense as the discipline that deals with all aspects of persuasive

speaking or writing. In that sense, it becomes nearly identical with at least a large part of discourse analysis" (van Dijk, 1988a, p.28).

In this study, I follow this broader notion of discourse analysis, by analyzing the various structures of the news text as collectively contributing to news rhetoric. van Dijk himself seems to acknowledge the more functional-linguistic notion of genre as rhetorical purpose in noting that the "style" of news reports is "controlled" by its "communicative context" (which would be the meaning plane of 'register' in functional linguistics) and by the fact that news must communicate with a large number of people and thus follow an "impersonal" and "institutional" style of address (van Dijk, 1988a, pp. 74-75). News stories "are intended as impersonal statements of facts," and this "impersonality is a normative accomplishment, not a descriptive one" (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 75). The use of direct and indirect quotations, moreover, is "a powerful strategy for the journalist to avoid the constraints on impersonality, opinions, point of view, and formality" (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 76). If using direct and indirect quotation is, indeed, a "strategy," it seems unavoidable to conclude that this is a rhetorical strategy of journalism. Van Dijk summarizes much of his own view on journalistic style by concluding:

> Its printed medium, public and mass mediated nature, institutional impersonality, formality and topic selection, and production demands lead to a complex set of style features easily identifiable as the characteristic news style of the press...Finally, there are feedback constraints from assumed readability and intelligibility. Journalists routinely take into account what they assume the average reader will understand, and this assumption influences their style (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 76).

There is nothing here that would not translate as rhetoric, rather than just 'style,' in both traditional and contemporary rhetorical studies, which stress that rhetorical communication must pay attention to the intended audience, and that as such, audience factors influence textual construction (Bizzell & Herzberg, 1990, pp. 3-15; Foss et al., 1991). Van Dijk clearly associates the "rhetoric" aspect of news as a "structure" governed by "the goals and intended effects of communication" (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 82), which is exactly the way Martin (1992, p. 505) construes rhetoric, as communicative intention or purpose existing as 'schematic structure.' "The real rhetoric of the news," writes van Dijk (1988a, p. 86), "seems to reside in conditions relating to emphasizing the factual nature of events" in a way that makes the depiction "more plausible and more acceptable."

Ideologically, news "implicitly promotes the dominant beliefs and opinions of elite groups in society," by allowing various recognized, authoritative sources to make "assertions," which make up the "bulk" of news discourse (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 82). Crucially, the rhetorical nature (or the "persuasive dimension") of the news text, given over as it is to presenting the assertions of others, is founded on formulating meanings "in such a way that they are not merely understood but also accepted as the truth or at least as a possible truth" (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 83). The rhetorical nature of the news text, then, resides in its language being constructed in a way that will "enhance the beliefs of the readers assigned to the asserted propositions of the text." This need not involve a change in readers' opinions or attitudes (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 83), because assertions are attuned more to simply conveying propositions about events or issues, albeit from various perspectives, thus the important role of news sources.

For van Dijk, the rhetoric of the text inheres in persuading an audience to believe that what is being reported is actually the truth. The news is devoted to promoting a discourse of truth, or at least an "illusion of truth" (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 87) based upon the discourse of quoted sources, who journalists know may, possibly, be lying or coloring the truth. As for its general rhetorical structure, the essential elements of news discourse include an emphasis on the factual nature of events; a strong relational structure that displays these facts (such as headlines, lead sentences, a logically structured grouping of topics and related types of supporting information, such as background and context, and direct and indirect source quotation); and, finally, "attitudinal, emotional dimensions" that might include key words, memorable metaphors, over-sized headlines, and special punctuational features. (This later set of elements is what conventional media framing studies tend to focus on the most, and this will be dealt with at a later point in this chapter.) Having laid out my own basic ideas and demonstrated how they are informed by a variety of insights from functional-linguistics, rhetorical criticism, and discourse analysis, I now proceed to present more detail on important theoretical issues underlying my linguistic analysis.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the major aim of this comparative case study is to explore and assess the different ways each newspaper covered the WTI story -- which I characterize as a 'conflict' story -- and to try to explain why each paper covered the issue in the way it did. I explore what is actually in the articles through both discourse and content analysis, and attempt to explain the nature of the texts by such means as social-structural media theory (Tichenor et al., 1980), functional-linguistics (Halliday, 1985, 1987; Martin, 1992; Ventola, 1987), discourse analysis theory (van Dijk, 1988

a&b, 1991), and, on a more practical level, from contextual information gleaned via in-depth interviews with *Post-Gazette* and *Review* journalists who covered the WTI story. I pay attention both to the news media's social role within different social structures (social-structural media theory, the focus of Chapter 3), and in later chapters to specific, even microscopic, linguistic features of the text (discourse analysis) and to general linguistic/rhetorical patterns (such as the comparative frequencies of direct-quote use and schema-category use) within and between texts (content analysis.) I provide, where appropriate, insight obtained from interviews with reporters with the Pittsburgh and East Liverpool newspapers, as a way of adding a real-world contextual focus to the textual material. Both theoretically and methodologically, this study is highly interdisciplinary in nature, drawing as it does on various media, social, and more general linguistic theories and, methodologically on a range of techniques. The formal analysis of 74 'same-day' news articles (37 separate stories in each paper) is explained not just in its own linguistic terms, but within the larger context of all articles that each paper devoted to WTI, which collectively number more than 400.

Methodologically, I have fashioned my own brand of discourse analysis that follows closely the schematic-type news analysis of van Dijk (1988 a&b), who formalizes the news text as a particular kind of narrative structure consisting of schematic information units -- Topic, Context, Background, History, Verbal Reaction, Consequences, and Comment. I rely on these schema categories as my discourse-analytic guidepost, but in the course of my own textual analysis of news articles I also point out ways in which many of the categories overlap. As well, I devote extensive attention to one of the schema categories, Verbal Reaction (direct and indirect quotation), to show more clearly how

source quotation functions as a rhetorical device for both the 'interested' news source and the 'detached' news reporter. Additionally, I systematically link the news schema categories to what I call claims-making activity by news sources, especially as claims and counter-claims are grounded in various rhetorical logics, which I call Rhetorical Categories.

Given the methodological complexity being outlined here, it should be clear that there often will not be (and cannot be) a thoroughly clear-cut distinction between what counts as *theory* and what as *method*. Discourse analysis as outlined by van Dijk, for example, is both a theory of how ideology is realized through language, and a method for analyzing it. So in applying this discourse-analytic method one is automatically engaged in theoretical exposition and methodological exploration. When van Dijk, commenting on the various methodological aspects of analyzing a news text, remarks that "a serious and critical analysis of the ideological dimension of news is impossible without this kind of explication of the links that bind news structures with the social cognitions of journalists as members in ideological institutions such as the media" (van Dijk, 1988b, p. 30), he is referring exactly to this admixture of theory and method; he presumes, in other words, that the method of discourse analysis is designed to tap into something that can be theorized as the ideological structure of the text.

The Value of a Social Construction of Knowledge Theory

I take a broadly social-constructionist view that relies for its theoretical support on related work in functional linguistics, the value of which is to provide a linguistic account of social 'reality' and thus of social theory itself. The sociology-of-knowledge/social-constructionist approach to knowledge generation examines how public communication

on and thus knowledge of or about[1] a given subject is crafted as a result of a social network of competing individuals, interest groups and institutions, each of which attempt to project their own version of "reality," given respective political, social, economic and/or cultural interests. A social-constructionist approach to knowledge maintains that what we understand as "social orders...are largely socio-symbolic constructions," because a knowledge system or structure is essentially a system of patterned communication, a linguistic system (Smith & Turner, 1995, pp. 152-153). Hence, the *reality* of a given situation is conditioned upon an individual's or group's interests in projecting a certain "view" and managing to get that view portrayed through some public means of communication.

In the case of newspapers, one of the more important factors to examine in determining whose views of a situation get aired is the number and diversity of sources in any article. This is the focus of Chapter 3, which relies primarily on source-use patterns that emerged from my analysis of the two newspapers' stories about WTI. I assess my own results against Tichenor et al.'s (1980) social-structural media theory, which explains differential news media performance (and audience-knowledge differences) in relation to the differences between metropolitan versus small-town 'social structures'. In social-constructivist terms, social structure is more readily conceived of as a kind of knowledge structure that is "socio-symbolically constructed" (Smith & Turner, 1995, p. 153). In this view, all social knowledge and even what we think of as social orders are socio-symbolically constructed; knowledge of social life is not a *reflection* of a social order (because that would make of the social order a force independent of language) but a

[1] The distinction between public *knowledge of* (or casual "acquaintance with") and *knowledge about* (a

"transformation of experience into a linguistic ontology..." (Smith & Turner, pp. 152-153, citing Gergen, 1985a, p. 547). This means, as well, that all accounts of knowledge (including journalistic, scholarly, or scientific) are themselves social constructions, therefore *partial* accounts of "reality," and should be delineated as such (Smith & Turner, p. 153). Institutions and other 'social organizations' are, in effect, textually 'mediated' in Smith's (1984) formulation.

The sociology of knowledge perspective has a more properly sociological bent, in that it "emphasizes the social character of knowledge...created by people in groups" (Dant, 1991, p. 3), while the social-constructionist views social orders as discursive forms or linguistic practices, as "socio-symbolic constructions" (Smith & Turner, 1995, p. 152). The sociology-of-knowledge perspective, as formulated by Dant (1991), converges with the social constructionist position, by taking knowledge as informed by ideology (an over-arching worldview articulated through everyday language and practices), and as manifested, empirically, in discourse. Knowledge, ideology and discourse are "inextricably linked," and what is created and qualifies as knowledge "reflects the values and the sociological features of the society" (Dant, p. 3). It is for this reason that in my Rhetorical Framing Model I account for the sociological realm in terms of the meaning plane of ideology.

According to Smith (1984, p. 63), discourse itself is communication "mediated" by documents of any sort, including such popular-culture documents as newspaper reports, television shows, movies and books, all of which "intersect" with state, business and other organizations. Common to both the sociology-of-knowledge and the social-

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more informed, complex understanding) a particular social issue comes from Park (1944).

constructionist perspectives is the notion that knowledge and therefore meaning are socially manufactured. Knowledge and meaning emerge as the result of social agents or actors interacting through discursive means in various social settings and against various social forces (institutions), the latter of which are themselves expressed discursively, in symbolic form. It is within this general theoretical perspective that my own terms, Motivational Frame, Motivated Sources, and Rhetorical Framing, should be understood.

In the sociology-based "new institutionalist" line of thought, "individual preferences and such basic categories of thought as the self, social action, the state, and citizenship are shaped by institutional forces" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 3). This, again, corresponds in my model to the ideological plane of meaning, which shapes generic communication practices. Social *structure*, in this view, is conceived as functioning symbolically. Organizations are construed as operating less in a defined "community" than within a particular professional field or sector, and even within a certain irrationality and ambiguity, rather than through consciously thought-out goals and commitments (DiMaggio & Powell, p. 13). In this view, actors within institutions or organizations are guided not by norms, values or attitudes (the traditional view of how institutional actors function) but by "routines," "scripts" or "schemas" informed by "habit," and which allow for relatively unreflected "practical action" rather than reflective, goal-directed "commitment" to certain recognized norms and values (DiMaggio & Powell, p. 13).

Delineating knowledge as constructed by institutions and social actors should not be read, however, as occurring in linear fashion, but rather as more a recursive process in which actors and institutions (including the mass media) interact to produce, reformulate and reproduce knowledge. Hansen (1991, p. 447) notes that meaning construction is an

"interactive" process which takes place within and between various institutions, while Gamson and Modigliani (1989) offer a similar formulation by positing the existence of "parallel systems of meaning production," rather than meaning occurring in linear, step-wise fashion. While the sociology-of-knowledge approach does assert the existence of a social world from which social knowledge emerges, this social world should not be viewed as some fixed locale, but as a network of relations that come into being through discourse practices (Smith, 1984; Friedland & Alford, 1991), and which together can be considered the more general realm of the discursive formation (Foucault, 1972) or, in Martin's (1992) functional-linguistics, as the coding orientations existing at the broadest 'meaning plane,' that of ideology.

This general theoretical stance asserts "the centrality of the symbolic in the organization of social life" (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 247):

> Each of the most important institutional orders of contemporary Western societies has a central logic -- a set of material practices and symbolic constructions -- which constitutes its organizing principles and which is available to organizations and individuals to elaborate...That of religion, or science for that matter, is truth, whether mundane or transcendental, and the symbolic construction of reality within which all human activity takes place. These institutional logics are symbolically grounded, organizationally structured, politically defended, and technically and materially constrained, and hence have specific historical limits (Friedland & Alford, p. 248).

The News Media as Part of the Social-Construction System

The newspaper is itself part of an institutional/professional structure (*the mass media*). It operates within a defined political, social, and economic sphere, has its own needs for maintaining profits, and is, as a result, constrained by political, economic, organizational and professional/occupational pressures and norms that determine how the newspaper product (*the story*) is created and therefore *framed* for public consumption. In a social-

systems framework, the mass media are "interdependent parts of a total social system in which they share facets of controlling, and being controlled, by other subsystems" (Donohue et al., 1973, p. 652.) A social system can be defined as a "series of interrelated subsystems," and mass media are subsystems that intersect other subsystems, transmitting information "among and between them" (Donohue et al., pp. 652-653). This intersecting function provides feedback to the entire social system, and serves as a social information-distribution and regulatory mechanism (Donohue et al., p. 653).

The mass media have a great deal of selectivity, on an immediate basis, as to which kinds of information they will present from other sub-systems. Not everything that might be relevant to an issue is reported; journalists pick and choose which sources to quote, how much space to give each, and frames of reference for explaining facts and details. What one newspaper reports about a specific issue that occurred on a certain day can sometimes differ dramatically from how another newspaper might report it. But these differences are more than just the result of individual or ideosyncratic choices made by reporters; the reporter writes for audiences of readers within variously structured communities, and routinizes certain norms and cultural mores (not necessarily conscious ones) imposed to varying degrees by well-defined or largely unspoken but intuitively understood organizational and political factors.

In sum, perhaps the best way to theorize a broadly social-constructionist theory of society is to think of society existing as a "multidimensional semiotic space" (Martin, 1992, p. 574), with any text the result of differential semiotic forces influencing textual language and construction. I now turn to more text-specific issues involving news stories

themselves, and introduce key concepts regarding notions of rhetoric and framing as applied in this study.

Framing as a 'Motivational' Source-based Phenomenon

As outlined earlier in this chapter, I conceive of the rhetoric of the news text as a function of its genre (communicative purpose), which is to 'inform' an audience about aspects of reality in a truthful, objective manner. But what of the second term in the phrase, rhetorical framing? The framing of the journalistic text I view primarily as a function of the journalist's routinized interaction with sources and institutions representing the public sphere (Jensen, 1986, 1987) and who thus strongly condition what will be considered appropriate as 'news' and, moreover, how the news will be depicted. Given the rhetorical/ideological purpose of the news text, which is to inform truthfully about public matters, the journalist's role, correspondingly, is to present the story 'objectively' from the viewpoint of sources motivated in just the opposite direction – sources who hope to convey in a highly rhetorical manner their own, interested sense of reality.

The autonomy of the journalist -- and the dialogic nature of the news text -- consists largely in the journalist's ability (indeed, the journalist's *duty*, from a professional standpoint) to present contrasting views of the situation, by opposing one source's view to the view of another source with a different viewpoint. The resulting frame of the text is thus a dialogic framework of contrasting voices, and these voices – representing different institutional or organizational perspectives – are framed within the rhetoric of the detached, objective, informational journalistic news story. The dialogic aspect of the news text – the competition among different voices – occurs most often through the

quoting, directly and indirectly, of sources who are themselves motivated to represent the views of their respective institutions and organizations.

Motivational Frame & Motivated Sources

It is in the above respect that I use the terms Motivational Frame and Motivated Sources as two sides of the same coin. The **Motivational Frame** is the institutional or organizational perspective (the official ideology) that is presented by representatives ('sources' in the language of the journalist) of an institution or organization – **Motivated Sources**; these representatives are 'motivated' to present the ideology of the institutions or organizations with which they are affiliated. The journalist relies upon these news actors for story material, to the degree, that is, that the journalist decides a certain item being offered to the journalist qualifies as newsworthy. The resulting story is therefore *framed* from the perspective of whatever institutional actor (motivated source) has provided the journalist with newsworthy information.

For example, in this study, the three major Motivational Frames that emerged (accounting for 81 percent of the 74 same-day stories analyzed from both newspapers) were Opposition (represented by persons with various anti-WTI organizations); Regulation (represented by officials with the U.S. EPA and other regulatory bodies); and Legality (represented by attorneys affiliated with state, county, or city jurisdictional powers.) Persons affiliated with any one of these institutional frames of reference, by definition, presented the 'reality' of WTI from the perspective not only of what they deemed important, but, in the case of regulators or legal types, from within what they were officially *allowed* to consider important.

When speaking to a reporter, an opponent of WTI was more or less free to engage in a panoply of rhetorical expression, including highly emotional language, because the WTI opponent's motivation was to convince regulators, politicians, and others that the plant should not be allowed to exist. Staging a protest or demonstration march against the plant, then, would be designed to get the reporter's attention , thus the reporter would go on to write his or her story from the perspective of the Opposition Frame. Thus, the story that day is about the protest itself, what WTI opponents said and did and, importantly, what those who disagree with the WTI opponents think, as well. Opposing views brought into the story would typically come from WTI proponents (usually plant spokespersons) or from officially "neutral" sources like the U.S. EPA.

A representative of the U.S. EPA, on the other hand, was and is constrained by virtue of his or her role within that organization to remain officially neutral on whether WTI, in strictly normative terms, is a good or bad thing – whether the plant should be allowed to exist at all. Rather, the EPA official is sanctioned only to present views relating to regulatory matters pertaining to WTI that fall within the EPA's legal, institutional mandate; what a particular regulator actually thinks personally about the incinerator is irrelevant. When the EPA issues a ruling pertaining to some regulatory decision it has made about the WTI plant, the reporter's news sense is keyed into the nature of that particular decision, thus the story is (and was in this study) framed from the perspective of the regulatory body. Fulfilling the dialogic function of the press, however, means that the reporter is duty-bound to bring in viewpoints from the entity that is subject to this aforementioned regulatory decision (WTI, via its spokespersons), as well as from WTI

opponents, who may or may not favor the EPA decision, depending on whether the ruling advances the opposition's own interests.

My concept of rhetorical framing, then, views the news story as a combination of institutional forces (including the institution of journalism itself), each following differing communicative goals (genres). The 'motivated sources' quoted in a story desire that their own respective views will prevail, and they work hard to get those views across. The journalistic genre, however -- corresponding to the ideological/institutional norm of objectivity -- serves to constrain these 'interested' views within a communicative framework designed to 'inform' the reader in a comprehensive, detached manner of presentation. The rhetorical goal of the journalist is to convince the reader (or listener or viewer) of the essential accuracy and "realism" of the facts and issues being presented (Jensen, 1986; van Dijk, 1988 a &b).

How Motivational Framing Differs from Typical Notions

This concept of framing – which emphasizes the reporter's interaction with sources and institutions as primary framers – departs somewhat from the usual way framing is conceived of in other recent media studies, as primarily a symbolic/textual phenomenon (Gamson, 1995, 1992, 1990; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Entman, 1993, 1991; Gitlin, 1980). Framing, in most media studies, is usually defined along the lines of Gitlin's (1980. p. 7) often-used characterization, as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, or selection, emphasis, and exclusion" -- that serve to constrain discourse within a defined range of possible meaning.[2] Meaning frames, in this

[2] Gitlin (1980, p. 7), defines 'media frames' as: "...persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol handlers routinely organize

text-specific sense, allow the mass media communicator "to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely...to assign it cognitive categories; and to package it for efficient relay to their audience" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). A frame in this characterization is an interpretational context, and a study of this context is an assessment of the contextual factors within which a series of related statements (discourse) can be understood to be infused with a certain meaning.

For Goffman (1974) – whose early ideas on framing many media theorists have drawn from – the study of how speech or discourse is framed is an investigation into the "organization of experience" itself, while Entman (1993, p. 52) sees framing analysis as a method which studies how "some aspects of a perceived reality"...are presented so as "to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation..." Entman (1993) also theorizes different levels of framing, such as the mental frames of individuals and the 'media' or textual frame of a news story, and suggests different frame-categories might be studied both independently and collectively. According to Gamson (1989, p. 157; see also, Gamson, 1995, 1992, 1990), frames are identified in the text by systematically locating and analyzing "metaphors, catchphrases, and other symbolic devices that provide a shorthand way of suggesting the underlying story line." Graber (1989, p. 146) defines a 'story' frame as supplying "the interpretive background by which the story is judged," and Gamson (1989, p. 157) submits that facts "have no intrinsic meaning" until they are "embedded in a frame or story line that organizes them and gives them coherence...A frame is a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue."

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discourse, whether verbal or visual." For a conception of framing as applied outside of media-centered

Perhaps one of the best examples of a textual framing study is Entman (1991), who examines how different national news magazines and a national network framed the story of the shooting down of KAL Flight 007 by the Soviet government. Entman makes convincing arguments about what he finds as frames in the texts themselves, but only briefly points to the more sociological bases (the institutions and institutional actors who, as news sources, generate ideas and arguments) *behind* these textual frames – to what, in my study, would be equated with the Motivational Frame. Entman (1991) acknowledges that there may well be different kinds of frames one can locate in a given news story, the significance of this apparently being that what the analyst decides to search for (say, 'political' instead of 'economic' frames of reference) will condition the outcome of one's frame analysis.

One can certainly "do" framing analysis in this text-centered manner, and with great value, but discovering various catchphrases and consistent metaphors in the text -- as valuable and informative as that is -- seems to beg the question: Where do these metaphors and images originate? In this study, I use framing in a way that places most of the power of a frame within (thus, stemming from) social institutions and actors themselves, and only secondarily within the writer's own use of language and interpretation. By examining where the story 'comes from' -- whether from the decision of a regulator, from a judge's legal ruling, from the protest speech of a WTI opponent, or from a press release issued by WTI-- we already know a lot about how the actual news story will be framed symbolically.

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studies and more pertinent to general linguistic analysis, see Hanks (1993).

Rationale of Framing Method in Present Study

My conception of framing, by focusing more on the locus of institutional power arrangements (Motivational Frames) and the 'sources' who represent powerful institutions (Motivated Sources), allows one to look at the news text as the symbolic outcome or repository of these real-world forces, who do express their power through the news language of source-quotations and rhetorically inspired argumentative claims. Because the WTI story was so inherently rhetorical -- a 'conflict' story as I have called it -- pitting two very vocal source groups against each other, it seemed more appropriate to examine the institutional/organizational positions of these competing and often-quoted sources and, at the discourse-analytical (textual) level, to evaluate the rhetorical claims-making practices of the various sources routinely quoted in stories. Moreover, showing how van Dijk's (1988 a&b) schema categories actually convey various narrative features of the news text (including source claims and counter-claims), seemed to be a more appropriate form of textual analysis than what might otherwise be offered through conventional framing analysis. Journalists, in my view, respond to these real-world motivational frames and motivated sources, and take their linguistic cues from them. The linguistic cues result in a story that largely reflects the views of differential sources, each one of whom represents 'reality' from his or her own, interested viewpoint.

In my own analysis of news articles, I found only scattered evidence of the journalist striving to present anything more than a straightforward (but not necessarily 'balanced,' highly detailed or especially nuanced) account of the views of various motivated sources; in other words, any 'textual' framing would seem to be a product of the journalist simply conveying what he or she actually witnessed, or presenting the interested views of

sources. Most articles did have at least a minimum of sources representing opposing viewpoints on the same issue. In this sense, the journalists were upholding their generic mission of simply "informing" readers about the views of others, and from different perspectives. But the perspectives were limited, almost always, to those "for" the plant and those "against" it, with a smattering of "neutral" opinions from public regulators and other officially neutral sources. It is this rather constrained, personality driven, pro versus con perspective that I problematize in Chapter 8, the concluding chapter, as *politicized* reporting.

This is not to say that reporters did not convey any ideological coloring in their stories or that the accounts were always balanced. In fact, as upcoming chapters show, many stories (especially in the East Liverpool paper) were unbalanced from a diversity-of-source perspective. Reporters for both papers often presented a strong frame of reference clearing stemming from one side of the issue or another, but the story frames tended to stem directly from the views and activities of various sources who appeared in the stories – and not usually from anything like the journalists' own critical awareness or creative, writerly imagination. To the extent that this highly source-centered brand of reporting is seen as problematic, it may be so by virtue of its uncritical, stenographic approach to documenting reality. Hallin (1992) notes that reporters may gain or sustain credibility and the appearance of objectivity by allowing sources to maintain control over the information agenda, but that by doing so, reporters cede whatever intellectual and explanatory powers they might otherwise be able to employ to make reporting a more thorougly critical venture. For example, in one story where a Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* reporter described WTI opponents inside the White House kneeling in prayer and holding

hands, the journalist did convey what might be called a "religious-commitment frame," but this is exactly the frame intended, apparently, by opponents, who decided to kneel and pray as part of a news attention-getting strategy that resulted in coverage from those motivated sources' perspective. A more critical approach to this media-event scenario (Gamson, 1990, pp. 147-150) might be for the reporter to critique the media event strategy – the practice of kneeling in prayer inside the White House – *as* a strategy to gain media attention, and weave this perspective into the more standard reporting of allegations, counter-responses and the like. Of course, whether a reporter chooses to include this kneeling-and-praying scene as part of a story is always a rhetorical decision clearly in the hands of the reporter; in fact, the East Liverpool newspaper did not include this scene in its account of the same-day story.

Challengers engaging in "unruly" actions can serve to "reframe" the issue in the news media, to "reorient media practice in ways that broaden the scope of the conflict and alter the issue discourse" (Gamson, 1990, p. 167; see also, Melucci, 1989).

Noting the linkage between media-event practices and the resulting media frames that may emerge, Gamson (1990) writes:

> Challengers are engaged in battles over meaning. The images, catchphrases, and metaphors used by the media to define the challenge and the challenger are central in determining their fate. In postwar America, the media have become the battleground, which challengers ignore at their peril (p. 147)...To keep media attention, challengers are tempted to ever-more extravagant and dramatic actions – regardless of their contributions to the challengers's goals (p. 166).

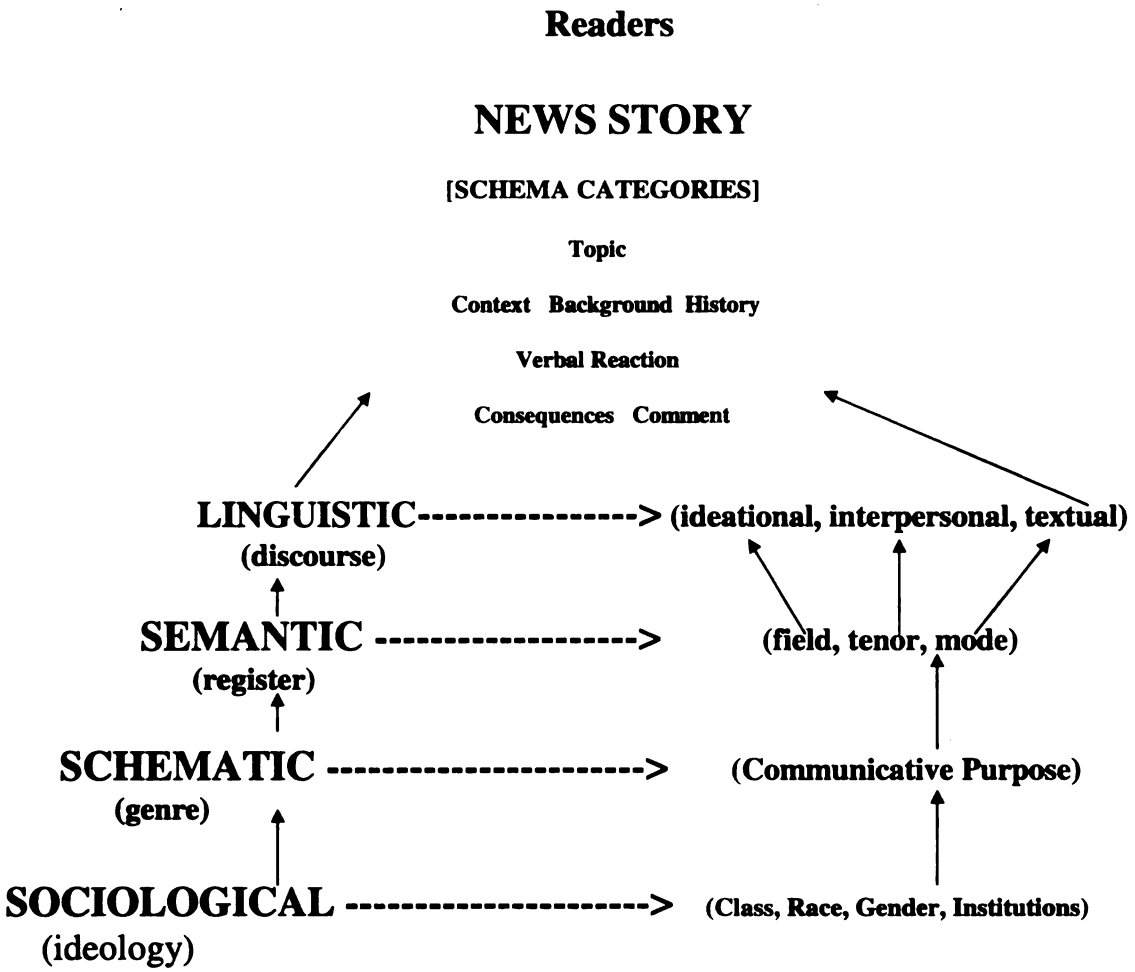
Rhetorical Framing Model

As a way of theorizing in the most visible terms my concept of rhetorical framing, I offer a heuristic device for understanding the journalistic text that I call the Rhetorical Framing Model (**Figure 1**). It is a theoretical model that incorporates van Dijk's (1988a&b) schema categories, which are the narrative properties of the news text, into a discourse-analytic construct. In building the various links in the model I borrow from recent work in systemic-functional linguistics dealing primarily with the interrelationships between and among ideology as 'coding orientations,' genre as 'rhetorical purpose,' and the social-semantic meaning plane known as 'register,' and consider how each of these three meaning planes are realized a fourth – the text itself (Martin, 1992, 1989; Matthiessen, 1992; Mann et al., 1989; Ventola, 1987; Halliday, 1985, 1978; Threadgold, 1988, 1987; Gregory, 1988; Ellis, 1988).

The rhetorical framing model is intended as a way of understanding how, as I have argued, news discourse can be conceived as a certain kind of persuasive (thus, rhetorical) text – a "realist" text (Jensen, 1986) designed to persuade readers of its impartial, truthful, veridical quality (Jensen, 1987, 1986; van Dijk, 1988 a&b) – and which functions within a dynamic social/ideological matrix. Society or culture or whatever name we choose to give to our sociological world is, for the functional linguist, "an assembly of semiotic systems, of which language is one" (Halliday, 1987, pp. 615-617.)

The goal of the model is to show how the journalism text, reliant as it is on the narrative properties provided through the news schema categories, can be linked in fairly direct fashion to the social-semiotic functions of language.

Figure 1



Rhetorical Framing Model of News Text: The model recognizes four distinct structural domains or formations wherein all communication, of any type, takes place. The sociological domain is the broadest, the schematic domain more narrowed to an communicative purpose or intention, which links a communicative act to a genre designed to inform, persuade, instruct, illuminate, entertain, etc. In the case of the newspaper, the communicative purpose, generally speaking, is to inform; thus it is an informative genre. The next, more specific structural level is the semantic, linked to a specific social situation a communicator exists within. For example, covering a protest march against a toxic waste treatment plant involves the news reporter to understand, make note of, and respond to the actual situation (the field) at hand (the referential), including the reporter's own involvement in the event as part of the field; to take account of the social relations (interpersonal) enacted during the protest, among, for example, the protesters, plant supporters, and onlookers, and what each might express about the situation; and finally to select certain information and encode it into language, for example, a written text – thus this structural domain is the textual or symbolic realm. The upper-most level ties the "news story" to specific schema categories.

Each of the four realms of meaning also contain important sub-functions; in the case of register, for example, 'field,' 'tenor,' and 'mode,' and these latter terms are themselves associated, respectively, at the final discursive/language level (in the news story itself) with the three metafunctions: 'ideational,' 'interpersonal,' and 'textual' meaning.

It is important to note that I present this model only as a means of understanding the schema categories within a larger linguistic, theoretical construct as a heuristic, analytical tool. I do not present this model with the intention of then "doing" discourse analysis of news texts by indicating examples of how each element listed in the model can be "found" in a particular news story. One certainly could, with great value, conduct discourse analysis in such a manner but that would make for a different kind of study, with a different purpose; in future work I hope to do just this. But such an approach, it seems to me, would require a much more detailed kind of discourse analysis that would necessarily limit the number of texts one could reasonably examine in a thorough manner. The purpose of the present study is to examine a relatively large number of texts to be able to detect various meaning patterns between the two newspapers; in this regard, and also because of the conflictual nature of the news stories I'm looking at in the present study, an analysis of schema categories, and especially of rhetorical claims-making, is more appropriate methodologically.

The rhetorical framing model as presented, then, is probably most profitably understood as the foundational architecture that incorporates a number of both abstract and much more specific linguistic "items," one set of them being, at the "micro" end of the model, the schema categories, which are the text-specific focal point of my news discourse analysis. I will draw on various elements of the model at a various points in this

study to help explain and flesh out aspects of the news stories I analyze formally via schema categories and rhetorical claims-making.

I will briefly sketch out how the elements at the upper-most level are meant to be understood, and will then take much more time to explain these and other key terms in the lower end of the model, and how different meaning planes in the model should be seen to work interactively. I draw liberally from a number of theorists within the systemic-functional school, mixing and matching pre-existing terms to suit my own developing theoretical purposes. The model, in this respect, is a conglomeration of previously worked out ideas that have never been articulated in exactly the fashion they appear here. The attempt to incorporate van Dijk's schema categories into the rhetorical framing model (the upper-most portion) is entirely my own doing, thus any errors, misunderstandings, or shortcomings in the model in this regard should be laid to rest at my doorstep, not at van Dijk's or anyone else's. Perhaps the best way to understand my notion of text as reflected in the model presented in **Figure 1** is to see the text, any text, as a micrcosm of society (of the sociological) and of the discursive systems (the coding orientations, thus the various ideologies) of which society is composed. What Martin (1992, p. 574) says of society, that it is "a multidimensional semiotic space," also would apply, as well, to any text.

Analysis of the Model

In the top-most position of the model, Readers are positioned as encountering a news story, and the story itself is presented via different narrative properties that in van Dijk (1983, 1988 a&b, 1991, 1993) are called schema categories, which collectively form a text's 'superstructure.' The schemas, which are syntactic units that embody content or the

semantic information of the news story, include the closely related Context, Background, and History, as well as Topic (which is the news summarization function occurring through the headline and lead sentence), Verbal Reaction (direct and indirect quotation), Consequences (reporter-centered causal analysis), and Comment (reporter opinion and evaluation.).

To summarize (which is the function of Topic), for example, is to interpret the significance of some perceived state of affairs, and this is a routine feature of any news story, with the reporter writing a lead that frames the most important information and an editor building an even more general frame through giving the story, usually based upon the lead sentence, a headline. Most stories typically will include Context (immediately relevant information that helps explain the main event or main topic of the news story) and Background (contextual information from the recent past). Adding source quotations (of both 'direct' and 'indirect' form) presents reality from the view of others, from what throughout this study I call Motivated Sources. Finally, a reporter engaging in informed analysis (Consequences) or, much less frequently, outright opinion or evaluation (Comment) is nonetheless applying an interpretation to the event or issue at hand, an interpretation that does not rely on an attributed source, though it (the interpretation) may indeed stem from information obtained through one or more sources.

At the Linguistic (discourse) level, we are presented ideational (the 'what-is-happening,' referential, experiential) and interpersonal elements (the 'who' and basic role relationships, including evaluational terms) through a third meaning function, the symbolic organization of the Text itself, which 'enables' or embodies the ideational and interpersonal meaning functions (Halliday, 1985, 1978; Martin, 1992; Ventola, 1987).

The text, in this sense, is the physical carrier of information which embodies the real-world happenings (or informational states of mind presented by actors, [Halliday, 1985]) via ideational (experiential) and interpersonal (role relationships and evaluations) elements that constitute any particular event or issue. Each of these three metafunctions (Halliday, 1985, 1978, 1971) has its complement at the Semantic (register) level, in the form of field (ideational), tenor (interpersonal) and mode (textual). (I detail at much greater length all of these and other elements of the model in due course).

The news schema categories at the top of the Rhetorical Framing Model thus relate horizontally, at the level of the Linguistic (discourse) plane, to the three meta-functions of language outlined by Halliday (1985), as well as, in vertical fashion, to three other structural meaning planes: Semantic (register: field, tenor, mode), Schematic (genre: the rhetorical or communication intention/purpose), and Sociological (ideology: class, ethnic, generational, gender, institutional and other ideological 'coding orientations' [Bernstein, 1964, 1971, 1973] expressed as evaluational and practical differences that define any societal member's behavioral and perceptual engagement and interaction with other social actors and institutions (Martin, 1992; Ventola, 1987).

As these three planes of meaning each are rather complex in nature, I will devote the next several pages to defining important elements within each domain. Along the way I will locate the journalistic text within this model, attempting to show how each level of meaning corresponds with various aspects of the journalism text.

Functional Linguistics and Important Theoretical Terms

Functional linguistics "takes meaning as something to be explained in its own right rather than by reference to a model of the material world or the mental world; the dominant

mode of interpretation is a social-semiotic one, and neighboring disciplines are ethnography and rhetoric" (Matthiessen, 1992, p. 39). For Halliday (1978, p. 604), language is a "social semiotic...the expression plane of other semiotic systems, which are not language":

> This means it is an abstract potential, but one which is called upon as a form of social action. Language is not only a *part* of the social process – it is also an *expression* of it; and that is why it is organized in a way which makes it a *metaphor* for social processes at the same time (p. 604, italics in original.)

Notice that Halliday identifies only symbolic or discursive representation itself (via the metafunctions of ideation, interpersonal and textual) as specifically linguistic, even though he contends (Halliday, 1985, 1978) that the social-situational (real-world) encounters of register (field, tenor, mode) are *semantic* in nature; register, in other words, is another "semiotic system" – a semantic or meaning-laden one – but it is not "language" *per se*. The idea is that social-situational encounters (register) shape meaning (semantics) that is then translated ('expressed') in speech, writing or other properly linguistic forms. This is why the three elements of register (field, tenor, mode) find their corresponding links, respectively, in the linguistic metafunctions of ideation, interpersonal, and textual, the latter three of which are language *proper*.

There is a definite link here with social-constructionism, which sees 'reality' as a series of statements – as language *about* what is construed as reality – rather than seeing reality as some material existence that can be understood outside of language (Smith & Turner, 1995). Systemic-functional linguistics acknowledges the materiality of existence – that everything is not just language; that there is a world that precedes language – but does contend that material existence (register) is fundamentally semantic (meaning-

oriented) in nature. Functional linguists tend to pay much more attention, however, to understanding how various concrete social situations (say, a trip to the grocery store can be dictated by certain pre-ordained ways of interacting, and thus pre-ordained ways of speaking (Ventola, 1987, p. 69-71.)

Ideology as Meaning Plane

Much of our social life consists of "different kinds of rules and patterns which we as members of a society recognize and follow" (Ventola, 1987, p. 54) and which are expressed, for the most part, through language of one type or another. Or, as Bernstein (1973, pp. 143-144, cited in Martin, 1988, pp. 293-294) puts it in more broadly sociological terms: "[S]ocial structure generates distinct linguistic forms or codes and these codes essentially transmit the culture and so constrain behaviour." What Bernstein refers to as social structure is, in the functional-linguistic perspective of Martin (1992), appears to be construed as one of four meaning planes (that of ideology) whose pre-linguistic function inheres in the form of 'coding orientations' -- meaning each member of a given society, given any member's particular social position, has different access to different class, ethnic, gender, and other power domains, all of which function socially as 'codes' governing behavior and perception. For example, by virtue of his or her professional life a university professor has access to different social codes, thus different coding orientations (a different ideological frame of reference) than does a homeless person, and each, because of those different orientations to reality, might interpret the same phenomenon, say, a particular text, in vastly different ways. In fact, if a homeless person cannot read at all, the only way he or she could understand a written text would be for it to be read aloud by someone else.

So in my own model, ideology (at the bottom of the model) is the most abstract, the most general, of the four interconnected meaning planes. Ideology "is a system of coding orientations which makes meaning selectively available depending on subjects' class, gender, ethnicity and generation...[A]ll texts manifest, construe, renovate and symbolically realize ideology, just as they do language, register, and genre" (Martin, 1992, p. 581.)

Genre as Meaning Plane

At the next, somewhat less abstract level is the meaning plane of genre, which is the 'expression plane' of ideology. In Martin (1992, pp. 500-508) and Ventola (1987), genre refers to the rhetorical purpose of a given act of communication, and is thus such a distinct meaning-creating function that it should be seen as a distinct meaning plane, one that 'expresses' ideological coding orientations. Importantly, genre here is seen as not only in its conventional meaning -- as a type of text -- but as even occurring in real-world situations. For example, the "service encounter" that occurs at the check-out line of the grocery store dictates a role, certain goals and purposes, for both the cashier and customer. The *genre*, or communicative purpose, of this situation can in fact be defined as "service encounter" (Ventola, 1987, p. 71) -- the buyer's intention being to buy various items, the cashier's to take the money, ring up the register, and (usually) to end the encounter by politely thanking the buyer for his or her purchase.

There are, loosely, certain expected rules and procedures followed in a service encounter, and these constrain and to some degree even predict what will therefore be said during the encounter. Genre, here, is understood not as the communicative act itself (although it certainly controls the communicative act) but as the *purpose behind a*

communicative act -- the intention of the communicative act -- that dictates how that act of communication will be structured. Genre, accordingly in this view, is seen as promoting a rhetorical or purposeful function, in that one who intends to accomplish or 'get across' certain meanings in an act of communication hopes that he or she will succeed in that regard; every act of communication includes certain communicative intentions or goals (Martin, 1989 & 1992; Mann et al., 1989.)

Genre in the above sense relates to the kinds of things that, given the communicative intention of the communicator (say, to inform, to polemicize, to instruct, etc.) are likely to be said and not said as a result of this initial communicative intention, and thus how this intention constrains *how* things will be said and even what *can* be said in a given communicative situation. Creating any text means recognizing the creator has certain communicative purposes, that the resultant language is, therefore, "appropriate to the genre in question, and not to another genre" (Ventola, 1987, p. 72.) It is along this line of demarcation that we can therefore distinguish a detective novel from a romance novel, or even a simple news story from an argumentative piece appearing on the newspaper's editorial page. Different linguistic conventions and ideological assumptions are called into service by different generic purposes: For example, to polemicize is not the same as to instruct, and language in each communicative domain will reflect these differing rhetorical purposes.

Relating genre to journalism, I conceive of the journalistic text, at the most broadly generic level, as a form of 'factual writing.' :

Factual writing is designed not to amuse us, but to explore the world around us. It focuses on how things get done and what things are like. So successful factual writing is about the world; it is not primarily intended to entertain (Martin, 1989, p. 9).

Martin further divides factual writing into sub-functions: procedures, descriptions, reports, explanations, and exposition -- the latter relating to a highly argumentative kind of text in which the writer clearly argues for a point (pp. 11-14). The first three sub-functions, notably, do not generally attempt to explain anything, but rather to simply report the way something is or how to do something. But a factual genre such as explanation – the fourth sub-function – includes as part of its textual dimension "a judgment made by the writer...Judgments involve the writer interpreting the world, not simply observing it. Saying that something is important means adopting an attitude towards it" (Martin, 1989, p. 11.) Given its generic purpose of informing, the journalistic text is constrained to be 'objective' about whatever state of affairs it is reporting on. Nonetheless, it is informing or reporting via an interpretation or judgment about what is important to report. Thus, we should be careful not to equate 'informing' (as schematic, generic or rhetorical function) with some mythical 'objective' or purely 'descriptive' role in communication, the latter of which is, strictly speaking, unattainable (Durham, 1998).

Factual discourse is also written in the third person, a detached tense that removes the reporter (as "I") from the material being reported on. But if we look to van Dijk's (1988 a&b) schema categories, we see that two of them – Consequences and Comment – do involve different levels of reporter judgment; Consequences involves the reporter's causal analysis and Comment pertains to outright opinion and evaluation by the reporter. Accordingly, journalism can be thought of as (borrowing from Martin's terminology) a

'factual' genre that combines elements of description ('what some particular thing is like'), report ('what an entire class of things is like') and explanation ('a reason why a judgment has been made.') (Martin, 1989, p. 15). Comment, as a schema category, can probably be loosely equated in functional-linguistic terms with Martin's exposition, in which the writer 'argues' for a point (Martin, 1989, pp. 11-14) and thus must use evaluative language. A central difference, however, is that the news reporter would not actively *argue* for anything because he or she is restricted by the professional norm of objectivity to at least appear to be neutral.

Register as Meaning Plane

Just as genre is a 'meaning plane' (Martin, 1992; Ventola, 1987) constrained by (and thus expressive of) the more abstract level of ideology ('coding orientations'), genre itself controls choices in, and therefore 'expresses,' the next, more concrete 'social-situational' meaning plane to be considered: register, "the meaning potential associated with a generic situation" (Gregory, 1988, p. 303). Whereas genre is the rhetorical purpose of the communicative act (say, to inform, as in much of journalistic writing), genre is 'realized' via the register plane, a semantic domain consisting of field, tenor, and mode. Briefly, *field* equates to 'what' something is about, it references an experiential or, at least, a mental/logical (Halliday, 1978) projected state of affairs, and finds its complement in the linguistic metafunction of *ideation*. *Tenor* equates to communication participants' actual or, in the news story, the ultimately depicted role relationships and concordant attitudinal perspectives relating to the 'what' (field) of experience and ideation. In journalism it would seem the role relationships would have to include a news reporter's interaction with sources, because in this communicational situation sources and journalists take on

specific roles in conjunction with one another. Finally, *mode* equates to "the role language is playing in realising social action" (Martin, 1992, p. 508), to the medium of communication, such as speaking or writing, but not to the actual linguistic expression itself, the latter of which (as noted earlier) finds its mode-specific complement in (is *realized* in) the textual metafunction, in the symbolic organization of a specific text. Mode is "the projection of textual meaning" (Martin, 1992, p. 508), and should be distinguished from a channel of communication, the latter of which is associated with field (Martin, 1992, pp. 510-516).

The importance of differentiating these three levels of register is that we become aware of how choices in one level constrain choices in others. For example, writing a news article (mode level)[3] about a local protest and demonstration (field level) means that the participants (tenor level) depicted as part of the story will be presented via direct and indirect quotations (which in van Dijk's schema categories are called Verbal Reactions), and that the reporter's own role will be limited to presenting various 'sides' of the issue.

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[3] As noted above, it should be made clear that communication technology itself, the physical medium, is not part of the mode register but part of field (Martin, 1992, pp. 514-516). For example, the TV camera is a mass media technology (a physical channel) that actually becomes part of the reality of the event that the camera is recording, inasmuch as those being videotaped are aware of the camera's presence as part of the overall 'event.' (This insight has important consequences for the theorization of 'media events' within a systemic-functional linguistic framework, but I will not address them further in this study.) Yet the reporter's presence on the scene of an event is, it seems to me, part of the tenor register (role relationships), thus a reporter on the scene can be said to be situated as part of both field and tenor. Only the actual expression that is 'enabled' by utilizing a certain communication technology is part of mode, thus mode is semantic in nature in that it, in effect, allows for the actual expression in the form of the textual metafunction. As Martin (1992, p. 510) puts it, "In effect, mode is the semiotic construction of communication technology. As far as interpersonal space is concerned, what is critical is the way in which various channels of communication affect the kind of interaction that is possible between speaker and listener" In a related point, Martin (pp. 514-516) continues: "The physical channel itself is not the point of mode. Mode is a semiotic construct and functions in our culture as a resource for constructing interaction." Actual "technologies of communication...would be the responsibility of field" (Martin, 1992, p. 516). As these passages indicate, there are fine and not altogether clear-cut distinctions between register functions (field, tenor, mode) that, especially as applied to mass communication, deserve more theoretical attention and practical clarification in future work.

Virtually all work in the area of register stems from Halliday's seminal writings (see especially, Halliday, 1971, 1973, 1978, 1985). Most of the more recent writings on register are guided by Halliday's idea that field relates to the real-world experience of *what* is happening or being 'experienced' in a given situation; that tenor relates to the 'who," to interpersonal and social relationships involved in that situation and therefore the attitudinal perspectives of participants; and that mode relates to 'how,' to the actual medium (as opposed to the technological channel) of communication utilized (say, writing, or speaking face to face.) These three domains are semantic – in other words, they all relate to the structured *meaning potential* in real, actual social situations.

Register is, as Halliday (1975, p. 26) characterizes it: "a configuration of the semantic resources that the member of a culture typically associates with a common situation type. It is the meaning potential that is deployed in a given social context. It thus represents the semantic options and configurations of semantic options that are at risk under particular environmental conditions." This semantic meaning potential is actually realized through language, which in the Rhetorical Framing Model is the Linguistic (discourse) plane.

Language as Meaning Plane

Thus the language plane -- linguistic expression itself in the form of a story -- is the final, and most concrete realization plane of meaning in my own model, though one could go on to include an even more micro element -- phonology, the microscopic ways words and phrases are expressed through intonation, lexical-grammatical patterning, and the like. The social-situational, semantic register elements of field, tenor, and mode correspond, respectively, at the linguistic expression plane, to the ideational (what the language is telling us is being experienced as central topic), the interpersonal (the speech acts, tense

structures, and evaluative words and phrases involved in attempting to make sense of the previous ideational meaning), and the textual (the way all of this is 'enabled' by the actual, textual organization itself.)

The ideational, interpersonal, and textual are, importantly, three different but crucially related kinds of meaning, constituting in Halliday's terms, the three 'metafunctions' of language. In summary, Gregory (1988, p 305) explains the relationships between register as social-situational, semantic meaning plane (consisting of field, tenor, and mode) and its textual expression in actual language (corresponding, respectively, to ideational, interpersonal, and textual meaning) as follows:

> The functional organization of language is taken to be both extrinsically and intrinsically justifiable. Extrinsically, language has to answer to the demands of both ideational meaning (experiences, real or imagined and their logical relationships to each other) and interpersonal meaning (role assignment and adoption, intention and attitude.) As we are message giving animals whose behavior takes place in space and time...our communicative activities also have organizational meaning: points of message departure and highlight points. In other words, we have to have something to say, somebody to say it to, and we have to say one thing before another. So we have the three META-FUNCTIONS of language: the IDEATIONAL, the INTERPERSONAL, and the TEXTUAL (which is our term for language's message organizational function.) Extrinsically, these functions of language correspond to the dimensions of the micro-environments of generic situation: the dimension of experience relationship corresponds to the ideational function; that of interaction to the interpersonal function; that of medium relationship to the textual function.
>
> Intrinsically, the three functions are justifiable because the message carrying units of language can, in their structural realization [e.g., in the actual text itself], be seen as the configuration of choices from three different kinds of options: in technical terms, as the selection of features from system networks assignable to the three different functions. (Parenthetical information added. Capitalization in original.)

The 'micro-environments of generic situation' to which Gregory refers are, in other words, the three, real-world, social-situational domains of 'register' (field, tenor, mode)

and each domain's respective corresponding linguistic expression via the meta-functions of ideational, interpersonal, and textual expression.

Summary of Model

The rhetorical framing model is, as can be seen, structured in step-wise, causal fashion. The ideological plane (coding orientations), is the most abstract level, existing on a higher plane (higher in the sense of broader and more general) than the next level, genre, with the latter a somewhat more abstract category than register, and so on. In constructing a rhetorical framing model founded largely in functional linguistics, I have attempted to link journalism as a type of writing to a specific generic purpose shaped by, and therefore understood as part of, larger social forces. The value of a functional linguistic perspective is that it links social situations (understood as semantic register variables guided by generic purpose, itself guided by ideological forces) to the act of textual expression, and thus is an important means of linking language to what we might call in broad (and more traditional terms) social structure. In this respect, functional linguistics is a valuable theoretical construct for explaining how journalism, as a specific discursive form, is constrained and shaped by social forces.

The news story is more completely understood, in my view, as the creation of a combination of various material and symbolic forces -- ideological at the broadest level, microliguistic at the most minute level of analysis. Behind the related notions of discursive formation (Foucault, 1970, 1972), social formation (Althusser, 1971; Dews, 1994), and rhetorical formation (Lemke, 1989; see also, Lemke, 1995, 1992), and even social structure (Tichenor et al., 1980) is the basic idea that institutional forces are articulated -- do their institutional *work* -- through ideological practices. The social

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formation (Dews, 1994, p. 112) is a series of intersecting and mutually constituent social forces that serve as the overall political-economic context within which, in the context of the present study, the WTI controversy existed and can be understood.

In the manner theorized by both Levi-Strauss and Althusser (see Dews, 1994, pp. 111-113), the social formation is a "structure of structures" that can be identified as constituting a specific domain of power, and which therefore collectively characterize the political-economy of that particular domain. In the rhetorical framing model, the social formation itself probably fits closest to the most abstract level, ideology. To speak of 'society' is to speak of the various institutions and social actors who use language to convey various forms of social meaning and control. The mass media are one of many institutions whose internal, professional rules of regulation constrain its institutional actors (editors, writers) to perform in certain professionally sanctioned ways (Durham, 1998; Lipari, 1996; Tuchman, 1991, 1978, 1977, 1972; Ericson et al., 1991, 1989; Fishman, 1980; Gitlin, 1980; Gans, 1979; Molotch & Lester, 1974) given their external, surrounding social environment or social structure (Tichenor et al., 1980).

Value of Linking News Schemas in Rhetorical Framing Model

Understanding the news media (or any medium within the mass media) as an institution existing within a specific social formation and producing texts according to various social/ideological/professional rules, norms and regulations, is a crucial aspect of any comprehensive textual analysis. My incorporation of van Dijk's (1988 a&b; 1991a&b; see also, van Dijk, 1997, 1993; 1985a&b, 1983) news schema categories into the model helps explain how these narrative properties of the news text, which exist as various story-telling conduits each with a distinct (if often closely related) narrative function, can

be linked systematically to other, more formally linguistic (discursive), semantic (register), schematic (genre), and sociological (ideology) structural planes of meaning.

The rhetorical framing model is dialogic in the manner in which Threadgold (1988, p. 339) defines the term: It takes into account the notion that a text of any kind, but especially a journalistic text, has an exchange function; that it is written or spoken for a hearer or reader. Second, it corresponds to the idea that the concepts, notions, meanings and words forming a text are already in 'dialogue' with pre-existing meanings within a given social situation and, more broadly, within the ideological, collective discursive formations that constitute the rhetorical formation that is 'society' itself.

Having laid out the basic theoretical insights informing my discourse analysis of news texts, I close the chapter by offering a technical menu of data collection procedures and the main methods I used in the textual and contextual analysis of news stories.

Data Collection and Methods

The goal of this study is to determine how and why two different newspapers (a small-town and a big-city paper) might have covered the East Liverpool hazardous waste controversy in the manner each did, through a formal analysis of each newspaper's same-day coverage of the issue combined with more contextual, sociological inquiry. Newspaper stories regarding aspects of the WTI controversy exist rhetorically as "popular" texts (Shepherd, 1979, pp. 3-4), disseminated to a large, heterogeneous audience. Yet much of the environmental information in the stories comes from professional knowledge creators (scientists) or, much more often, from those who channel, evaluate, and license scientifically based work (public regulators) and,

increasingly, from public relations types and other 'purposeful communicators.' This is the general knowledge context within which the WTI stories were written.

Much of what the media present in popular form as environmental or science journalism is first encountered, by the journalist, in strictly scientific or regulatory language, based upon a rhetorical mode of the "scientific" (Killingsworth & Palmer, 1992), which is geared for specialized rather than popular dissemination. But because of the highly politicized controversy over WTI, with those for and against the plant doing public battle for years and thus engaging in political disputes over environmental or scientific questions, the WTI stories in both papers are more accurately described not as environmental or science journalism, *per se*, but rather as a kind of political reporting of news about an environmental subject that, in the last chapter, I theorize and critique as *politicized* reporting. My interest in examining these essentially political (politicized) stories was to compare between papers (through content and discourse analysis), various content features and, following the work of Tichenor et al. (1980), to attempt, in terms of social-structural media theory, to determine how well social-structural differences between the communities within which each paper functioned might explain any documented content differences. (This is not to say that similarities between the papers' coverage of WTI are not worth exploring, as well. Indeed, van Dijk (1988b) found in his discourse analysis of international newspapers that the papers were, on balance, more similar than dramatically different in the way they covered news. In the present study, similarities in coverage are an important element that will also be discussed where relevant.)

Moreover, because of the inherently rhetorical nature of the WTI conflict, with two equally vocal sides contending over a range of disputatious issues, I felt it was important to assess the actual arguments made by sources (their claims and counter-claims), and to study how each newspaper presented these claims. Was each source-based claim (known in this study as Type 1 Rhetoric) countered by a response from another source (a counter-claim)? How often would the newspaper reporter or the headline writer (an editor) engage in claims-making through use of descriptive or evaluative language, photographic placement, headline presentation, and the like? This latter dimension I label Type 2 Rhetoric. Also, which knowledge categories – such as science, legalistic, regulatory, etc. (which in this study I call Rhetorical Categories) -- would sources routinely draw upon to bolster or ground their arguments in a way that would give them some persuasive force? And which schema categories (context, background, history, verbal reactions, consequences, comment) identified by van Dijk (1988 a&b) would reporters use to present these claims and counter claims? These are some of the major questions motivating my research into the WTI story as presented by the East Liverpool and Pittsburgh papers.

I am using the word content here in the broadest sense, as consisting not only of the "what" of words and phrases in the text (in functional-linguistic terms, the ideational), but also of the "how" of the text – how the content was conveyed via more structural or syntactic properties, such as headline and lead structures, photo use, direct quotation and other schema categories. At the linguistic- theoretical level, I was interested in explaining the news text itself as a particular kind of story-telling form, a type of rhetoric best explained, in my view, through the functional-linguistic model that in this study I label

the rhetorical framing model. This overall discourse-analytic approach allows one, finally, to engage questions of the ideology of the news text – to examine how news of the WTI controversy is fashioned as a conflict between predominant power-brokers (WTI itself, the EPA, and other political or institutional knowledge workers) and those who would oppose them (anti-WTI proponents, labeled formally in this study as "Against.") At this broader level, one can then make normative determinations about the news media's overall portrayal of the controversy.

Conclusions can be made with regard to Tichenor et al.'s (1980) social-structural theory of newswork, as well as to the nature of the news text itself as a specific kind of ideological practice, grounded in the objective rhetorical form of the 'informational' news article. All texts "manifest, construe, renovate and symbolically realize ideology" (Martin, 1992, p. 581). It is part of the task of the present study to delineate just how a journalistic text discursively reflects and refracts ideology – primarily the ideological perspectives of source views filtered through the professional (thus ideological) norms and thematic, intellectual constraints of objectivity as method. Recall that Bernstein (1973, quoted in Martin, 1989, pp. 293-294) related "social structure" – his phrase – with generating "distinct linguistic forms or codes, and these codes essentially transmit the culture and so constrain behavior." This theoretical domain is what Berstein associates with 'coding orientations' that, in Martin (1992), becomes the basis of the ideological meaning plane, which in my own model is incorporated into the Sociological domain, and which systematically constrains choices in genre, register and ultimately language as textual expression. This, in essence, is the overarching logic of the Rhetorical Framing Model.

The basic analytical framework that I follow in this study is based on detailed empirical analysis of news texts, understood within the larger social context of each newspaper's own community structure, and ultimately interpreted with an interest in unveiling the ideological qualities of the rhetorical news text in a way that allows for critique of the journalistic process itself. In this sense, this study is part of what is generally known as "critical linguistics," which aims at analyzing "how underlying ideologies are embodied in linguistic expression" (Bell, 1991, p. 214) and which is especially well-suited "in the direct comparison of different media accounts of the same event, demonstrating how language is a vehicle for covert interpretation in supposedly neutral reporting."[4] Van Dijk (1988a, p. 179) notes, similarly, that the study of linguistic structures of news reports is geared, ultimately, at unearthing "such structures in relation to their context of production and understanding: We want to know their specific functions...in the expressions of underlying knowledge, beliefs, attitudes or ideologies, or as results of specific constraints of newsmaking."

Because I conducted a comparative case study, in which two different newspapers' coverage of an ongoing issue (the WTI hazardous-waste plant controversy) was analyzed within each newspaper's community organizational structures, the study utilizes both textual and sociological analyses as primary methods. These methods allow me an initial means to determine how the social and institutional structures within which each newspaper operated served to shape each one's actual coverage of the controversy. It is in

[4] Among the best representatives of this work are Fowler et al. (1979); Kress and Hodge (1988, 1979); Fowler (1991); and Thibault (1991); Dunmire (1997); Chilton (1987); and van Dijk (1993, 1991b). For work in the same general vein, see Anderson (1997); Bell (1991); and Couture (1989).

this sense that I conceive of the case study as *explanatory*, although clearly much of the work here is also exploratory and descriptive in nature.

Study Outline and Methods Specified

Based on the research aims, the major methods used in the study involve 1) quantitative content analysis of various linguistic features of the news texts to determine similar and differing linguistic patterns; 2) qualitative textual analysis (via formal discourse analysis of selected stories, within the larger context of a more general analysis of all WTI-related stories written by both papers between 1991-93); 3) occupational and organizational analysis of news workers via in-depth interviews (four reporters -- two from each paper). I offer below a general description of how I initially gathered and organized material for the formal study, and then explain each of the four specific research procedures I followed in actually analyzing the news texts.

Beginning Steps in Organization of Textual Material

As a first step in reducing the 422 articles written about WTI between 1991 and October 1993 by both papers (75% written by the East Liverpool Review) to something realistically manageable, I chose to select for formal, comparative analysis only those news events or issues about which both papers wrote stories. This meant, naturally, that any same-day item covered by both papers probably would have a reasonably high degree of conflict or controversy, and given Tichenor et al.'s interest in and theoretical speculations about conflict reporting, selecting only same-day stories in both papers for comparison – assuming that they would reflect 'conflict' -- seemed like a logical tactic. As my research aim was comparative and from an interdisciplinary, qualitative perspective, analyzing all 422 articles seemed better suited for a strictly quantitative

content analysis; analyzing a smaller 'same-day' or 'matched-pair' set of articles seemed more appropriate to qualitative text analysis (Glassner & Corzine, 1982) and to the larger aims of the entire study.

As a way of initially categorizing stories, I read every WTI-related article in both papers, placing each into one of 10 motivational frames that emerged from my reading: Opposition [Opp.]; Regulatory [Reg]; Legal [Leg.]; WTI; Scientific [Sci]; Medical [Med]; Economic [Eco]; Political [Pol]; Informational [Info.]; and Journalistic [Jou]. These represent the knowledge frames through which a source is motivated to present his or her views to journalists, thus the related concept of motivated sources. Correspondingly, these motivated sources were labeled as follows: Oppositional; Legal; Regulatory: Interest Group; Political; Business; Individual; and WTI. As should be obvious, most of these source designations correspond exactly to motivated frames – for example, an Oppositional source is linked to an Opposition motivational frame. But a few source designations need explanation. An Interest Group source covers both those who are for and those who are against WTI, though in this study, all but a few sources labeled as Interest Group (IG) represented WTI opponents. A source labeled as Business corresponds to the Economic motivational frame. A source labeled WTI is someone officially associated with the plant itself. Finally, a source labeled Individual is someone with no apparent connection to any institutional or organizational viewpoint, someone who in common parlance would be a "man on the street" and whose views journalists place into stories to obtain this 'everyday' perspective.

These motivational frames, presented through motivated sources, are what the journalist encounters in writing a story, and which therefore serve, in my view, as the

primary framing device through which the journalist writes the story. In this regard, I see the motivational frame and motivated sources as the major framing device of news discourse; tracking the symbolic ways in which views and issues are depicted in any given story is, in my view, a second-order framing technique, closer to theme or metaphor analysis.

After having categorized each of the 422 stories into motivational frames, I then read through each one again, to determine how many from each paper centered on a same-day topic. This was accomplished by, first, looking at the run-date of each story, and next by comparing the same run-dates for any two stories in different papers to make sure both were covering the same event or issue. This was usually quite easy to do, though in some cases one had to spend more than a few moments to make sure the news items centered on the same topic. I initially identified exactly 100 same-day stories that both papers covered (in other words 50 matched stories in each paper). But on closer analysis, to ensure that each story was a valid match, several of these had to be eliminated, as a story in one paper may have only referred in passing to an item that, in the other paper, served as the central topic. Having re-read each of the 100 articles in this manner, the final comparative sample equaled 74 stories, or 37 same-day stories in each paper. (In several cases, a paper would follow-up its initial story with one the next day or a few days later. One could argue that these, too, should have been included in the formal sample. But in the interest of gaining the truest one-to-one comparison, I included these follow-up stories only as part of the overall contextual sample of stories, as part of the 422 total stories

written by both papers but not themselves subjected to formal discourse and content analysis.)[5]

The value of this same-day approach, beyond providing for an analytically manageable sample, is that it allows one to get a true comparison of any similarities and differences between how two papers covered an identical news item. The idea is based, in part, on the notion of analyzing "critical discourse moments" (Gamson, 1992, pp. 26-27; citing Chilton, 1987), where the same news item is analyzed across a large number of media, the critical discourse referring to an issue being so "hot" that many media cover it; the recent scandal involving President Clinton and Monica Lewinsky (1998-1999) is an example of a critical discourse moment. The only difference in my notion of same-day story comparison is that I took the WTI controversy itself, which went on for many years, as a critical discourse moment that was, in fact, more than just a blip in the news, because it remained a high-profile story for several years. So it may be more appropriate to call the WTI issue a critical discourse occurrence, rather than just a "moment."

I have located only one other study(Bodle, 1996) in which a matched-story, same-day/same-issue approach is taken. That study's purpose is different from my own but the

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[5] The matched-pair sample of 74 stories, or 37 same-issue stories from each paper, most likely would have been somewhat larger had not the Post-Gazette been shut down for about seven months in 1992 (mid-May to the beginning of January 1993), the period of a general labor strike at the newspaper. However, the newspaper management and reporters who did not go out on strike managed to continue producing a much-reduced version of the newspaper, and some of the Post-Gazette stories analyzed in my formal sample come from this period of the paper's existence. Some Post-Gazette stories during this 'strike' phase of 1992 were generally shorter than those written during either 1991 or when the paper was back in full service in 1993. This should be acknowledged as a limitation within the present study, in that the shorter, news-brief style stories written by the Post-Gazette during the strike would almost certainly result in a lesser number of sources being quoted and, of course, less textual material to discourse-analyze. 1992 was, as well, a very active year for WTI protests and WTI-related news, as the plant was at that time very close to going into business. On the other hand, the fact that the Post-Gazette did produce about the same number of stories in each of the three years may well indicate that it did its best to provide continuing coverage, in some fashion, of the WTI story, even if its articles during the seven-month strike period were shorter than

concept is the same – to directly compare news-writing and news content properties based on the same real-world issue or event (Bodle, 1996, p.675).

1. Content Analysis

After producing a formal sample of 74 same-day articles, the next task was to come up with a coding sheet to track the various textual and structural dimensions I was interested in. After several refinements, I devised two different coding sheets, one (the 'News Article Coding Sheet') which recorded basic structural features of each text, and the other (the 'Rhetorical Framing Analysis') that recorded any claim or counter-claim made by any source, or by the newspaper itself. The News Article Coding Sheet includes the following story dimensions:

1. Motivational Frame category
2. Total number of human sources, and corresponding source type (political, legal, etc.)
3. Source stance toward WTI issue: For, Against, or Neutral.
4. Human source identification (by name) and quote type (either direct or indirect).
5. Total number of documentary sources cited (reports, letters, lawsuits, etc.).
6. Theme (main topic of story, by reading headline, lead and supporting sentences).
7. Notation of headline, lead sentence, and any accompanying photographs or graphics.
8. Occurrence of schema categories: Context, Background, History, Consequences, Comment, Verbal Reactions.

The second coding sheet, Rhetorical Framing Analysis, tracks the following dimensions of each article:

1. Headline-lead sentence agreement.
2. Number of individual Main Claims and corresponding Counter-Claims, linked to:
3. Statement of actual claim/counter-claim
4. Which schema category or categories the reporter uses to present claim/counter-claim
5. Source of claim/counter-claim, by name
6. Claim/counter-claim type (rhetorical category or categories): morality, science, etc.
7. Class of Rhetorical Category: **Type 1 (source-centered)**; or **Type 2 (newspaper/reporter-centered)**.

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what probably otherwise would have been the case. Even in its shorter articles, I still found a generally

The above methodology was, and is, tedious, and is the result of several months of thinking through just what it was I was interested in examining in the comparative news texts. This format provided the basic content analysis for the study, allowing me to present structural patterns in the same-day news stories written by both papers. This alone provides important information about the differing and/or similar nature of the papers' coverage of WTI, but cannot go much further than a surface analysis of textual patterns. More important, tracking the patterns within the texts allowed me to go deeper, into a more interpretive, comparative discourse analysis.

2. Qualitative Discourse Analysis

Because I wanted to discourse analyze articles from the formal sample in the fullest possible sense, I chose to select comparative articles that were representative of some of the basic discourse features that emerged in closely reading and content-analyzing the articles initially. Thus, in the chapters that follow, I use the content-analysis findings as a guidepost for engaging in the more interpretive, qualitative approach that is the hallmark of discourse analysis. In every case, I kept in mind the aims of the study: To determine how 'conflict' was presented in each story, what elements of the conflict (either through sources or through reporter language) were highlighted in each paper, and how the views of official sources were squared ('balanced') with those of the WTI opposition. I attempt to interpret differing ideological perspectives of sources within the textual presentation of the newspaper itself, by means of headlines, lead sentences, photo use, source quotation, reporter analysis and commentary, and by accounting for the overall 'tone' that seemed to emerge in any given story. As such, there is no discourse-analytic *method* that can be

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well-balanced (in terms of source diversity) and well-written quality to the reporting.

adequately specified, other than to point out what my aims were in the qualitative textual analysis. There is, by definition, a highly reflexive element to discourse analysis; any reading of a news text can reveal a wealth of details that require in-depth reflection on words and phrases in some larger, contextual domain – in this case, the differing communities that each paper operated within. My hope in conducting discourse analysis in this study is to use the primary findings, gleaned from quantitative content analysis of textual patterns, as an empirical grounding that can help inform a more interpretive, qualitative reading of articles with respect to the ideology of the news text. Newspaper content is not so much "facts about the world, but in a very general sense 'ideas'," and these ideas are never "neutral, but a highly constructive mediator" (Fowler, 1991, p. 1). Like every other kind of language, news discourse "constructively patterns that of which it speaks. News is a representation in this sense of construction; it is not a value-free reflection of 'facts'," (Fowler, p. 1.) For this reason, my equation of the communicative purpose (the genre) of journalism being 'to inform,' should not be taken as an activity that is value-free. One can read and interpret news discourse in much the same way one might read a work of literature. The main difference is that because news deals with events and issues that actually happened in the real world, the critical news analyst – especially one interested in making claims about how ideology inheres in a news text to reproduce the ideological interests of news actors and institutions – is, in my view, compelled to make more than just literary or purely aesthetic claims about the text itself. The idea is to connect news discourse to the social formation, the discursively bound "structure of structures" (Dews, 1994, pp. 111-113) of a given society.

Note that the content analysis portion of the study does include van Dijk's schema categories, as a way of tracking their frequencies in both papers. In this manner, I am able to make empirically grounded claims about the use of certain narrative properties that are themselves important to news discourse analysis. The interdisciplinary use of content analysis to detect textual patterns and more qualitative textual analysis aimed at examining ideological properties of news content is beneficial to both a sociological and a thematic analysis of news stories.

The central unit of analysis, so to speak, in my study is the entire text. Following Thibault (1991, p. 13), I view a text as "both the instantiation of some paradigmatic system of relations and the realization of context-dependent social meanings." A text, in other words, carries its own internal system of symbols, but these symbols cannot be divorced from a certain social context within which they were produced. This is especially important to keep in mind, it seems to me, in interpreting news texts.

3. In-Depth Interviews

These consisted of four separate interviews, conducted in March 1998, with two former reporters from the East Liverpool *Review*, and two current reporters from the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*. I consider these as "key informants" (Glassner & Corzine, 1982, p. 309), persons whose knowledge of or participation in a given situation is such that important insights can be gained through interviewing them in some systematic fashion. Various occupational/organizational/institutional factors (Hirsch, 1977, pp. 17-39) are pertinent to the sociological study of mass media, and can contribute to understanding how and why the mass media cover issues in a particular manner. Interviewing reporters who actually

wrote stories within a certain occupational/organizational context and within a particular social structure, therefore, is a valuable contextual tool.

Each interview was conducted separately during March 1998, by telephone, and each lasted approximately one hour. All reporters had extensive experience in covering the WTI story. Neither *Review* reporter still worked at the paper; one, Dennis Wise, now is a public relations specialist with East Liverpool municipal government, and the other, Milt Klopfer, works at a small paper outside of Pittsburgh, Pa. Don Hopey and Sharon Voas both still work at the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, and Hopey has by far the most experience covering WTI, beginning with his WTI reports at the now-defunct Pittsburgh *Press*, and then continuing to cover the story when moving to the Post-Gazette at the beginning of 1993, after the Press had gone out of business. (Indeed, Hopey was the main reporter covering WTI for the Press during the roughly seven-month period in 1992 when the Post-Gazette was hampered by a strike. The Press finally was driven out of business, and Hopey joined the Post-Gazette in January 1993.)

I followed a list of general questions that I wanted each of the four to answer. The questions pertained to items such as each reporter's general educational background; any reporting specialties, such as environmental or science beats; their interactional patterns with different kinds of sources; their general views about the WTI controversy; and the general work conditions at their respective newspapers. This latter question gets at the organizational matrix within which each reporter functioned, and is revealing of any pressures that might have prevailed, such as editorial and deadline pressure, daily workload, and the like.

Each interview was purposely structured, beyond this, rather loosely, so as not to shut down any spontaneous information that might emerge. All reporters were told clearly of my own purposes in interviewing them, and all were told that any information attributed to them in this study would be shared with them, in writing, at their request. The interview material is useful, then, as background context. I found it highly useful in attempting to account for why the reporters used certain sources in the way they did, based upon their reported interactions with various sources. As well, discussions about the daily work environment at each reporter's newspaper shed light on not only how they 'saw' the WTI controversy as a news story, but what pressures they might have labored under in deciding how and when to write a story.

4. Socio-Historical Analysis

Though not really qualifying, in the strictest sense, as a *method*, it is important in a comparative newspaper study focused as this one is on divergent social structures that one take account of any sociological or socio-historical differences in each newspaper community. At this basic level of analysis, the idea was, following Tichenor et al. (1980), to account for such structural features of the two different communities, such as population size and rural or urban character of each community. Pittsburgh is served by a single daily newspaper, but also by several television and radio stations, major professional sports teams, a well-developed and long-standing arts and cultural tradition, several large universities and colleges, and a mix of both highly-educated and working-class residents. By contrast, East Liverpool is primarily a rural community, its downtown consisting of just a handful of streets and businesses, with a fairly small suburbanized area lying a few miles outside of the city proper. Surrounding the community are

thousands of acres of farmland, with even smaller towns dispersed every few miles. Thus, East Liverpool and Pittsburgh easily qualify as, respectively, the small-town 'consensual' and the big-city 'conflict-oriented' social structures of the type theorized and studied by Tichenor et al. (1980).

Pittsburgh is a major metropolitan area 38 miles west of East Liverpool and thus covered the WTI story more sporadically, and with a different set of news priorities. Pittsburgh reporters could naturally afford to be more selective about which issues to cover, and based on the basic news value of 'proximity,' would attend more to those issues that might be seen as of interest to Pittsburgh readers. East Liverpool is the actual location of WTI itself, making the local paper the daily repository of WTI-related news, and therefore explaining why in just the three-year period I examined (1991-1993), the local paper produced 282 individual WTI-related stories (75% of all stories by both papers), to the *Post-Gazette's* 107. In fact, as noted earlier, the Pittsburgh paper did not produce its first self-penned story on WTI until June 1991; the *Review* had been regularly covering the story since at least 1981.

The Post-Gazette's circulation was about 244,000 daily and 430,700 on Sunday (March 1998; provided by Post-Gazette circulation director), the Review's just 10,900 (December 1998 figure; provided by Review circulation director, who indicated the circulation had gone down slightly in the last few years), but the Review's circulation includes county-wide distribution. The Post-Gazette employs 85 full-time reporters and 24 part-timers (John Craig, managing editor); the *Review's* full-time reporting staff has never totaled more than 5 (Dennis Wise and Milt Klopfer, former Review reporters; March 1998 separate telephone interviews).

On a more personal level, I graduated from East Liverpool High School in 1971, having attended there my junior and senior years. My mother was born and raised there, and lives there today. Thus, I have an insider's understanding of the nature of the community – a fairly closely knit town of largely working-class, blue collar residents – many of whom, as is often the case, probably disdain but nonetheless rely on the local newspaper to stay abreast of what's going on. While I have not lived in East Liverpool for many years, one side of my family has lived there for well over 100 years, and my continuing visits to the town over the last 25 years give me a special knowledge of place that adds to my socio-historical assessment of the town, as well as to the largest nearby metropolitan area, Pittsburgh.

Validity Considerations

To achieve explanatory validity, I combine "simple pattern-matching" with "explanation-building" techniques as outlined by Yin (1994, pp. 109-113). Simple pattern-matching involves comparing two cases identified as consisting of different independent and dependent variables (pp. 109-110) and stipulating that different patterns or outcomes are likely to be detected in a way that can be systematically compared. "The role of the general analytic strategy would be to determine the best ways of contrasting any differences as sharply as possible and to develop theoretically significant explanations for the different outcomes" (Yin, p. 110). Explanation-building typically occurs in the form of a theoretically based narrative. The process begins by proposing a series of "causal links" as well as an initial theoretical statement about the phenomenon, and these links and propositions are repeatedly revised and refined as evidence is gathered, and until the analyst is satisfied a causal explanation for the phenomenon has been reasonably

established (pp. 110-111). One must also weigh rival or other plausible explanations for the phenomenon as a partial validity check (p. 111).

This is not a hypothesis-testing study in the formal sense, but rather a study informed by certain theoretical insights which guide research assumptions. In this study I assumed, following Tichenor and colleagues (1980), that the difference in community structure between small-town East Liverpool and big-city Pittsburgh would influence how the WTI controversy was reported in each community -- how the newspaper rhetoric of the controversy was actually shaped in both cities. As I will show (especially in Chapter 3, regarding comparative source-use) this theoretical stance was confirmed in some respects, but called into question in other ways.

I choose the pattern-matching/explanation-building technique as a procedural device based on the already explicated social-structural theoretical perspective, which states that different social formations (heterogeneous/pluralistic/conflictual versus homogeneous/unidimensional/consensual) should result in different accounts of reality pertaining to a certain controversial topic. Specifically, the theory predicts that the newspaper in a larger, more heterogeneous, pluralistic community structure will engage in more detailed, in-depth and critical or 'conflictual' reporting of a controversy than will the paper in a smaller-town, more homogeneous community, where consensus is the order of the day and where the newspaper is more integrated into, and thus more constrained by, the local power structure.

Rather than accept this theory as settled doctrine, I used it as a well-informed and reasonable starting point, but remained open to refining it depending upon what the evidence in this case study ultimately seemed to point toward. This pattern-matching and

explanation-building case-study approach – patterns of not only source-use but other elements such as direct-quotation frequency, schema use, and the rhetorical category frequencies – enabled me to help explain, at least within the limits of what I set out to accomplish, why each newspaper reported the hazardous-waste controversy in the manner each did.

Chapter 3

Source Use As a Measure of Conflict Reporting

The publication in 1980 of Community Conflict & the Press by Philip Tichenor, George Donohue, and Clarice Olien marks an important contribution to our empirical and theoretical understanding of how newspapers perform in differing "social structures" when covering issues of social "conflict." The work is a part of the sociology-of-mass-media research school, and is linked more broadly to the structural-functionalist sociological stance, where institutions are seen as being part of the "social control" mechanisms of society at large. Tichenor et al. specifically locate contemporary mass media as integral "subsystems" "within the total system" (Tichenor et al., 1980, p 217). So conflicts, which are functional for social knowledge generation and acquisition, are always mediated within the network of subsystems, one of the more important ones being the mass media.

Community Conflict & the Press is devoted to exploring what appear to be empirically well-documented differences between small-town "consensus-oriented" newspapers and bigger-city "conflict-oriented" papers, the latter of which are part of a more "pluralistic" social structure. Pluralism itself is the "degree of differentiation in the social system along institutional and specialized interest group lines, in a way that determines the potential sources of organized social power" (p. 16). The pluralistic community structure is defined more by power-sharing arrangements borne of competition and conflict as compared to the more consensus-oriented power-sharing

arrangement -- the "interlocking directorate" -- that is the functional norm in smaller, homogeneous communities (pp. 50-52).

The book was preceded by previously published work by the authors along the same lines (see, for example, Donohue, et al., 1973) as well as similar scholarship through the 1980s and 1990s, with Donohue assuming lead authorship (Donohue et al., 1985; Donohue et al., 1989; Donohue et al., 1995). But the 1980 book, Community Conflict & the Press, stands as the definitive statement of social-structural media theorizing, and has the added benefit of tying its findings to the authors' probably even better known scholarship on the "knowledge gap" hypothesis, which I do not address in this study.

The basic idea in Community Conflict & the Press is that social structure is strongly determinant of media output, and that differences in media output, or content, are tied to these social-structural differences. The implication of this, according to the authors, is that the small-town, consensus-oriented community's local newspaper will reflect just this go-along-to-get-along "tone" or stance in its coverage of conflict-centered issues, and the bigger-city and thus more naturally diverse and conflict-oriented newspapers will, by the same token, reflect this more controversial tone or stance in their coverage of conflict-centered news (Tichenor et al., 1980, p. 80). As the authors put it, "newspapers of larger metropolitan areas" offer "more frequent attention to conflict..."(p. 54).

While I do not question the overall soundness and usefulness of this idea, which functions as the central thesis in Community Conflict & the Press, in this chapter I build on a smaller and, in my view, extremely important but under-explored portion of the analysis offered in Community Conflict. Specifically, this chapter offers empirical evidence -- gathered from a detailed analysis of source-use patterns among two

newspapers covering a highly controversial environmental issue -- to make a point that Tichenor and his co-authors themselves acknowledge: Social-structural media theory's main prediction can sometimes be stood on its head, or at least knocked sideways – and this outcome is in fact addressed, but only in a minor way, by the 1980 book.

Sometimes, the usually consensus-oriented small-town paper will take on a highly conflict-oriented stance in its coverage of controversy, perhaps even more so than the bigger-city papers. In my own findings, the small-town paper, in its coverage of the hazardous-waste issue, quoted a much higher number of sources opposing the plant than those supporting it. The metropolitan paper, on the other hand, peppered its stories with a much more evenly balanced source-use pattern consisting of a relatively equal number of opponents, supporters and "neutral" sources. The small-town paper performed, in other words, *in just the opposite way* that Community Conflict & the Press would predict in terms of its central thesis, but *just as the book says should be the case under certain, more restricted conditions*. It is these more restricted conditions that pose what might be thought of as the book's counter-thesis, and for which I offer evidence.

Rather than testing in some strictly formal sense Tichenor and company's central thesis, the evidence offered here explores an under-developed aspect of Community Conflict & the Press in a way that might flesh out and broaden social-structural media theory to make it more relevant to the very changes and conditions of journalism and society that the original work only points to.

The evidence offered here is provisional in the sense that it looks only at sourcing patterns in both newspapers, not at what these sources actually said; nor does it take into account story length, photo use, headlines, and other more properly

linguistic/communicative or rhetorical factors that would add much to the analysis[6] . Therefore, the evidence here cannot explain *why* the small-own paper's coverage of controversy trends in the opposite direction than what the central thesis of social-structural media theory would predict. Rather, the evidence gleaned from source-use patterns demonstrates an important aspect of what qualifies as the presence of "conflict" in news reports -- the number, type, and stance of sources whose views are articulated with respect to a specific conflictual issue.

One previous study (Viswanath & Chiu, 1995), which remains unpublished, utilizes the structural-pluralism hypothesis with respect to the WTI conflict in East Liverpool. In that work, the authors gathered all WTI-related stories written between 1991 and 1993 by the East Liverpool *Evening Review* and the Columbus (Ohio) *Post-Dispatch*, and content-analyzed a random sample of 25 percent of the articles in each paper to determine major news themes and most-frequent sources portrayed in each. They discovered that both papers covered the same basic themes at virtually the same rate. The only statistically significant differences were in coverage of the themes of health and of legal issues, both of which the authors contend are WTI opposition-inspired frames, and both of which occurred at higher frequencies in the metropolitan *Post-Dispatch*. Thus, they did find some support for the structural-pluralism hypothesis – the fact that the big-city paper was the more conflict-centered in its coverage than was the *Review*. This is true only if one accepts that health and legal issues are, indeed, opposition-inspired frames. The authors also found the larger paper quoted more opposition-affiliated sources than did the small-

[6] These factors are taken into account in other parts of this study.

town publication – which lends additional support to their conclusion that the larger paper conformed to the main thesis of structural pluralism; it was more conflict-centered.

My own study on this latter score, I will show, found just the opposite: The *Review* quoted many more WTI opponents than did the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*. The above-cited study differs from mine in that it evaluates a random sample, not a matched set of same-day stories, as does the present study. It also examines another newspaper, located in Ohio's capital city and one that does not circulate at all in East Liverpool. (While *Post-Gazette* circulation records from 1998 indicate only about 200 East Liverpool subscribers – and those only on Sunday – the paper is widely available in the town through rack and shop sales.) Still, the results of the above-cited study do at least shed some light on the structural pluralism hypothesis regarding two newspapers' coverage of the WTI dispute. As well, the study focuses, importantly, on source-use, as does mine. It is to that subject that I now turn, followed by an analysis of source-use patterns in both papers and discussion of these results.

News Sources

Sources are perhaps the most significant element of news because journalists rely on them to provide a range of viewpoints that collectively define the intellectual parameters of an issue (Sigal, 1973; Roshco, 1975; Tuchman, 1972, 1977, 1978; Fishman, 1980; Ericson et al., 1989, 1991; Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994). Sources thus provide the interested, persuasive views and the basic information upon which journalists, who by the professional norm of objectivity must keep their own views silent (Tuchman, 1972; Phillips, 1977), tell their stories. News events -- especially those involving environmental issues -- gain much of their currency as "reality" through the structured use of sources,

who legitimate what is important to notice as an event or issue (Molotch & Lester, 1974, 1975; Gans, 1980; Hansen, 1991).

Before offering my own evidence for what I have called the "counter-thesis" in Community Conflict & the Press, some additional background is needed to more clearly spell out the general theoretical stance of that work. Tichenor and his colleagues' work is strongly anchored in a causal, modernist sociology regarding the centrality of social conflict to community understanding of important issues within a participatory, democratic society, and offers many worthy insights into the importance of conflict both to social issue-formation and to news reporting decisions. Conflicts, the authors stress, are rooted in "social differentiation" and thus are "a principal ingredient of social change," and "newspapers contribute to the increasing intensity and widening scope of these conflicts while performing in their traditional roles" (Tichenor et al., 1980, pp. 136-37).

The authors also clearly stress that historically, communities of all sizes have increasingly been, and continue to be, subject to ever-encroaching "outside" forces of state and federal government regulatory and budget control, so that the perhaps romantic notion of independent, small-town decision-making is, at best, a diminishing reality. The book is especially pertinent to the study of mass media, particularly in terms of the role of newspapers, although the authors use their empirical work in studying newspapers to make broader, more general claims about the nature of contemporary mass media. The authors provide substantial evidence, and sensible ways of testing (primarily through standard survey research and in-depth interviewing) the book's central thesis: that community size and attendant structural factors determine, to a large degree, how the

content of newspaper reports is shaped much more by social forces -- be they political, economic, or cultural -- than by the autonomy or particular investigative reporting talents of the individual journalist. In fact, the book's central thesis would seem to argue against autonomy in favor of an almost reified view of social structure operating, more or less, monolithically.

Not everything that might be relevant to an issue is always reported. Journalists pick and choose which sources to quote, how much space to give each, frames of reference for explaining facts and details. What one newspaper reports about a specific issue that occurred on a certain day can sometimes differ dramatically from how another newspaper reports it, and what Tichenor et al. attempt to explain is why this is so. These differences in reporting are more than just the result of individual or idiosyncratic choices made by reporters; the reporter writes for an audience of readers within defined communities, and routinizes certain occupational and institutional norms imposed to varying degrees by well-defined or largely unspoken but intuitively understood organizational and political factors, as well as social and cultural mores. This has long been recognized as an important matrix of influences in the sociology-of-knowledge school of thought as it relates to mass media (Park, 1944; Tuchman, 1977; Hirsch, 1977; Fishman, 1980; Gitlin, 1980; Gans, 1980) and relates more generally to the kinds of routine institutional and political-economic forces behind any formal construal of knowledge claims (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Smith, 1984; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Friedland & Alford, 1991).

Reporters and editors, then, do make many important choices about news selection on a daily basis. These choices are especially important when it comes to deciding which issues of a conflict to focus on, or whether to cover the conflict at all. But these choices,

although influenced to a great degree by the aforementioned occupational and institutional/professional norms, are nonetheless more highly constrained by the larger community social structure within which the newspaper operates (Tichenor et al., 1980, pp. 19-21):

> They[newspapers] may play the conflicts down or avoid them entirely as often happens in small communities or they may give the conflicts sustained front page play as often happens in the metropolitan press. Part of the nature of the newspaper's decision or judgment is a result of the social structure in which the newspaper operates. The characteristic differences between the rural and urban press result from the differences in the newspaper's environment; the environment does not differ because of the newspaper. The content decisions, dependent as they are on community structure, constitute a pattern of information control that has far-reaching implications for what the community will hear about , think about, and talk about (p. 20).

The central dialectic running through the book concerns the differences between the big-city "pluralistic" social structure and the small-town or more rural "consensus" oriented community, and how these differences at the social-structural level translate into different styles of news reporting and ultimately different content in the respective community structures. This insight alone is important to the extent that the amount of knowledge about any particular social conflict may differ substantially from one newspaper to another, based upon the type of community one happens to live in. The consequences for differential knowledge gains and knowledge gaps, then, become of great concern with respect to sustaining a fully informed democratic citizenry, the by now almost mythical 'marketplace of ideas.'

Newspapers in either social structure reflect the status quo in their respective communities, either the relatively narrow range of voices and power-brokers in the small town or the much more diverse viewpoints of power-holders in the metropolitan environment (pp. 49-54). The concluding implication, then, is that contemporary

reporters, regardless of the news medium, are "not the independent, self-styled social agents that either they or members of the public may imagine them to be...The press is an integral subsystem within the total system, and its strong linkages with other system components impinge upon it as much as it impinges upon them, if not more" (p. 217)

This is a strong thesis that does appear to be largely supported by empirical evidence provided throughout Community Conflict & the Press. In short, the authors conclude that while there may be exceptions to the rule, the general tendency is that social structure determines media performance, with small-town newspapers playing down conflict given their consensus role and bigger-city newspapers highlighting conflict and controversy, given the latter's subsumption within the more diverse, pluralistic, conflict-rich status quo.

To their credit -- and apropos my own position -- Tichenor et al. provide contrary evidence, or what I have labeled a counter-thesis, to their main thesis. The counter-thesis serves, in this book at least, not to contradict the main theory but to allow for exceptions to the general rule. They document in some detail how a small-town "community" paper actually bucked the otherwise solidly supported theoretical trend when the small-town paper covered, in a highly conflictual tone, a controversial electric power-line that had divided the community. The authors offer some speculation as to why a small-town newspaper may perform in very nearly the exact opposite manner to its "usual consensus-oriented role" (p. 106, footnote 4):

> With increasing entrance of new and stronger external social forces into the community, however, the role of the community press may differ, as it did in the power-line issue. The community press in these cases, however, will often portray a community relatively unified in its concerns or in its opposition to the outside force. However, once an issue erupts, the community press may at least temporarily give as much attention to the scope,

tension, and bitterness of the conflict as a metropolitan newspaper might -- perhaps even more so
(p. 104)
But for this one case, the authors hold strongly to their central thesis -- that smaller-town papers' coverage of issues will tend to submerge conflicts, and that bigger-city papers will tend to revel in them. Tichenor et al., by way of explaining this contrary evidence, offer two sound but under-explored possibilities: 1) that a strongly opposed "external" (i.e., non-local) force or organization which generates issues of local newsworthiness will result in highly conflictual reporting of those issues by the usually consensus-oriented, non-conflictual small-town paper; essentially, if the local powers-that-be are against something, the local media's coverage will reflect this oppositional stance; and, 2) that the increasing professionalism and college training of contemporary reporters may actually reduce or even eliminate the differences between small-town and big-city reporting that are otherwise so thoroughly argued for in the rest of the book; in the latter case, the authors are making the point that professional standards of "good reporting," inculcated through professional journalism standards and increasing numbers of reporters educated formally in their craft, lead in the final analysis to greater reporter autonomy. If this is true, the typically pervasive "structural" forces may not be so relentless after all.

In the remainder of this chapter, I build on these speculations, which are only touched upon by Tichenor and his co-authors. [I also return to these issues in the final chapter, as a way of tying the current sourcing patterns into other text and content-specific findings from discourse analysis.] I provide empirical evidence to support the notion that what Community Conflict & the Press views as an exception to the rule or as an anomaly,

perhaps should be given a more prominent causal role in explaining why newspapers report the news in the way they do.

The evidence offered here is based on a detailed analysis of source use in a total of 74 stories from two newspapers: the *Review*, a small-town, six-day-a-week paper in East Liverpool, Ohio, and the *Post-Gazette*, in nearby Pittsburgh, Pa., about 35 miles due east. In other words, I compare source-use in 37 same-day stories written during a three-year period of 1991 to 1993, when about 85 percent of all coverage occurred. Same-day stories are defined as news events occurring on the same day and which both newspapers chose to cover, and all of which involve the long-standing and highly controversial decision-making behind the siting and construction of a hazardous waste incinerator operated by the Swiss-owned Waste Technologies Industries Inc. The company, owned by Van Roll Inc., is commonly known as WTI and is located in a residential neighborhood of East Liverpool, Ohio, population about 13,000. Comparing same-day news items (or "critical discourse moments" [see Gamson, 1992, pp. 26-27, citing Chilton, 1987]) in different papers is a useful means of making a true story-to-story comparison of how different newspapers covered the same news issue or event, and is especially useful in understanding how sources were used differently given the same issue. The criteria for selecting stories for comparison, then, was based upon whether both papers covered the same-day news item, though in a few cases (because of different daily publication deadlines) one paper may have published the news a day before or a day after the other newspaper; but in all cases, the same news item was being reported.

The WTI controversy sprang up almost immediately in East Liverpool, from the first days in the 1980s when permitting was underway, to the final days up to April 1993,

when the incinerator -- located 1,100 feet from a public elementary school and 300 feet from the nearest home -- went into operation, burning 60,000 tons a year of hazardous wastes. The local East Liverpool *Review* covered the issue routinely during the more than decade-long controversy preceding the plant's formal operating start in 1993; this alone provides good initial evidence that the local paper, with a staff of only four to five full-time reporters, perceived a conflict-driven story and dutifully reported the highly contentious views in the community between those for the plant and those against it. All tolled, the *Review* produced nearly 400 bylined stories during a roughly 12-year period of reporting on the issue, so this was hardly an issue of conflict submerged or played down. By comparison, the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* did not produce its first bylined story until June 1991, when actor Martin Sheen joined local opponents in a downtown demonstration resulting in Sheen leading others over WTI's high metal fence. The Post-Gazette produced 107 bylined stories between 1991 and 1993.

Given its largely rural nature, East Liverpool qualifies as the small-town 'consensus-oriented' community studied so thoroughly by Tichenor et al., and Pittsburgh, with a population of more than half a million, qualifies as the big-city "conflict-oriented" community social structure. The total number of stories (at 74; 37 same-day stories, both papers) compared for source-use are evaluated by source type (Interest Group, IG; WTI; Regulatory, REG; Legal, LEGL; Political, POL; Scientific, SCI; Medical, MED; and Individual, IND.) All but one of the Interest Group sources represented those opposed to WTI. Sources labeled "Individual" represent persons not formally affiliated, by virtue of available attribution in the stories, with any official group or organization, but rather who speak "for themselves" whether their views are pro or con with respect to the WTI issue.

Additionally, these source types are also assigned a "For," "Against" or "Neutral" designation, based upon reading each one's view and determining their stance toward WTI. This is a straightforward process, in that those for (mainly WTI and to a lesser extent Individual sources) and those against (for the most part Interest Group, Individual and, in some cases, Scientific, Medical or Political sources) are clearly identified as such in each story. "Neutral" sources are those who by virtue of professional/institutional stance must remain neutral (primarily Regulatory and Legal and in some cases Political sources). Thus assigning sources a "type" category, and a "stance" category (For, Against, or Neutral), is a relatively easy process. It then allows one to count up the total numbers for each category in both papers – in each case for a same-day news event or issue, the "critical discourse moment" – and to draw conclusions about differential source use for the same news items covered in the small-town and big-city paper.

While it is interesting to see how differential source use plays out in any two same-day news stories, the purpose of this paper is to offer evidence on the general pattern of news sources in both papers. Sources and their views make up so much of the intellectual content of a news story that is worth analyzing sourcing patterns across a relatively large number of texts about the same general issue to gain insight on the range, extent and stance of different sources. This method allows one to see clearly the choices reporters made in shaping their stories and, given the aims of this paper, to analyze these source selections within the consensus/conflict paradigm provided by Tichenor and his colleagues. And given the overarching conflictual nature of the WTI "story," comparing same-day news articlesin both papers seems a sensible way to assess the nature of the

WTI conflict as it was articulated, story by story, in both papers at the same moment in the history of the controversy.

Table 1 tracks total source use[7], in terms of type, across the 37 stories compared in both papers [total n=74]. The East Liverpool paper quoted more overall sources (93) and drew from a somewhat broader array of source types than did the Pittsburgh paper (67), and of these, the small-town paper used a substantially higher number of Interest Group sources (those mainly expressing views opposing the plant, 38 percent) than did the *Post-Gazette* (25 percent.) WTI sources (persons actually representing the plant itself) made up 18 percent of East Liverpool *Review* sources but 30 percent of the Pittsburgh paper's sources. Regulatory sources in the *Post-Gazette* made up another 24 percent, compared to 15 percent for this category in the *Review*. The top three source-type categories in both papers, then, were the same: Interest Group (opponents), WTI (proponents: plant authorities), and Regulatory (either local, state or federal environmental officials).

These three categories comprised 71 percent of all source types in the small-town East Liverpool paper and 79 percent in the big-city Pittsburgh paper. The East Liverpool paper used a substantially higher number of Interest Group sources compared to the Pittsburgh paper, which slightly favored WTI sources. In other words, in terms or source type, East Liverpool reporters were more biased in favor of those voicing views against the plant; Pittsburgh slightly favored proponents, though overall its source use was fairly balanced.

[7] A person representing a certain source type may be quoted in more than one story, thus each source count does not represent a different individual; rather, it represents the number of times that source type appeared in any of the stories being analyzed.

Table 1

Source Types by Frequency and Percent, Both Papers

	East Liverpool *Review*		Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*	
	N	%	N	%
IG =	35	**38**	17	**25**
WTI=	17	**18**	20	**30**
REG =	14	**15**	16	**24**
LEGL =	6	**6**	4	**6**
IND =	7	**8**	3	**4**
POL =	8	**9**	4	**6**
SCI =	4	**4**	3	**4**
MED =	2	**2**	0	**0**
	93		67	

Translating these source types into For, Against, or Neutral citations may actually be a more revealing way to analyze them, because conflict is ultimately a contest between those who favor something, those who oppose it and, in this case, the intervention of neutral sources.

When taking into account not just the number of source citations but the number of times each was quoted either directly or indirectly, as in the following table (**Table 2**), the same imbalance appears. This may be the most accurate way to assess source patterns, because the presence of a source type is magnified by the number of times that particular source is quoted (directly or indirectly) within a single story and, more importantly for the present analysis, across all stories.

From the reader's point of view, two or more different source types may appear only once in a story; for example, a story may contain a single Interest Group (opposing source, i.e., Against) and a single WTI source (proponent of the incineration plant, i.e., For). But if the Against source is quoted twice and the For source only once, the former

source has gotten more total space to air his or her views in the story. This pattern across many stories magnifies the imbalance even further.

Table 2

For, Against, Neutral Sources by Quote Frequency & Percent, Both Papers

East Liverpool Review		**Pittsburgh Post-Gazette**	
Against =	57 [47%]	29	[33%]
For =	33 [27%]	30	[34%]
Neutral =	32 [26%]	29	[33%]
Total	**= 122**	**88**	
(3.29 quoted sources per story)		**(2.37 quoted sources per story)**	

The East Liverpool paper used more source quotes per story than the Pittsburgh paper, and nearly half of them (47%) were from those opposing the plant. As a percentage of all source quotes, the *Review's* use of Against (opposition) citations was about 42 percent higher than the *Post-Gazette's* (47% compared to 33%). Interestingly, the *Review's* use of For and Neutral quotations was almost perfectly balanced, as was the *Post-Gazette's*. The *Post-Gazette* actually favored (by one) For quotes (plant proponents) but overall its source use was almost perfectly balanced, while the *Review's* was strongly tilted toward WTI opponent quotes.

The foregoing analysis of source-use patterns establishes that the East Liverpool paper focused much more on conflict-centered sources in reporting on the WTI environmental controversy than did the Pittsburgh paper. While source-use patterns are only one way of determining the degree of "conflict" within news reports[8], they are an extremely

[8] Other means examined in other parts of this study include close textual analysis of not just regular news content but also headlines and photos and argumentative claims by sources, as well as how the reporter has positioned quotes and used descriptive or evaluative language. In-depth interviews with reporters also offer valuable contextual knowledge as to daily decisions and pressures regarding source-use and writing

important measure. The bulk of news content is usually drawn from sources – whether in the form of direct quotes or via information based on source material and quoted indirectly – and from at least a minimally diverse range of source-centered viewpoints. Thus source-use analysis in the way it has been used here can provide important insight into gauging the degree of give-and-take between competing news sources in a social conflict.

Discussion

We can look to Tichenor and his co-authors' own counter-thesis, as I have called it, to provide some hypothetical possibilities as to why the small-town paper performed in a more conflictual manner than did the big-city newspaper.

First, Tichenor et al. identify local opposition to "external forces in the community" as a condition that might make the small-town paper take a highly oppositional stance in reporting on a conflict-centered issue relating to those external forces. The community press in these cases "will often portray a community relatively unified in its concern or in its opposition to the outside force" (p. 104). The community paper "may at least temporarily give as much attention to the scope, tension, and bitterness of the conflict as a metropolitan newspaper might -- perhaps even more so (p. 104)."

The East Liverpool *Review* did just this, quoting those opposed to the plant nearly twice as often as did the metropolitan Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*. The "external force" in this case is, arguably, the WTI incineration plant itself, the product of a Swiss-owned, multinational corporation. This foreign corporation came into the small town in the early 1980s and gradually ingratiated itself into the business community, ultimately gaining

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choices. Still, sourcing patterns are of fundamental importance as sources consume so much space within

local Chamber of Commerce support for a business that would bring about 100 new jobs to a chronically economically depressed community. The local city council and school board, aware of mounting opposition from several area environmental groups, never went on record as being either for or against the plant. Regardless of the much-valued $600,000 in annual city taxes the WTI plant would pay into city coffers, city and county officials remained concerned about potential pollution hazards, especially because the plant was built on the banks of the Ohio River, just over a football-field away from a public elementary school and just 300 feet from the nearest home. While the East Liverpool scenario does seem to meet, very generally, what I have called the counter-thesis in social-structural media theory, it departs from that formulation in one respect: Tichenor et al. contend small-town conflict reporting tends to occur when the town is "united" in opposition to an "external" force. But East Liverpool was not united, as a community, in opposition to the WTI plant. Rather, the town was genuinely torn in its sentiments; the Chamber of Commerce and general business community supported WTI but many others (local organized environmentalists chief among them) were actively against the plant or, at best, did not openly take a stand. Thus there was a real ambivalence in the community about the wisdom of having a hazardous-waste plant locate there. It may be that this community contention about the plant, the ambivalence generated within the community about WTI moving to town to set up shop, was enough to cause the local newspaper to take note of the story as one rich in conflict, and to attune its reporting accordingly.

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the typical news story.

These factors, combined with continual and ever-more vocal and well-organized opposition to the plant over a number of years meant that WTI could easily be perceived by many in the community as an outside or external threat that had brought controversy and stress to an otherwise quiet community. The fact that the local Chamber of Commerce supported the plant on economic grounds, based on the 100 new jobs being a financial boost to the community, does not mean that the majority of the townspeople would necessarily look at the plant as anything but a carpetbagger come to town. As well, local townspeople may well have viewed the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, the chief regulator of the plant, in addition to any other federal, state or regional regulatory bodies, as an "external" threat. To that extent, the townspeople might well lump WTI, EPA and other outside authorities together as one external threat to the town.

Interestingly, even the local paper demonstrated this community ambivalence. In a dozen years of covering the WTI conflict, the Review chose to write but a single editorial, in which the paper took WTI task for not showing up at a high-profile public meeting concerning the plant. The paper chose to take no official position either in support of or in opposition to the plant itself. This may indeed indicate an uncomfortable relationship between the editorial urge to pontificate about important controversial issues and the more practical concern of maintaining friendly relations with financial powerbrokers in the community, as represented by the pro-WTI East Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. The newspaper did, in fact, accept advertising from WTI on occasion. Additionally, one former Review reporter, Dennis Wise, acknowledged (telephone interview, March 1998) that his publisher at the time pressured him to not give too much print to WTI opponents, apparently because the publisher was sensitive to local business sentiment in support of

WTI. (In a later chapter I provide more information gleaned from reporter in-depth interviews.)

Thus, what may well have been at work was a somewhat uncomfortable and contradictory relationship the newspaper found itself in with WTI. On the one hand, the paper recognized that the Swiss-owned incineration plant was an outsider that had ingratiated itself into an important and influential segment of the community, and that new jobs would result. On the other hand, reporters and editors understood just how controversial the plant's presence was – and indeed is today (1999), six years after having gone into commercial operation. Reporters could not simply close their eyes to this controversy, which, after all, provided a steady dose of good copy that met many of the standard news values (drama, consequence, controversy, timeliness, etc.) and also made the small-town reporter's job of "filling the news hole" that much easier.[9] Therefore, it appears that the East Liverpool generally conforms to Tichenor and company's understated counter-thesis, wherein a recognized outside force that generates local controversy can result in sustained oppositional reporting -- giving "at least as much" attention to the conflict and "perhaps even more so" (p. 104) than did the metropolitan newspaper. The point here is not that the Pittsburgh paper avoided conflict reporting. Rather, that paper's treatment of it, by virtue of source-use patterns, was much more even-handed; if anything, the Pittsburgh paper very slightly favored For sources in its coverage. This in itself merits further exploration.

[9] As a former newspaper reporter who spent his first two years at a small-town weekly paper that covered its fair share of controversy, I can testify to the ever-pressing and often starkly felt need to simply fill the news hole.

Second, Tichenor et al. question whether "the increasing level of training among journalists is itself producing a greater amount of feedback reporting" (p. 104) -- feedback being the term they use for reporting that goes beyond the merely stenographic and which makes the reader aware of broader, conflictual issues pertaining to a news topic:

> To the extent that such is the case, and increases in conflict reporting stem from more education and a greater sense of professionalism among journalists, the reporting of public issues might become a more regular and routine feature of the community press, rather than something that comes in spurts followed by therapeutic periods of consensus reporting. These are two important questions for the journalistic professions and for consideration by community leadership as well (p. 104)

Here, Tichenor and his co-authors speculate that conflict reporting in the small-town press may be only a temporary blip -- perhaps following an initial period of issue eruption -- rather than a sustained condition. In the East Liverpool case, a review of the nearly 400 articles the paper produced from 1981 through 1993 shows that the controversial aspect of the hazardous-waste plant controversy was sustained during this entire period in local news reports; it was not a temporary rhetorical or reportorial flourish. The sheer fact that so many articles were written over more than a decade testifies to the sustained interest the newspaper demonstrated in reporting on a continuing conflict that wracked the community. That a well-organized local opposition (eventually joined and co-organized by the Greenpeace environmental group) sustained its antagonistic stance – via press releases, regular contact with local reporters in East Liverpool, and well-planned demonstrations, protests and marches against the plant for virtually this entire period – cannot be overestimated as a structural condition explaining why the local paper may have given continued attention to the conflict.

Moreover, the fact that the WTI story within a few years gained widespread state and eventually national media coverage in newspaper, television and radio, as well as

inspiring in the 1990s World Wide Web sites devoted to detailing many facets of the issue, may well have influenced the small-town reporters to "keep the heat on." This is an issue deserving further exploration.

As to the authors' point about increased journalism education and rising standards or professionalism among reporters, that is not an issue that can be adequately addressed in the present study, though at least one of the two East Liverpool reporters who covered most of the WTI stories was college educated. The general proposition that a rising tide of educated reporters might lead to a more critically attuned reporting style is an important issue worth pursuing in future research, probably via combined survey analysis and content or discourse analysis of conflict news stories.

Conclusion

In sum, the source-use analysis has produced good initial evidence that, at the very least, the small-town newspaper in East Liverpool does not easily conform to Tichenor et al.'s central thesis -- that a community paper is more likely to maintain "consensus and surface harmony" (p. 104) in its reporting of social conflicts. The continued attention to the controversy over more than a decade, and especially the fact that the East Liverpool *Review's* sourcing pattern actually strongly favored opponents' rather than proponents' views, certainly was an element that would go against an attempt to maintain local consensus and surface harmony.

To the extent that one sees this imbalanced source use as a "bias" toward one side in the dispute, one might conclude that the small-town reporters covering the WTI story were not engaging in the best professional standards of journalism. In this regard, the

authors' speculation about a rising tide of journalistic professionalism does not hold in this particular case, although it is worth exploring further.

The central thesis in Community Conflict & the Press may go far in explaining the normally prevailing condition of news reporting in the United States. To that extent, Tichenor, Donohue and Olien have produced a remarkably rich and valuable work of interest to those who analyze news media and those working within this cultural sense-making institution. with the media and those who work within it. But what I have labeled the authors' own sensible but buried and under-explored counter-thesis may actually provide a sounder explanation of why a small-town newspaper sometimes acts more like its big-city cousin.

Chapter 4
Analysis of Schema Categories & Verbal Reactions

Introduction to Chapters 4, 5, 6 & 7

In this and the following three chapters I analyze various narrative properties that emerged from a quantitative analysis of the 74 same-day news stories from both papers. I link these narrative properties to qualitative discourse analysis of selected stories. I will briefly present an overview of this and the next three chapters to provide an analytical road map, as Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 all are focused on the analysis of a variety of interrelated narrative functions of news discourse, specifically: schema categories and direct quotation (present chapter); claims-making activity as argumentation (Chapter 5); rhetorical categories linked to claims-making (Chapter 6); and discourse analysis of selected comparative news stories, in which all of these narrative functions are analyzed collectively (Chapter 7).

In the present chapter I discuss the similarities and differences in how the East Liverpool *Review* and Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* utilized the schema catetories, which consist of Topic, Context, Background, History, Verbal Reaction, Consequences, and Comment, and how each newspaper utilized perhaps the most important schema category of all – Verbal Reaction – in terms of its functioning as both direct and indirect source quotation.

Chapter 5 deals with schema categories and source use as each relate to claims-making and counter-claims-making activity, the arguments that appear – usually but by no means always – via direct or indirect source quotation in stories. As in Chapter 3, sources are formally categorized in one of three ways -- For, Against, or Neutral, and each is linked

to either a main or counter-claim. Claims-making, the subject of Chapter 6, is studies as a rhetorical activity both on the part of news sources and newspapers themselves, by virtue of how claims and counter-claims are attached to a handful of what I call Rhetorical Categories (such as Morality, Legality, Science, Law, etc.) These are essentially the realms of institutional and 'moral' authority which sources draw on to ground and give warrant to their respective claims. These and other rhetorical categories emerged through my close and repeated readings of news texts in the formal sample.

Chapter 7 offers discourse analyses of same-day stories from each of the four major Motivational Frames that emerged in this study -- Opposition, Regulation, Legal, and WTI (the latter being the guiding discursive frame based on WTI-generated stories.) The attempt in Chapter 7 is to bring together various narrative elements I discuss in more segmented fashion in chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6, and to point out these elements as they function interactively within specific texts. The goal is to offer a thoroughly detailed discourse analysis of same-day stories with the intention of pointing out similarities and differences between them, especially as these relate to the different Motivational Frames within which the news stories are written. The discourse analyses of these stories allows me, as well, to reconsider the question of whether each newspaper conformed, in its coverage of the WTI story, to the kinds of differential content qualities that Tichenor et al.'s (1980) social-structural media theory would predict – how the stories were constructed to depict social conflict; this question was the focus of Chapter 3, but the findings were restricted to examining only differential source-use patterns, not actual content and rhetorical patterning in the news stories themselves.

The discourse analyses of comparative stories in different motivational frames in Chapter 7 also helps flesh out how source-use was relatively balanced, or biased, and how the professional/institutional and/or group ideologies of various competing news sources was depicted, in conjunction with the newspapers' own rhetorical ideology mandating balance, objectivity, and veracity.

The value of analyzing the news texts based on the different narrative properties listed above is that it allows one to determine comparatively, across all same-day news stories formally analyzed in both papers, which types of sources in the WTI dispute (e.g., For, Against, or Neutral) were quoted directly and indirectly; which were more often depicted as *making* a claim or *responding* to one; how balanced the claims and counter-claims were overall; which types of rhetorical claims were most often relied upon; and through what means – via sources (Type 1 Rhetoric) or the newspapers themselves (Type 2.)

This type of close reading can tell us a lot about how two different-sized newspapers rhetorically framed an important, high-profile, community-environmental dispute, based on how sources were depicted as making certain kinds of arguments, and through which particular modes of presentation. An evaluation of this sort aids in our understanding of how argumentation patterns pertaining to a highly politicized scientific, legal, and even moral dispute were depicted via two newspapers that, like any American newspaper, attempt in principle to follow the generic route of remaining "in the middle," as neutral, objective purveyors of truth and knowledge on behalf of the public interest. The balancing of source claims and counter-claims (Chapter 5) is an important (if imperfect) factor in evaluating the quality of coverage, because without an attempt to strike some

fair balancing of differing viewpoints, the news media fail to fulfill their function of comprehensively informing the public of important issues from a variety of perspectives.

I consider all of the above elements – schema and rhetorical categories, claims and counter-claims making, source use, and direct quotation – "narrative properties" because each serves to cognitively advance the overall narrative or story in a specific way. These narrative properties are also *rhetorical* in that each contributes to the audience-centered framing and generic purpose of the news text: to present factually based information in a way that will, at least in principle, persuade readers of its truthfulness and accuracy (van Dijk, 1988a&b; Jensen, 1986). Here, I am using rhetoric in a broad sense, as it corresponds to the general purpose of a specific communicative form (Martin, 1989, 1992).

Claims-making is itself a rhetorical activity in the traditional sense in that rhetoric is associated with the conscious attempt to persuade a given audience. The *Review* and *Post-Gazette* stories are especially rich in main and counter-claims – most of which (as the present chapter will show) are voiced directly through quoted sources – because of the highly controversial nature of the dispute over the WTI incineration plant. Opposing sides often accused those with whom they disagreed of bad faith, not to mention faulty reasoning, weak science, or questionable legal justification.

A word about claims and claims-making: Calling claims and counter-claims "arguments" does not mean they are logical, in the formal sense of making syllogistic, deductive chains of reasoning. One can be highly persuasive, for example, by relying heavily on emotional appeals, without necessarily following a pattern of logical reasoning that might be the minimum requirement in formal debate or reasoning; this is an essential

insight of what since the 1950s has been called the 'new rhetoric' (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969). Warnick (1996, p. 184), in line with the new-rhetoric perspective, notes that one can examine argumentation or "inference schemes" with attention to the "convergence between the logical and the rhetorical dimensions of a rhetor's arguments." Ultimately, there is not a clear distinction between what may count as logic and what as rhetoric in examining argument structure, inasmuch as rhetoric is understood as, in a sense, *extra*-logical.

A typical news story will contain direct quotes from sources, usually from more than one and often from opposing sides. Because the direct-quote speech form allows a source to speak in more or less his or her own words, it is a highly rhetorical device, and a story with a relatively large number of direct quotes can be seen as one that gives over a certain measure of control to sources (Lucy, 1993a). This latter point is considered in detail in the present chapter.

Because reporters have a professional obligation to "balance" stories by including views from opposing sides (Condit & Selzer, 1985), parties to a controversy typically are given an opportunity to make claims pertaining to the issue at hand, and as they see it. One of the conventional features of a "balanced" story, then, is that a source's claim (an initiating argument or allegation) is met by a counter-claim: *an opposing view from a source that challenges or qualifies the main claim.*

Within the direct and/or indirect quotation format, various sides in the dispute offer reasons for why they should be believed, but, again, not necessarily strictly logical reasons. Sometimes a source will simply assert something as true, with the justification for the view *assumed*, rather than argued for in a strictly logical sense. At other times

sources will make more logical, argumentative claims in the traditional sense (that is, following a chain of deductive reasoning) and typically will invoke one or more Rhetorical Categories (such as Morality, Science, or Legality) at the same time. These categories can be considered the realms of authority that sources in a dispute conjure up in an effort to make their claims appear more legitimate as arguments. For example, in a dispute over how much air pollution might be coming from an incinerator smokestack, the regulatory expert will usually rely upon environmental studies that have been conducted on the issue, thus invoking Science as the authoritative realm. So when the regulatory expert claims (concludes) that the smokestack will eliminate 99.99 percent of all particulate matter (which is in fact the legal limit the WTI plant has to meet), the assumption is that this is a relatively safe level. The ground (data, or factual basis) for this claim is that a scientific study has been conducted to assure this "safe" level is being met. The claim is warranted – gains its moral force (Best, 1987) – on the general assumption that we all, of course, want to live in a safe environment.

The regulatory, scientific or health claim is typically delivered by sources in a dry, straightforward style, with very little evidence of anything like emotional coloring. But someone who disputes this claim may draw upon a different scientific study that might have offered a different conclusion, such as, for example, that the smokestack is removing some lesser percentage of pollutants. Or the source may simply make a counter-assertion, such as: "My two young children don't want to breathe any pollution at all, regardless of the level!"

In the first case this source would be making a scientifically based claim, thus invoking Science as a rhetorical category (see Chapter 6), and in rhetorical terminology

we would tend to associate this kind of evidentiary, data-backed claim as a *logos* (logical) type of argument. In the second case, where the speaker asserts forcefully a revulsion at the idea of her children having to breathe dirty air, we encounter a Moral claim, which in rhetorical terms is associated with *pathos*, emotion as a persuasive device. In either case, the source is drawing upon some kind of realm of authority based, in this example, either in the scientific "community" or in the realm of common-sense, everyday morality, which might also been seen to relate to some real or imagined community's set of shared values. The difference is that in the first case one can point to an official institution from which the scientific report would have been issued. In the second instance, making a case based upon the perceived morality of the issue, the source can point only to a kind of common sense, a generally acknowledged logic or belief assumed to be shared in some communal framework; in this latter case, the warrant – the valuational aspect (Best, 1987) – actually serves, in a sense, as the data (factual ground) for the claim – the conclusion (Best, 1987).

A moral claim is necessarily an emotionally based claim, though it may also frequently be mixed with appeals to science, logic, legal rulings or other authoritative realms, sometimes all in a single statement, as I will show in Chapter 6. This kind of rhetorical claim "mixing" was found to be quite common in the 74 same-day news stories formally analyzed.

In the remainder of the present chapter, the narrative elements called schema categories are evaluated in detail, with the second half of the chapter devoted to exploring an extremely prevalent and important schema category – Verbal Reaction, the direct and indirect quotation of news sources.

Analysis of Schema Categories

As applied to news stories, a schemata (or schema) is basically a general perspective or cognitively based presentation device, and therefore is very much a symbolic as well as a practical, cognitive framing device. Both journalists and readers implicitly use a schema framework "in the production and understanding of news" (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 57). The schema in a single news story can include all of the following categories: Summary, Main Topics (these two, of course, always exist in a story), Context, Background, History, Verbal Reaction, Consequences, and Comment. Collectively, these constitute a narrative "superstructure" (van Dijk, 1998a). A story containing all of the possible schema categories is one that is, structurally speaking, more "complete" (van Dijk, 1988b, p. 94).

The main topic(s) of any news story are typically organized in a hierarchical framework whose various "conventional categories" (Context, Background, Consequences, etc.) "specify what the overall function is of the topics of the text" (van Dijk, 1991, p 114). It is these categories through which the content of the news text is presented, and which in a general sense produce the rhetorical structure of the news story. The news schema categories, in other words, are a story-telling framework through which various types of information can be cognitively presented by writers and cognitively processed by readers (van Dijk, 1988 a & b; Kintsch & van Dijk, 1978). These categories come in discontinuous "installments" throughout the news story, with the most important information typically being presented first through the headline and lead sentence, which together function as Summary. This inverted pyramid story-telling form (Hough, 1988) is actually the opposite of the way stories in conventional narratives are told, as the latter

follow a chronological structure[10], with events unfolding in sequential order of actual occurrence.

This cognitive story-telling device exemplified in the typical news story, then, follows a "top-down strategy which assigns a...relevance structure to the text" (van Dijk, 1991, p. 115). Within this framework, the first schema category of any news article is, as mentioned, the Summary (the headline and lead sentence), which together sum up what the reporter and editor or editors interpret as the main "news" given a set of facts or issues, typically centered upon a single Main Topic.[11] The main topic is usually explicated by Context material (immediately relevant information), and may be further expanded upon by Background (relevant information from the recent past, from "days or weeks" [van Dijk, 1988a, p. 54]), History (more dated but relevant information, information that "embraces years, not days or weeks" [van Dijk, 1988a, p. 54]), Consequences (reporter-centered analysis in some causal sense of interpreting the larger relevance of significance of the Main Topic or topics) and much less frequently, and often subtly or "indirectly" (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 56) by Comment (reporter opinion and evaluation in some judgmental or normative sense.)

Finally, Verbal Reaction is van Dijk's term for direct and indirect quotation, and which he considers "a special case of consequences" (1988a, p. 54), as it allows sources to offer their own analyses of events and issues at hand, from their own socially situated,

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[10] See Lewis (1991) for a critique of the inverted pyramid as an *a-chronological* story-telling form of news. See also, Pietila (1992) for a thorough review and critique of news in its various formalizations as narrative.

[11] In my analysis, I combine van Dijk's first two categories -- Summary and Main Topic -- into the general designation of Topic, given the fact that the vast majority of stories I analyzed had only one main topic or theme, which was usually expressed in the headline and lead. Any reference to Topic, therefore, is meant to take into account the headline and lead sentence of a story, which together provide the story's main theme.

interested, highly rhetorical subject positions. Verbal Reaction is the most obviously rhetorical schema category, relying as it does on the views of sources rather than on the analysis or opinion of reporters themselves, who must attempt to remain more "objective."

Still, the use of Verbal Reaction is also a media-centered rhetorical device. As van Dijk notes on this point, Verbal Reaction "allows journalists to formulate opinions that are not necessarily their own, but which nevertheless are objective because they have actually been stated. Of course, the selection of speakers and quotations need not be objective" (1988a, p. 56). Most stories I examined quoted at least one and usually more than one source offering viewpoints on the subject at hand, most often via direct quotation (taken up more extensively in the latter part of this chapter.)

As **Table 1** shows, the most common schema categories used by both papers were Context (an average of 38 percent of all schema categories in both papers); Background (an average of 27 percent), and Verbal Reaction (an average of 26 percent). History, as a story-telling category, was virtually non-existent (2.5 percent average), as was Comment (2 percent), and Consequences averaged only slightly higher (5 percent). Although not used very often by either paper, this latter reporter-centered analytical category was, however, used more than twice as often by the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* (7 percent, n = 24) than by the East Liverpool *Review* (3 percent, n = 12). This means that the Pittsburgh paper was somewhat more independent-minded and analytical (but not necessarily more objective) in its coverage, inasmuch as the narrative function of Consequences is to provide a reporter-centered observation of events, stopping short, however, of outright opinion and direct evaluation, which is the province of the Comment schema category.

But in general, both the East Liverpool *Review* and the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* used the six most basic Schema Categories (Context, Background, History, Verbal Reaction, Consequences, and Comment) at virtually identical rates across the 37 same-day stories formally analyzed.

Table 1

Schema Use in Both Papers, by Category & Frequency

[N =74; 37 same-day stories, both papers]

	East Liverpool *Review*	**Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette***
Context:	182 [39%]	125 [36%]
Background:	126 [27%]	94 [27%]
History:	11 [2%]	9 [3%]
Verbal Reaction:	123 [27%]	88 [25%]
Consequences:	12 [3%]	24 [7%]
Comment:	9 [2%]	7 [2%]
Totals	**463**	**347**

The East Liverpool *Review* used more total schema categories (463) than did the *Post-Gazette* (347), the former paper differing basically in the slightly more frequent use of Context, Background, and Verbal Reaction. Context , which functions to link immediately relevant facts and details with the main event or theme of the story, was the most-used narrative category in both papers, followed by the closely related schema element, Background -- placing things in a somewhat broader context of recent history. The *Review* used Verbal Reaction at the same rate it did Background (27% in each case), while Verbal Reaction was the third most used category (25%) in the *Post-Gazette*.

Readers rarely encountered History in either paper's accounts of the WTI controversy; this is probably not surprising given the event-oriented, episodic nature of coverage in both papers that would seem to limit (in daily news accounts) the possibility of a broader, historical perspective.[12] The daily story about WTI in either paper typically ran only about 15 to 20 column-inches, and was focused much more on a discrete issue or event of the day rather than on highly politically charged news of international importance that would understandably touch on deeper, historical issues.

The use of Comment, reporter opinion and evaluation, occurred at exactly the same rate, only 2 percent each by both papers, meaning both media outlets tended to avoid outright editorializing in their reporters. However, as subsequent chapters will show, when Comment did appear in stories, it tended to be through certain metaphors or expressions, perhaps even a word or two in a sentence or headline that, within the context of the entire article, did appear to show the reporter's (or the editor's) "bias" toward the

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[12] As discussed in Chapter 2, , my formal sampling method -- selecting for discourse and content analysis only 'same-day' issues and events ('critical discourse moments') covered by both papers -- gives one a "true" comparison of differences and similarities between both newspapers' reporting, because of the fact that both *are* covering the same news issue or event of the day. The fact that both papers did choose to cover the same thing is, in and of itself, interesting; it tells us something about the logic behind what qualifies as news of more than strictly 'local' interest. A limitation of this sampling method is that one is likely to wind up with stories that are inherently hot-button, conflict-centered items: legal rulings, protests, regulatory actions and decisions, official announcements from opponents or WTI supporters, and other such items that more than one local audience might be interested in. These kinds of issues are for the most part 'breaking news' stories, and there is probably an acute, episodic quality to these events and issues that is consequently reflected in news stories. On the other hand, the fact that both papers chose to cover the same-day event or issue means that, from a newsworthiness perspective, these items also inherently contain some larger, more general thematic quality likely to be of more than an exclusively 'local' interest. In terms of the most thorough assessment of criticality, one needs to go beyond analyzing just the 74 same-day stories that were formally examined in this study, even though this 'close reading' is essential, and does itself provide a measured evaluation of the critical quality of each paper's WTI coverage. One needs to consider more broadly the entire sweep of stories each paper wrote on WTI, some of which may be 'investigative' or more analytical, historically framed think pieces. On the difference between 'episodic' (fragmented) and 'thematic' (analytical) forms of news reporting, see Iyengar (1992), Gamson (1992), and Bennett (1996). I revisit these latter issues in Chapter 8.

event or issue being reported. But given the strictures of objectivity, no story in either paper was clearly written in a style that could be described as generally evaluative in tone. Because of the objective news reporting style of American newspapers, van Dijk's Comment schema would function primarily in the above manner. In European papers, more typically affiliated with political groups, an entire news article might be written in a generally evalutive tone reflecting a particular ideological slant. Grouping similar-function schema categories together, the above results show that the closely related categories of Context, Background and History made up 68 percent and 66 percent, respectively, of all schema categories in the *Review* and *Post-Gazette*, with Context and Background being the two most-used. Verbal Reaction (which includes both direct and indirect quotation) made up 27 and 25 percent, respectively, while the last two closely related categories -- Consequences and Comment -- accounted for 5 percent and 9 percent of all schema category uses, respectively. But the two papers differed only in the use of the first of these two categories – Consequences, which draws together the overall implications of events or issues in some larger, causal, analytical sense (van Dijk, 1988 a & b). The *Post-Gazette* clearly was more predominant in its use of this category. This finding might possibly be explained by the fact that the bigger-city paper has more time and resources to devote to news reporting, and somewhat more highly trained reporters who, by virtue of their place within the generally more conflict-oriented metropolitan social structure (Tichenor et al., 1980) might be more willing or able to use their own analytical powers to more thoroughly examine conflicts, both from sources' views and through the somewhat independent analytical power of the journalist within the larger social structure. Consequences, read as providing a 'critical' function, would lend support

to Tichenor et al. (1980), who equate a more critical tone with the conflict-centered reporting of big-city papers.

Still, the very similar use overall, in percentage terms, of Schema Categories in both newspapers means that the larger newspaper was not generally more in-depth or "complete," in van Dijk's (1988b, p. 94) terms in its reporting than was the smaller-town paper. This evidence goes somewhat against the findings of van Dijk, who found in his examination of political news in newspapers of Great Britain that the so-called "quality" papers are more prone to use more Schema Categories, overall, than the "popular" press (van Dijk, 1988b, pp. 98-99.) The quality press was found especially to use more Background, Context, Consequences, and Verbal Reactions, while the popular press tended to focus more on Main Events (what I label Topics), and "sometimes Consequences and Reactions. History and Context are especially absent in such newspapers" (van Dijk, 1988b, p. 99). Only the category of Consequences was significantly different in either paper.

Keeping in mind van Dijk's findings, I had initially considered the *Post-Gazette* as a "quality" paper (because of its much larger size, larger and better-trained staff, and its location within a major cultural metropolitan area) and the East Liverpool *Review* as conforming more to the category of a "popular" paper (because of its smaller, more over-worked staff who live in a very small, rural town of about 13,000.) Accordingly, I expected that the Pittsburgh "quality" paper would have used more schema categories overall than would the "popular" East Liverpool paper, with the quality paper using, especially, more Background, History, Context, Consequences and Verbal Reactions. But as **Table 1** shows, the small-town East Liverpool *Review* actually used very slightly

higher percentages of Context, Background, and Verbal Reaction, and the same percentage of Comment (2 percent, each paper). The Pittsburgh paper did use, as expected, more (but not significantly more) History, but a much larger degree (more than twice as much, compared to the *Review*) of Consequences.

My own findings regarding schema use in both papers, while significant for the larger degree of Consequences used by the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, show that my approximation of the terms "quality" for *the Post-Gazette* and "popular" for the *Review* cannot be easily maintained. Although the Pittsburgh paper is, overall, a more sophisticated and higher-quality product (if only because of its larger staff and better, less time-dependent news-gathering resources) than is the small-town and much more scantily staffed East Liverpool paper, it is difficult to cast the latter paper into van Dijk's "popular" media designation, as this defines what in the United States is usually known as the very much down-market "tabloid" press, such as the *National Enquirer*. It is probably more accurate to say that the East Liverpool paper's stories reflect a less well-researched, less analytical and somewhat more unvarnished, untutoured narrative style than do the stories in the big-city Pittsburgh paper, which has more reporters, more time and greater resources. In short, the Pittsburgh paper is better written than its small-town counterpart. For these reasons, the Pittsburgh paper understandably would be able to engage in more "quality" reporting, with a somewhat more detached and analytical narrative style, especially on a matter in East Liverpool, nearly 40 miles away. From a social-structural perspective, one might conclude that the pressure of being 'in the fray,' as was the Review, especially given its consensus-oriented environment, might work against it being too overtly analytical in its reporting. On the other hand, the same social

circumstance might place the burden of critique (from the reporter's viewpoint) more on the shoulders of quoted sources, the WTI opponents. In this respect, one would be substituting reporter-centered analysis and critique for heavily one-sided source use, which would in its own way accomplish the same thing.

Qualitative Distinctions Between Schema Categories

It is important to point out that merely identifying an instance of Consequences within a story does not mean that the entire story is somehow infused with a significantly more analytical nature -- even though a sentence or two *is* analytical -- because of the relatively infrequent occurrence of Consequences as a schema category compared to such categories as Context, Background and Verbal Reaction (both direct and indirect quotes.) Generally speaking, Consequences as a narrative function occurs in fits and starts throughout a story, in a sentence here, a phrase there. Like the category of Comment, which makes up only 2 percent of all schema categories in each paper, the evidence for it is generally found in an occasional word or image, not suffused in large degree throughout an entire text.

Moreover, it is not uncommon for a single sentence to evoke more than one kind of schema "effect." For example, in labeling a sentence as Context -- the fleshing of immediate relevant details of a news event that has already been announced as the Topic of the news article -- it was often apparent that Context also seemed to function as Verbal Reaction, or that Context was hard to distinguish from the related category of Background (the latter offering relevant Topic-related information from the recent past.) There can be a fine line between Background and History, as well. (See Pietila [1992], for analysis on a similar score.)

Perhaps offering a single sentence from an East Liverpool *Review* article of March 19, 1993, will better make the point. I labeled as Context the sentence, *"WTI officials said Thursday the test burn had been completed early that morning and samples had been sent to independent labs for analyses."* Because the topic of the article had to do with a "test burn" conducted at the WTI incineration plant, the above-quoted sentence was labeled as Context because it merely fleshed out basic details of the operation. But the sentence also occurs as an instance of the indirect-quote form of the schema category Verbal Reaction; the sentence begins, "WTI officials said Thursday..." The decision to label the sentence as Context rather than as Verbal Reaction was made based on the fact that the statement, though attributed to a source, contained no trace of an evaluation or opinion offered by the source, which is normally part of Verbal Reaction in both the direct and indirect-quote form. The statement contains only factual information, that the test had been completed and samples had been sent out for analysis.

Thus in conducting a Schema Category analysis of any news article one gradually develops a sensitivity to what are sometimes minute distinctions between one category and another. This gives a necessarily somewhat arbitrary quality to Schema Category analysis that, in the hands of someone who too quickly assigns categories without having thought through the logic of the process, would result in a messy procedure. But I found that after several weeks of practice, and many measured judgments and internal arguments with myself about the operational logic and actual narrative function of one category versus another, it became relatively easy to make distinctions between categories. Still, it was not uncommon to re-read an already analyzed article and to occasionally re-assign a sentence to a different category.

The value of maintaining this kind of analytical and methodological flexibility in discourse analysis is that once this part of the analysis is completed, one can feel fairly certain that the coding judgments are as valid as is possible, given the qualitative nature of the methodology and the notoriously slippery capacity of the analytical object itself, human discourse.

How Schema Categories Functioned in Different News Articles

The following examples from news articles are designed to show how the schema categories were deployed by each paper. Because Consequences was the only schema category that emerged as significantly different between the two newspapers, I chose stories from both papers where this difference can be seen clearly. But I also comment upon how other schema properties functioned within specific comparative news texts. As the category of Verbal Reaction is dealt with separately in an upcoming section, I only marginally refer to it here. Because the largely self-explanatory categories of Context and Background form such a large part of the overall composition of the typical news texts – occurring with virtually the same frequencies, an average of about 38 percent and 27 percent, respectively, in both papers – I offer only a few examples of each.

I spend relatively more time on the workings of Consequences and Comment. Despite their relatively low occurrence overall, these two categories emerged as thematically more significant narrative rhetorical properties. They are the most direct indication of the reporter's intrusion into the text via causal analysis and observation (Consequences) or via opinion, speculation, and evaluation (Comment), even though they tend to "show up" in small but powerful doses, usually as a word, phrase, or metaphor. In this regard,

Consequences and Comment are notable indicators of the reporter's or (if they occur in headlines) the editor's rhetorical stance toward a given issue or event being reported.

Two news articles – one from each paper, reporting on the same news event of March 19, 1993 – are analyzed. In what follows, I assess selected segments of each article to highlight key thematic qualities of the discourse in each paper, as deployed through various Schema Categories.

March 19, 1993: The White House Sit-In

The March 19, 1993, article in the East Liverpool *Review* (a single sentence of which was briefly analyzed earlier) and a same-day article by the *Post-Gazette* both contain all schema categories, and thus provide good specimens for analysis of Schema Categories. The first thing that catches the eye is the *Review's* use of an "at a glance" box to report which local residents have been arrested in the White House sit-in arranged to protest the WTI plant. Though this does not qualify as a Schema Category, it is an obvious rhetorical strategy, providing as it does the information: "WTI opponents arrested Thursday at the White House on a misdemeanor trespassing charge were:..." and then listing several names of local residents. It is a rhetorical strategy that tends to automatically anchor or fix our reading of the entire article, especially when associated with the headline, and that cannot be decoupled from our reading via the Schema Categories.

In the East Liverpool paper, Comment is included as part of the main Topic (the lead sentence). The headline itself is straightforward reporting: "WTI foes arrested at the White House," though one could argue that "foes" is a somewhat more emotionally colored word than is the perhaps more neutral term, "opponents," used in the lead sentence. The lead reads, "Hazardous waste incinerator opponents left the White House in

handcuffs Thursday after their latest effort to make the East Liverpool facility a national issue." The sentence offers a Comment (opinion), that opponents are attempting to "make the...facility a national issue," because nowhere in the article is anyone quoted saying that this is their purpose. The reporter apparently interprets a sit-in protest staged inside the White House as having the goal of attempting to gain national attention to the anti-WTI crusade. This is a reasonable assumption, but the point is that it is just that, an assumption or interpretation generated by the reporter himself. (See Pietila [1992, p. 63], for examples of this 'linking discourse' process and details about 'presentation strategies' of news discourse.)

By comparison, the *Post-Gazette* headline offers its own Comment by stating: "Anger, Relief Vented at Incinerator; 8 Arrested As They Make White House Sit-In Protest." Because editors (not reporters) almost always write headlines, the editor handling this story interpreted the protest as having the quality of 'venting' anger and relief, but nowhere in the story does anyone express anger or relief. Quoted sources do express frustration with what they feel is bad faith on the part of President Clinton, who had earlier talked of stopping the plant until a formal federal investigation had concluded. For example: ' "We've come here because Mr. Clinton is trying to abandon us and we are not going to let him," said Terri Swearingen, one of the protesters.' This use of direct-quotation [Verbal Reaction] does indeed express an attitude of bad faith toward the President, but to read this and the other similar quotes in the article as venting anger and relief is an interpretive move on the part of the *Post-Gazette* editor.

This rhetorical framing – the establishment of a primary interpretive tone or overarching persuasive stance through which depicted events or issues are structured

symbolically – is solidified even more strongly by an accompanying photograph showing an East Liverpool protester, David Wolf, being 'escorted' by White House guards "after yesterday's demonstration against" the incinerator. Again, the photo itself is not a Schema Category, but its rhetorical force cannot be discounted in the overall coloring it provides initially to the reported events that are filtered through the various schema properties.

The *Post-Gazette* lead sentence itself [Topic] is a straightforward example of factual assertion: "Eight opponents of the hazardous waste incinerator in East Liverpool, Ohio, were arrested inside the White House yesterday as they protested the Clinton administration's refusal to halt operation of the burner."

In both newspapers, the second sentence offers Context. In the *Post-Gazette*, readers are told that protesters -- "including two from the Pittsburgh area, called on the president to keep his post-election promise to revoke" WTI's operating permit until a federal investigation concludes. The direct quote from Swearingen (offered above) follows this. This paragraph is then followed by Background: "Trial burn tests at the $160 million, Swiss-owned incinerator have been underway for more than a week and could conclude today. Commercial operation could begin once the trial burn is finished." In the East Liverpool *Review*, the lead sentence is followed by five paragraphs of Context, introducing to us "an 82-year-old woman and two veterans of last summer's arrests at the Environmental Protection Agency." We encounter the first direct quote [Verbal Reaction] in paragraph seven -- a statement from the 82-year-old woman: ' " We were treated wonderfully well," said Patton, who described herself as "a healthy 82. I'm fighting for all the little asthmatic children in East Liverpool," she declared. "I'm very optimistic. I think President Clinton will listen to us." '

This is a good example of how Context can be used not only to convey relevant immediate information surrounding a main Topic, but also how it can be used as a transitional device, to prepare the reader for a statement by a source; the 82-year-old woman (Ms. Patton, whose first name was mistakenly left out of the article) was introduced as part of Context material in the article's second paragraph, and was allowed to speak in her own words through Verbal Reaction in paragraph seven. In this instance we witness a cohesive function of news discourse, a tying together of elements the reporter deems important, and which can call upon more than one Schema Category. This is also an example of the two senses in which rhetoric is deployed in a news text: as the persuasive content of what someone actually says (most often through Verbal Reaction), and in a formal, textual/discursive sense, as what and how a writer selects and positions information in a specifically patterned manner to advance a particular story-line. The writer chose to highlight the 82-year-old woman to make a thematic point. Although other sources are quoted in the *Post-Gazette* article, Ms. Patton does not appear anywhere in the Pittsburgh paper's account of the same-day event.

The East Liverpool paper's article introduces more Context information, and then in paragraph 10 offers an example of the "mixed" quality of Schema Categories I mentioned earlier, in this case, deploying an indirect-quote Verbal Reaction that doubles as Background: "Secret Service spokesman David Adams said such protests have occurred before, but infrequently. All tourists entering the White House pass through metal detectors, he added." This is followed by a paragraph of Background which doubles as Verbal Reaction: "Incinerator opponents have been seeking a meeting with White House officials for weeks, ***but report*** that none of their letters or phone calls have been

answered [italics added.] What follows is a paragraph of Consequences, which also might be construed as indirect-quote Verbal Reaction: "WTI opponents *contend* that President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore are reneging on campaign promises by permitting WTI to conduct final testing and move toward commercial operation [italics added.]" Obviously, the reporter is presenting a claim made by protesters, and uses the related verb of speech, contend. The fact that the reporter fashions this assertion as a contention gives it more than just the status of simply reported speech; the claim-based statement assumes the status of a consequence -- the significance or meaning in some larger causal sense of the "why" of the protest, which is to convince the president that he has broken a promise.

The article continues for several more paragraphs of Verbal Reaction and Background, as well as more Comment, in paragraph 14: "WTI opponents were also angry about a New York Times story Thursday in which an EPA official said the agency has found no basis for revoking WTI's federal permit." Nowhere in the article is anyone quoted expressing anger or even referring to the *New York Times* piece. This is another example of what Pietila (1992) identifies as a presentation device that obscures the difference between an actor's (source's) and a reporter's (narrator's) discourse, and which thus creates an ideological discourse. The reporter simply conveys this as a fact, and the reader can assume that some anti-WTI sources expressed something like anger to the reporter. But without evidence of this in the article, the information comes off as an evaluation, the reporter's opinion of certain sources' general reaction to some pre-existing fact. One aspect of Comment is that it asserts itself *as fact*, leaving the reader to assume the existence of a certain state of affairs without any material "evidence." It is close in this regard to Consequences, in that it provides an analysis of events, but one that leans

more heavily in the direction of the reporter's unique "take" on some aspect of reality. Consequences, as a Schema Category that provides analysis, does so most often by tying together already-presented facts in some larger causal sense that the reporter determines has longer-term significance, and it often is accompanied by source attribution.

The article ends with another rare Schema use, History: "During last fall's campaign Clinton and Gore called for an investigation of WTI and said that had they been in office they would not have permitted construction of the incinerator on WTI's site near residences, a school and the Ohio River."

Returning to the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* article, a paragraph each of Background and Context are offered to inform us of such things as the time of the sit-in, and details about how the protest proceeded.

The Context information in paragraph six is highly descriptive and straightforwardly factual, basically setting a scene in denotative fashion:

"The protesters waited for an hour and a half in a quarter-mile long line with thousands of tourists before entering the White House through the East Wing. They passed through the East Room, the Green, Blue and Red Rooms, and the State Dining Room before forming a circle, holding hands and dropping to their knees in the hallway inside the north entrance."

Though matter of fact in its description, the precisely detailed sentence also invokes a sense of almost religious commitment, especially when coupled with the following paragraph, which mixes both Context and Comment:

"Kneeling between the official portraits of presidents John F. Kennedy and Dwight D. Eisenhower, the protesters began singing, 'We shall stop the burn,' to the tune

of 'We Shall Overcome' as *startled tourists stared* and *Secret Service agents swarmed* [italics added.]" While kneeling is purely a descriptive designation, as is the singing of a song (as offered in this sentence), characterizing tourists as startled and government agents as having swarmed in reaction to the singing is a connotative move, an interpretation of some action witnessed by the reporter. It is a Comment on the part of the reporter, not some objective state of affairs, as is the singing of a song while kneeling. It is a convenient rhetorical device that is especially suited to Comment, and to some lesser degree to the related but more detached and analytical Schema Category of Consequences.

Another two paragraphs of Context concludes: "It took armed agents 15 to 20 minutes to seal off the hallway, move tourists outside, handcuff the protesters and lead them out the north entrance. As he was being led to a secret service van, Joe Hughes, 57, a Pittsburgh resident, repeatedly yelled, 'Keep your promises." This last sentence, though appearing as a direct quote [Verbal Reaction] -- and indeed quoting the exact words of someone -- actually functions as Context, because it helps flesh out the larger scene. It also reinvokes the sense of commitment and zeal already established by previous denotation and connotation.

A comparison of the same actions as depicted by the East Liverpool paper reveals significant differences, not only in rhetorical but in factual detail, as well. Fundamentally, the *Review* t takes a more strictly descriptive, denotative approach in unveiling this part of the protest, through three paragraphs of Context:

"The arrested protesters and a half-dozen other Waste Technologies incinerator opponents entered the White House by joining the stream of tourists who file through the mansion five mornings each week."

"Near the end of the tour, the eight protesters kneeled on the floor, asked guards for a meeting with President Clinton, and sang 'We Shall Overcome'."

"Security guards ushered other tourists out of the area and asked the protesters to leave. When the incinerator opponents refused three such requests, they were arrested."

The *Review* reporter makes a factual error in describing the song as "We Shall Overcome," when it was actually the protesters' own concoction, "We shall stop the burn" as sung to the tune of the former song, which is of course a key protest song associated with the American Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. Additionally, we get no sense here of the amount of time the protesters waited ("for an hour and a half in a quarter-mile long line," as the *Post-Gazette* puts it), the latter of which adds to the sense of commitment to the cause. While the *Post-Gazette* carefully describes the protesters' collective joining of hands and "dropping to their knees," the *Review* says only that the protesters "kneeled on the floor" to ask guards for a meeting with Clinton, before breaking into song. There is no description of the setting inside the White House itself, the pictures of past presidents adorning the walls as if looking down upon the scene of impending protest. And instead of encountering "startled" tourists and agents who "swarmed," the *Review* states flatly that other tourists were "ushered...out of the area," while the protesters themselves "were asked to leave." The tourists' collective reaction is not interpreted, and the "swarming" Secret Service agents of the *Post-Gazette* article become self-contained professionals who only "ask" that the protesters leave.

The Pittsburgh reporter includes another paragraph, one sentence of which provides History, the next which functions as Consequences:

History: "The sit-in at the White House was not the first act of civil disobedience by opponents of the incinerator. More than 150 arrests have occurred in the battle to stop the facility's construction and operation." Notice that this statement is not attributed to a source; the reader must accept it as historical fact. This compares with the *Review's* sentence pertaining to a more vague comment about protests, in general, at the White House, expressed as mixed Verbal Reaction and Background: "Secret Service Agent David Adams said such protests have occurred before, but infrequently."

Consequences: "Opponents, including Greenpeace, an international environmental organization, say the incinerator will release toxic and cancer-causing wastes such as dioxin into the air, ultimately fouling soil and water." This statement, which could also be read as an indirect quote (as it attributes the alleged health effects to 'opponents' who 'say'), actually functions to add causal significance to the protest, with very specific detail about what opponents believe will happen if the incinerator is allowed to go forward. The only comparative statement about health effects in the *Review* article occurs in paragraph 13, as Background, expressing a rather dryly stated legal action: "On Tuesday, a federal appeals court at least temporarily overturned a lower court order that would have prevented commercial operation of the incinerator for a year or more until the EPA analyzes the long-term health effects of its dioxin emissions."

Finally, both articles supply a concluding remark from a Greenpeace professional protester (meaning he works for the organization) named Rick Hind, who appears fairly often in several other articles by both papers pertaining to the WTI dispute. In the *Post-*

Gazette, Hind explains with some frustration his organization's failure in getting strong statements of support from the White House about its intentions of halting the plant until a federal health and safety investigation is concluded.

Two paragraphs of direct quotation [Verbal Reaction] are set up first by Context: "Greenpeace, which alerted the news media to the White House protest, had planned the [protest] action before the appellate court's ruling," [which temporarily allowed the test burns to continue at WTI].

Direct Quote: "We're trying different things to make the White House accountable," said Rick Hind of Greenpeace. "As it is, we get these vague statements from Gore and the White House that they are aware of this issue, but we haven't been able to establish any back channel communications that let us know they're taking this seriously."

"We feel like we're getting a snow job in slow motion."

This is remarkable for the honesty Hind expresses regarding his organization's conscious attempt to concoct media attention, and equally for the candor of his frustration at apparently not succeeding very well. As such, it gives the reader insight into a fundamental political aspect of this protest.

The *Review*, on the other hand, uses only the second part of Hind's quote: " 'We kind of feel we are getting a snow job in slow motion here'," said Rick Hind, legislative director for the international environmental group Greenpeace. This is not accompanied by any contextual information, as is the case in the *Post-Gazette* article, so the rhetorical effect is dulled, and the statement lacks some coherence. It seems somewhat out of place,

other than to perhaps add some vague sense of frustration to what the reporter may perceive as that day's events from the protesters' perspective.

Note, as well, that the two statements are nearly, but not quite, exact. We cannot know whether Hind spoke individually to both papers and purposely used this comment in both instances to put "spin" on the day's events. Alternatively, the quote might have come from a press release -- a widely used communication tactic practiced by Greenpeace, as reporters from both papers acknowledged during in-depth interviews conducted as part of my study.

Conclusions Regarding Schema Categories

The central issue here is not which account is more "truthful." An analysis of Schema Categories and what kinds of narrative content they convey is, rather, a means of assessing structurally the ways in which different narrative properties project different rhetorical perspective relating to some specific content or, in sociolinguistic terms, some ideational quality (Halliday, 1978, 1985), ideation being the "what" of an event or issue under discussion. Both accounts appear to report the same basic sequences of actions. The real difference lies in the rhetorical stance of the two articles, as exhibited via different schema categories deployed.

Especially in the scene depicting protest actions inside the White House, but more generally throughout the article, the *Post-Gazette* reporter chooses a more consciously dramatic tone, leading the reader to associate the protesters with a religious commitment to their cause. In the *Review's* depiction, however, the protesters happen to have broken the law, and legal rulings happen to have been made; the tone is flatter, more denotative.

Recall that the entire article is anchored with the "at a glance" column that lists the names and locales of each arrestee, almost like names on a rap sheet.

Is one account more "critical" than another? More balanced? Is the sense of reality – of the significance of the reported events -- essentially the same in both pieces? Based on the one set of matched articles, the chief difference is in how, not *what*, is reported, with the *Post-Gazette* the more dramatic and analytical. As for all the articles, evidence from general schema use analysis in both papers shows that both used all narrative story-telling properties at virtually identical rates except in the category of Consequences, the analytical property associated with a more distanced, critical, in-depth reporting style. The Pittsburgh paper's higher use of this category – but no other, compared to the small-town paper – allows us to grant a somewhat more critical quality to the *Post-Gazette*. But what is more notable is the basic similarity in schema category use between both papers. The narrative story-telling structure, based on the schema categories, is quite similar in both papers, despite obvious social-structural differences (distinctions in community size) that do appear to significantly influence sourcing patterns, as Chapter 3 showed.

I now expand the analysis of one type of schema – Verbal Reaction, the direct and/or indirect attribution of source views by reporters by direct or indirect quotation – by examining how often each paper used the most frequently used type of the quote form (direct quotation), and the analytical implications.

Direct and Indirect-Quote Use

Direct quotation is a type of attribution that involves the reporter quoting, at least in principle, the actual words as exactly spoken by a source. The semiotic-linguistic role of reported speech is a meta-communicative one (Parmentier, 1993; Larson, 1978; Lucy,

1993a) – to utilize direct quotation is to speak about speaking. News-writing textbooks and standard journalistic lore value direct quotation for its ability to place a reader in the source's conversational mode, with the reader being able to "hear" what the source actually said. Direct quotation also is typically valued for its role in adding "colorfulness," immediacy and dramatic quality to a news story. This is in contradistinction to indirect quotation, which is usually reserved for those statements that can be expressed better or more clearly, or at least as well (Hough, 1988), by the reporter's own assessment or characterization (Lucy, 1993a) of a source's view.

The reporter's decision to extensively use either direct or indirect quotation in presenting the views of sources marks the difference between a news report that is, in the former case, more source-centered and therefore more rhetorical (because it allows speakers to present their interested viewpoints in 'undiluted' form), and in the latter case, more writer-centered and thus somewhat more analytical (Lucy, 1993a).

In journalism, direct quotation -- allowing people to "speak for themselves" (Hough, 1988) helps advance the story in a dramatic and colorful way. As Hough puts it, "Direct quotation is a useful device, one that breathes life into a story because it enables participants in an event to speak directly to the newspaper reader rather than indirectly, through an intermediary -- the reporter and writer" (1988, p. 111.) Indirect quotation is "a slightly edited or altered version of what the speaker said," telling "what the speaker said without using his exact words" (p. 112). In addition to reserving direct quotation for when the source says something "better" or more effectively than can the reporter, it is also typically used when the source is "so important" that virtually whatever is said is noteworthy in direct form (Hough, 1988, p. 115).

Direct quotation can also be a useful rhetorical device by presenting an exact statement that is seen as so central to the larger story that is adds an air of "authority" (Parmentier 1993, pp. 71-73). The journalistic use of direct quotation is therefore seen as more appropriate for statements with some dramatic or idiosyncratic flair or uniqueness, rather than for the conveyance of standard 'information' or essential facts that can be stated just as well by a reporter via indirect quotation or unattributed declarative statements of fact (Hough, 1988).

From a discourse-analysis perspective, direct quotation is a 'presentational' device, meaning the writer gives up some measure of control to one or more sources stating or presenting their own views in their own exact words. The writer merely presents the views of a speaker, typically without the writer's commentary or analytical refinement of those remarks. Indirect quotation, conversely, allows the writer to remain more in control of the story by virtue of 'characterizing' a source's words through the writer's own analysis of what the source said; indirect quotation is more writer-centered and analytical (Lucy, 1993a, p. 18) than is direct quotation. Both direct and indirect quotation rely on verbs of speaking (say, said, ask, etc.) and both serve to frame the meaning of events; in fact, the ability to frame or shape the overall interpretation of a given issue or event being reported on is a chief characteristic of quotation, because verbs of saying orient readers or hearers toward specific views expressed by discrete individuals (Lucy, 1993a, p. 94). Recall that van Dijk (1988a, p. 56) says direct quotation also allows reporters to seem objective while inserting what are, possibly, the reporter's own views in the form of quoted sources. Tuchman (1972, p. 668) notes on the same score that the objective

reporter "may remove his opinion from the story by getting others to say what he himself thinks."

Direct quotation "*imitates* or presents the reported speech event from the perspective of the reported speech situation whereas the indirect form *analyzes* or interprets the event from the perspective of the current reporting event " (Lucy, 1993a, p.18, italics in original). By essentially placing a reader 'into the mind' of a speaker, direct quotation can lend to the text an air of authority and vividness, and can even serve to distance the source's views from any viewpoint that might be associated with the author doing the quoting (Lucy, 1993, p. 19). Indirect quotation, on the other hand, "interprets relevance according to the concerns of the current event" by focusing more on "the reason for reporting the speech" (Lucy, p. 19). In this sense, indirect quotation is more referential, predicational, and 'characterizing' in nature (Lucy, p. 19) compared to the direct form.

Direct quotation allows for "minimal external...interference with the reported utterance" and is therefore seen, interestingly, as more "neutral," "because it does not truly assert anything *specific* about communication" (Lucy, 1993, pp. 96-97). By communication, Lucy means essential facts or raw information, or 'referential' material that is outside of a particular speaker's viewpoint about those facts or that information. In other words, speakers offer persuasive or "non-referential" views *about* various facts or information pertaining to issues and events, but this information (or communication, as Lucy calls it) is seen as standing outside of those viewpoints. The facts and information pertaining to a given issue or event do not require anyone to comment directly upon them, although sources, in journalism, are typically relied on to supply basic information and facts.

Direct quotation mixes speaker expression with communication, while indirect quotation eliminates the expressive quality of a speaker's view in favor of communicating information via the writer's assessment or characterization (Lucy, 1993a, p. 20). Indirect quotation focuses on "propositional content" – basic factual information -- without attention to the particulars of who said what in which exact words, or how (Hickmann, 1993, p. 65).

Though direct quotation is, from the above view, more 'neutral' in that it steps aside to let a speaker speak, it is not necessarily more neutral in the sense of being more "objective." It is neutral in that it does not attempt to intervene in the interpretation of what a speaker says. But by not intervening, the writer is giving up authorial control to those whose views are sought. In fact, by giving over control to various speakers allowed to speak in their exact words, a news story might be seen as more subjective and less analytical. Recall that the indirect quote form is viewed as a more analytical, more referential form of reporting events and issues, meaning the reporter retains all authorial control, as no speakers are introduced directly (via their actual words) into that portion of the story.

Writing from a sociolinguistic perspective, Larson (1978), like Lucy, has studied reported speech from the perspective of how it is used by indigenous peoples, and has extended these findings to the general communication process. Larson differentiates between two major functions of reported speech – that which offers basic communication (in Lucy's sense of the word) or what Larson calls "speech acts" and "deep structure," (Larson, 1978, p. 59) and that which essentially adds vividness and serves to 'highlight" certain expressive aspects of reported speech but does not advance the communication

(information) potential as such. This latter quality of the direct quotation form Larson associates with a specifically rhetorical function of reported speech.

"The rhetorical function of reported speech is primarily one of adding vividness, highlighting certain events, and in various ways making the story more interesting" (Larson, 1978, p. 59). It is this highlighting, rhetorical role -- the vividness factor – that journalism textbooks and journalistic convention both promote as the central role of direct quotation. In journalism, direct quotation thus is a specifically rhetorical device that adds a certain vividness to the story but is not essential to communicating basic facts and information.

It is important to note that calling direct quotation rhetorical does not mean, as I have argued earlier, that there are any elements of the news story that are *not* rhetorical. My position is that journalism is a particular type of speech or communication – a "discursive composition" (Pietila, 1992) – and that all communication is, structurally speaking, *rhetorical* in the sense that one chooses certain ways of constructing and construing facts and viewpoints, and that these vary in emphasis depending on the communicative genre (Martin, 1992; Halliday, 1985, 1978). In the case of journalism, the rhetoric of the news text lies in its overarching attempt to persuade readers of its veracity (van Dijk, 1988a&b; Jensen, 1987, 1986) and this rhetorical story form – the objective rhetorical form, as I choose to call it – is actually carried out in the text by the story-telling or 'super-structural' narrative properties that constitute the news report itself – the schema categories (van Dijk, 1988a&b; see also, van Dijk, 1993, 1991a&b, 1985a&b, 1983). The schema categories constitute the rhetorical skeleton upon which the semantic 'content' of the news article is fleshed out.

The degree to which a news reporter allows a source to speak directly as opposed to indirectly is, then, a gauge of how much the reporter rather than the source *controls* the viewpoints expressed in a story. This level of control is always in the hands of the reporter, given the fact that it is the reporter's job to select what will and will not be put into a story. A reporter could, for example, choose to use *no* direct quotes, to instead present all information via indirect quotation (a form of the Verbal Reaction schema category) or through some or all of the other schema categories identified by van Dijk (1988 a&b), such as Context, Background, or Consequences. This in fact occurs quite frequently. Recall that **Table 1** showed Context – the reporter's placing into perspective the issues immediately surrounding a news event or issue – was the most frequent schema category used by both the East Liverpool and the Pittsburgh papers. Background -- presenting contextual information from the recent past that is pertinent to an issue being reported on -- was the second most frequent schema category used by both papers. Whether using the specifically source-based schema of Verbal Reaction, or any of the other schema categories, the reporter's freedom to choose within any number of schema categories is itself a rhetorical choice, a decision made with respect to how one decides a story should be structured. It is one of the ways reporters, even while following the professional norm of objectivity, are able to consciously frame a story.

In this regard, any story can be conceived of as having two kinds of interconnecting frames, an inner and outer frame (Parmentier, 1993, p. 72). The outer frame is the authorial frame, associated more with the writer controlling the symbols and statements in a story; the inner frame is associated with particular speakers, whose views are presented or quoted directly or indirectly *by* an author (Parmentier, 1993, p. 72; and see Pietila

[1992] for a similar way to construe frames via narrative levels). When using the inner, speaker-centered frame of reported speech, "the fixity, objectivity, and authority of the reported speech enables it to resist this manipulation [associated with the authorial, outer frame] and to assert its own independent power upon the outer frame" (Parmentier, 1993, p. 72, bracketed information added). In other words, a story with more inner than outer frame is one in which sources (speakers) control the information by virtue of being allowed to speak more in their own words. A news story high in 'inner' framing is one in which the reporter has chosen to give up some measure of authorial control -- and this is a formal rhetorical decision.

We can view this inner/outer framing matrix as a kind of control mechanism, where either the reporter or the writer controls the overall construction of the text to the degree to which quotation (especially direct quotation) is used. A story with substantial direct quotation is more rhetorical in the sense of its allowing speakers control of the viewpoints via first-person 'vivid' accounts. A story with comparatively less direct quotation, or with no quotation of either the direct or indirect type, is one that can be thought of as conveying a relatively more *analytical* rhetorical style, thus less colorful or vivid, but more geared toward the event and not the actors.

Having attempted to establish the rhetorical nature of direct quotation - both in the sense of how it gives over a measure of linguistic control to speaking subjects and of how, by virtue of this fact, it is also always a rhetorical story-telling decision in the hands of the author - it is interesting to assess differences in direct-quote use by the East Liverpool *Review* and the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* in the 74 same-day stories formally analyzed.

Table 2 shows the proportion of direct-quote use by both papers overall, as well as direct-quote frequencies in each motivational frame.

TABLE 2
DIRECT QUOTE FREQUENCIES, EACH MOTIVATIONAL FRAME
(N = 74; 37 same-day stories, both papers)

	East Liverpool *Review* Direct Quote % & N:		Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* Direct Quote % & N:	
Opposition Frame:	**72%**	**26 of 36***	**54%**	**15 of 28**
Regulation Frame:	**54%**	**20 of 37**	**44%**	**12 of 27**
Legal Frame:	**81%**	**21 of 26**	**83%**	**15 of 18**
WTI Frame:	**69%**	**9 of 13**	**50%**	**3 of 6**
Political Frame:	**100%**	**2 of 2**	**100%**	**2 of 2**
Journalistic Frame:	**100%**	**4 of 4**	**100%**	**4 of 4**
Science Frame:	**100%**	**4 of 4**	**100%**	**3 of 3**
Totals =	**70%**	**86 of 122**	**61%**	**54 of 88**

(* Note: In Table 2 above, direct-quote percentages are based on total number of direct and indirect quotes per paper, per motivational frame. Example: "26 of 36" [in Opposition Frame, East Liverpool paper] means 26 Direct Quotes plus 10 Indirect Quotes = 36, thus 26/36 = 72%.)

Table 2 shows the East Liverpool paper used the direct-quote form somewhat more often than the Pittsburgh paper (about 15% in real terms). Reporters for both newspapers made the conscious rhetorical decision to allow sources to speak more often in their own words than in words paraphrased by the reporter. By more often than not foregoing the option of rewording what a source said, journalists for both papers thus gave up a measure of authorial control to the sources themselves, rather than take the more writer-centered approach of "characterizing" and "analyzing" through indirect quotation (Lucy, 1993a), although the *Post-Gazette* was somewhat more prone to characterize and analyze others' statements than was the East Liverpool paper. In any given motivational frame, however, the overall frequency of direct-quote use differed substantially – from a high of 100 percent (in such motivational frames as Science, and Political) to a low range of 44 to 54

percent (in the Regulation frame.) I attempt to address this direct-quote use variablity by comparatively examining two stories written with the Legal motivational frame later in this chapter. I first want to address more general properties of quotation and offer discourse-analysis examples of direct and indirect-quote use in comparative stories.

The *Review* was, in Lucy's (1993a) terms, more 'neutral' in its attitude toward the opinions being expressed by sources – neutral in the sense of not altering quite as often (compared to the *Post-Gazette*) the actual words of sources by paraphrasing them. This authorial neutrality linked to direct-quotation use can be seen as an "imitation" strategy (Lucy, 1993a, p. 18) which offers only "minimal external...interference with the reported utterance" (pp. 96-97.) It could be argued, then, that the East Liverpool paper, by being more neutral in the above sense, was actually somewhat more objective than the Pittsburgh paper. But imagine a case in which nearly an entire news article is given over to directly quoting the views of sources, with virtually no reporter rewording or summarization. This would hardly meet the standard of objectivity that conventional journalism strives so hard, in principle, to fulfill. The East Liverpool paper did, in fact, produce one story, dated Sept. 27, 1991, and written in the Opposition motivational frame, the last half of which was almost entirely given over to quoting (via a long series of related direct quotes) a single source, a WTI spokesman. Far from coming off as an example of authorial neutrality, the overall narrative effect in this story is to present a highly one-sided, imbalanced account. In fact, the introduction of WTI spokesman Sam Kasley half way into the story marks a dramatic topic shift, because the story, prior to that point, had been about a subject only marginally related to the one introduced through Kasley.

Looking closely at this particular article, we see that the headline and lead focus clearly on one topic -- that the actor Martin Sheen will reappear in town for another WTI protest, after having appeared at a very vocal protest during a WTI hearing earlier in the week. This angle is maintained for the first six paragraphs. Context and Background are the two schema categories through which this information is presented, and a WTI opponent (Alonzo Spencer) is quoted indirectly: "...he said today he had no comment on Wednesday's hearing or the rally and march scheduled next month." Here is an example of the reporter following the journalistic convention of using indirect quotation to convey basic information, or what Lucy (1993a, pp. 96-97) calls 'communication' as distinct from the 'expressiveness' of direct quotation; it would serve no dramatic purpose to quote Spencer directly, actually saying, "I have no comment."

But at paragraph seven the article makes a major thematic shift. With no attempt at transition, WTI plant manager Sam Kasley is suddenly introduced (Verbal Reaction) in indirect-quote form. The reporter notes that Kasley "contends that if WTI, which is owned by Von Roll America, is not permitted to open, no existing industry can be expected to expand." We don't know what Kasley actually said. The reporter saw fit to take authorial control and translate whatever Kasley said on this matter into a claim, by characterizing Kasley as 'contending.' Note also that the reporter included, in the middle of the indirect quote, a point about WTI's ownership. Obviously, this is previously known information that is offered as simply additional factual detail, but is inserted into the larger indirect-quote portion attributed to Kasley.

The remaining nine paragraphs form nearly a seamless, single direct quotation, all of it coming from Kasley, beginning with: "There is hardly an industry in the region that

comes close to us in cleanliness and safety." Three of these last nine paragraphs are in indirect-quote form, functioning as transitional devices to systematically tie together Kasley's ongoing remarks. The first indirect quote in this nine-paragraph segment tells us that Kasley "said" that opponents, by preventing WTI from opening, "are really saying not one new factory or new job anywhere in the region" will come into existence. This is the reporter's characterization (rewording) of what Kasley said. But note that even the indirect-quote form can indicate a subjective dimension: The reporter himself says that "*not one* new factory" will be able to open, rather than the more directly neutral, *no new* factories. This provides a good example of how just a word or two, in even a single sentence, can project an evaluative component into the story that might otherwise seem to lack specific evaluation, even when the entire sentence is attributed to a source. Thus the 'characterization' and 'analyzing' functions associated with writer-centered indirect-quotation (the outer frame) are no less rhetorical, nor necessarily more objective, than are the 'presentational' and 'vividness' functions provided by direct-quotation (the inner frame).

The second indirect-quote in this segment utilizes the verb of speaking, 'ask.' "Kasley asked whether the critics are ready to produce fewer movies, send out fewer publicity stills and make fewer promotional trailers" as a way to reduce the pollution created by these types of production. Finally, Kasley, the reporter tells us, "further questions whether so-called experts who come to preach to Tri-State Area residents are prepared to sacrifice in their own lives." The reporter could have qualified this indirect quotation by noting that Kasley had referred to his critics as "so-called experts" and that he had accused them of "preaching." Instead, the reporter himself appears to be making this commentary.

Though this nine-paragraph segment contains two distinct main claims (which will be analyzed in a later section), it is remarkable in that it is a rare example of a reporter quoting someone so extensively. The typical direct quote in most articles I analyzed from both papers was only a sentence or two in length, and this is the standard length of the vast majority of direct quotes that normally occur in any newspaper article. Most often, a source would be directly quoted in WTI articles just once. But here, Kasley is basically given a platform from which he is allowed to hold forth on the safety of his company and its economic importance to the community, and on the folly and even bad faith of "those who can skip town after a march and fly back to Hollywood" – the reference being, of course, to the actor Martin Sheen. The total effect of the extensive direct quotation given to Kasley can hardly be said to be neutral, if by that we mean objective. It is, however, neutral in the sense that authorial control is, in effect, given over to Kasley rather than being maintained by the writer. Direct quotation is a rhetorical device that does in fact add an air of authoritativeness to the news report. In the East Liverpool article, we do feel as though we're sitting in front of Kasley and getting an earful.[13] Returning to an earlier assessment by Parmentier (1993, p. 72), the 'inner,' speaker-centered frame of reference provided by direct quotation renders a "fixity, objectivity, and authority" by placing us, in effect, immediately into the heart and mind of a speaker. Being allowed to hear the exact words of a speaker, rather than the rewording of a speaker's views by a writer (Parmentier's 'outer' authorial frame) is in a sense more compelling and even convincing. It is one of many communicative devices that does, in other words, add to the overall

[13] There is every possibility that Kasley's remarks came from a press release, as WTI did routinely provide prepared statements to reporters. An attempt to locate the reporter, who is no longer with the East Liverpool paper, in hopes of clarifying this matter was unsuccessful.

rhetorical purpose of the news genre: to offer facts and statements in a way that will persuade an audience of the news report's veracity.

The same-day story [Sept. 27, 1991] about the upcoming protest march in East Liverpool, as written by the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, is dramatically different in many ways from the same-day article written by the East Liverpool paper and just analyzed. The Pittsburgh paper's story uses direct quote in the more conventional way -- sparingly, and only to advance dramatic insight or to add vividness, as opposed to giving over control via direct quote to a single speaker, as the East Liverpool paper does. Where the East Liverpool paper quoted one person directly (Kasley) and another indirectly (Spencer), the Pittsburgh paper quoted five sources -- three indirectly and two via direct quote.[14] In fact, Kasley's role in the *Post-Gazette* story is mixed in a single sentence (indirect quote form) with that of his boss, WTI company president Blake Marshall:

"Blake Marshall, president of the company that is building the incinerator in East Liverpool, and plant manager Sam Kasley said they were not worried that the opposition would shut them down. WTI has its construction permits, they said. With $90 million to $100 million invested, Marshall said, WTI cannot stop now."

In the Pittsburgh article, Kasley's role is dramatically attenuated. He and Marshall are presented, via indirect quote, as having said, as if simultaneously, that they were not worried about opponents shutting them down. Obviously, Kasley and Marshall did not speak to the reporter at the exact same moment, though the interview may have been conducted via conference call. But in the journalistic use of indirect quote, their voices

[14] The fact that the Pittsburgh paper quoted, in this story, more individual sources than did the same-day story in the East Liverpool paper is unusual. Among all 74 same-day stories compared in both papers, the

are perfectly co-mingled -- in essence, merged into one authoritative voice. We don't know what either of them actually said, only what the reporter said they said. It is in this sense that the reporter is using her analytical powers to characterize (to retranslate or reword) whatever it was Marshall and Kasley might have actually uttered.

The transformation of a single speaker into a general, collective source designation such as "officials" and "opponents" is a very common journalistic quoting device, providing an economical way to lend to attribution an air of *collective* authority. I label this technique source 'pluralization,' and it is related to other narrative practices I discovered in my analysis – namely, the existence of source 'collectives' (Russell & Many, 1993) wherein an organization (WTI) stands in for a person quoted; and to what I label 'phantom' sourcing – attributing views to one or more related sources who never appear in a story. (I detail these quoting practices more completely in subsequent chapters with respect to such narrative techniques' ideological significance). In general, these related quoting practices serve to bolster the perceived authority of institutions and organizations, which in the process are themselves reified as having virtually the status of a real, speaking individual. This is one of many ways in which language, especially journalism, which so thoroughly relies on conveying the views of authoritative sources, projects and can therefore reproduce the dominant ideology of power-holding groups (Erickson et al., 1989, 1991; Tuchman, 1978; Fishman, 1980; Gitlin, 1980; Sigal, 1986). The same process is at work in more metaphoric attributions such as, "the White House" when referring to one or more individuals who work for the Clinton Administration, "WTI" when speaking of employees with the company that operates the East Liverpool

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East Liverpool *Review* quoted an average of 3.4 sources per article, the *Post-Gazette* only 2.4 sources per

hazardous-waste incinerator, or "Greenpeace" when speaking of members of that international environmental group.

Returning to the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* article, others who are quoted in the piece demonstrate the more dramatic, 'presentational' (Lucy, 1993a), rhetorical (Larson, 1978) and authoritative (Parmentier, 1993) qualities of the direct quotation form. An Ohio EPA official, Alan Lapp, remarks: "It was clear to me there was no reasonable possibility of conducting a hearing...We're not going to force people to have a hearing if they don't want to...He added with a chuckle, 'It certainly was the most interesting time I ever had at a hearing'." According to Larson, the rhetorical aspect of reported speech is that it adds nothing to the "deep structure" or basic communication of raw facts and information; rather, it merely adds vividness from the speaker's interested viewpoint. This is indeed what Lapp's remarks accomplish. The reporter even points out that Lapp chuckled at one point, adding an air of immediacy to what was said, and perhaps what Parmentier (1993) would call an air of "authority" or objectivity: We believe that this is what was actually said, and the chuckle of the speaker helps place us into his heart and mind.

In paragraphs six and seven, a very common news-writing device is used. The reporter "sets up" a direct quote with an indirect quote, using the latter as a transitional device which aids the reader's cognitive ability in grasping the upcoming information. The reporter notes, in indirect quote: 'Mass public opposition movements, like the one opponents of the hazardous waste incinerator are trying to promote are often successful in derailing projects, according to a national expert on public reaction to environmental issues.' This sets up or prepares the reader to grasp the next paragraph, a direct quote

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article.

from the aforementioned 'national expert': ' "Even when millions of dollars have been invested and many years [in building a facility], when an aroused public is outraged and organized, the chances they can defeat the facility are good," said Peter Sandman, director of Rutgers University's environmental communication research program.'

This set-up framework, using an explanatory indirect quote followed by a related direct quote, is employed two other times in the article to present Sandman's views. In one of the other direct quotes, Sandman remarks, "I would not say 700 people in a school auditorium who shut down a hearing equals shutting down a facility, but it's a hell of a start." The colorfulness and vividness of Sandman's remark in this instance is a good example of the imitative, presentation, "non-referential" (Lucy, 1993a) quality of direct quotation.

It could be argued that a high amount of direct-quote use makes a news report more objective or "neutral" but not, it seems, in the way that Lucy conceives of neutrality. In Lucy's view, direct quotation is neutral toward what is being said, meaning some authorial control is given up in favor of just letting speakers speak. But being 'neutral' via direct quotation – especially in the case of the above-analyzed East Liverpool *Review* article – could also be seen as being more subjective and biased toward whomever's directly quoted views tend to predominate in a news story.

My own conclusion, given this somewhat contradictory assessment of the actual function of direct quotation, is that while direct quotation is indeed more neutral in one sense toward speakers, this 'neutrality' cannot be associated with anything like greater objectivity. Rather, direct quotation does add immediacy and a certain tone of authority to the immediate remarks of a speaker. But the more direct quotation appears in a single

article, the more it can be said that the reporter cedes his or her writerly authority; the more he or she gives up the potentially more distanced, analytical mode of presentation that tends to be provided more by indirect quotation, as well as through other Schema Categories such as Context, Background, History and Consequences. But to characterize and analyze is also to inject one's own informed observation into a story, so in this regard there is unavoidably a subjective element to indirect quotation, as well. Recall that the *Review* reporter's indirect quotations attributed to Kasley also were highly evaluative. As was the case in analyzing the East Liverpool article, the reporter's own evaluation or authorial 'bias' can slip through, even while appearing to attribute remarks to someone else via direct quote.

Variability of Quoting Patterns

Returning to the quoting patterns earlier documented in **Table 2**, the East Liverpool paper more frequently used direct quotation (about 15% more) when presenting sources' opinions. In Opposition Frame stories, the *Review* used about 33 percent more direct quotes than did the *Post-Gazette* [72 percent versus 54 percent, respectively]. In the Regulation Frame, the *Review* used direct quotation 23 percent more often [54 percent to 44 percent]. In the WTI Frame, the *Review's* direct-quote use was 38 percent greater than was the *Post-Gazette's* [69 percent versus 50 percent.] Only when writing stories within the Legal Frame did the *Post-Gazette* quote at a greater frequency more speakers directly than did the *Review*, but the difference is only two percentage points [83 percent to 81 percent.]

That both papers quoted sources within Legal Frame stories at virtually the same rate, and generally at a much higher frequency than in any of the three other major frames, may

tell us something about the nature of this particular motivational frame and about why, as a kind of discursive or rhetorical domain (Lemke, 1989), the Legal Frame may lead reporters to quote sources directly at much higher rate. (Note that the highest percentage of direct-quote use in any of the three other major motivational frames [Opposition, Regulation, WTI] by the *Post-Gazette* was just 54 percent [Opposition Frame]. This was also the second-highest direct-quote frame for the *Review*, at 72 percent.) It may be that the disputatious nature of the American legal institution, centered on formulating and resolving disputes between contesting parties, may itself provide a structurally convenient springboard for reporters in search of sources willing to repeat those views in the newspaper (Tichenor et al., 1980). The fact that parties to a lawsuit have already formulated highly rhetorical positions may mean that, when approached by a news reporter, these sources are more readily able to articulate forceful and therefore highly quotable views.

In what follows, I focus on the reported views of opposing sources quoted in a Legal Frame set of stories, and on functional aspects within the Legal Frame that may contribute to the inclusion of reported speech in news stories. In focusing on direct quotation it is very important to note, as well, the 'tying' or cohesive functions of other schema categories that relate directly to the actual quoted material, as each one contributes in its own way to constructing the overall rhetoric of the text. This is especially the case with indirect quotation, quite often used as a transitional device to 'set up' a subsequent direct quote.

The Legal Motivational Frame

The most immediate and obvious difference between the Legal Frame and others is the specifically discursive or language-centered nature of legal disputes. The Opposition Frame typically involves physical actions (protests, or press conferences) as its *field* of activity (Martin, 1992), while the Regulatory Frame has to do with scientific and political fields directed at health and safety actions. In contrast, the Legal Frame -- which exists in the sociological realm of the courts and its surrounding legalistic-professional networks -- is a more intellectually focused discursive domain. Inasmuch as the law and the courts deal with matters of dispute, the law as an institution is a highly rhetorical formation, in Lemke's (1989) sense of the word. In sociolinguistic terms, it deals with 'states' of things pertaining to actions of the past, rather than to activities, *per se*.

A lawsuit is, by definition, a series of allegations made by one party against another, and which by institutional mandate must be written according to prescribed linguistic patterns of presentation and then physically filed in a pre-defined, regularized manner to qualify as an institutional document. Reporters can then obtain these physical documents, which provide easily quotable relevant material that can be attached to specific sources (claimants or, in legal language, plaintiffs), who can then either be quoted as per their official statements within the legal suit, or can be contacted to comment upon those allegations. Although neither newspaper tended to utilize much "documentary" material, either as raw information or as a source of direct-quote material, both papers did sometimes attribute direct quotes to persons whose statements, it was clear, were recorded in lawsuits. Sometimes, the reporter would quote such a person as if the reporter had actually spoken to the person (the plaintiff); at other times it simply was not possible

to determine whether a source was being quoted from a lawsuit or had been interviewed directly.

Comparing the same story in both newspapers regarding a suit the WTI company had filed against its opponents -- and which had asked the court to impose a restraining order limiting where protesters could gather near company property -- is revealing on two accounts. First, it shows how reporters use the allegations or (in the case of the *Post-Gazette*) the resulting court ruling based on a lawsuit, as raw story material and as an opportunity to gather opposing source views that can then be presented via direct quotation. Second, it shows how, given the highly disputatious nature of the WTI controversy itself, a lawsuit or legal ruling spurs the creation of press releases explaining the significance of the court ruling or document. In this case, reporters will often quote someone directly from a press release or prepared statement. But they will not always clarify that the comment actually came from a press release, thus giving the impression of having spoken to a real person.

The WTI Lawsuit: Oct. 16 & 17, 1991

The issue, in terms of news value, was WTI's attempt, via a lawsuit filed with a jurisdictional court, to legally restrict the physical area surrounding its incineration plant where opponents would be allowed to hold rallies and protests. Because the *Review* was an afternoon paper (it went to morning publication just in the last two years) at the time this story was written, its account appears Oct. 16, 1991, whereas the *Post-Gazette*, as a morning paper, covered the same issue but was able to report on the actual court ruling, with the story published Oct. 17, the next day. So, where the *Review's* lead sentence

states that a hearing was scheduled on WTI's request to limit protesters, the *Post-Gazette's* next-day account begins: "Waste Technologies Industries won a court order yesterday limiting the access protesters will have to the company's hazardous waste incinerator in East Liverpool, Ohio." This time difference is an important factor in who might be chosen as quotable sources.

The Pittsburgh reporter quotes three sources in the story, two Against (opponents) and one For (WTI proponents) -- with one of the two Against sources quoted only indirectly. After three paragraphs of Context and Background that fleshes out the relevant details and some immediate historical explanation, the *Post-Gazette* quotes its first source, Paul Boas, a "Pittsburgh lawyer who is representing the opponents..."

Indirect quote: Boas "...said the effect of the restraining order was that violators could be jailed without a jury trial. He said the judge need only hold a hearing on whether the protesters violated his order and, therefore, were guilty of contempt of court.

Direct quote: " 'Companies tend to use this in union cases, and in cases like this, to harass the protesters,' Boas said, 'and I think that's what is happening here'."

This is followed immediately with another direct quote -- extracted from a press release issued by Blake Marshall, president of Von Roll, the company that owns WTI: "In a statement issued Tuesday, Blake Marshall, president of Von Roll American Inc., which owns WTI, said, 'The proper forum for the exchange of scientific information exists within the EPA...These activists have chosen not to back up their claims and allegations with scientific data, rather to harass the employees of Waste Technologies Industries and burden the police force and the legal system of this county,' Marshall said in his statement."

The significance of this statement as to its status as a rhetorical claim will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter. For now, the point is to show how the disputatious nature of the legal institution itself naturally creates a rich controversy that is documented physically within a lawsuit, and which naturally leads to reporters seeking out opposing sources, including those who appear on the news stage via "prepared statements." Relevant, also, is the fact that both papers actually quoted from the same prepared statement, revealing of how effective a well-planned public relations move can be in getting one's own interested position translated into public discourse. In linguistic effect, quoting from a prepared statement is like directly quoting a direct quote, because the quoted material has been scripted. This differs from a reporter interacting with and quoting a real person who responds more or less spontaneously.

In the same-day story as reported by the *Review*, two sources are quoted (one For and one officially Neutral, the latter being a local police chief), and both are quoted directly. It is interesting to note, first, that the *Review* story ran as the lead item in the paper that day, just under *The Evening Review* banner, with the top-of-the-page headline declaring: "WTI files request to limit protesters." From a semantic point of view, this signals to the reader that this news item is the most important issue of the day, at least from the rhetorical perspective of the page editor. One cannot dismiss the positionality of a story in a newspaper, nor the fact that it may be accompanied by photos and/or graphic material that frames the story in a structural manner, lending rhetorical force to the content and, from a formal/compositional perspective, giving us an idea of the communicative motives of the newspaper itself. This affect was already noted in analyzing a previous article pertaining to a *Review* story's inclusion of an 'at a glance' box that listed those who'd been arrested

for protesting against WTI. This and other presentational elements (various features of layout and design) are rhetorical in that they serve to emphasize and highlight certain informational points the newspaper wants to make to its readers. They are part of what throughout this study I refer to as the symbolic frame of the text.

As to actual story content, where the Pittsburgh reporter used no documentary material (from the WTI lawsuit) the *Review's* second paragraph quotes directly from the suit. Functioning as Context, the entire paragraph reads:

"The company, which is constructing a $140 million incinerator on property leased from the Columbiana County Port Authority, filed a complaint late Tuesday seeking 'a temporary restraining order, preliminary and permanent injunctive relief with regard to certain conduct and activity undertaken by demonstrators' at the site'." Only the last portion, in single-quote marks, is a direct quote, emanating from the lawsuit, not from an individual.

In paragraph six, the reporter, via direct quote, attributes to a collective source ('WTI officials') a general viewpoint about the right of protesters: "WTI officials said today the public has the right to freedom of speech but not to trespass on company property or block access to and from the facility." Because no individual (but instead, only 'company officials') is specifically identified as having made this statement, we are left to trust that the reporter actually spoke to more than one person from WTI and that they all came to the above-reported conclusion. As noted earlier in discussing source designations, constructing a collective source (WTI officials) is a convenient rhetorical device that adds an air of authoritativeness to the comments of what may well be the sentiments of but a single individual. Ideologically, this collectivization function gives to reported

speech a greater power of persuasion, because it invokes the putative views of more than one person and serves to reify the institution (WTI) as if it were a thinking, speaking person. From a practical point of view, attributing a viewpoint to a single WTI official would naturally lead readers to wonder who that person was; by attributing comments to a collective source (which in practice is often just one person who is known to represent the views of others in the same institution), readers are probably less likely to expect actual names. Thus, attributing information to WTI "officials" or WTI "opponents" is not only a powerful rhetorical and ideological device. It is also a useful, if somewhat lazy rhetorical tactic, as well, as it may be a means of getting around talking to more than one source.

Paragraph seven offers an example of how a statement can seem to function as more than one narrative schema property. In paragraph seven, the *Review* reporter (using the Background schema category), tells readers: "Court records, without giving any details, state company employees have been harassed by protesters." This functions very closely to the schematic role of indirect quotation -- a Verbal Reaction schema -- as it attributes the statement to 'court records.' But it more properly functions as Background because it offers information from the recent past, i.e., that employees 'have been harassed by protesters.' It also, however, borrows the characterizing, analytical function of indirect quotation, because the reporter himself points out that the aforementioned 'court records' give no details -- provide no evidence -- for the claim that WTI employees have been harassed. Here, the reporter is engaging in a critical analysis of a claim made by WTI, and suggesting that the claim must be taken on faith, because no evidence is offered to support the allegation. This stops short of outright evaluation in the form of reporter 'opinion,' the latter of which is the domain of the Comment schema function.

After two paragraphs of basic information about who's named in the suit, the *Review* story offers in paragraph 10 the exact direct quotation from Blake Marshall, the WTI company president, that appeared in the *Post-Gazette* story -- with one crucial difference: Marshall is quoted in the *Review* story as if he had been interviewed directly by the Review reporter. The first directly quoted statement ends with the speech tag, "...said Von Roll President Blake Marshall." Readers are not in a position to know whether Marshall was spoken to directly or whether, as is actually the case, he was quoted from a prepared statement. The significant point here is that from a compositional perspective, the reporter has created a false sense of reality – the illusion that he has spoken with someone, rather than that he has quoted a quote. The narrative effect is to bolster the larger rhetorical purpose of news text, which is to concoct compositional patterns that will convey 'real-world' information in a way that readers are persuaded of its veracity. Giving the illusion of talking to someone, rather than to say information has come from a prepared statement, is a convenient way to not only make WTI look perhaps somewhat more credible but to make a news story look more authoritative, as well.

This lack of entirely truthful attribution on the part of the *Review* reporter covers over the essentially constructed nature of Marshall's own rhetorical attempt (via a company produced press release) at persuading the reading public toward a certain viewpoint pertaining to WTI affairs. Marshall and his publicists consciously constructed a position regarding the lawsuit, and offered this in physical form (a press release) to both the *Post-Gazette* and the *Review*. While it is often not possible to second-guess the intentions of a news reporter, the reporting of a statement as coming directly from the mouth of a person rather than as coming from a written statement is not something a reporter unconsciously

slips into. It is possible, but not very likely, the less-than-complete attribution was accidental. It is possible the reporter felt a written statement from a high-level company authority was as good as speaking to him directly, that there was no need to clarify the difference. But from a news story-telling angle, the representation via direct quotation of a written statement *as if it had been actually spoken* is purely a rhetorical tactic. Even if done unconsciouly, this kind of source *'masking'* promotes the ideology of the institutional authority being 'quoted' and the rhetoric and ideology of the news genre itself – namely, to persuade readers of the news report's truthful. accurate account of the world.

The *Review* article concludes with another long direct quote, this time from the local police chief who clearly was called upon by the reporter to comment upon the previous allegation made by WTI's Marshall, regarding the 'burdening' "of the police force." Marshall's prepared statement (presented, as we now know, as an actual statement) actually contributed to, even helped create and direct, the reporter's story-telling frame.

In paragraph 11, the *Review* reporter introduces (sets up) Police Chief Coen's upcoming direct-quotation by reporting, via indirect quotation, that: "East Liverpool Police Chief Charles B. Coen said today officers will begin taking more aggressive action against wanton lawbreakers at the incinerator site." Notice that the evaluative phrase, *wanton lawbreakers,* is not placed into separate quotes. We cannot know whether Coen actually used this phrase or whether this is the reporter's interpretation of something Coen said on a similar point. The 'linking discourse' (Pietila, 1992) is founded on the actor's and the reporter's epistemological positions being merged. To describe protesters as "wanton lawbreakers" without attributing this to the quoted source means the reporter

himself is engaging in the characterizing and analyzing function that is common to the indirect-quote form, but not in some detached, observational manner that we might associate with pure analysis. Here, the reporter's own view of things is showing through although it may well be an unconscious lapse of evaluative prose.

In a discourse-analytic view informed by functional-linguistic theory, the unconscious is seen, much as it is in Althusser (1971), as being formed in conjunction with one's social and historical (thus ideological) circumstances, resulting in identity formation and corresponding language practices that are relatively autonomous but still strongly socially and historically conditioned by predominant ideological structures in society. This is the sense in which, Althusser maintained, we do not so much *speak language*, but rather that language *speaks us*. This view of language practices (see also, Rooney, 1995, and related articles in same volume) has much to do with what in Chapter 2 were referred to as ideological coding orientations described within the Rhetorical Framing Model – coding orientations being the uneven access members of a society have (by virtue of each person's class, gender, generational, and ethnic make-up) to the powerbrokers in society who set the predominant ideological tone, the operating rules and practices that shape societal norms.

The *Review* reporter might not have consciously used the phrase "wanton lawbreakers" – it might be an example of bad or careless writing but not necessarily of bad faith, of overt bias toward WTI opponents. But given the reporter's (any reporter's) immersion in his or her social-structural context, which leads to what Tichenor et al. (1980, p. 21) say contributes to a journalist's "lack of deliberate consciousness" in making many potentially biased writing and informational choices – as well as the

ideological subject-positioning that is said to prevail within a social formation – even unconscious decisions and statements may be thematically relevant for analysis (Jameson, 1982).

Thibault (1991, pp. 25-26) observes from a functional-linguistic, social-semiotic framework:

> Power and ideology are productive relations in discursive practice, which function both to produce and position social agents in regular and systematic ways as discursive subjects. It is through our sociodiscursive practices that the system of disjunctions maintains...the social semiotic system or some part of it in ways that constitute the relations of production of power, hegemony, and domination in a given social formation.

In terms of its role as a Schema Category, the use of indirect quote here [a Verbal Reaction] to present the phrase, "wanton lawbreakers," also projects the opinion and evaluative quality associated with the Comment schema property. The reporter is analyzing, via direct quote, but the use of a highly evaluative phrase within that analytical sentence brings in an overlapping rhetorical function, that of opinion (Comment.) The reporter appears to have concluded that those who break the law in the context of what the police chief is talking about are "wanton." In this way, the reporter (even if by mistake or by careless attention to appropriate attribution) reproduces the ideology of policing itself as an institution dedicated to, among other things, reining in those who deviate from societal norms. Having set up the reader with an image of wanton, lawbreaking protesters, the reporter provides a good set up for the reader to hear from Police Chief Coen himself, who states directly: ' "We've been very patient with these demonstrators, the majority of which are from out of town, and we respect their right to free speech," he

said.' ' "But now they are breaking laws and I just don't think it's fair that we're being forced to cancel programs and activities to give all of our attention to the protests." The frame of 'lawbreaking,' already introduced by the reporter, is solidified in this direct quotation.

Conclusion

In the above discourse analyses of the same story as written by both newspapers, I have attempted to demonstrate the way in which a story within the Legal Frame can be deployed, in very different ways, with most of the focus on direct quotation. Both stories center on the same issue: the filing of the lawsuit in the *Review's* case, and the actual legal decision stemming from it in the case of the Pittsburgh paper. Significantly, while the *Post-Gazette* gets countervailing opinions from two sources opposing the plant and the legal decision favoring it (I have quoted only one of these sources), the East Liverpool story makes no attempt to get a response from opposing sources. Both use different quoted sources, but do share in quoting the same person, WTI's Marshall. As is clear from the way both papers presented the story, Marshall plays a key role in claims-making in very direct fashion, with a long and articulate direct quote used by both papers.

The quotation itself comes from a press release, indicating WTI's conscious attempt to persuade the public toward its own interested view of the situation. This is important in itself as it indicates how the rhetorical motivations of interested parties, especially institutions, can make their way into news accounts, at the story-telling/compositional level, as one or more schema categories. In this case, Marshall was journalistically appropriated as a Verbal Reaction of the direct-quote form. In the *Review* article, the

journalist masked Marshall's true role – his status as a person quoted within a written document, a press release – presenting him instead as an actual person offering a live statement to a reporter. In the use of this quotation, the *Review*, by virtue of this masking process, more readily promotes and thus reproduces the ideology (van Dijk, 1991a) of WTI as a company with defined political interests.

Directly quoted sources in the *Post-Gazette* represent opposing views and therefore serve to balance the rhetorical force of the company's position, given the legal ruling in its favor. In the *Review*, which offers no such countervailing opinion via opposing sources, Marshall's rhetoric and that of the legal and policing institutions themselves is enhanced by the reporter's decision to include the similar statement of the local police chief.

We can say something about the compositional technique of the reporters themselves. Although the use of indirect quotation [Verbal Reaction] tends toward a more detached and analytical, characterizing quality of discourse presentation compared to the direct-quote form, the indirect-quote form should not necessarily be seen as therefore more objective and independent, from a journalistic perspective. As we saw in the case of the *Review* reporter's compositional decisions, the indirect quotation of the police chief served only to bolster the ideological force of the direct quote from the chief that immediately followed. According to the reporter, protesters were "wanton lawbreakers" – and as presented, this is the reporter's own characterization.

Direct quotation may indeed be more 'neutral,' because it cedes some authorial control to sources, and indirect quotation more analytical and detached (Lucy, 1993a). But in journalistic writing, the detachment typically associated with the indirect quote form can

be every bit as interested, one-sided and consciously ideological as can be the direct-quote form.

Finally, the legal discursive framework within which this story occurs may well provide reporters with a cast of characters who, because of their involvement on one side or another in a lawsuit, may provide richer, more detailed, better articulated statements for reporters constantly in search of drama and conflict. The courtroom drama has the potential to fit every news value, conflict and drama being chief among them. By contrast, the Opposition motivational frame is naturally rich in drama and conflict, the more existential nature of protest itself may not provide the same kind intellectual terrain as may be available in either the Legal or even the Regulatory motivational frames, because the latter two are more discursively based in statements and decisions rather than in immediate action. Especially in the case of Legal discourse, persons involved on one side or another have a good opportunity to produce written statements in the form of press releases that can then be turned into direct quotes in news articles. Sometimes, as in the case of the *Review* article, the *written, pre-scripted* status of the quoted remark is masked, presented as if the reporter actually spoke to someone. As well, reporters can use actual statements from the lawsuit to bolster the reality effect of their news stories. The overall effect of a Legal frame story, then, can be to provide the terrain for a more complete journalistic accounting of events or issues (compared to, say, the Opposition frame), if only because so much that takes place in the legalistic environment is written down beforehand and available to reporters.

I now turn in Chapter 5 to the actual claims and counter-claims – the specific argumentation content – of different kinds of sources selected for quotation in the 74

comparatively analyzed news stories. I focus also on how these assertions are balanced and otherwise structured to project the conflict theme revolving around WTI.

Chapter 5
Claims-Making Through Story Schemas & Sources

The previous chapter attempted to establish the narrative basis of news stories as founded on the superstructural elements (van Dijk, 1988 a&b; 1991) called schema categories, and to show the centrality of one schema property, Verbal Reaction (direct and indirect quotation of sources), to the overall functioning of the other schemas and to news work in general. In this chapter I discuss how the WTI conflict played out in comparative news stories via a series of arguments, which are themselves contained or *carried through* various schema categories. The schema categories are *syntactical* conduits through which source-based and reporter-based argumentation patterns (claims and counter-claims) are presented as *semantic* content.

I closely examine the conceptual properties of claims-making and counter-claims making, both of which are arguments (attempts at persuasion) in the rhetorical sense of the word, and both of which are most often tied inextricably to source-use in news stories. I discuss various schema categories (Topic, Context, Background, History, Consequences, Comment, and Verbal Reaction) as they relate respectively and, sometimes, collectively, to claims-making activity, and how sources (For, Against, and Neutral) are tied to claims and counter-claims. In this way it should be easier to see how source-based claims and reporter-controlled schema categories together contribute to the overall rhetorical structure and framing of the news text.

My textual analysis of source use relating to claims-making will demonstrate that both papers attached more main claims to opposition sources (Against) than to pro-WTI sources (For). Of all *main claims* – defined as arguments that initiate a specific rhetorical

position on the WTI issue and which may serve to challenge other, existing positions – presented in *Review* stories, well over half (58 percent) came from Against sources. Just under half (48 percent) of all main claims appearing in *Post-Gazette* stories emanated from Against sources. Both newspapers framed their stories, in other words, more often from the viewpoint of sources whose real-world and thus rhetorical goal was to "take on" WTI. Essentially, by being presented in the *initiating* role of main claims-making, these anti-WTI sources were framed in "attack" mode, leaving WTI proponents to defend themselves by making counter-claims: *reactive* comments that serve a defensive rather than offensive rhetorical-argumentation function. Given this basic argumentation pattern, newspaper stories about WTI presented a highly conflictual tone – with the small-town *Review* actually presenting itself (with respect to source claims-making) as even *more* conflict oriented in tone than was the *Post-Gazette*. (This finding on claims-making supports the finding in Chapter 3; that anti-WTI sources were quoted much more often in the small-town paper than either Pro or Neutral sources.)

Claims-making and counter-claims-making – the presentation of arguments and counter-arguments – is a naturally rhetorical activity on the part of newspaper reporters who, in the interest of constructing an existing conflict, highlight sources whose views on an issue clash. Reporters are following the news values in this regard, especially those of including conflict, drama and controversy. My analysis will show that source-based arguments and counter-arguments most often occurred via the schema category of Verbal Reaction , of either the direct or indirect form. The implication of this finding is to reconfirm the centrality of quotation as perhaps the most important of all schema categories, projecting as it does the views of various sources and, from a textual

perspective, allowing reporters to inject argumentation (thus, opinion) in a variety of ways, without the reporter him/herself having to formally take a position. As van Dijk (1988 a) points out, the verbal reaction schema category is a *special case* of consequences, the schema property that provides for reporter-centered analysis of events and issues in a way that serves to summarize their significance in some causal sense. I would extend this view by saying that Verbal Reaction can also be a special case of Comment, the schema property through which reporters offer their own opinion and comment. Recall that since American journalists are not allowed to overtly editorialize in news stories, they can nonetheless find sources who will support the reporter's own view. (Tuchman, 1978, 1972; van Dijk, 1988a&b).

In the previous chapter it was demonstrated how verbal reaction in the direct-quotation format is a reporter-manipulated rhetorical strategy for presenting the undiluted persuasive views of sources, a tactic in which the reporter gives up some authorial control over content, at least to the degree that sources are allowed to 'speak for themselves.' My analysis of verbal reaction in the present chapter broadens the understanding of quotation's central role as a source-centered means of making and countering various persuasive claims.

Types 1 & 2 Rhetorical Framing

When claims and counter-claims originate with and are articulated through sources, I call this **Type 1 Rhetorical Framing**. It constitutes the major mode of rhetorical framing in the comparative news stories I examined, as the framing or arguments occurs primarily through the quoted source. In addition to using the schema category of Verbal Reaction, reporters routinely (though to a lesser degree) call upon other schemas (most often

Context and Background) to express claims and counter-claims, and these are typically grounded in source attribution in more indirect form.

But another kind of rhetorical framing occurred in the texts I examined. It took place through the schema category called Topic – *summarization and analysis* by reporters and editors themselves, and whose function is to put forth claims and counter-claims in a way that is not as clearly source-associated. Topic, as a schema category, involves author-centered interpretation of events and issues, the reporter's or editor's attempt to put an interpretive gloss on an issue. Using the Topic schema category, reporters and/or editors engage in their own writer-centered, rather than source-centered rhetorical activity, by actively framing and interpreting the positions and underlying assumptions and motives of sources. Topic is often used in conjunction with any number of other schema categories, especially the two other reporter-centered categories of Consequences and Comment. This kind of reporter/editor-centered framing I call Type 2 Rhetorical Framing, and it often occurs in headlines, which by definition are summaries.

Chapter Outline

In the following pages I explain the concept of claims-making by reviewing how this activity is understood in rhetorical studies as argumentation and, within mass media and social-movement literature, how claims-making is thought to actually occur and evolve from specialized sources to, eventually, the mass media and general public. I present claims-making patterns as they occurred, quantitatively, within both newspapers in general, and in terms of how claims were linked to various schema categories and source types. I offer excerpts from stories in both newspapers to demonstrate how claims-

making, schemas, and source use function as news discourse, both of Type 1 and Type 2 Rhetoric.

The WTI story was highly conflictual in nature, featuring essentially two sides (pro and anti-WTI forces - For and Against sources) pitted against each other, with the "neutral" regulatory agencies such as the EPA and various other regulatory boards playing to both sides to different degrees. By definition, a regulatory official must remain neutral in disputatious issues, constraining him/herself to carrying out officially sanctioned reviews and taking actions based upon officially mandated job responsibilities and prevailing legal/regulatory laws and guidelines. For and Against sources are unburdened by such institutional constraints – they are free to engage, more or less openly, in highly disputations rhetorical exchanges.

In the interest of writing a dramatically rich story highlighting conflict as a central theme, both East Liverpool and Pittsburgh news reporters encountered and sought out sources routinely making allegations, and other sources responding to these charges. In this study I label allegations - *initiating* arguments that may challenge existing positions on an issue - "main claims." Following journalism's objectivity mandate, which requires stories to be balanced (if only in some minimally dualistic sense of presenting two sides), reporters are duty-bound, at least in principle, to obtain source *responses* to allegations, which in this study I label "counter-claims." The balancing of claims is a major rhetorical feature of journalism because the perception that the journalist has attempted to balance various viewpoints within an article adds to readers' overall assessment that the story is comprehensive, rather than one-sided. Together, claims and counter-claims form much of the basis of any particular news story, often giving the story a tone of rancorous conflict.

When making arguments and counter-arguments, disputants who drawn upon discursive fields - practical, recognized institutional realms of authority - tend to have greater persuasive success (Prosise, et al., p. 123). These realms of authority in which sources ground their claims and counter-claims is an important dimension of argumentation. In this study, the various discursive fields or realms of authority within which arguments are grounded I label Rhetorical Categories. Because of their importance, I only touch upon Rhetorical Categories in this chapter, addressing them in much greater detail in Chapter 6. The present chapter is more focused on claims making itself exclusive of the various rhetorical categories to which any claim or response might be attached. The analysis of claims-making, regardless of the particular rhetorical categories to which a claim or counter-claim may be attached, is important in its own right because the depiction of arguing and counter-arguing -- a source-*based* but reporter-*stimulated* activity -- makes up such a large part of the conflict-centered news story.

The first part of this chapter discusses more generally the nature of claims-making both as a rhetorical and journalistic phenomenon, and is followed by excerpts from actual news stories to demonstrate the inner-workings of claims, schema, and source use – in both the Type 1 and Type 2 rhetorical formats. The remainder of the chapter examines quantitative empirical results pertaining to schema and source-use vis-à-vis claims and counter-claims in both newspapers, and discusses the significance of these results.

Claims as Rhetorical Arguments

Both claims and counter-claims are arguments, though not necessarily the extremely logical syllogisms (A and B, thus C) associated with formal debate or logic. The 'new rhetoric' introduced in the late 1950s by Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) shifted the

locus of argumentation from a more traditional notion of logical formulation to one in which emotions, common sense and good reasons of one sort or another are seen as making for *effective* rather than strictly logic-centered persuasion. The new rhetoric involves, theoretically, a "non-formal conception of rationality, tied to substantive discourse contexts" (van Eemeren et al., 1997, p. 214). This newer conception of rhetoric also focuses on two opponents in differing "arguer roles" (van Eemeren et al, p. 215), and conceives of contemporary rhetoric as argumentation geared to resolving everyday issues of practical, social import, rather than as aimed at strictly formal/rational argumentation in more restricted social realms such as within courts or legislative councils. "Argumentation uses language to justify or refute a standpoint, with the aim of securing agreement in views" (van Eemeren et al., p. 208).

Arguments are always, at bottom, rhetorical, given over to the goal of persuasion. They typically have a claim-plus-support structure (van Eemeren et al., p. 208) – an assertion pertaining to a given state of affairs followed by one or more reasons or explanations as to why the assertion should be believed. Arguments are founded on making *distinctions* between one state of affairs and another or between one thing and another. These distinctions have "the power to reconstruct notions of 'the real,' and therefore to modify standards of plausibility, reallocate presumptions of burden and proof, and thus influence the outcome and conduct of argumentation" (Goodwin, 1991, p. 141).

Perhaps even more pertinent to my purpose in examining claims and counter-claims in news articles is the idea that "an argument may also be built in the interaction between someone who puts forward a standpoint and someone who challenges it..." (van Eemeren

et al., p. 208). It is this point-counterpoint structure that underlies the notion of claims-making as used in my study, and it can come in two forms. One form is this above-stated interactional, interpersonal-style claims-making, which in my study I associate with Type 1, source-centered rhetorical framing; although it occurs, in news articles, through the reporter's selection of sources who are depicted as presenting competing claims. Another form of argument is more 'monologic' and often occurs in newspaper articles where, for example, a news writer will draw a conclusion from, say, the findings of some pre-existing study. The writer's interpretation of the meaning or significance of the study's findings constitutes a claim, and actual supporting information drawn from the study itself serves as a reason or ground upon which to accept the claim (van Eemeren, et al., 1997, p. 208.) This monologic argumentation form (van Eemeren et al., p. 208) is very similar to what in my study I characterize as Type 2, reporter or editor-centered rhetoric. But this type of reporter-centered rhetorical activity also occurs when the reporter or (in the case of a headline, the editor) actively interprets events or issues in a manner not always clearly supported by sources or facts appearing in the story itself.

Claims-Making, Rhetorical Authority, & the Flow of Public Knowledge

A source making a main claim or responding to one via a counter-claim must ground his or her statement within some realm of authority (at least one realm) that functions as an intellectual/argumentation device. As such, linking claims to authoritative realms gives assertions an intellectual force, one that draws on some kind of 'higher' logic and rationality (but again, not necessarily in a strictly formal-logical sense). These authoritative realms have their real-world complement in any number of recognizably authoritative institutions, such as those of science, the courts, or various regulatory

agencies. My concept of Motivational Frames - institutional/organizational frames of reference - corresponds to these real-world institutional realms, as does my concept of Motivated Sources, the institutionally/organizationally grounded actors who appear in news stories as sources, and whom ground their claims in the power of their respective sense-making institutions. This institutional/organizational/group rhetorical *grounding* is as true of Interest Group (Against) sources affiliated in this study with the Opposition Motivational Frame (and representing local environmental groups or the international Greenpeace environmental organization) as it is for those affiliated with any other institution or group; they all express group-based interests in the form of rhetorical claims linked to specific sense-making categories. These intellectual realms of authority - sense-making arenas - are what I called earlier Rhetorical Categories, and which are dealt with much more thoroughly in Chapter 6. In making their arguments and drawing on such recognized sense-making realms as science, the law, or regulatory domains, sources of any type - whether For, Against, or Neutral toward WTI - also were found to draw on the authority of what can only be called *morality* itself, of what sources perceive as 'right' or 'just,' as well as on the more traditional linguistic/rhetorical devices of logic, analogy, metaphor, irony and even cynicism; all in an effort to make the most persuasive case for their own respective positions.

One is more likely to accept an argument "if it comes from an authority who occupies a relatively strong symbolic position in [a given] field" (Prosise, et al., 1996, p. 123, bracketed material added). This is one reason why sources from recognized public institutions as well as from the private sector are so often quoted in news stories (Sigal, 1986, 1973; Roshco, 1975; Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994; Ericson et al., 1989, 1991).

Reporters rely upon the authoritative views of others (Sigal, 1986; Ericson et al., 1991, 1989) – rather than the reporter's own opinion or evaluation – as a primary rhetorical means of convincing readers, viewers or listeners of the veracity of the issue or event being reported. (This is the underlying assumption of the rhetorical view of journalism – that it is a type of speech designed to persuade one to believe in the veracity of issues and events that occur in an objectified, real world (Jensen, 1986; van Dijk, 1988 a & b).

Rhetoric, as Warnick (1996, p. 193) points out, "is a situated practice – situated in the values, presumptions, predispositions, and habits of mind and of a culture." To make an argument is to situate one's rhetoric in the pre-existing values and beliefs of a given culture or sub-culture. Given the often contradictory interests and needs of different community members, when an issue of public importance comes to the community's attention members of the public will align themselves with a variety of competing viewpoints regarding the issue at hand and will argue about its relative merits and faults. The planning for and eventual construction of the WTI incinerator led to just such a community rift. Those who stood to gain employment at the plant or to otherwise benefit economically aligned to support WTI. Those who feared environmental and human health threats or who stood to gain little from the new plant opposed it. When interviewed by reporters, these sources were sought out, and readily offered arguments (main claims) and counter-arguments or responses (counter claims) about why the plant or the science or economics or social import of it was either a boon to the community or an environmental and social threat. These comments were then fashioned into direct and indirect quotes, or presented as Context or Background or (to far lesser degrees) as some other schema category, and collectively formed the thematic bulk of what constituted the story itself.

But before the news media present a story for public consumption, the underlying issues must be recognized as important, and must have been formulated in some initial sense. Schoenfeld et al. (1979, p. 47), utilizing an information-diffusion model, characterize public information flow as evolving from "claims-makers to the communications subsystem and thence to the public and government." Dononhue al. (1973) describe the public information-flow process as occurring in the opposite direction – as a matrix in which issues or problems move from professional, government, and interest-group discussions to journalistic publication, and finally to general-public attention. Tichenor et al. (1980, pp. 110-113) describe it as a series of steps or stages, from that of 'initiation' through, in the last phase, 'legitimation.' Stroudthoff et al. (1986) notes how in environmental issues of public concern, the key initial claims-makers are scientists who study and model the issue, who then publish in professional journals and who finally have their views characterized more generally for the wider public via mass media channels.

These information diffusion models have been criticized, however, as too linear in character and not adequately representative of the rather chaotic, eddy-like flows and counter-flows of discourse and knowledge within a community. In a key theoretical formulation from a more social-constructionist view Hilgartner and Bosk (1988, pp. 54-55) note: "Many problems exist simultaneously in several 'stages' of development...[I]nteractions *among* problems are central to the process of collective definition" (italics in original). Journalists themselves do not necessarily assess in some linear, strictly logical fashion the nature of a public issue from clear-cut positions. Rather, journalists sometimes use their own cognitive and imaginative powers to perceive the

mood of the public, and hinge stories around this perception (Hansen, 1991, citing Lindahl, 1983.) This is an important precursor of the story framing process itself. Lindahl's (1983) finding that journalists themselves sometimes determine the public mood about an issue and thus frame their own perceptions about an issue's importance may help explain why journalists in two different communities may ask different kinds of questions of the same set of sources, thus why reporters may sometimes provide differing accounts of the same news item.

Characterizing the information diffusion process as multilayered and recursive, Hansen (1991) follows the lead of Gamson and Modigliani's (1989) 'parallel systems of meaning production' model, to argue:

> What this allows us to appreciate is that while original claims-making about a social problem may start in one particular forum (notably, in the case of environmental issues, in the science forum), the growth and inflection of such a problem takes place through complex interaction, involving influence and feedback processes, between a number of key fora (Hansen, 1991, p. 448).

Hansen (p. 448) calls attention to the importance of what Krimsky and Plough (1988, p. 298, cited in Hansen, 1991) call "multiple generators of risk information – including non-official sources..." who together with members of more recognized discursive fields (i.e., generally accepted authoritative institutions and representatives of the private sector) create "tangled webs" (Krimsky & Plough, 1988, p. 298) of information encountered by journalists and ultimately, through news stories, encountered by the general reading, listening or viewing public.

The non-official sources in the WTI dispute were the various local protest groups (sometimes referred to in social-movement literature as NGOs, non-governmental

organization sources) whose views were articulated by just a handful of high-profile individuals. One could argue, however, that because these protest groups became so central to forming the nature of the dispute and to the claims-making process, that they actually took on the quality of official rather than non-official sources. It may be more accurate to say, at least in the WTI controversy, that non-official sources were those 'person-on-the-street' types who appeared in stories, albeit very rarely, as a way for journalists to represent the 'common' view of things.

Having briefly fleshed out the basic concepts behind claims-making as a rhetorical and journalistic activity within both individual and institutional information realms, I now offer some examples of both Type 1 (source-centered) and Type 2 (journalist-centered) claims-making. The following excerpts are from same-day stories in the comparative sample formally analyzed for this study. Comparing a same-day story as it was written by the *Review* and also by the *Post-Gazette* will bring out any differences in coverage. The analysis should also help explain how claims and counter-claims are embodied in any single newspaper story within various schema properties and how they are filtered through various sources and (as is the case with Type 2 rhetoric) through journalists and editors themselves.

Type 1 Rhetoric

East Liverpool *Review*, Sept. 24, 1991

Headline: Von Roll is pleased

This story contains three source-based main claims, only one of which is met by a counter-claim. I will present only the main claim and corresponding counter-claim. Although not constituting in this story a claim (argument) itself, it is useful to examine

for a moment the headline accompanying this story because headlines serve as an initial framing and summarization device (Marquez, 1980; Freimuth et al., 1984), anchoring the reader's attention, preparing the reader for whatever subsequent claims may follow. (Headlines sometimes do function as claims, and in such instances are associated with Type 2, newspaper-centered rhetoric, presented as part of the Topic schema category. This type of rhetorical structuring will be examined below.)

By mentioning that Von Roll, the Swedish company that owns the WTI plant, 'is pleased,' the headline rhetorically personifies the corporation (WTI) as if it has the human capacity to 'be pleased.' The headline reifies, or *naturalizes* (Barthes, 1972) WTI as a common-sense category, which the reader can then ideologically appropriate, via this linguistic transformation, not as a corporation but as a person with the capacity to feel ('to be pleased.') Indeed, for Barthes (1972; see especially the section, 'Myth Today'), this linguistic naturalization process is how ideology (which Barthes equates with 'myth') operates in contemporary society. WTI, in this respect, is mythologized, given a natural status. The East Liverpool reporter has transferred the sentiments normally associated with a real person to the entire corporation itself (Russell & Many, 1993), the linguistic and ideological effect of which is to collapse the distinction between corporation and person. The actual entity that is 'pleased' (as the story soon explains) is Von Roll Corp. president Blake Marshall.

As will be seen in other examples, reporters from both papers frequently employ this rhetorical tactic: A WTI spokesperson becomes, magically, WTI; a spokesperson for the international environmental group Greenpeace becomes, by the same act or linguistic transformation, Greenpeace *itself*. A related transformational tactic, as will soon be seen

in reviewing a Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* story (a tactic also mentioned in the previous chapter) is for a reporter to transform the view of one person (one quoted source) into that of many (e.g., a statement of a single individual affiliated with an environmental group is transformed into the more general view of 'environmentalists'.) This technique I lable source 'pluralization.' Now, to a consideration of claims.

The main claim in the *Review* story (from WTI president Marshall) comes in paragraph two (via Verbal Reaction/direct quote) and regards a new scientific study (the results of which are favorable to WTI) about potential plant emissions:

Main Claim: *"We feel the report validates that our emissions will be as low as we say, way below the state limits established by the Environmental Protection Agency," he said.*

Here, Marshall is tying his claim, that WTI will be safe to humans who live near it because scientists say so, to the rhetorical category of scientific authority; to the authority of a scientific report, produced by scientists at the University of Pittsburgh. By mentioning pollution limits established by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Marshall is also calling up the authority of the nation's major regulatory agency, and arguing, implicitly, that the scientific study and EPA regulatory limits are complementary. Here, we witness the claim-and-support structure (van Eemeren et al., 1997) that usually is manifested in claims-making.

Counter-Claim (as Context, Background, Verbal Reaction): *Opposition groups and West Virginia Attorney General Mario Palumbo previously had filed a suit claiming the plant is a health threat, based on "insufficient information regarding pollution," and the new university-conducted report was done in response to concerns expressed in this suit.*

In the above, I have summarized, mostly in my own words, a counter-claim that actually occurs in several paragraphs containing three different schema categories: Context, Background, and Verbal Reaction. The partial quote comes from the actual suit filed by West Virginia Attorney General Palumbo, thus invoking the rhetorical category of Legal authority as an argumentative grounding. But the entire argument also invokes other rhetorical categories, those of science (as the suit would have had to somehow assess the scientific findings pertaining to plant emissions) and of regulatory logic (as it also would have had to take into account relevant regulatory rules and guidelines for incinerator plant operations.) The reporter, in tying this claim together from several separate paragraphs, grounds the statements in the source camp of "opposition groups, and Palumbo."

In the above case, then, we encounter a clearly articulated main claim from WTI's Marshall and (later in the story, and through several paragraphs which together constitute an argument) a counter-claim to Marshall's main argument. Essentially, the counter-argument boils down to: 'The plant is a threat because not enough science has been done to establish that pollution will not be a threat.' This does not directly challenge the new report that WTI's Marshall is praising (regarding the alleged safety of the plant) but the claim/counter-claim structure serves to place into contrast two opposing views: one view (the counter-claim) that some evidence raises health and safety concerns about the plant, and the main claim, that the most recent scientific evidence should resolve these pre-existing concerns.

Same-Day Story: Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, Sept. 24, 1991

Headline: Study by Pitt affiliate calls incinerator safe

The most readily apparent difference between the *Post-Gazette* headline and the previous one from the *Review* is that the former headline places the study, rather than WTI, in subject position. Where the *Review* mythologizes WTI through rhetorical personification as a real, feeling subject 'pleased' at the results of the new study, *the Post-Gazette* calls up the rhetorical authority of science by positioning, as subject, the study itself, having it conclude, essentially, that the incinerator is 'safe,' although this state of affairs has yet to be explained. It is in this sense that headlines always initially summarize events or issues in some over-determined way that usually, but not always, corresponds with the basic theme of the story itself. In this regard, headlines are perhaps the single strongest rhetorical framing device of any available to newspaper journalists.

The *Post-Gazette* headline does not attempt to put any kind of highly interpretive spin on the news – it basically reports the study's conclusion (or rather, interprets what the conclusion is) and ties that conclusion back to the source ('Pitt affiliate.') The news text itself contains a main claim (attributed both to 'environmentalists' and to a quoted environmentalist source, Clare Zitka) and a counter-claim (attributed to Edgar Berkey, president of the Center For Hazardous Materials Research at the University of Pittsburgh, which conducted the emissions study.) The claim and counter-claim all occur within a four-paragraph segment, reproduced below:

Main Claim (Context, embedding an indirect quote): "*Environmentalists at the news conference where the report was released questioned how the researchers could conclude*

that the $140 million incinerator posed no danger when the researchers themselves said the air pollution dispersion study and health study were inadequate."

Verbal Reaction (direct quote): ' *"They're giving their stamp of approval, and they don't have adequate information," said Clare Zitka, Western Pennsylvania organizer for the Clean Water Action Project.'*

Counter-Claim (Verbal Reaction, indirect quote): '*But Berkey said WTI expected to emit such small amounts of air pollution that even if further studies were to change the estimated safety margins by several factors, they would still not show the incinerator to pose any danger.*'

(Context, embedding indirect quote): '*WTI expects to emit less than 10 percent of the toxic pollution levels allowed by environmental regulations, he said, and those regulations were set to be protective of human health and the environment.*'

The most immediate difference in examining the above claim/counter-claim structure is that it reverses the claims-makers, compared to the *Review* story. Whereas the *Review* positioned WTI and, in the story itself, WTI's Marshall as the initial claims-maker, with WTI opponents in defensive rhetorical mode, the *Post-Gazette* article does just the opposite. Here, the opposition is featured as initial claimant, with WTI in response mode.

The *Post-Gazette* reporter refers to two main-claim sources, 'environmentalists' and Zitka, the latter of whom is quoted directly. The main claim itself is the result of two paragraphs; one an indirect-form verbal reaction attributed to 'environmentalists' and used to set up the next paragraph, the direct-quote verbal reaction attributed to Zitka. It appears, at first glance, as if two sources are being quoted; in fact, the reporter (although we cannot be sure of this) has taken Zitka's view and transformed that into the view of

'environmentalists' who were at the press conference; this is an instance of what I have called source pluralization, a rhetorical tactic that secures the 'diversity-of-viewpoint' ideology upon which objective journalism is founded. Except in this case, only one source actually appears in the text representing the environmentalist view, thus the reporter rhetorically induces 'others' (via 'environmentalists') through the language of pluralization.

The indirect-quote part of the claim (attributed to 'environmentalists') is grounded in the rhetorical category of basic 'logic' – the idea that if researchers themselves say pre-existing pollution dispersion information regarding general dispersion patterns in the region is inadequate, how can the information about expected pollution output from WTI logically be said to be 'safe'? This statement from 'environmentalists' (whom never appear *in plural* in the story) sets up the direct quote from Zitka, whose statement simply backs up the previous one, but in more common-sense fashion: 'Scientists are "giving their stamp of approval" without having "adequate information," this information being the inadequate pre-existing studies referred to in the previous set-up paragraph.

From a discourse-analytic perspective, the above example shows how in identifying a claim or argument within a news story one cannot simply look to a single paragraph or to a single source. Because of the narrative method peculiar to journalism, involving the filtering of different types of information in 'discontinuous installments' (van Dijk, 1988 a&b) through discrete schema categories, a claim may be conveyed *collectively*, through more than one paragraph; and these paragraphs do not always occur in sequence, though in the above case one paragraph does follows the next. (In fact, it was rare to encounter such a 'clean' expression of claim and counter-claim in the stories I formally analyzed.)

Moreover, a claim, as noted above, may be tied to more than one source ('pluralized'), even though some sources are invoked only as linguistic phantoms (e.g., the 'environmentalists' referred to but never actually encountered in the *Post-Gazette* story.)

I now focus on another kind of rhetorical claims-making structure centered more directly with the reporter/writer and/or editor, and which I label Type 2 rhetorical framing. This type of rhetorical structure occurs fairly infrequently, comprising about 12 percent of all claims/counter-claims in *Review* stories and about 17 percent in the *Post-Gazette*. But because it differs in notable ways from Type 1, source-centered claims-making, it deserves attention.

Type 2 Rhetoric

The *Evening Review*, Dec. 7, 1992

Headline (front page): **Incinerator Supporters Rally Downtown**
Opponents call marchers the 'pawns of greed'

Though this story contains several claims, I examine only the first, which occurs in the headline itself. The headline contains an ideational portion - the *what* of the news: that supporters held a rally - as well as the information (attributed later in the story to a single opponent, WTI opponent Alonzo Spencer) that 'opponents' believe these pro-WTI forces are greedy. This is a rich example of Type 2 rhetoric, as the headline writer (an editor) clearly summarizes not only what happened but the *significance* of it. The headline writer could have chosen to simply state the ideational fact, that a rally by WTI supporters was held. By going beyond this and including (via attributional pluralization) a reaction by 'opponents' – in fact, only one opponent is actually quoted in the story – the headline frames the story in terms of a rhetoric of conflict. This kind of interpretive significance

can be supplied either by the analytical powers (and often via metaphors) of the reporter or headline writer or, in this case, by simply (and more safely, journalistically speaking) placing two opposing, source-centered information units together to provide an overview of the situational significance.

As we saw in the analysis of Type 1 rhetoric, the headline employs the fairly common tactic of collapsing the view of one person into that of many, a rhetorical move that gives more force to an assertion by making it appear to be a collective viewpoint, when it fact it is only attributed in the story to a single speaker. Technically, this is an inaccuracy. But the rhetorical effect, journalistically, is to make the story appear more credible, as a result helping to accomplish its own generic-rhetorical goal of presenting truthful information in a way that readers will be persuaded to accept *as* a truthful account of reality.

This headline constitutes a *claim* only, not a counter-claim. The claim here is implicit – that those who support WTI are, according to some others ['opponents'] 'pawns of greed.' No counter-claim offered in the headline itself, and WTI supporters are never offered a chance in the story to respond to this claim. This particular claim occurs as part of the Topic schema category, the summarization function stemming from the headline, sometimes in conjunction with (though not in this case) the lead sentence.

Same-Day Story: Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, Dec. 5, 1992

Headline: Rally Supports WTI

Where the *Review* actively constructed a conflictual headline, the *Post-Gazette's* is short and to the point. The story itself, significantly, was only a few paragraphs long, perhaps the result of the fact that the paper was being published in reduced form due to a strike at

the time among news reporters (see explanatory footnote #5, this study). Though the headline sticks to a basic, ideational fact ('Rally Supports WTI'), the story itself, even though just a few paragraphs long, presents one unanswered main claim and another main claim that *is* answered by a counter-claim – all of it as Type 2 rhetoric and all of it without actually quoting a single source.

As was demonstrated in the Type 2 claim presented in the East Liverpool *Evening Review* story, the claims in the Pittsburgh paper's story are, functionally speaking, more implicit, not strictly 'argued for' as sources are more likely to do. The lead sentence (Topic schema category) presents the first (unanswered) main claim:

"*There was another demonstration at the Waste Technologies Industries incinerator in East Liverpool, Ohio, Saturday, but this one was in support of the controversial facility.*"

As part of the lead sentence, this claim contains a specific analysis or significance statement, thus it seems to invoke the narrative (schema) news category of Consequences. Specifically, by pointing out that there was "another" demonstration at WTI..."*but this one*" was held by supporters, not by WTI opponents, the reporter assumes prior knowledge on the reader's part, e.g., that one is already familiar with 'those' protests against the plant, thus that one may be surprised to learn that, this time, the protest was not held by opponents. The interpretive claim made, then, is – again, implicitly – that the writer believes it is unusual for WTI supporters to protest because this is usually the province of plant opponents.

This claim works less as an argument in the strictest sense -- presenting a clear claim and support structure -- than as a kind of rhetorical coloring, a claim for the reader's attention to something new and interesting. In this way the reporter calls on one of the

more popular news values (Hough, 1988) - *novelty* - to make a point rather than to simply report that something (a rally) *occurred.* This is the hallmark of Type 2 rhetoric – it is journalist-centered, though it always invokes sources as a rhetorical support or otherwise utilizes source-based information that is then actively interpreted for the writer's own rhetorical purposes.

The remaining three sentences read: "*About 100 people, members of Citizens for Progress, marched and rallied to express their support for WTI on the grounds that the new incinerator creates jobs and has a positive impact on the Ohio Valley. The WTI plant has been the site of numerous protests by people who believe it poses a health risk. About 120 anti-incinerator demonstrators have been arrested in recent weeks.*" In this account the reporter summarizes the positions of others but does not actually quote anyone directly or indirectly. The rhetorical claims-making structure, while emanating from the perceived 'positions' of opposing sources, actually appears as reporter-centered summarization and analysis. While there are echoes here of indirect quotation (which *characterizes* rather than presents directly the actual views of sources) the rhetorical work is actually accomplished in the first sentence by Context, in the second by the schema category of History (a category only rarely encountered), and in the third and final sentence via Background.

The claim and counter-claim occur as a function of all three sentences, essentially (in my own paraphrasing) as follows:

Main Claim (as Context): Citizens for Progress supports WTI because ("on the grounds that") it will create jobs and have a beneficial ("positive") impact on the community.

Counter-Claim (as History and Background): But other people have demonstrated against the plant in recent weeks (and about 120 have even been arrested), contending the plant is dangerous to humans ("poses a health risk").

The essential point is that while neither argument nor counter-argument is very convincing as well-formed, detailed, logical argumentation, both the claim and counter-claim do qualify as arguments. They both contain a claim-and-support structure (van Eemeren et al., 1997). WTI supporters are rallying because they want to make the point that the plant, in their view, will bring progress and prosperity to the community. Their opponents have held their own rallies to argue, in essence, not opposite points but a different point: that the plant will endanger humans. The rhetorical claims-making activity engaged in by the newspaper itself, rather than appearing through specifically quoted sources (as in Type 1 rhetoric), occurs in the guise of reporter summarization. As such, it not only presents an argument and counter-argument in very compact form but pitches it in microcosmic form as a rhetorical conflict, one that can be easily reduced to two basic, differing positions.

What I hope the above excerpts show is how, when news stories involve claims-making (argumentation), reporters call into service various schema categories that serve different narrative purposes. At the readership level, these narrative purposes make a story cognitively intelligible (van Dijk, 1993, 1991b, 1988a&b, 1985a&b, 1983; Kintsch & van Dijk, 1978). The schema categories are tied either directly to source material (as in Type 1 Rhetoric) as a way of presenting a claim or counter-claim - and most often through Verbal Reaction (direct and/or indirect quotes) - or are tied (in Type 2 rhetoric) to the reporters' and editors' own story-telling logics, via summarizing, analyzing or

otherwise recharacterizing and actively interpreting source-generated material. As will be seen in forthcoming story samples, some news stories mix both Type 1 and Type 2 rhetorical patterns to present claims and counter-claims. In the next part of the chapter, I turn to general, quantitative patterns of claims-making in both papers.

The analysis of claims-making from the perspective of how sources posed arguments and counter-arguments, and how the newspapers themselves filtered these claims through the schematic narrative properties of news discourse is, by definition, a study of the rhetorical workings of journalism as a discourse devoted to the 'veridical' (Greimas, 1990), to crafting a truthful account of reality (van Dijk, 1988a&b; Jensen, 1986).

RHETORICAL PATTERNS IN BOTH NEWSPAPERS

I. Claims & Counter-Claims, Exclusive of Sources or Schemas

I first examine the frequency of claims and counter-claims in all stories exclusive of source or schema connections. **Table 1** shows the total number of claims and counter-claims presented in the 74 news articles formally analyzed for this study. The primary finding here is that both papers presented more claims than counter-claims, although the *Post-Gazette* was somewhat more balanced in this regard (roughly a 2-to-1 claim-to-counter-claim ratio) more often matching a claim with a corresponding counter-claim. The *Review's* ratio in this regard was closer to 3 claims for every counter-claim. Both papers provided unbalanced coverage if judged by how often a claim was met with an opposing argument. The vast majority of stories in both papers featured at least one claim.[15]

[15] Rarely did a story contain no claims at all. Only 3 of the 37 *Review* stories and 4 of the 37 *Post-Gazette* stories were devoid of any claims.

Table 1
Total Main Claims versus Counter-Claims
[N = 74; 37 same-day stories, both papers]

East Liverpool *Review*:		%	Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*	%
Claims:	82	72	53	64
Counter-Claims:	32	28	30	36
Total N =	114		83	

A "perfect" score would be reflected in a 50/50 split between claims and counter-claims, meaning in any article each claim would be met by a counter-claim. Using this idealized perspective as a measure of newspaper bias, imbalance, or fairness (themselves idealized terms), we can conclude that both papers leaned heavily toward presenting primary claims, without consistently matching them with counter-claims. The *Post-Gazette* was only slightly more likely than the *Review* to match a claim with a counter-claim, but neither paper came close to a 50/50 match. It is interesting to note, however, that while the *Review* presented a much higher total number of claims and counter claims, it presented only two more counter-claims (32) than did the *Post-Gazette* (30). This measure is indicative of more balance in the latter paper when judged by the matching of claims and counter-claims.

Inasmuch as journalism's objectivity code requires that a charge or contention (a claim) made by one source be matched against a counter-charge or response from a source with a differing view (Condit & Selzer, 1985, p. 212), then comparing the number of claims versus counter-claims within both newspapers' stories on the WTI controversy provides a rough assessment of balance.[16] It is a rough assessment because it tracks only

[16] I do not mean to imply that some measure of balance, even if we were convinced of the reliability of any such measure, leads us to conclude that a story is 'objective' to the degree that we find some acceptable

the number of claims and counter-claims presented in news articles – *not* the number and relative proportion of different source types presented across articles; that information is taken up in Chapter 3. (A truer measure of balance must, among other things, take into account the relative proportions of both source-type frequencies *and* claim/counter-claim occurrence across stories, not to mention how the story is presented thematically: how it is framed to project a certain view of reality.) While any same-day issue covered by both newspapers I examined may have resulted in two stories that both had the same or close to the same number and type of sources, and which therefore would be relatively 'balanced' in those terms, it is important to note that any particular source may make more than one claim in any given story. It was not uncommon to find a single source making three or four claims in a story, though typically each source tended much more often to make just one. It should also be recalled that the newspaper itself will sometimes make claims or counter-claims by virtue of the reporter's/editor's own assessment and analysis of a given issue, occurring either in the text or in the headline, or both, and often via the Topic schema category.

In general terms, counting the number of claims and counter-claims does give us a qualified measure of story balance in terms of how reporters attributing a position to one source strove to obtain a view from another source who might offer a counter-position. With the above qualifications in mind, **Table 1** demonstrates that the *Post-Gazette* (with a 64 percent main-claim occurrence) was generally more balanced in terms of the number of claims and counter-claims than was the *Review* (with a 72 percent main-claim

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level of 'evenness' in viewpoints or sources. Balance and objectivity are very much in the eye of the beholder. [See Anderson (1997) for an excellent overview and critique of notions of journalistic objectivity

occurrence). Both framed their stories more from the viewpoint of claims-makers, without consistently placing responses (counter-claims) into stories. Looked at another way, however, the imbalance becomes more pronounced. In its 37 stories, the *Post-Gazette* presented 77% more claims than counter-claims (53 claims versus 30 counter-claims), while the *Review* presented about two-and-a-half times as many claims (157% more) than counter-claims (82 versus 32.)

Turning now to specific sources – those either For, Against, or Neutral – in relationship to their respective views on the WTI incinerator, the above claim/counter-claim patterns are given more substance. Linking claims-making to sources tells us which kinds of sources were more often placed into the primary assertion mode and which were more often depicted in response position.[17]

Table 2
Source-Use Patterns Linked to Main Claims
[N=74; 37 same-day stories, each paper]

East Liverpool *Review*: (Main Claims)			Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*: (Main Claims)	
For:	14	[19%]	12	[26%]
Against:	51	[71%]	29	[62%]
Neutral:	7	[10%]	6	[13%]
Total =	72		47	

Table 2 shows that in both papers, WTI opposition [Against sources] were featured strongly as the ones making primary (main) claims; of all main claims in the *Review*, nearly three-quarters (71%) came from Against sources, while nearly two-thirds of all

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and related notions of balance, fairness and bias. Hackett (1984) provides probably the most thoroughly sustained review and many-sided critique of competing concepts of news media bias.]

[17] The total number of source-related claims and counter-claims is somewhat smaller than the total numbers of claims and counter-claims exclusive of sources. This is because a single source, in any given article,

main claims in the *Post-Gazette* (62%) stemmed from Against sources. Comparing these figures with the previous **Table 1** on claim and counter-claim use exclusive of source connections, we can see that the comparative figures are quite close. Of the 114 claims and counter-claims in *Review* stories in **Table 1**, 72 percent were main claims, while **Table 2** shows that 71 percent of main-claimants were Against (WTI opposition) sources. In the *Post-Gazette*, main claims made up 64 percent of all claims in **Table 1**, while 62 percent of all sources making a main claim were those with views opposing (Against) WTI [**Table 2**]. What these comparative results show, then, is that *both papers framed stories from the point of view of opposition sources challenging WTI.* Both papers presented a conflict or challenge frame, the *Review* moreso than the *Post-Gazette*. The comparative figures also demonstrate that in most stories the Against sources offered roughly one claim per source.

The *Review* presented more source-connected main claims [N=72] than did the *Post-Gazette* [N=47], and of these, just under one in five [19%] came from For sources (those favoring the plant), while in the *Post-Gazette* about 26 percent of main-claimants were For sources.

Table 2 shows that the *Review* presented nearly four times [N=51] as many Against sources in a claims-making or 'challenge' position as it did For sources [N=14] making claims. By comparison, the *Post-Gazette* was much more balanced; it presented only about twice as many Against sources (N=29) as it did For sources (N=12) in main-claim positions. This finding lends contextual depth to fact of the anti-WTI sources' pervasive

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may make more than one claim. So, for example, when the same Against source presents three claims in a single article, each claim is counted as a "main claim," but the source is counted only once.

presence in news stories (detailed in Chapter 3), in terms of their much greater frequency, than either their Pro or Neutral counterparts, in actually being positioned in stories as the central claims-makers. Recall that not everything a source says qualifies as a claim; some source quotes are either purely informational, or oftentimes valuational, the latter being highly charged with emotion and an 'attitude' toward a situation but not counting as an argumentative claim, as what Brummett (1994, citing Postman, 1985) calls an 'expositional' statement.

Generally speaking, Neutral sources are those representing regulatory agencies such as the U.S. EPA or local, regional and state environmental authorities; less often, politicians and public attorneys and (especially in the case of Legal-frame stories) judges representing state and local interests. While they may present forceful claims or counter-claims from their own respective institutional positions given a particular issue at hand, their formal/institutional role as 'guardians of the public trust' makes them duty-bound to maintain neutrality on the basic question of their support for or opposition to WTI. Strictly speaking, an institutional source's personal view on WTI (even if it could be gleaned) is irrelevant. From a public policy perspective their only legitimate role is to offer institutionally grounded views on policy matters over which they have some power to control. It is this sense, only, that sources are categorized as Neutral in this study.

Both For and Against sources offer strong views on the relative merits or faults of WTI, and these claims often touch on very personal matters, such as an opponent's view of the moral worth of WTI, or a WTI spokesperson's view of the legitimacy of an opponent's concerns, or of an opposition group's protest tactics. As the next chapter will show, both For and Against sources engage in much broader rhetorical arguments,

overall, than do regulatory and public-policy (Neutral) sources, given this basic difference in what we might think of as a kind of *rhetorical freedom.*

With respect to main claims, **Table 2** shows that Neutral sources accounted for very few of them, just 10 percent of all main claims in the *Review* and 13 percent in the *Post-Gazette*. As the next table, **Table 3,** pertaining to counter-claim patterns demonstrates, both papers depicted Neutral sources more prominently as *respondents* to main claims, to the challenges that were made primarily by WTI sources. Those working against WTI, as discourse analyses of news stories revealed, often challenged not just WTI but the legal, regulatory and political rulings and actions of Neutral sources. At other times pro-WTI sources would also take on, through claims-making, the regulatory and policy initiatives or rulings of Neutral sources. For these reasons Neutral sources were typically cast in a 'response' rather than a claims-making (challenger) position.

Table 3 verifies the fact that For sources (those supporting the aims of WTI) were frequently placed in a response position to challenges made by Against sources. Exactly half of all counter-claims in *Review* stories were made by pro-WTI (For) sources, while these sources accounted for more than half (56%) of all counter-claims in the *Post-Gazette*.

Table 3

Sources Tied to Counter-Claims

***Review*:** (Counter-Claims)	[n=26]	%	***Post-Gazette*:** (Counter-Claims)	[n=27]	%
For:	13	[50%]		15	[56%]
Against:	7	[27%]		5	[19%]
Neutral:	6	[23%]		7	[26%]

Compared to For sources, Against and Neutral sources were much less likely in both newspapers to be cast in the position of defending themselves against charges made by Against sources. Neutral sources were depicted as making counter-claims about a fourth of the time, on average, in both papers, while Against sources were depicted in a defense mode 27 percent in the *Review* to 19 percent in the *Post-Gazette*. In other words, Neutral and Against sources were on the defense about equally in the *Review*, while in *the Post-Gazette*, Neutral sources were depicted as the group somewhat more in response mode than Against sources.

Table 4 combines all claims and counter-claims in both papers, linking them to different source types. This gives us the broadest picture of who was allowed to speak most often, at least with respect to claims-making pertaining to the WTI incinerator controversy. Tying sources to claims and counter-claims is targeted at identifying *which sources were in control of the debate*, rather than, as the analysis of direct/indirect-quotation through verbal reaction in Chapter 4 showed, simply who had a greater opportunity to speak, regardless of whether the quotation involved a formal claim or counter-claim.

The existence of an oppositional "challenge" or conflict frame in news stories, especially in the *Review*, is more clearly demonstrated by the combined analysis of claims/counter-claims generation vis-à-vis' differential source use:

Table 4

Source Main Claim & Counter-Claim Totals and Percent

Review:		***Post-Gazette:***	
For:	**27 [28%]**	**For:**	**27 [36%]**
Against:	**58 [59%]**	**Against:**	**34 [46%]**

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Neutral:	**13 [13%]**	**Neutral:**	**13 [18%]**
Total =	**98**	**Total =**	**74**

Combining all source-related claims (main claims and counter-claims) and tying them to different source-types reveals that the *Review* presented more total source-connected claims and counter-claims (32% more, N=98) than did the *Post-Gazette* (N=74). This itself is explained, in part, by the fact that the *Review* quoted more total sources, on average, per story (about 3.3 sources for all 37 same-day stories; or 122 total For, Against, and Neutral sources) than did the *Post-Gazette*, at about 2.4 sources per story (88 For, Against, and Neutral, total.) And as **Table 1** in this chapter has already shown, the *Review* presented more total claims and counter-claims (N=114) than did the *Post-Gazette* (N=83) in covering the same-day issues and events. (Again, this is a larger number than the source-linked claims and counter-claims, because a single source making more than one claim in any story is counted only once in a given story.)

The relevance of **Table 4** is that it shows that well over half (59%) of all claims and counter-claims in *Review* stories came from Against sources, as opposed to 46% for the same category in the *Post-Gazette*. Read another way, the *Review* placed Against sources in all claims-making positions 28 percent more often than did the *Post-Gazette* (59 percent versus 46 percent, respectively.) On the other hand, the *Post-Gazette* placed For sources in claims-making positions (either making a claim or responding to one) about 29 percent more often than did the *Review* (36 percent versus 28 percent, respectively.) Both papers gave Neutral sources the chance to make a claim or answer one at roughly the same rate (13% for the *Review* and 18 % for the *Post-Gazette*.) While both papers

favored anti-WTI sources as chief claims-makers, the *Review* more strongly positioned the Against speakers in this conflict role.

Once again, in judging the relative 'balance' of source-based claims, the *Post-Gazette* comes out as the generally more even-handed newspaper. For example, while the *Post-Gazette* featured about 26 percent more Against than For sources attached to both main and counter-claims [34 versus 27] within its own stories, the *Review* presented more than twice [115%] as many Against sources than it did For sources [58 versus 27.]

Conclusions on Sources and Claims

In general, the conclusion drawn from the above analyses of differential source-use patterns, as linked to the important activity of claims-making, is revealing for both the similarities and differences its unveils between the small-town *Review* and the big-city *Post-Gazette*. To the extent that a 'balance' of sources and viewpoints is seen as an important element in presenting a controversy, the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* is the more balanced. The larger newspaper, about 40 miles from East Liverpool, presented a more even-handed presentation of differing views - when judged by the presence of a relative balance between source types - than did its small-town cousin reporting the story within the very town where the more than decade-long environmental controversy took place. While it is probably unreasonable to expect any newspaper to engage in perfectly balanced sourcing when writing about a highly contentious issue, an attention to relative balance must, in my view, be a consideration in any estimation of newspaper quality, in terms of the value of *fairness*. The presence of a source in a story means more than just the inclusion of an individual, personalized viewpoint. As Sigal (1986, p. 14) writes: "As

a matter of journalistic convention, identifiable individuals stand for groups, institutions, and values in the polity. Persons symbolize the impersonal in the news."

A more balanced story, however, does not necessarily mean a more objective story, because the way a story is framed, the sequence of source presentation, the inclusion of photographs, and even a single word or phrase used by a reporter in a particular manner – all of these can give to any story a certain rhetorical quality that will seem to "favor" one side over another. The attempt in this study to document both quantitative rhetorical patterns and (in forthcoming chapters) qualitative, interpretive aspects of news stories through discourse analysis is an effort to document this panoply of factors that collectively constitute the news story.

Balance implies, for some (Merritt, 1996), a kind of reportorial blandness or even a bowing-down-to established, institutional power holders. The argument could be made that the *Review*, by presenting more oppositional sources and more claims made by them, and thus being less balanced than was the *Post-Gazette*, was nonetheless accurately reflecting the highly contentious sentiments of many in the small town who live near the plant site and who expressed fears about perceived (even if not always well-documented) human health risks from the hazardous-waste operation. From this perspective, the *Review* was simply doing its job of accurately reflecting community sentiment. The *Post-Gazette*, one might also venture, because it was further removed from the action, paid more attention to striking a balance between various competing sources. Was the *Post-Gazette* more objective than the *Review*, given the former's greater source balance? I leave this as a rhetorical question and hope in the concluding chapter to offer some informed speculations on this question and other related questions.

If for now we restrict ourselves to an evaluation of numerical source and claims-making 'balance,' then the conclusion is that the *Post-Gazette* was more even-handed in projecting the WTI controversy through sources and associated claims. With regard to Tichenor, Donohue and Olien's social-structural theory, the sourcing patterns in this chapter (in light of claims-making activity) should be considered in light of more general sourcing patterns presented in Chapter 3. On this score, the small-town *Review* – Tichenor et al.'s (1980) 'consensual,' conflict-suppressing newspaper – was *more rather than less conflict-oriented* than was the bigger-city, 'conflict-natured' newspaper in Pittsburgh. But as subsequent chapters involving further discourse analyses of news articles will show, one must temper this conclusion - that the *Review* was actually more conflictual in its WTI coverage than was the *Post-Gazette*. Textual elements that emerged in the analysis of both newspapers, such as the manner in which claims were presented or how certain words were framed by reporters, provide some countervailing evidence that the *Review's* discursive style and tone in presenting the WTI conflict was perhaps more guarded than was that of its big-city counterpart.

Only a close reading of articles can answer questions of a specifically textual nature. But journalism is a sociological phenomenon, as well. Reporters work within defined communities and are therefore constrained to varying degrees by the historical, social and cultural forces in those communities. This is a central, theoretical insight of Tichenor et al. (1980) that strongly informs the present study. Before turning to a more textual/narrative-centered analysis of the comparative news stories about WTI, I offer in the next several pages some insight on how journalists from both newspapers who actually covered the WTI story saw their professional, journalistic role. I present this

information at this juncture because reporter/source interaction is so central to understanding the nature of news discourse. The interview data provide contextual grounding for understanding the WTI news stories as text, and also help shed light on the issue of sourcing and source-selection.

II. A Reflection on News Sourcing: A View from Different Journalists

Journalists are keenly aware of their "local" audience, albeit this awareness is, to a certain degree, a reflection of an imagined community for which they produce stories. There is evidence that journalists actually write with their professional peers in mind (Breed, 1955; Darnton, 1975), rather than a specific audience per se. Still, every reporter knows that a story must have some local impact to be seen as newsworthy. This awareness may contribute to the framing of different sorts of questions journalists ask of sources.

Sources themselves are obviously aware of the different media markets in which their views will circulate, of the different kinds of publics to which they offer claims and counter-claims. My own findings show, for example, that regardless of whether they were for, against, or neutral on WTI, sources appearing in *Review* stories tended to align themselves with more moral, scientific, and economically based arguments (among others), while *Post-Gazette* source claims and counter-claims were affiliated more with legal, regulatory, and health-oriented perspectives. (These different claims-making perspectives are what I call Rhetorical Categories, which I explore in Chapter 6, especially aspects of how these persuasive categories help bolster the authority of claims and counter-claims.)

The differences already discussed pertaining to the two newspapers' sourcing patterns and, as a result, relative story balance based upon source-presentation, may in part result

from differing story-telling interests on the part of reporters, and thus from different issue-oriented questions that a reporter may decide is pertinent to the community within which he or she works. Journalism story-telling and theme selection involve a constant give-and-take between sources and reporters. Indeed, deciding what is 'news' is in large part determined by what sources do and say (Sigal, 1986, 1973; Roshco, 1975; Ericson, et al., 1991, 1989; Arno, 1984; Tuchman, 1978, 1972; Fishman, 1980; Singer & Endreny, 1987, 1986; Dailey & O'Neill, 1991; Powers & Fico, 1993; Lipari, 1996; Durham, 1998; Massey, 1998). "News is not what happens, but what someone says has happened or will happen" (Sigal, 1986, p. 15). What becomes the central theme of the story, and what kinds of claims and counter-claims are made, is to a very large degree the result of an interactive, recursive process between sources and reporters (Chibnall, 1977; Ericson et al. 1989; Tichenor et al., 1980; Donohue et al., 1995; Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994; Tuchman, 1972; Anderson, 1997), but with sources themselves most often being in the guiding role of issue development.

Reporters often do not experience actual events (fires, murders, thefts, etc.) first hand, but rather through what authorities say happened, thus reporter's are automatically provided schemes of relevance within which to frame events (Fishman, 1980). And much of what gets written about is not an event at all but – as was so often the case in the WTI controversy – an issue relating to policy, the environment, or other intellectual domains. Even in covering an event, such as a protest, reporters "feel bound by convention to report what sources say has occurred rather than to venture, at least explicitly, their own version of the event" (Sigal, 1986, p. 15). Moreover, any particular journalist reacts to an issue with respect to his or her own news interests vis-à-vis the impact and importance a

given issue is perceived to have within the journalist's community, and with an awareness of how any story fits into the much-hallowed news values: timeliness, proximity, prominence, drama, novelty, and impact or importance (Hough, 1988). Recall that Lindhal (1983) maintains reporters also attempt to sense the 'mood' of a community on a given issue when attempting to construct a framework of interpretation, and this may well be 'mixed in' with an ongoing assessement of any story's news-value potential.

As a way to gain insight into the connection between journalist and community influences on reporting and, particularly, source selection, I offer some findings from in-depth interviews with reporters who actually wrote most of the WTI stories appearing in the East Liverpool *Review* and Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*. Their views about how they interacted with various sources and, more generally, the presentation of how they 'saw' the WTI controversy as a news story, is an attempt to shed light on the source/journalist interaction with respect to how these this phenomenon is shaped strongly by social structure.

In-Depth Interview Data[18]

That a heady tone of conflict, one that would lead to a sustained "challenge" frame in news stories, was established early on is evidenced by *Post-Gazette* reporters' remarks about a high-profile protest in East Liverpool, in June 1991. Both Sharon Voas and Don Hopey of the *Post-Gazette* agreed that the appearance in June 1991 of actor Martin Sheen

[18] All interviews were conducted separately between March 17-23, 1998. They were all conducted by telephone, and notes were taken by hand. Four journalists -- two each from both papers -- were interviewed, with each interview lasting about an hour. Similar questions were asked of all journalists to establish basic comparative positions on various matters pertaining to their views of covering the WTI story. But I purposely allowed each to veer in fairly open directions, so as to get a richer, more natural sense of their own reality in covering the story. The four journalists are: Sharon Voas and Don Hopey of the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, and Milt Klopfer and Dennis Wise of the East Liverpool *Review*. Klopfer now

in East Liverpool, where he led the first of two WTI protests he would be involved with – and for which he and others would be tried in court on trespassing charges – riveted attention to the WTI story in general. Voas said she wasn't even sure where East Liverpool was before this.

"The public interest flew up after Martin Sheen went there," Voas, 42, said. "That very much prompted people to be opposed. That drew the public interest. I think possibly the size of the demonstration [several hundred people] would have prompted a significant rise in public opposition. It certainly helped that Sheen was there. And when you hear Greenpeace is involved, then it's important." Here we see a specific acknowledgment of a reporter from outside the community where the news is happening, making decisions about newsworthiness based upon the news values of prominence, importance and drama. Prior to this, proximity (rather, the lack of it) was an issue working against Voas' interest in the WTI story. Before this June 1991 protest led by Sheen, Voas said she had "gotten calls about one rally there. I asked the person, 'How far away is it'?"

Hopey, who previously had written stories on WTI for the now-defunct Pittsburgh *Press*, also said Sheen's presence reduced the concern about the WTI story being 40 miles away, well outside of the paper's main circulation area: "It was not insignificant that people like Martin Sheen were involved. It probably cranked up interest – that a mid-level movie star got involved. It's easier to get a story in the *Post-Gazette* saying 'Sheen is arrested' rather than '10 people from East Liverpool were arrested'." Clearly, the prominence of a well-known personality motivated *Post-Gazette* reporters to pay attention.

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works for another newspaper, and Wise has left journalism altogether. Voas and Hopey are still at the *Post-*

The fact that Sheen's presence would draw a larger-than-usual crowd was also important in determining the newsworthiness of the event. Milt Klopfer, formerly of the *Review*, remarked on this point: "It's a lot more exciting to cover a protest with 200 people instead of 20." Both East Liverpool *Review* reporters interviewed in the present study – Klopfer, and Dennis Wise – had been covering the story all along, so Sheen's appearance in town, while certainly a major event, did not serve to initiate routine coverage, as it did in the *Post-Gazette*. For the *Post-Gazette*, the element of conflict heightened by a prominent person leading the charge elevated the East Liverpool waste incinerator issue from its earlier marginal status to an item of more routine coverage. The *Post-Gazette* would go on to produce 107 stories between June 1991 and October 1993. The *Review*, on the other hand, had been covering WTI since at least 1981. In just the three-year period examined in this study - 1991 through October 1993 - the *Review* produced 282 WTI related stories. The essential difference here, then, is in the simple physical fact of proximity: The WTI story was an important local item for the *Review*, which since produced (by my count) 315 stories on the issue between 1981 through October 1993. But the WTI issue was never more than of regional interest for *the Post-Gazette*, 40 miles east in Pittsburgh. The *Post-Gazette* had run wire stories on WTI previous to June 1991, and the *Pittsburgh Press* had covered it sporadically. But it was Sheen's appearance in East Liverpool that elevated the story to regional and even national status, as wire services also reported it.

Reporters from the two papers, then, given their differing audience markets or, in Tichenor et al.'s (1980) terms, differing social structures, therefore 'saw' the same story

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Gazette.

in a somewhat different way. This fact alone has major implications for how a reporter views the relative importance of a story, as well as for which sources will be called into service and which type of questions will be asked. The news story is a result, in large part, of just this proximal matrix of interaction.

While at the *Pittsburgh Press*, before moving over to the *Post-Gazette*, Hopey recalls that his editor was "not that enamored of the WTI story." This indicates that in a town 40 miles away, a journalist could choose whether something not in its main coverage area, WTI, even qualified as a story. (According to circulation spokespersons I contacted, the *Post-Gazette* sells only about 200 subscription copies of its paper every Sunday in East Liverpool; they indicated no daily subscriptions, though "rack" (street) sales of the paper are common in East Liverpool.)

In East Liverpool, WTI was an inescapable fact; a reporter could not choose *not* to cover the story. This is an obvious but important fact relevant to how a reporter can even initially conceive, cognitively, of a story.

Dennis Wise, who covered WTI for the then-afternoon *Review* in the early 1990s, said his paper "would look at things from an entirely different angle" than would either the *Post-Gazette* or even the *Review's* more immediate competition, the county-circulated *Morning Journal.* Because the *Journal*, as a morning paper, would report events earlier in the day than the *Review*, which at that time was an afternoon paper, Wise said the *Review* attempted to present news already reported in the *Journal* or elsewhere from the perspective of, as Wise put it, "What's it mean."

As for the *Post-Gazette's* WTI coverage, Wise said: "The basic difference is that theirs was further removed -- I won't say more objective. They'd have outside sources we didn't

have, because it [a particular issue] left our local interest level...They'd concentrate more on things like the background of Greenpeace, where we'd concentrate more on local people, or WTI people. I think WTI people weren't as leery of us, as opposed to the outside papers." What Wise is describing is the proximal, materially based difference between two news markets and the attendant realities that impinge upon not only how and what one covers but how one even conceives of the journalist's *role*.

Milt Klopfer, the other *Review* reporter who had covered WTI, said he recalls that unlike the *Review*, the *Post-Gazette* "did not cover it every day, not everything relating to it. They had an opportunity to issue a couple of special reports on it – gathering up everything and printing it in a more organized fashion; more the *science*, and [they] had access [to other kinds of sources]." At the *Review*, just having enough reporters to fill the daily news hole was an ongoing reality, Klopfer said: "I think staffing was our main concern."

At the *Post-Gazette,* Hopey's qualified journalistic interest in WTI reflects a more relaxed quality, that of a journalist being able to pick and choose his news stories more carefully: "I thought it had a lot of interesting angles, even though it was not exactly in our interest area. The Ohio River starts there, and [the plant] is on the banks of the Ohio River. I looked at the grassroots opposition, the different technology [being used by WTI], the danger of the hazardous waste incinerator, the risks involved, the closeness to an elementary school. I think I decided on the basis of what I thought would be of interest to our readers locally, as opposed to readers down there. I didn't do much 'inside baseball.' I looked at more feature and in-depth stuff, things that would advance the

debate...I didn't cover every demonstration, or every bit of regulatory news, and hoped I was getting enough information from all sides."

As for interactions with WTI sources, the *Review's* Wise paints a picture of an almost interpersonal relationship: "We could see them on the street or at lunch, and maybe have a sandwich and sit down and talk with them." A similar interaction occurred with WTI opposition groups: "It was nothing to be able to meet one of them on the street or at a local [press] conference. Greenpeace was setting up shop at different [local] locations, and they'd generally contact us." Klopfer, the other *Review* reporter, also mentioned "a great deal of interaction, particularly with the involvement of Greenpeace. They were able to coordinate activities...usually more so than the [WTI] proponents. Greenpeace was very diligent about Faxing us press releases and things of that nature."

While Klopfer said the *Review* had "more access" to WTI sources simply because the *Review* was (physically) "closer" than was the *Post-Gazette*, he also mentioned that his interaction with WTI sources was "generally...through a public relations spokesperson; sometimes we'd go through the general manager. So it makes for a different kind of relationship, mostly by telephone...They would give us press releases, but I don't recall them doing it as frequently" as the opposition groups, he said.

Hopey of the *Post-Gazette* said he "didn't develop sources so much as contact sources in those areas where I needed them," and agreed that it generally "was much easier to get information from citizens groups [opponents]" than from WTI. Hopey dealt mainly with WTI "spokespersons," he said, one of whom -- Carol Cookerly -- was stationed with a PR agency "in Atlanta, talking about what's going on in Ohio." Hopey said the opponents, as sources, "were not only more motivated to get the message out, they had three, four, or

five people in citizens groups able and willing to act as spokesmen on any given day. They were definitely more forthcoming. They had everything to gain by getting their position in the paper. The company [WTI] was sometimes forthcoming and sometimes not, the same as the state and federal governments." On the question of source interaction, the *Post-Gazette's* Voas recounted, "I don't recall WTI's PR especially being as stirring as that of the opposition, and certainly not as frequent." (It should be noted that Voas covered far fewer WTI stories for the *Post-Gazette* than did Hopey, who wrote probably 90 percent of them.)

We can see from the above comments by reporters from both papers that social-structural differences – differences in media markets – led to differences in how reporters from the small town and big city conceived of the importance and overall news value of the WTI controversy, and had a direct influence on their actual interaction with sources. The greater direct interaction between *Review* reporters and local opposition sources – and, possibly, the greater number of opposition sources available to *Review* reporters – may help explain why the small-town paper, contrary to Tichenor et al.'s main thesis (1980), actually featured more sources projecting an oppositional tone into the stories than was the case in the *Post-Gazette*. In this regard the small-town paper was *more*, not less conflict-oriented than was the bigger-city publication. The *Post-Gazette's* more distanced relationship (mainly, via telephone contacts) to the 'story' itself – and, especially, less immediate access to and thus interaction with sources – may have, somewhat ironically, actually led to *more* balance in terms of source-use patterns.

There is another difference between the *Review* and *Post-Gazette* reporters that is less socially structured in orientation, and more an individual phenomenon: Both *Post-Gazette*

reporters are somewhat better educated than are the *Review* reporters – Voas has a master's degree, Hopey has done some graduate work – and both characterize themselves as science/environmental journalists who appear to have more time to reflect on their craft. The two *Review* reporters, while having covered WTI and other environment stories, were general-assignment reporters; given the staff of no more than five reporters at the *Review*, they could hardly be anything else. The *Post-Gazette's* Voas has a master's degree in journalism from Columbia University, and she began nine years ago at the *Post-Gazette*, specifically as an environmental reporter with science and medical coverage duties, as well. "I'm a science reporter," Voas said, "and I don't base [my stories] on what someone *says*." For this reason, Voas said, she eventually became wary of some of what the opponents would say about WTI, seeing especially Greenpeace's actions and statements as "attention-getting" tactics rather than as consistently good, scientifically based information.

"I got all the best studies I could find," she remarked, "talked to the top researchers I could find. From that research, I came away with dioxin not being much of a threat -- and that's what Greenpeace and others put forward as being a problem." When Voas brought such research to light in WTI stories she was, in the eyes of WTI opponents, "considered someone in the vilification camp, 'cause I'd reported the research. They thought I was the enemy at that point."

The *Post-Gazette's* Hopey, 46, has 21 years of journalism experience, much of it involving environmental reporting, six of those years (as of 1998) at the *Post-Gazette*. He majored in political science as a college undergraduate and did some graduate work at Penn State University. He produced an investigative series on WTI and similar

hazardous-waste plants in March of 1992 -- something the *Review* staff never managed to produce in its much longer history of reporting on the issue. Hopey's view is that he covered WTI with an eye, as already mentioned, to 'advancing the debate,' an indication of a more nuanced, analytical approach. "I tried to put what happened in a historical context. I'd look at what was going on at other [incineration] plants, and educate myself about the whole situation." There were always, of course, "space limits" regardless of the depth with which he might want to report an issue, "especially with stories like this that are not in our [immediate] circulation area. But it was controversial enough, even though it was 30 or 40 miles away, that the editors realized the news value of it."

Dennis Wise, 43, formerly of the *Review*, has a bachelor's degree in technical communication, "nothing terribly scientific," he noted. He said he typically would write "at least two stories a day" for the *Review*, hardly an atmosphere conducive to reflection and nuance in any particular story. As a six-day-a-week daily publication (no Sundays), the *Review* (which only in the last year has become a morning paper) has little opportunity, as a newspaper, to do the longer, investigative pieces typically associated with Sunday papers "There was always a big push, always a lot of pressure, being an afternoon paper," Wise remarked.

Former *Review* reporter Milt Klopfer, 31, who was at the paper from 1992 until 1994, said he, too, usually wrote "two or three stories a day," and would cover WTI "as it would come up" in various formats, such as city council or school board meetings. There was, then, a sporadic nature to the manner in which *Review* reporters could even conceive of the WTI issue, given their own situational limitations and, consequently, their relative lack of ability to be more analytical and reflective in their stories. (Klopfer did, however,

outline a kind of rough division of labor in covering WTI: "The understanding was that the person [who should cover it should be] the person with the most background and exposure -- first was Glen [Clarke, no longer with the paper], then it was Dennis [Wise.]"

In sum, all four reporters agree that opponents were usually more available and more willing to comment openly -- perhaps because they felt they *had* to -- than were WTI sources, whom often were PR agents hired by the company to put forth the company line. This difference in source access is reflected in the discourse analysis of news stories (offered in forthcoming chapters), where many comments attributed to WTI sources actually come from press releases. More often, WTI opponents seem to have been quoted directly, in other words, through actual source-reporter interaction, though there is some evidence from the interviews that more press releases were actually provided by WTI opponents.

By virtue of physical proximity, *Review* reporters had more daily, face-to-face interaction with both sides in the dispute even to the extent of going to lunch with some WTI employees or running into opponents on the street. *Review* reporters were also more pressed to produce copy, thus their stories were more deadline-focused, rather then more distanced and analytical. Unlike *Review* reporters, for whom every potential news item relating to WTI most likely went into the paper, neither Voas nor Hopey at the *Post-Gazette* had to worry as much about filling the daily news hole. *Post-Gazette* reporters could take a more nuanced approach, given their greater distance from the action, the much larger reporting staff (85 full-time reporters) and the differently perceived audience interests of Pittsburgh-area residents. As well, Hopey and Voas both consider themselves

"environmental beat" and science reporters; the two *Review* reporters covered, as the saying goes, "anything that moved."

The information gained from these in-depth interviews is revealing as to why the *Review* wrote more stories overall than did the *Post-Gazette* – at the small-town paper there was a greater need to simply fill the news hole, and WTI was a local, not a special-interest story. The interview data tell us much about the respective interactional patterns that may have led to divergent source selection and to differences in interaction between reporters and sources. Data from the interviews should be considered contextual information that helps explain and give a more focused relevance to findings from the discourse and content analyses of the comparative news reports formally analyzed in this study.

In the remainder of this chapter, I focus again on more compositional features of the news texts themselves, as embodied by the schema categories with respect to the presentation of arguments in the form of claims and counter-claims.

III. SCHEMAS AND CLAIMS-MAKING

The previous source-use analysis is informative in certain respects about the role of conflict as a source-based element in news stories, and about real-world factors behind the reporter's selection of differing sources and, consequently, the projection of differing rhetorical viewpoints. Schema categories, however, are a fundamentally different kind of narrative property. A schema category functions as a syntactical, cognitive, sense-making device (van Dijk, 1988a&b; Kintsch & van Dijk, 1978) that itself only *carries* content (Bell, 1991); a schema category is a formal (therefore, rhetorical) property, through which content is structured as information units, each one of which serves a textual function.

Schemas are in this sense collectively a super-structure of the news text (van Dijk, 1988a&b; 1985a&b; 1983). Together, the various schemas provide the essential narrative categories - the linguistic conduits - through which reporters present information, and by means of which readers understand or cognitively *acquire* this information (Kintsch & van Dijk, 1978).

By comparison, sources always have, of course, a material existence. A source quoted within a news story is an explicitly visible property of the text, and also relates to a real-world referent in the form of an actual person with an empirical existence. Schema properties have a more analytical, conceptual existence, but are no less important in our consideration of the nature of the news text.

We can think of schema categories as a kind of invisible, conceptual, cognitive circuitry through which the meaning of the news story is expressed. An analysis of schema categories is specifically a textual/discursive evaluation centered on interpreting information as expressed through various narrative units - Topic (summarization), Context, Background, History, Verbal Reaction, Consequences, Comment - with each unit fulfilling a different purpose in the overall narrative of the news story.

Any claim or counter-claim made by either a source (Type 1 rhetoric) or the newspaper itself (Type 2) also occurs, then, through one or more of the schema categories. The following analysis examines schema categories as they were associated with the making of claims and counter-claims. My interest here was to determine if one or more particular schema categories tended to be associated more often than others in claims-making. The next three tables demonstrate which categories were attached to claims, to counter-claims, and to both claims and counter-claims, respectively.

Table 5 reviews the six schema categories as they were linked, first, to main claims in both newspapers:

Table 5

Main Claims Attached to Schema Categories, both Newspapers
[by number and %]
(*Review* Main Claims N = 72) **(*PG* Main Claims N = 47)**
(by most used to least used, both papers)

Review:	**N**	**%**	***Post-Gazette:***	**N**	**%**
Verbal Reaction:	51	50		26	34
Topic:	15	15		19	25
Context:	17	17		14	18
Consequences:	6	06		6	08
Background:	7	07		4	05
Commentary:	5	05		4	05
History:	1	01		3	04
Total =	**102**			**76**	

The *Review* used about 34 percent more claims, total, than did the *Post-Gazette* (102 versus 76, respectively.) Looked at by order of use, from most used to least, Verbal Reaction (direct and indirect quotation of sources) is the leading category in both papers, although the *Review* used it 47 percent more than did the *Post-Gazette*. The greatest number of initiating claims in both papers, then, occurred through sources quoted directly and indirectly, with a mean of 42% in both papers). The schema-and-claims-making patterns are quite similar in both papers, the only noticeable difference being the *Post-Gazette's* higher frequency of presenting a main claim through the Topic schema (summarization, via lead sentence, headline, or both). Summarization is specifically a reporter/editor centered narrative category, meaning the *Post-Gazette* was more willing than its East Liverpool counterpart to use its own analytical powers in presenting claims. The *Review's* much higher association of verbal reaction to claims-making might perhaps be partly explained by the fact that the paper utilized more sources overall, and more

sources per story, than did the *Post-Gazette*. But it may also indicate *Review* reporters might have felt more constrained in depicting claims, and therefore less willing to engage their powers of summarization and analysis. This finding comports with the *Review's* higher percentage of direct-quote use, as well.

Table 6 presents findings regarding both papers' respective uses of schema categories as associated with counter-claims making.

Table 6

Counter-Claims Attached to Schema Categories, both Newspapers

(*Review* Counter-Claims N= 26)			(*PG* Counter-Claims N = 27)		
Review:	N	%	*Post-Gazette:*	N	%
Verbal Reaction:	16	47		22	54
Background:	9	26		10	24
Context:	7	21		4	10
Consequences:	0	-------		3	07
Topic:	1	03		1	02
History:	1	03		1	02
Total =	**34**			**41**	

Perhaps the most noticeable difference here is that the *Post-Gazette*, although it presented (as the next table will show more clearly) fewer total claims and counter-claims in all stories (117) than did the *Review* (136), the Pittsburgh paper actually presented more counter claims (41) than did the *Review* (34). Just as the *Post-Gazette* was shown earlier to be more 'balanced' (but not much more) in its use of claims and counter-claims making as attached to For, Against, and Neutral sources, and in presenting main and counter-claims exclusive of source use, **Table 6** shows the same pattern. The *Post-Gazette* more evenly matched its claims with counter-claims.

But both papers favored the verbal reaction category when presenting counter-claims, just as both did in depicting main claims. Notice that Topic, which was the second most-

used category in both papers with respect to making main claims, is virtually absent here, as is History, both of which occurred at the same comparative rates. Background, presenting a response as wrapped within explanatory information from the recent past, was the second most popular narrative counter-claims making property, while the similar-purpose Context category was next. The *Post-Gazette* did engage its own analytical powers somewhat in presenting counter-claims, utilizing Consequences to present counter-claims for 7 percent of all counter-claim occurrences; the *Review* attached no counter-claims to this writer/editor-centered schema category.

Table 7 combines claims and counter-claims as linked to various schema categories, providing a broader picture of how various schema categories were connected with claims-making activity:

Table 7

Combined Claims & Counter Claims in Both Papers, by Schema Category

Review:	**N**	**%**	***Post-Gazette:***	**N**	**%**
Verbal Reaction:	67	49		48	41
Context:	24	18		18	15
Topic:	16	12		20	17
Background:	16	12		14	12
Consequences:	6	04		9	08
Commentary:	5	04		4	03
History:	2	01		4	03
Total =	**136**			**117**	

Generally speaking, the above results show that both papers pitched their claims-making activity (both claims and counter-claims) most often through attributed sources, the Verbal Reaction schema category providing for direct and/or indirect quoation. However, the *Post-Gazette's* second most-frequent schema was the author/editor-centered Topic category, which provides for summarization and interpretation of information. The Pittsburgh paper was also somewhat more likely to engage its powers of analysis by

depicting claims-making comments through the Consequences category. The *Review's* second most-frequent claims-making schema category was Context, with Topic being the third most-used.

In conclusion, analysis of the ways in which both papers used schema categories to convey claims-making activity shows, once again, the overriding importance of a single category - Verbal Reaction - to the narrative presentation of charges, allegations, and opinions in news stories, as well as to the depiction of counter-charges, counter-assertions and countervailing opinions offered by sources and, in a smaller number of cases, by the newspapers themselves. In both papers, claims-making activity was articulated through attributed sources.

The next chapter discourse analyzes actual claims and counter-claims, and how these relied on various Rhetorical Categories to ground assertions in institutional and other kinds of socially recognized authority structures.

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Chapter 6

Rhetorical Categories & Claims-Making

In this chapter I investigate another major element of claims-making -- the rhetorical categories within which claims and responses are grounded so as to gain persuasive force. I first define what I mean by the phrase rhetorical categories, and demonstrate how they relate to claims-making activity. I then discuss how such categories make sense theoretically within related analytical concepts such as those of discursive formations (Foucault, 1970; 1972), 'rhetorical' and 'discourse' formations (Lemke, 1989), and 'social/intellectual fields' (Bourdieu, 1977; 1984; Prosise et al., 1996), and how rhetorical categories are related, as well, to various features of argumentation as understood within the new rhetoric of Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca (1968) and the claims-making logic of Toulmin (1958). These perspectives relate to a social-constructionist approach to knowledge formation and dissemination.

I offer quantitative findings regarding the different types and frequencies of rhetorical categories that occurred within the comparative news texts, as discovered via content analysis; these results reflect both how news sources (Type I rhetorical framing) and reporters/editors themselves (Type 2) drew upon the various rhetorical categories in their claims-making within the news texts. I provide excerpts from various comparative news articles to help explain the actual functioning of some of the major rhetorical categories used by both papers.

The chapter concludes with a discourse analysis of several comparative news articles, in which I connect rhetorical categories with other narrative elements explained in

previous chapters -- claims-making structures, schema categories, and direct/indirect-quote use by various sources (Type 1 Rhetoric) and by reporters and editors themselves (Type 2 Rhetoric.) In the broadest sense, the attempt will be to show how these various narrative news properties come together to project different kinds of meaning in the news text. The goal is to show, in the most comprehensive and comparative terms, first, how at the textual level the various narrative elements I have analyzed in this study function interactively to give different kinds of meaning to the same news events depicted in both newspapers; and second, to offer explanations as to why this is so.

I. Rhetorical Categories & Discourse Formations

From a social-constructionist viewpoint, social structure or social orders are 'socio-symbolic constructions' (Smith & Turner, 1995, p. 152)[19], thus knowledge itself is not a collection of self-evident facts but is created through socially negotiated linguistic constructions (Smith & Turner, p. 153.) According to Gergen (1985b, p. 547), "knowledge systems are fundamentally linguistic systems..." Parker (1992, p. 3, cited in Smith & Turner, p. 153) notes that language is constitutive of 'reality' itself, thus "all our attempts to discover 'truth' should be seen for what they are – forms of discourse." As such, a metaphorical, figurative and essentially rhetorical sense of language practices takes center stage. Metaphor, from a social-constructionist view, is "a constitutive principle of human understanding" (Smith & Turner, 1995, p. 156).

By demarcating, for example, *moral* and *scientific* rhetorical categories, I do not mean to imply that the latter is somehow a more real or valid form of knowledge than the former, that therefore a claim or counter-claim grounded in scientific knowledge is

somehow of a higher order than a claim based on some metaphorical or 'moral' analogy. From a social-construction viewpoint, scientific knowledge is every bit as constructed as is any other kind of knowledge. Each community of interest (the scientific community being but one of many knowledge domains) has its own standards of evidence, its own "characterizing interests, values, and expectations," its own "inventional thinking" (Prelli, 1990, p. 316). By taking the position in this study that all language, especially the claims-making language encountered in news articles, is rhetorical (Best, 1987), one is able to avoid privileging one type of rhetorical claims-making category over another. Claims-making associated with social movements and socio-political issues is rhetorical in the most fundamental sense – it is geared at persuasion – but semiotically, as a series of interconnected signs, claims-making also constructs a given reality in a way that highlights the interests of the claims-maker and, at the same time, denies legitimacy to one's opponents (Melucci, 1996).

To gain persuasive or argumentative force, claims-making relies on any number of rhetorical fields of authority, most of which do stem from or gain their persuasive force from being associated with what we might consider elements of the 'objective' social structure and the organizations or various authoritative institutions existing within the larger social formation. Science, for example, is recognized as belonging to a certain kind of disciplinary activity or set of discursive and knowledge-forming practices and procedures that, metaphorically, we might refer to as constituting an 'institution.' The mass media, a metaphor, in plural form, for various organizations that produce 'news' in any number of generic formats for dispersal to the general public, is another recognized

[19] For an early and now-classic account of social constructionism, see Berger & Luckmann (1966); and for

set of symbolic practices that collectively can be considered an institution; to label something an *institution* is, itself, to use a metaphor – using one linguistic designation to refer, in encapsulated form, to some other perceived state of affairs.

I do not want to assert, as some in the postmodernist camp might, that there is no material reality; only that what we usually speak of or point to as material reality or as part of the historical social formation (such as an institution) can itself only be articulated and and made sense of through language, which always contains, albeit at an unconscious level (Jameson, 1982), a patchwork of broadly socio-political assumptions. In this sense, then, I conceive of the social structure as, properly speaking, a multidiscursive structure.

An institution, for example, is a structured system of rules articulated via a history of socially sanctioned language practices operating at the societal and institutional levels. We can, for example, mention Michigan State University as belonging to that set of symbolic rules and practices that conform to what is conventionally known as an 'institution of higher learning.' But to make sense of this phrase beyond its simple naming, we must have at least a mental conception of the kinds of activities that take place within such an institution. The institution exists, physically, as a series of buildings, but realistically as a set of language practices and symbolic rules that together qualify it as a 'place' where something we call, metaphorically, 'higher learning' occurs.

In this study I define a rhetorical category in relation to claims-making activity, which includes both main and counter-claims. As already noted elsewhere in this study, a claim or counter-claim is an assertion (actually articulated as a *conclusion* [Best, 1987]) that, generally speaking, includes some kind of evidentiary reasoning, some grounds (facts or

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more recent general formulations, Gergen (1985 a & b), and Goodman (1978).

data) and warrants (value assumptions) for believing the assertion to be true (Best, 1987). A claim or counter-claim also draws upon the knowledge and thus the *authority* of one or more socio-political institutions (for example, of science or gegulatory authority) or of some generally preconceived notion of value assumed to be shared within a community, as in the case of a morally centered claim or an analogy by metaphor.

We might think of rhetorical categories as corresponding to 'types of knowing.' So, for example, the discourse of science is based on a type of knowing founded in some regularized conception of the 'true,' and a conception that can be tested and should be replicable. In this formulation, "truth-value can be based only on a knowing that logically precedes the knowing that was necessary to produce the linguistic formation" in a particular instance (Greimas, 1990, p. 19). The difference between this kind of truth and that of an individual who, apart from any institutional authority, simply believes something is true, is therefore the difference between two distinct types of knowing. As Greimas (1990, p. 20) describes it: "Thus...knowing can move from being a 'personal conviction,' based on the axiological universe taken on by the subject, to a 'proven' knowing, through a prior experimental discourse."

Foucault's (1970, 1972) notion of both the 'episteme' and, later, the 'discursive formation' draws upon the idea that certain statements or insights are socially recognized as 'truths' by society at large (Foss et al., 1991, p. 216). Psychiatry and education, to name just two authoritative institutions, "create particular truths about their topic areas" (Foss et al., p. 216) and exist within an episteme (a larger social structure or discursive formation). The episteme itself is "an essentially rhetorical concept" (Foss et al., p. 216), described by Foucault (1970, p. 38) as "the total set of relations that unite, at a given

period, the discursive practices that give rise to epistemological figures, sciences, and possibly formalized systems. The discursive formation replaces the episteme in Foucault's later work (1972)."

Foucault recognizes a "statement" as "the basic unit of the discourse formation," the statement itself being "a set of signs or symbols to which a status of knowledge can be ascribed. It is a type of utterance that, because it follows particular rules or has passed the appropriate tests, is understood to be true in a culture" (Foss et al., 1991, p. 217).

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault (cited in Bizzell & Herzberg, 1990, p. 1135) calls for going beyond studying discourses as a series of signs by instead recognizing that discourses, more broadly, are "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak." He offers a good example of the authoritative nature of discourse in one particular institutional domain:

> Medical statements cannot come from anybody; their value, efficacy, even their therapeutic powers, and, generally speaking, their existence as medical statements cannot be dissociated from the statutorily defined person who has the right to make them, and to claim for them the power to overcome suffering and death...There is no statement that does not presuppose others; there is no statement that is not surrounded by a field of coexistences, effects of series and succession, a distribution of functions and roles. (Foucault, in Bizzell & Herzberg, 1990, p. 1136).

And in *The Order of Discourse*, Foucault (in Bizzell & Herzberg, 1990, p. 1162) describes how those within institutions practice the discursive 'rituals' of the given institution:

> Ritual defines the qualification which must be possessed by individuals who speak (and who must occupy such-and-such a position and formulate such-and-such a type of statement, in the play of a dialogue, of interrogation, or recitation); it defines the gestures, behavior, circumstances, and the whole set of signs which must accompany discourse; finally, it fixes the supposed or imposed efficacity of the words, their effect on those to whom they are addressed, and the limits of their constraining value. Religious, judicial, therapeutic, and in large measure also political discourses can scarcely be dissociated

from this deployment of a ritual which determines both the particular properties and the stipulated roles of the speaking subjects.
Foss et al. (1991, p. 220) summarize the episteme/discursive formation as:

...the structure governing knowledge in a culture that is established by particular discursive practices. These practices are governed by rules that prescribe certain objects of discourse, particular types of speakers, and the form that theories and concepts assume...The truth or knowledge we have of something rests entirely within the relations of statements inside a discursive formation.

Any institution or organization, as a set of discursive rules and practices, therefore recognizes as legitimate only those statements that conform to these rules and practices, and therefore only those making statements who are recognized as being part of a given institution. But in addition to speakers who are part of recognized, authoritative institutions, I found in my own study of how institutional sources make knowledge claims that the lay person routinely draws upon and borrows from recognized institutional authority as a practical rhetorical device, in hopes of making more convincing arguments. In my study, these 'lay people' are, generally speaking, the WTI opponents, who may be associated with an organized opposition group, such as Greenpeace, but who tap into any number of institutional/authoritative realms to give rhetorical force to their assertions and counter-responses.

Thus, in identifying various rhetorical categories in this study and linking claims and counter-claims uttered by various sources and, less often, by journalists and editors themselves to these rhetorical categories, I am documenting, within the news article, the existence of the discursive formation. In making knowledge claims, sources draw routinely on different institutional (discursive) structures in an effort to infuse their own

statements with the recognized intellectual or moral force pre-existent within these institutions.

Similar to Foucault's concept of the discursive formation is Bourdieu's[20] notion of intellectual fields -- institutional arenas with their own discursive logic and authority -- and the broader 'social fields,' the "arenas occupied by social agents" (Prosise et al., 1996, p. 120). The social world is a mixture of overlapping social fields occupied by agents representing the viewpoints current within each respective field. For example, there is a field of aesthetics and one of science, each one having its own symbolic status (Prosise et al., p. 120.) Given this matrix, then, a member of the scientific community occupies both an intellectual field based upon his or her specific branch of science, and is part of the larger social field of science *proper*. Agents within any intellectual or social field routinely argue among themselves to define and refine the acceptable discursive logic that will prevail. But someone who is not part of either a recognized intellectual or social field can still draw upon the logic of any particular field to strengthen their claims, as I found in studying source's views as depicted in comparative news articles. This is the key notion behind the idea of rhetorical categories.

As a general proposition, then, Prosise et al. (1996, p. 121-123, and citing Bourdieu, 1985, p. 729), conclude:

> The dominant forms of social authority shape the categories of perception. This social template for legitimate perception is central to framing social reality and is based on the successful discursive struggle of agents in the field. Symbolic power therefore resides in the ability to define the modes of perception that structure subsequent thought and practice in the social field...The success of argumentative strategies depend (sic) on the objective positions agents occupy in a field. The relative status of advocates in a social

[20] See, in particular, Bourdieu (1977) and (1984).

field determines the probability of an argument becoming accepted...Actors who are better able to adapt arguments to field dictates are judged as having better arguments.

This last sentence encapsulates perfectly a finding in my own study, that the WTI opponents, who do not technically occupy any recognized social/intellectual field and, indeed, might even be seen as occupying some 'deviant' field (that of the 'outside agitator,' for example), nonetheless drew routinely on various recognized discursive fields to bolster their arguments. They did their homework by calling up science, legal, and regulatory knowledge – institutional logics – petaining to aspects of WTI to help strengthen their claims against the plant. They often mixed these different discursive logics with a high tone of morality, which is itself a different kind of rhetorical device grounded in the notion of shared (albeit, presumed) community values.

Lemke (1989, p. 38; see also, Lemke, 1995, 1992), informed by Foucault's notion of discourse formations and writing from a functional-linguistics theoretical perspective, says the study of the various resources of language tells us what "can be meant," but discursive formations "tell us what repeatedly *is* meant in a community":

Discourse formations result from the deployment of linguistic resources in regular, patterned, repeatable and repeated ways. Written and spoken *genres*, together with the *rhetorical formations* of a community, define patterns of organization of textual meaning. They correspond to the fundamental function of language in organizing social life and social action into recognizable activity types (greetings, jokes, lessons, sermons; problem-and-solution; cause-and-consequences, etc.) (Lemke, 1989, p. 38).

The important insight in the above passage is Lemke's construal of 'community' with 'rhetorical formation.' Although he does not go on to define the parameters of this, my reading of it is that, just as the social world at large exists, ala' Foucault, as an episteme or as a series of discursive formations, any particular community exists as a rhetorical

formation, a conjuncture within the larger social formation. The community can be considered rhetorical in that each community has its own sociological, cultural, economic, and historical circumstances, and these collectively constitute what might be called the community's 'character'. Persons living within a given community, while being 'individuals' with their own unique views of life, would be reflective of the rhetorical formation to the extent that they identified with that community. Translating this into the language of social-structural media theory (Tichenor et al., 1980) we might say that the small-town 'consensual' and the big-city 'conflictual' communities actually exist as two distinct kinds of rhetorical formations. A newspaper operating in one or the other discursive domain, then, will reflect the rhetorical (community-level social-structural characteristics) of a given rhetorical formation.

At the more microscopic level, the level of claims-making itself in actual texts, the work of Toulmin (1958) is informative. Like Bourdieu, Toulmin speaks of 'fields' in terms of discourse. But for Toulmin, the authority of knowledge occurs, at the linguistic level of actual claims-making, within "argument fields." Essentially, Toulmin's position, which anticipates much later work in functional-linguistics dealing with social-situational 'registers,' is that different kinds of knowledge are acceptable within different locales:

> As we move from the lunch counter to the executive conference table, from the science laboratory to the law courts, the 'forum' of discussion changes profoundly. This kind of involvement that the participants have with the outcome of the reasoning is entirely different in the different situations and so also will be the ways in which possible outcomes of the argument are tested and judged (cited in Foss et al., 1991, p. 99).

As well, the formality and style of arguments differ from field to field. The manner and even logic of argumentation appropriate to the courtroom or to a scientific debate is different from the kind of argumentational logic occurring between friends during lunch

(Foss et al., 1991, p. 100). The above notion of fields is, on a more microscopic level, similar to that of Bourdieu's in that the linguistic/argumentative logic of fields is "based on the types of warrants recognized as legitimate in fields of argument" (Prosise et al., 1996, p. 122). Some who study language from the perspective of functional/systemic linguistics translate these recognized differences as *genre* and *register* distinctions (Martin, 1992; Ventola, 1987; Matthiessen, 1992), and these are two of the four basic levels that make up the Rhetorical Framing Model depicted in Chapter 2 of this study.

Discourse occurs within a variety of social contexts or registers, thus discourse styles in both spoken and written forms change from one context to another (Eggins & Martin, 1997, p. 232). "[L]inguistic differences between texts can be correlated with differences in the contexts in which the texts were produced" (Eggins & Martin, p. 233). Register, as a concept, relates to an everyday observation, that "we use language differently in different situations" (Eggins & Martin, p. 234), and these social contexts relate directly to the specific type and purpose (genre) of discourse itself. The scientist or government regulator or politician each has his or her own discursive context within which their respective knowledge of a given situation is grounded, and from which they draw their respective institutional authority.

'Lay' sources, I found in the present study of news sources and claims-making, draw regularly on the language and therefore the logic and reasoning of scientific, regulatory and political knowledge structures in making arguments and counter-claims. Because the WTI controversy most often involved opposing sources pitted one against another, these sources can be seen as grounding their arguments in the garments of institutional authority for a rhetorical purpose: to persuade an audience, in this case those who would

read their remarks as they would appear in either the Pittsburgh or East Liverpool newspaper.

The audience itself, in rhetorical terms, can be defined as "the ensemble of those whom the speaker wishes to influence by his argumentation" (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1968, p. 19). According to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (in Foss et al., 1991), two broad types of values appear in arguments -- abstract and concrete. Abstract values are general in nature -- concepts such as truth, justice, freedom -- while concrete values are more typically attached to an institution, a person, or an object; so truth, with a capital T, would be abstract, where truth attached to a certain person would be a concrete value expression (Foss et al., 1991, p. 129). This is important to note because in the present study, the rhetorical category of morality (coded as Moral) seems to relate to the abstract concept of value, while more specific rhetorical categories such as those of science or regulatory authority, because they point to specific facts or figures from studies or other forms of documentation, call upon a more concrete value formation.

According to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (in Foss et al., 1991, p. 129), those arguing for the "status quo" are more likely to begin arguments with concrete values because these are more persuasive when one wants to "preserve" the state of things rather than "renovate" them; conversely, those who want to change things use more abstract values. Those representing corporations and thus the corporate viewpoint, when encountering arguable 'facts,' engage in an "opinion/knowledge" dissociation, asserting that their critics' claims are "groundless and do not represent 'actual knowledge' of the facts at hand (Hearit, 1995, p. 122, who draws here on Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 421.) I found this to often be the case in news articles involving issue disputes

between WTI and its opposition. For example in one article, WTI president Blake Marshall castigated his environmental opponents for engaging in half-truths rather than in objective science and regulatory knowledge as provided, he pointed out, by the EPA. Marshall declared that the "proper forum" for arguments about the plant existed within EPA's regulatory structure. But when WTI and the EPA were at odds themselves, WTI would argue against EPA on more technical grounds, such as by posing a difference of interpretation of the same set of regulations. Here, the knowledge claims did battle within the same disciplinary framework.

Given a specific dispute, issue opponents, then, line up arguments which are translated into claims or responses to the claims of others, and these draw upon institutional and other forms of authority – Rhetorical Categories – to gain persuasive power for an imagined audience of readers or listeners. One's institutional and, when it comes to the 'everyday' person, one's situational logic, are important in the way one can or does look at a given state of affairs. On the subject of evaluating risk, for example, Lacey and Llewellyn (1995, p. 47) write that the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency is peopled by:

> ...highly trained experts [who] practice a profession that leads them to define risk as high or low based on purely scientific standards. In contrast, members of the public think as ordinary citizens rather than as scientists and have adopted perspectives that lead them to consider risk in terms of the capacity for harm to themselves and their families. Therefore, a procedure that seems rational to EPA representatives in the business of risk assessment can easily appear uncaring and thoughtless to individual citizens who fear for the safety of their children.

Still, as I found in this study, even 'ordinary citizens' draw on various institutional categories -- rhetorical categories -- to bolster and make more credible their claims and counter-claims.

In the next section I present quantitative results of the rhetorical categories I found in my comparative analysis of the WTI-related news stories in both the East Liverpool *Review* and the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*. It should be noted that any claim or counter-claim may, and often did, draw on more than one Rhetorical Category, such as Morality, Regulation, Science, and Health, to name a few of the more frequent categories that emerged in claims-making discourse. The final section offers detailed discourse analysis of same-day news stories to demonstrate how these rhetorical categories – the various categories of institutional and other officially sanctioned knowledge domains – intersect with other narrative properties to provide textual meaning.

II. Patterns of Rhetorical Categories in Both Newspapers

Table 1

East Liverpool *Review*

Rhetorical Category Use in Claims & Counter-Claims by For, Against, Neutral Sources

	Main Claims:			**Counter-Claims:**		
	For	Against	Neutral	For	Against	Neutral
Category [by % source use]	%	%	%	%	%	%
Moral	**.32**	**.39**	**.22**	.20	**.20**	.11
Legal	.11	.13	**.33**	.05	.13	**.22**
Science	.16	**.18**	.11	**.30**	**.20**	**.22**
Reg.	.11	.05	.11	.05	.07	**.22**

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Health	0	.12	.22	0	.07	0
Strategic	.05	.05	0	.25	.07	.22
Econ.	.21	0	0	.05	.07	0)
Assertion	0	.06	0	.05	.07	0
Rhet.Q.	0	.01	0	0	0	0
Ironic	0	.01	0	0	0	0
Logic/Hist.	0	.01	0	0	0	0
Logic	0	0	0	.05	.07	0
Social	0	0	0	0	.07	0
Sarcasm	.05	0	0	0	0	0
Bad Faith	0	.02	0	0	0	0
N =	19	77	9	20	15	9
% =	18	73	09	45	34	20

In **Table 1**, a percentage underlined in any column means it was either the first or second-most used category. In *Review* articles on WTI, the leading claims-making rhetorical category was Morality, the linking of a claim or counter-claim to some normative purpose that, supposedly, a source believes will give his or her assertion or response greater persuasive force in some communal sense of relating to shared values. The WTI opponents (Against) attached both their claims and counter-claims to this category more than to any other, while WTI proponents (For) also wrapped more of their claims in a moral perspective than in any other rhetorical category. Neutral sources (which in this study consist most often of government regulators and other official policy types, as well as, somewhat less often, politicians) relied most heavily on claims grounded in legal authority, while their counter-assertions were cloaked in a variety of categories, with morality, however, *not* among them.

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Economic arguments were the second-most frequent claims made by For sources, with scientific arguments second most-favored by Against claims-makers. Moral and health domains were called on second most often by Neutral claims-makers. The short-hand way to read these results is that WTI supporters (who were nearly always plant employees, often public relations specialists) made moral arguments about the worthiness of their operation, but also pointed often to economic benefits. WTI opponents (both local and with the international Greenpeace environmental group) also cloaked their rhetoric in moral authority, but backed this up fairly frequently with scientific perspectives.

Morality was the highest Rhetorical Category for both claims and counter-claims-making among the WTI opponents, who in making counter-claims relied equally, however, on science-based arguments. (WTI proponents, in making counter-claims, were more drawn to science first and secondarily to strategic responses – typically, 'no comment.') Environmental activism is a naturally more emotional social activity than is working for an incineration plant or for the government, and environmental groups often attract the true-believer or nature-lover, as opposed to the stolid professional, the latter of whom is constrained by various institutional norms that to a great degree prescribe attendant behavior and language. The higher use of morality as a rhetorical category among WTI opponents makes sense, given this sociological reality. WTI officials, on the other hand, also played the morality card, perhaps taking a rhetorical cue from their opponents, but apparently understood that reminding readers of the plant's economic importance to the community ($600,000 a year in city tax revenues and about 100 permanent jobs) was something that should not be forgotten. Neutral sources stayed within their somewhat more restricted rhetorical/bureaucratic domain, relying more often

on health, regulatory, legal and other argument forms that naturally correspond to a bureaucratic logic; Moral claims occurred less often.

Morality usually comports with some ethical perspective, such as a fundamental right to a healthy and safe environment, and is presented as if the source believes, automatically, that this perspective is one shared naturally by anyone within the community. A moral assertion or response also can come as either a positive or negative assertion or counter-assertion. A brief example: When "incinerator opponents" are presented (in a March 10, 1993 *Review* story) as 'contending' that "*Clinton's hands-off policy toward WTI contradicts anti-incinerator comments he and Vice President Al Gore made during and after last year's presidential campaign,*" this is a morally centered allegation; Clinton and Gore, the opponents are basically contending, broke their promise, and the assumption is that a promise is something that should be kept. Schematically, this paragraph presents this main claim via the Verbal Reaction schema category [indirect-quote form], and also qualifies, less directly, as another type of schema use, that of Consequences, as it places into a larger context the significance of the news event. Here, again, we encounter the embedding effect often present in news language, the masquerading of one schema function under the banner of another, related function.

A counter-claim offered in this same article, attributed to the all-encompassing metaphorical marker, "the administration," occurs via the Background schema category (drawing on explanatory information from the recent past), and invokes what I have labeled the Strategic rhetorical category. Excerpting from this same article, we find the counter-assertion*: "The administration has said it will await a General Accounting Office report before setting its policy on WTI.*" Labeling this a Strategic rhetorical

category means that the response offered is basically a strategy of containment – 'let's wait and see what happens before taking further action.' The counter-claim does, however, at least *suggest* that the Clinton Administration wants to ground any future responses within Scientific and/or Regulatory rhetoric, evident from "the administration's" comment that it wants to see what the General Accounting Office report (which would utilize scientific and regulatory procedures as part of its fact-gathering process) produces. Still, the actual counter-claim offered here is in the most basic sense *a 'strategic' response (let's wait and see) to a 'moral' main claim*, the initiating assertion being that the administration somehow 'broke a promise.'

The rhetorical authority of the opposition's main claim, to the extent that it works persuasively, does so because it invokes some realm of shared values pertaining to what we might construe as truthfulness and promise-making, and these values are assumed to be deemed important and universally worthy in some general sense. Indeed, to tell the truth and to make promises are two kinds of speech acts (Austin, 1962), linguistic 'performatives' backed by intentionality on the part of a speaker, i.e., to make a promise is to agree to perform, to act, in a certain manner.

The essence of moral claims-making, then, assumes a pre-existing value structure extant within a given community, or sometimes within 'humanity' itself. In WTI stories, moral rhetoric was most often cast in tones of betrayal of some human value, or of some measure of bad faith exhibited by someone with a differing viewpoint on WTI. Melucci (1996, pp. 348-352) makes much the same point about the 'ideological frames' adopted by issue disputants in social movements: one side positions itself , semiotically, to symbolically destroy the other side, and vice versa.

While most Rhetorical Category designations as listed in **Table 1** are probably self-explanatory, the strategy designation (Strategic) needs some explication because it can mean a few different things. In the above example, where the 'administration' invoked strategy as a rhetorical tactic, it was used in the sense of someone strategizing a response, through means of saying, 'Let's wait and see.' In this sense, strategy is a functional device, used to gain some time before having to decide on some action or position. But the Strategic category is also called into service when, for example, a source is said to have "refused" to comment or has, according to the reporter, offered only a "no comment" to a particular claim or question. The more frequent use of the Strategic category by both For and Neutral sources in *Review* stories compared to its occurrence in *Post-Gazette* stories (as Table 4 will show) indicates that sources either could not be reached or chose not to offer their views on a topic.

This type of *strategic* rhetorical tactic is an important and common one on the part of sources, used almost always by those 'under fire' or who find themselves in sensitive positions. It amounts to an attempt by the source to avoid being cast directly into the public eye on a certain 'touchy' issue, but ironically can have the reverse effect -- to make readers more aware a source may be 'hiding' something. 'No comment' never occurs, for example, when the news is favorable to a given source. (As will be discussed later in this chapter, Strategic, as a rhetorical category, is meant in a yet another way with respect to its use by news reporters, who add it to their stories to assure readers every attempt was made to include a particular source's views within a given article. Offering this information - that so-and-so could not be reached for comment or refused to respond to a

question - is part of the 'objectivity ritual' that Tuchman (1972) has described so well, serving to basically show the reporter's devotion to 'getting all sides.')

Neutral sources cited in *Review* stories tied their main claims most often to legal authority (33%), with morality and health tying for second (22% each). Moral force was even less used (11%) by Neutral sources when responding to a main claim, with Legal, Science, Regulatory, and Strategic (the no-comment or refused-to-comment language) all tying at 22% each.

Reviewing the bottom portion of **Table 1**, we see that the vast majority [73%] of *main claims* (as measured here by their attachment to Rhetorical Categories) were offered by WTI *opponents* (Against), while most *counter-claims* [45%] were made by plant *supporters* (For). Those providing Neutral perspectives on WTI made less than 10 percent of main claims, and only slightly more [20%] counter-claims. The *Review* news stories on WTI framed this issue rhetorically as a pitched battle between WTI and its opponents, with the latter source group featured as leading the charge. In sum, we know from previous chapters that Against sources (WTI opponents) were quoted more often in the *Review* compared to the other two source types (For, and Neutral), and that Against sources also made more main claims (primary assertions and allegations) than did both WTI proponents and officially Neutral sources, such as environmental regulators, scientists, politicians, and public prosecutors. WTI opponents were framed strongly as challengers to WTI and, somewhat less often, as taking on EPA or other such Neutral sources whose rulings opponents often disagreed with. This challenge frame embodied WTI and its opponents as locked into an ongoing conflict, mediated regularly by the less

emotional, more officious and bureaucratic logic and rhetoric of formally Neutral policy and regulatory sources.

Table 2 simply condenses the rhetorical categories most favored by each source group, as depicted in *Review* stories. This provides a more concentrated picture of how various institutional and, in the case of such rhetorical domains as *morality, sarcasm, and 'bad faith,'* more intellectually based authority structures were called into service in grounding claims and responses:

Table 2

Favored Main-Claim Rhetorical Categories, by % -- East Liverpool *Review*:

For Sources		Against Sources		Neutral Sources	
Moral	.32	Moral	.39	Legal	.33
Economic	.21	Science	.18	Moral/Health	.22(each)
Science	.16	Legal	.13	Science/Reg.	.11(each)
Leg/Reg	.11 (each)	Health	.12		
Strat/Sarc.	.10 (each)				

Table 2 A

Favored Counter-Claim Categories:

For Sources		Against Sources		Neutral Sources	
Science	.30	Moral/Sci.	.20(each)	Leg/Sci/Reg/Strat	.22 (each)
Strategic	.25	Various Cat.	.49	Moral	.11
Moral	.20	Legal	.13		
Various	.25				

The next set of percentages (**Table 3**) groups all source categories (For, Against, Neutral) together, to demonstrate the most-favored rhetorical categories (as associated with claims-making) by all groups, regardless of their respective viewpoints about WTI, and by most-used to least-used. The rhetorical category occurrence is presented for all-source-group claims and counter-claims, as well as for the combined average (mean). The highest-use occurrence in each claim designation (either claim, or counter-claim) is underlined.

Table 3

Most-Favored Rhetorical Categories, Claims/Counter-Claims Combined

East Liverpool Review

(by % and category mean, all sources)

	% Claims	% C-Claims	Mean
Moral	.31	.17	.24
Science	.15	.24	.20
Legal	.19	.13	.16
Strategic	.03	.18	.11
Regulatory	.09	.11	.10
Health	.11	.02	.07
Economic	.07	.04	.06
Assertion	.06	.04	.05
Logic	0	.04	.02

At 24 percent of all uses (whether as claim or counter-claim), moral argumentation was the most-favored rhetorical category to emerge among sources of all types (For, Against, Neutral). Morality was, as well, more associated with initiating rather than responding to a claim, as were the Legal, Health, Economic, and Assertion rhetorical categories. (*Assertion* means a source merely stated, in strongly declarative fashion, the existence of a state of affairs, and in such a way that the 'evidence' or grounding for the claim occurred, much as in the moral category, as an assumed state of affairs that did not have to be formally demonstrated with observable evidence or a clear-cut logic. This was more often used by WTI opponents than by other sources.)

As a rhetorical perspective, Science was not far behind morality, and was used most often in counter-claims. Legal arguments and explanations were third most-used by all source types, and more often in the service of making a claim rather than responding to one. The Strategic category, usually involving a no-comment by a source, as is clear from its occurrence as a counter-claim (a *response*), occurred with some regularity as did

Regulatory and Health categories. The Economic, Assertion, and Logic categories were called on only infrequently.[21]

The next several tables demonstrate the same patterns of rhetorical categories as they occurred within Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* same-issue/same-day stories on WTI.

Table 4

Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*

Rhetorical Category Use in Claims & Counter-Claims by For, Against, Neutral Sources

	Main Claims:			Counter-Claims:		
	For	Against	Neutral	For	Against	Neutral
Category [by % source use]	%	%	%	%	%	%
Moral	.25	.41	.11	0	.25	.08
Legal	.20	.15	.33	.12	.25	.31
Science	.30	.15	0	.12	0	.23
Reg.	.10	0	.33	.35	0	.31
Health	0	.13	.11	0	.25	.08
Strategic	0	.03	.11	.35	0	0
Econ.	.05	0	0	0	0	0
Assertion	.05	.05	0	.06	.13	0
Logic	.05	.03	0	0	0	0
Cynicism	0	0	0	0	.13	0
Analysis/RQ	0	.03	0	0	0	0

(continued next page)

[21] Logic means a source applies standard or common-sense logical reasoning to a case at hand, such as in, "How can you say X, given Y?" This logical rhetorical approach can and was sometimes mixed with one or more other rhetorical categories; for example, if the previous statement had relied on scientific figures to make its contrast. Assertion is a label I gave, as explained previously, to statements that were not based on any clear institutional or intellectual authority, but were presented in so forceful a manner that the resulting claim or counter-claim seemed to 'stand on its own.' An assertion, in effect, points to some assumed but not clearly given state of affairs that is simply projected 'as fact,' such as the statement, "I'm here to tell you about the dangers of WTI." It is distinct from a similar category -- morality -- in that the latter assumes some identifiable ethical quality that might arguably exist within the perceived shared values of a community.

(continued)						
RQ/Logic	0	.03	0	0	0	0
N =	20	39	9	17	8	13
% =	29	57	13	45	21	34

Looking first at the bottom half of the table, we can see that the majority of rhetorical claims-making categories were linked to Against sources, while most counter-claims were attached to WTI proponents (For sources). Neutral-source rhetorical categories occured more often as counter-claims; the Neutrals were more often responding to rather than making claims, as measured here by rhetorical categories attached to claims-making. This is essentially the same general pattern that emerged in the previous analysis of same-day/same-issue stories penned by the East Liverpool *Review*. The challenge frame – the WTI controversy depicted as an ongoing conflict between those challenging WTI (mostly, environmental group sources) and those (mainly employees) supporting the aims of the incinerator – is revealed clearly in the above table. WTI opponents were the main actors in terms of making claims, and they projected a highly moral tone in their assertions against the incinerator.

The particular rhetorical categories different source types used, however, are somewhat different in the *Post-Gazette* as compared to the East Liverpool *Review*. Just as WTI (Against) opponents strongly favored the Moral category in both claims and counter-claims making in East Liverpool *Review* articles, that also proved to be the case in the same-issue/same-day stories reported by the *Post-Gazette*. Against sources favored scientific and health rhetorics in counter-claims-making. For sources followed more of a science and morality rhetorical claims-making frame, while their counter-claims was more often grounded in regulatory and strategic ('no-comment') responses. Neutral

sources leaned toward and legalistic and regulatory poses in both initiating and responding to claims, again demonstrating that these sources were articulating a more narrowly defined, officially sanctioned rhetoric, dictated by a professional ideology that constrains any 'view' expressed to what is properly within one's jurisdictional judgment. Neither WTI proponents nor, especially, WTI opponents would have been constrained by this institutional mandate, but both still deployed a range of other rhetorical categories to give substance to their claims-making. More Neutral-source statements fell into the response (counter-claim) mode, and were more often couched in Legal and Regulatory frames of explanation (31% each.) Of the Neturals' main claims, which amounted to only 9, these same two categories - Legal and Regulatory - were relied on the most often (33% each.)

While moral arguments, then, were important rhetorical claims-making vehicles for WTI proponents (For sources) when quoted in both newspapers, grounding a claim in the institutional logic of science occurred even more often for For sources quoted in the *Post-Gazette*, but much less often when WTI proponents were quoted in the East Liverpool paper. In the small-town publication, For sources relied much more on making economic-style arguments (21%), but this rhetorical claims-making category was virtually non-existent for For sources quoted in the *Post-Gazette*. This may indicate that WTI sources were aware that an economic argument might be a better rhetorical strategy in the community where WTI was being built, and that they then deployed this as a rhetorical strategy when talking with *Review* reporters, but how pointing to the dollar-value of the incinerator would have little relevance for a Pittsburgh-based audience. (It was noted in Chapter 5 how news sources may shape their information for a particular audience.) It

could also be, of course, that reporters for either publication obtained the same basic information from the same fairly small circle of WTI sources (this is certainly the case when press releases are sent to both publications) but used their own audience-sensitive news judgment to select different source-centered information for inclusion in news articles. Very likely, both explanations have some relevance.

Another difference between For and Against rhetorical category patterns in both papers is that For sources quoted in the Pittsburgh paper made *no* moral responses (counter-claims), yet offered a relatively high number of moral responses (20%) when quoted in the East Liverpool paper. For sources in the Pittsburgh paper favored regulatory and strategic response categories (35% each), whereas in the East Liverpool paper they followed a Science/Strategic/Moral rhetorical pattern, respectively, in their counter-claims.

As a means of story comparison, I present an excerpt from the same-day/same-issue story (March 10, 1993) earlier previewed in the East Liverpool paper, examining the same moral-category claim (regarding the Clinton Administration's broken-promise) as it appeared in the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*. Just as in the March 10 story in the *Review*, where opponents made a main claim against the Clinton Administration, the Pittsburgh paper's account is quite similar in the main claim offered, although the claim comes near the end of the article. The assertion -- from WTI opponent Terri Swearingen, of the Tri-State Environmental Council – is as follows: *'Swearingen contended that if Clinton Administration officials didn't take some action, they were proving that their environmental policies were no better than former President George Bush's or that the Environmental Protection Agency was an out-of-control agency. ' "If Clinton doesn't*

have the authority to [stop the test burn], then who does? My God, he is the president of the United States," she said.'

The main claim (projected via the Verbal Reaction schema, using both direct and indirect quote) invokes a moral tone in grounding its assertion, calling up an image of (we must presume) what Swearingen believes is an unflattering comparison to a previous president (Bush) and also suggesting that the EPA is somehow a rogue agency. As no objective evidence is offered within this claim -- but rather just comparisons and analogies -- the claim ultimately relies upon a hoped-for sense of moral outrage to gain its rhetorical force. Unlike the same-day article in the *Review*, the *Post-Gazette* account offers no counter-claim to this or to one other moral-category main claim, this latter coming from a "letter" supposedly written by a 13-year-old East Liverpool opponent of WTI named Jason Yanni. This second main claim in the *Post-Gazette* article occurs through the Context schema (adding supporting details to the main event or topic being reported). The claim itself, boiled down, is the same one (a morally based one) that was made by "incinerator opponents" in the *Review* article analyzed earlier -- that the Clinton Administration had broken a promise.

The Context-centered main claim in the *Post-Gazette* story reads as follows: '*Jason Yanni, 13, of East Liverpool, left a letter addressed to Chelsea Clinton, also 13, at one of the security gates. The letter asked her to remind her father of his promise to block a WTI test burn until all questions about possible health hazards and the permitting process were examined.*' Interestingly, because the letter is not quoted directly, but only characterized by the reporter, we must assume the sentiments said to have been expressed by Yanni are indeed reflective of the actual sentiments as they appear inYanni's own

words. In this sense, the reporter attributes to Yanni sentiments that we, as readers, must accept as true, and delivered *in the form of* indirect quote, though functioning structurally as Context. Where the *Review* article offered a counter-response from the 'administration' (e.g., the administration 'has said' -- thus a Background schema use), the *Post-Gazette* article offers no such counter-claim. In this particular issue, then, the *Review's* account is the more balanced in terms of claims-making, because a main claim is met by a corresponding counter-claim. The *Review* allowed the Administration to respond to the allegation of promise-breaking lodged by WTI opponents, thereby offering readers a somewhat broader context of understanding than was available in the same-day *Post-Gazette* piece.

Tables 5 and **6** condense the rhetorical categories as they appeared in *Post-Gazette* stories, in the same manner as was presented for same-day/same-issue stories appearing (and examined earlier) in the East Liverpool *Review*:

Table 5

Favored Rhetorical Main-Claim Categories, by % -- *Post-Gazette*:

For Sources		Against Sources		Neutral Sources	
Science	.30	Moral	.41	Legal/Reg.	.33 (each)
Moral	.25	Leg/Sci.	.15 (each)	Moral/Health/	
Legal	.20	Health	.13	Strat.	.11 (each)
Various	.15	Various	.12		
Reg.	.10	Assertion	.05		

Table 5 A

Favored Counter-Claim Categories:

For Sources		Against Sources		Neutral Sources	
Reg./Strat.	.35 (each)	Moral/Leg./Health	.25 (each)	Legal/Reg.	.31 (each)
Legal/Sci.	.12 (each)	Assert./Cynicism	.13 (each)	Science	.23
Assertion	.06			Moral/Health	.08 (each)

Table 5 demonstrates that a science/moral rhetorical frame was favored in *Post-Gazette* claims-making when linked to For sources, a moral/legal-scientific frame was favored by

Against-source claims, and a legal/regulatory frame in Neutral main claims. When making counter-claims (responding to another source-type's allegation), For sources followed a regulatory/strategic logic, Against sources and moral/legal/health frame, and Neutral sources, once again, a legal-regulatory rhetorical category counter-claim structure. The main difference between the two papers in this regard, then, was that both For and Against sources when quoted in the *Review* favored a moral rhetorical stance in claims-making, whereas only the Against sources adopted a predominant Moral claims-making framework when quoted in the *Post-Gazette*. For sources in the *Post-Gazette* also relied frequently on a moral grounding when making claims, but relied even more often (30%) on science-based arguments.

It is important to note that by saying a certain source *favored* a certain rhetorical strategy, it should be kept in mind that these source-related rhetorical strategies are *as depicted in newspaper accounts*. Sources may have actually offered other rhetorical categories in their claims-making activity, but these may not have ended up as part of any given story. It is in this respect that we should consider all source-based claims-making a second-order activity, involving sources making claims of various kinds to reporters, who then select which ones to include in stories. This is an important content-shaping device in the rhetorical armament of journalists, who ultimately control what gets into a news story but who may have little say over the particular issues themselves, the latter of which is typically more in the control of sources.

Table 6 tracks the frequency of all claims and counter-claims, and the mean for each category, regardless of source-type.

Table 6
Most-Favored Rhetorical Categories, Claims/Counter-Claims Combined
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
(by % and category mean, all sources)

	% Claims	% C-Claims	Mean
Legal	.23	.23	.23
Moral	.26	.11	.19
Regulatory	.14	.22	.18
Science	.15	.12	.14
Health	.08	.11	.10
Strategic	.05	.12	.09
Assertion	.03	.06	.05
Logic	.03	0	.02
Cynicism	0	.04	.02
Economic	.02	0	.01

The most notable difference between the *Post-Gazette* and *Review* with respect to Rhetorical Categories linked to claims-making in general (claims and counter-claims together), is that the Pittsburgh paper most strongly favored a Legal frame (23%), with the Moral frame coming in second (19%). By contrast, Legal framing was only the third most-favored in the East Liverpool paper (16%), which placed the highest percentage (24%) of claims-making in the Moral rhetorical category, and offered scientifically grounded claims second most often (20%). Science as a rhetorical category was only the fourth most-used (14%) in the Pittsburgh paper. The Regulation rhetorical category, at 18 percent, was the third most-used frame in the *Post-Gazette* stories, but only fifth (10%) in *Review* articles.

Reviewing the underlined claims and counter-claims in each rhetorical category above shows, as well, that WTI opponents (Against) were depicted in the *Post-Gazette* as more often associated with moral, legal, health, economic, and assertion main claims; we know this because, as previous tables have shown, we know that the vast majority of main claims (in both papers) were lodged by Against sources. We also know that most counter-

claims (in both papers) came from For sources (pro-WTI), thus Table 6 above shows that their most-favored rhetorical categories were science, strategic, regulatory, and logic, but especially science.

In summary, in the *Review*, wrapping one's main claims in morality was a tactic used almost as often by WTI proponents as opponents, whereas WTI proponents in *Post-Gazette* stories were more likely to ground main claims in scientific clothing. In both papers, WTI proponents, when presented as making a counter-claim, were more likely to choose science, strategic or regulatory stances. Also in both papers, Neutral sources favored more of a legal/regulatory rhetorical stance in both claims and counter-claims-making. These various tables make clear that the For and Neutral source groups tended to frame their arguments according to the institutional/organizational/professional domains within which any group routinely functions. WTI opponents, whose only organizational domain, formally speaking, would be that of the environmental group, thus were most free to engage in moralistic, even bombastic rhetoric, giving to their claims-making a tone of outrage. But they also borrowed from other knowledge domains to bolster their claims.

Outrage is not something the bureaucrat can easily engage in, constrained as he or she is within a more restrictive bureaucratic logic where differences of opinion are resolved by professional or regulatory dictate. WTI proponents, on the other hand - most of whom were WTI employees, and many of whom were paid public relations professionals - could tap into any number of available rhetorics – the moral, the scientific, the regulatory, the economic and others, depending on a particular issue. It was WTI, after all, that was constantly under attack, thus incinerator spokespersons often responded in kind to moralistic accusations lodged by their antagonists, the environmental group members.

Neutral sources, primarily the state and federal EPAs, served rhetorically as referees, declaring no special interest in one side or the other but, rather, stressing the point that they were applying professional, legal and regulatory standards of review to the WTI incinerator. This middle-of-the-road strategy, dictated by the institutional logic within which a bureaucrat must operate, often left both WTI proponents and opponents up in arms: Environmentalists who accused regulators of coddling WTI, and WTI spokespersons accused regulators of misapplying various rules and regulations pertaining to pollution or plant construction standards.

Table 7 makes it clearer to see the rhetorical category connections to different sources in both papers, for all claims and counter-claims. The highest percentage in any row is underlined to help bring out contrasts:

Table 7

Average Rhetorical-Category Use, Claims & Counter-Claims, by Source Type
(both newspapers, by %)

	Review			*Post-Gazette*		
	For	Against	Neutral	For	Against	Neutral
	%	%	%	%	%	%
moral	.26	.30	.17	.13	.33	.10
legal	.08	.13	.28	.16	.20	.32
science	.23	.19	.17	.21	.08	.12
regulation	.08	.06	.17	.23	0	.32
health	0	.09	.11	0	.19	.10
strategic	.15	.06	.11	.18	.02	.06
economic	.13	.04	0	.03	0	0
assertion	.03	.07	0	.06	.09	0
logic	.03	.04	0	.06	.02	0

Table 7 shows that each paper depicted sources in virtually the same rhetorical claims-making categories, with the primary exception of the Health frame, which Neutral sources used more often than For or Against sources in *Review* stories, but which was used more

by Against sources in *Post-Gazette* articles. The Health frame, arguably an opposition-inspired theme[22], was also used more frequently as a Rhetorical Category in the *Post-Gazette*. It should be emphasized that the sources were *depicted* within these frames, though they may actually have used others that a reporter might not have chosen to include in a story. Notice, also, that while the Economic rhetorical category was associated in both papers with For-source claims-making, it was used substantially more often by those sources when quoted in the *Review*. This may well indicate, as mentioned earlier, WTI spokespersons' greater sensitivity to the fact that East Liverpool readers might become more convinced of WTI's positive impact by plant proponents reminding readers of the incinerator's economic worth to the town; reporters also would naturally recognize this as an important element of the story and be apt to include it.

Table 8 compares the means reported in tables **3** [*Review*] and **6** [*Post-Gazette*], allowing one to see in more condensed fashion which categories were favored by each paper. (For example, the 24% figure attached in the table below to the Moral category in the *Review* is derived from: .26 + .30 + .17 = .73/3 = 24.3, rounded to 24%.) Each paper can be associated with projecting a certain set of rhetorical categories as linked to source-based claims-making activity.

Table 8

Most-Used Rhetorical Categories by All Sources, both Newspapers

	Highest Use [*] Occurred In:	
	Review	***Post-Gazette***
(continued next page)	***Review***	***Post-Gazette***

[22] Viswanath & Chiu (1995) concluded as much in content-analyzing WTI conflict stories in the *Review* and the Columbus (Ohio) *Post-Dispatch*, arguing that the greater frequency of Health as a theme in the metropolitan paper lends support to Tichenor et al.'s structural-pluralism hypothesis; that is, that larger-city newspapers are more prone to publicize the views of issue opponents than are smaller-town newspapers.

(continued)		
Moral	* (24%)	(19%)
Legal	(16%) *	(23%)
Science	* (20%)	(14%)
Regulatory	(10%)	* (18%)
Health	(.07%)	* (10%)
Strategic	* (11%)	(.09%)
Assertion	* (.05%, both)	*
Logic	* (.02%, both)	*

As other chapters have documented, the *Review* quoted more Against sources, more often, and most often in claims-making rather than in response modes, thus the higher association of Moral frames is consistent, as the challengers (WTI opponents) often had little to go on except the moral force of their arguments. It may be, as well, that as Yearly (1992) points out, environmental groups have an ambivalent stance toward embracing scientific data for argumentative purposes, because science is often seen as an institution behind many of the most prevalent environmental problems. In this respect, a moral stance would seem the natural alternative, a rather different, emotive 'logic' to be deployed against one's enemies, many of whom represent science institutions.

As analyses of news stories shows, the scientific and regulatory facts were on the side of WTI and its proponents. The East Liverpool paper – perhaps because of its closer proximity to the plant and the recognition of the reality of living near a potential and controversial pollution source – also had a somewhat higher degree of science-based assertions in its stories. It also encountered more sources, usually those from WTI, who refused to or offered no comment (denoted by the Strategic rhetorical category.) The

Pittsburgh paper favored sources holding forth in the more rational/instrumental terms of regulation (the environmental authorities), legality (the courts and lawyers) and health (public and private medical experts.)

The pattern documented in the preceding tables comports with the general source-quotation and claims-making patterns discussed in previous chapters, indicating the small-town paper was generally less balanced in presenting source-connected information in its stories compared to the bigger-city publication. I now turn to a journalist-centered style of framing, which has its own special features.

III. Type 2 Rhetorical Framing

The above tables all represent rhetorical category/claims-making activity within Type 1 Rhetoric, the source-centered persuasive use of language that is the predominant, content-based rhetorical maneuvering seen most often in both papers. The present section deals with another important use of rhetorical categories: newspaper reporters and editors themselves engaging in rhetorical uses of language via what is labeled Type 2 Rhetoric. This reporter-centered rhetorical language serves most often to summarize the significance of events or issues, and in this sense it functions very much like claims-making. Any number of schema categories can be used to present this kind of reporter-centered rhetorical language, which makes a *claim* for a certain view of reality through its generalizing, summarizing nature, but does not formally have the quality of the claim-and-support structure of an *argument* typically associated with news-source based claims-making activity (Type 1). It is, in other words, definitely rhetorical, but does not formally present a claim that offers some kind of evidentiary support and that can be

linked to a distinct viewpoint or source; the professional constraint of objectivity would prevent reporters from the overt kind of claims-making that news sources, by definition, routinely engage in. Because Type 2 rhetoric does interpret or summarize – if sometimes only in small doses within a news article – a set of facts and issues, I will refer to it as a claim, but with the proviso that it is not formally an argumentative claim featuring a clear claim-support structure (see Brummett, 1994, p., for the difference).

The predominant feature of the Type 2 presentational format is that instead of - or in addition to - encountering claims or counter-claims made by quoted sources, what we encounter is *the newspaper reporter's and/or editor's own use of language to persuasively present and/or summarize issues or events.* This often occurs either through the lead and other supporting sentences or through a headline or headline/lead structure. (Recall that the headline and lead together constitute the Topic schema category; the headline and lead initially frame or interpret the content of the story in a certain manner by summarizing the gist of it. But as mentioned, Type 2 rhetoric can occur via any number of schema categories.)

In essence, Type 2 rhetorical framing allows the newspaper reporter and/or editor to actively construct the reality of a given situation within a specific news story, rather than to simply leave it to sources to pitch claims and counter-claims through direct and/or indirect quotation, as in Type 1 claims-making. Although too much of this kind of actively persuasive language use would turn any article into an opinion piece rather than a straight news article, a certain amount of it can lend to an article an air of informed judgment that is a mark of in-depth reporting. On the other hand, when the news rhetoric occurs via a headline or lead-headline structure (especially when a photograph

accompanies the article), the effect is to produce a strongly rhetorical frame that immediately couches the article within a certain thematic stance.

Both papers engaged in Type 2 rhetoric at about the same rate, with the *Review* using it in 15 and the *Post-Gazette* in 13 of the 37 same-day/same-issue stories. Typically, Type 2 rhetoric occurs within a news article that also contains source-based (Type 1) claims and counter-claims. In terms of frequency, Type 2 rhetoric constituted a minor but notable element in the news articles, if only because its presence does show that not all rhetorical language was the exclusive province of news sources making distinct claims and counter-claims. As a percentage of the total individual claims and counter-claims of all types presented by each paper, the 13 Type 2 rhetorical claims in the *Post-Gazette* equal only 15.6 percent of the 83 claims and counter-claims presented. The *Review's* 15 Type 2 claims amount to just 13.1 percent of all 114 claims and counter-claims the newspaper presented. Clearly, both papers stuck primarily to the more conventional presentational formula of letting sources speak for themselves (direct quote) or to characterizing and paraphrasing what sources said (indirect quote).

Type 2 Claims Linked to Rhetorical Categories

Like source-centered (Type 1) claims-making, Type 2 claims are often linked to one or more rhetorical categories that are drawn upon to bolster and give to the language a kind of argumentative substance. Tying Rhetorical Categories to the 13 Type 2 claims in the *Post-Gazette* and the 15 Type 2 claims in the *Review* offers a sense of which knowledge domains the newspapers drew upon.

Table 9 makes clear that just two Rhetorical Categories - Assertion and Strategic - were the most-often resorted to for Type 2 claims in the *Review*, while the *Post-Gazette*

also grounded its own brand of rhetoric in Assertion but called up several other categories for substantive support, as well. The average use (mean) of any category in both papers is noted on the right-hand side of the table.

Table 9

Newspaper Claims-Making via Rhetorical Categories, Type 2 Rhetoric
(by category, percent, and mean in both papers)

	East Liverpool *Review*		Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*			
Category	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	=	**Both Paper Mean**
Assertion	7	.32	6	.25		.29
Strategic	6	.24	2	.08		.16
Scientific	2	.12	3	.12		.12
Legal	2	.08	3	.12		.10
Regulatory	2	.08	3	.12		.10
Moral	2	.08	2	.08		.08
Metaphor	1	.04	2	.08		.06
Info./Analysis	0	0	2	.08		.04
Health	0	0	1	.04		.02
Economic	1	.04	0	0		.02
Totals	23		24			[100%]

The bottom of **Table 9** shows that both papers used almost exactly the same total number of Type 2 rhetorical categories – 23 uses in the East Liverpool paper and 24 Type 2 uses in the Pittsburgh publication (making up 18 percent of *all* uses.) The *Post-Gazette* was a little more diversified in the different rhetorical categories it used in commenting on matters pertaining to WTI, but to only a small degree in any particular category, except for that of Assertion, the most-used category in both papers. Assertion involves the newspaper (through a sentence or a headline, and sometimes both) simply depicting a

given state of affairs as if it were an acknowledged reality, but without clearly tying this state of affairs to any specific news source nor to any institutional rhetorical category, such as that of science, the law, or various regulatory or health agencies. This type of rhetorical language appears as the reporter or (if in a headline) the editor *summarizing* a state of affairs in a way that provides an interpretation.

A Strategic use of Type 2 rhetoric, on the other hand, is more functional in nature. It occurs when the news reporter informs readers that a source could not be reached for comment, refused to comment, or was otherwise unavailable. Thus, the rhetorical stance in this case is to assure readers of the attempt on the reporter's part to 'get the whole story' – fulfilling the larger generic and ideological purpose motivating the entire logic of the news story itself, which is to convince readers of a story's essential veracity (van Dijk, 1988a&b). While the *Post-Gazette* did not use much strategy, perhaps due to luck – the sources it contacted may have been generally available for comment – this was the second highest rhetorical category in the East Liverpool *Review*. This higher use, by the same token, could simply have been the result of bad luck on the part of East Liverpool reporters who might not have been able to get through to sources; or it could mean sources contatcted by the *Review* chose not to call back or to otherwise make themselves unavailable for comment. In any event, this 'covering' device, signaling to readers the newspaper's commitment to getting all sides of an issue, is an important journalist-centered rhetorical move that has more to do with fulfilling the schematic structure of the news story (its generic purpose) than it does with advancing any specific textual

content.[23] The notification to readers that a source "could not be reached for comment" or "refused to comment" fulfills essentially a technical, denotative function, even though it serves a highly rhetorical purpose, in that it helps persuade readers of the newspaper's good faith commitment to comprehensive reporting.

Having established the conceptual link between Rhetorical Categories and claims-making, in the following discourse analysis of a same-day/same-issue story written by the *Review* and the *Post-Gazette* I pay attention to how Rhetorical and Schema categories are deployed in the texts. I attend, as well, to other discursive features, such as how photographs and headline/lead-sentence structures add to the framing of news discourse.

IV. Discourse Analyses of Comparative News Texts

The goal is to bring out how various narrative properties cohere to produce meaning in any given news story. In my view, only by paying attention to many interacting and fairly precise details of a text canwe then make claims about the text as a totality, in a way that would go deeper than the kind of surface meaning available through content-analysis. In the following rhetorical reading of these two new stories, I pay attention to such features as how comparatively 'balanced' any two same-day stories are by virtue of sourcing and claims-making patterns; to how conflict-centered they are, in terms of Tichenor et al.'s (1980) sense of highlighting or suppressing drama and controversy; to the inner-workings of various schema categories, such as direct quote (Verbal Reaction), a source-centered but reporter-controlled rhetorical tactic; and to the Consequences and Comment schema categories. These latter two schema properties can tell us much about the reporter's own rhetorical maneuvering; how the news messenger proactively analyzes, selects, and

[23] See Davis (1990, pp. 166-171) for a good overview of the narrative functions of the news story that help

positions issues, ideas and textual themes as part of a rhetorical practice intimately related to but, at the same time, relatively autonomous of news sources themselves.

I begin with a same-day story (June 3, 1991) involving the appearance of movie actor Martin Sheen in East Liverpool, where he led an anti-WTI protest and addressed the assembled crowd. This story, part of the Opposition Motivational Frame, is relevant for analysis on many accounts: Both papers focused heavily on a source-centered (Type 1) account, describing the action and comments from news actors' viewpoints rather than from reporters' own; both stories utilized every schema category; and both presented claims and counter-claims grounded in various rhetorical categories.

The story is also significant because it marks the *Post-Gazette's* initial entry into the WTI issue itself, the first time a *Post-Gazette* reporter wrote an article on WTI, although the paper had run some wire service stories in the past. As my own in-depth interviews with *Post-Gazette* reporters revealed (see Chapter 5), Sheen's appearance in small-town East Liverpool was by its very nature newsworthy, corresponding at the very least to the "prominence" news value (Hough, 1988).

I analyze the *Post-Gazette* account first and the *Review* story second, but along the way may, for comparison purposes, refer to discourse features of both.

Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*: June 3, 1991

The rhetorical frame of the story is initially established by a large photo spreading across the entire three-column article. It depicts a young man with long hair, seated on a wooden bench. He wears a T-shirt with a dairy cow on it and is holding against his knees a placard with a self-drawn picture of the globe, surrounded by the words, "One Earth, One

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assure its appearance of objectivity.

Chance." Behind the man we see a young woman braiding the man's long hair. The 'cutline' for the photo simply repeats visually obvious information, noting the two people are on the University of Pittsburgh campus "while waiting for yesterday's protest caravan to begin." The photo anchors our attention to two youthful types who might typically be associated with environmental protests, and whom might represent an 'alternative,' environmental-friendly lifestyle. It could be argued, under a more liberal definition of Type 2 Rhetoric, that this qualifies as just that, as the newspaper's active attempt to persuade. But my reading of this photo is that, while it does frame, from the newspaper's perspective, our initial reading of the article in a certain manner -- as any photograph does -- the people depicted in the photo are probably representative of a certain kind of person (sometimes referred to derisively as 'tree-huggers') who would be attracted to a WTI protest. Greenpeace, after all, was a well-entrenched participant in the WTI controversy, and that organization does attract a fair number of "alternative" lifestyle types. In this sense the photo seems a fair representation of the news event itself, especially because the activity occurred on a university campus. Still, the photo does anchor - rhetorically frames - our attention in a certain manner toward the story yet to come.

The headline itself reads: '50 hold motorcade into Ohio to protest waste incinerator.' This is a very dry and factual headline that would pass any news editor's test of accuracy; it simply presents the ideational (thematic) quality of the news event without any obvious commentary or specifically metaphoric coloring attached. The lead sentence (which with the headline forms the story's Topic schema) fleshes out the headline*: 'Actor Martin Sheen led a caravan of cars from Oakland to a small town on the Ohio line yesterday to protest the construction of the nation's largest hazardous-waste incinerator.*' (In fact, this

last bit of information is incorrect; WTI is one of the largest but not the largest such incinerator in the nation.) The lead sentence establishes Sheen as the main actor in the story, and by doing so paves the way for the next sentence (of Context) to establish the more specific nature of what he actually did, solidifying the "protest" and "alternative" rhetorical frame by linking Sheen to a well-known cultural icon associated with just such imagery: Bob Dylan.

Paragraph 2 [Context]: *'Before leaving for East Liverpool, Ohio, where the $128 million plant is being built, Sheen quoted friend and California neighbor Bob Dylan to about 50 protesters.'*

Paragraph 3 [Verbal Reaction/direct quote]: ' *"You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows," Sheen said from the steps of the William Pitt Student Union at the University of Pittsburgh.'*

Paragraph 4 [Comment]: *'What concerns protesters is what may be blowing in the wind after the incinerator, designed to burn 60,000 tons of toxic waste a year, begins operation.'*

Paragraph 5 [Consequences]: *'The protesters contend that a 150-foot smokestack at the plant, being built by Switzerland-based Waste Technology Industries, will emit 79 tons of inhalable particles a year, including 4.7 tons of lead, 1.3 tons of mercury and almost 100 tons of sulfur.'*

The last two paragraphs rely on information from attributed sources, and collectively constitute the story's main claim, and in very interesting fashion, by mixing in some reporter evaluation (Comment) and analysis (Consequences). Paragraph 4 introduces the reporter's own evaluation of what, we are left to presume, he determined after listening to

and speaking with protesters was an overriding 'concern.' But the concern attributed by the reporter to the protesters is, in the reporter's own characterization, linked to the metaphor not from the Dylan song ("Subterranean Homesick Blues") that has been quoted by Sheen ("You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows") but from *another* Dylan song also based on a wind metaphor, the well-known protest song, "Blowin' in the Wind." The reporter has intertextually mixed a wind metaphor from both songs for rhetorical effect, and characterized this as the 'concern' of protesters. And by placing on the end of the sentence the qualifier of the plant being designed to burn each year 60,000 tons of waste (a matter of documentable fact), the reporter has made even more forceful the entire sentence. While this comes very close to a Type 2, reporter-centered type of rhetoric, it is more properly categorized as Type 1 because it hinges on source-attributed information, even as it translates it with some poetic license, i.e., the wind metaphor.

Paragraph 5 (Consequences schema), in reporting to readers that the "protesters contend" the tall smokestack will emit, each year, the different kinds of pollutants in precise, documentable amounts, the reporter is presenting readers with the reason behind the protest, its larger significance. But the reporter, as was the case in the Comment paragraph (paragraph 4), is also characterizing the position of opponents, none of whom are specifically quoted.

The effect of paragraphs four and five together is to produce a main (initiating) claim: Protesters contend the plant will emit X-amount of pollutants, therefore they're concerned about what will be blowing in the wind (about health and safety issues.) Notice that both these paragraphs seem to function, as well, as Verbal Reaction, as they portray the views

of certain persons. But because of the analytical and evaluative characterizations employed by the reporter, the actual narrative function is to produce, in schema category terms, reporter-centered Comment (evaluation) and Consequences (analysis).

The rhetorical categories associated with this main claim draw on both moral and scientific authority -- the moral tone referring to a kind of evil, toxic ghost lurking behind the 'blowing in the wind' imagery, and the more rational/instrumental, scientifically grounded portion of the argument consisting in citing precise, statistically derived pollution measures. The overall effect is to couch this metaphorically constructed 'lurking evil' in substantively measurable terms. The rhetorical force of the claim is achieved by mixing poetry with hard-core, empirically verifiable reality.

A counter-claim, from a company spokeswoman, comes next.

Paragraph 6 [Background]: *'Vicki Heidel, a company spokeswoman, said last week that federal and state regulators granted the construction permits after being convinced of the incinerator's safety.'*

Paragraph 7 [Background]: *'Waste Technologies and the Columbiana County Port Authority, which owns the land on the Ohio River where the plant is being built, have claimed the plant will boost the fortunes of economically distressed East Liverpool.'*

The above two paragraphs together provide the counter-assertion, wrapping it in a loosely combined regulatory and economic logic that serve as a strategic counterweight to the opponents' previously issued main claim: that the plant is a lurking evil that will harm human health and welfare. In terms of a Rhetorical Catetgory, this counter-response points to Regulatory (in the first paragraph) and Economic reasons (in the second) for why the plant should be granted the right to exist. The first part of the counter-claim

(paragraph 6) actually functions more directly under the Strategic rhetorical category, because Heidel appears to be invoking the regulatory realm of authority (the fact of government permit approval for the plant) as a strategic move – to demonstrate that the incinerator has been deemed safe by an independent, officially sanctioned source. Notice, as well, that Heidel is not quoted specifically; rather, the reporter embeds Heidel's comments (her counter-claim) within Background information. We don't actually encounter Heidel herself in the story, because the reporter has drawn this indirect quote from comments Heidel made previous to this particular story, thus the Background nature of this narrative unit.

Here we have the very frequent phenomenon of one schema category (in this case Verbal Reaction) being filtered through - embedded within - another category, Background. Paragraph seven is also a Background schema, this time pointing to two other sources that support the plant, neither one of which is quoted directly or indirectly. This is a strategic/functional move by the reporter that further enhances the rhetorical effect of the counter-claim already offered (in paragraph 6), but by attributing this Background statement to identified (though unquoted) sources it actually functions as Type 1, source-centered rhetoric.

Paragraph seven, in other words, bolsters the putative 'safety' attributed to the plant (by citing regulatory authorities) by adding that the plant will also be an economic plus for East Liverpool. The reporter's linguistic move in these two paragraphs is to pitch them as Background information by noting in the first paragraph that Heidel said something 'last week,' and mentioning in the follow-up paragraph that various sources 'have claimed' the plant will boost the local economy. As a reader, one is left to rely on

the good faith we have that the reporter is in fact accurately representing the views of certain sources (see Pietilla [1992] for further explication on 'linking discourses' between journalists and sources.) Rhetorically speaking, this is at least an honorable attempt by the reporter to balance the story with a counter-claim, in light of what appears to be the real case: that the reporter probably couldn't reach a person supporting WTI on that particular day for comment. Thus information in the form of a counter-claim that might have, in other circumstances, been presented through direct and/or indirect quotation of sources (Verbal Reaction) became, in this instance, a counter-claim filtered through Background material. (A point that can only be pondered is whether presenting a claim via the more distanced narrative means of Background may be less persuasive than one presented through the more active and dramatically rich Verbal Reaction schema.)

The rest of the story merely develops what the main topic has already established, by introducing two more opposition sources, both quoted directly, and allowing Sheen to reappear with two more long quotes. Interestingly, both James McBath Hoch and Jerry Kruth, WTI opponents from Pittsburgh, are also quoted using 'wind' metaphors. In referring to how pollutants are dispersed without regard to any particular pattern, Hoch notes that the wind can blow any direction it wants, "blowing east or blowing west." Kruth notes that WTI "affects everyone who breathes air." One can only wonder if these two were influenced by hearing and being impressed by Sheen's own Dylanesque wind metaphor delivered as part of his speech, or whether this use of the wind metaphor is purely coincidental; in any event, the reporter was probably not unaware of the cohesiveness of this metaphor when writing the story.

Although the last direct quote in the *Post-Gazette* story attributed to Sheen does not itself form a main claim, it does serve to bolster the apocalyptic image earlier established by opponents. The Sheen quote functions as pure moral invocation, almost as a jeremiad: "*We are number one in abortion, number one in child abuse, number one in AIDS, number one in killing people. We have to go deeper inside ourselves to find out who we are as a people*." These declarations, even assuming their veracity, do nothing in the way of adding 'evidence' against the wisdom of building the incinerator, nor do they rise to the level of a claim, an argument, because they lack supporting, evidentiary information (van Eemeren et al., 1997; Best, 1987; Brummett, 1994). But they are an effective rhetorical strategy in a purely emotional (*pathos*) sense that helps shore up the overriding moral suasion the Pittsburgh reporter has conveyed through sourcing and, equally important, through he and his editors' own metaphorical use of language.

By beginning and ending the story quoting Sheen, the reporter has framed the entire event, the protest demonstration, within a conflict centered, apocalyptic perspective. A Type 1 (source-centered) claim and counter-claim structure is offered in this article, with opponents in main-claim role, and the central counter-respondent (Heidel, the WTI spokeswoman) placed in the rhetorical position of having to strategically point to regulators, while other sources point to a hoped-for economic benefit, as two distinct reasons the incineration plant should be considered legitimate. This source-centered structure, as mentioned, does contain elements of Type 2 (reporter-centered) rhetoric, but nevertheless constrains this 'writerly' quality within the realm of source-attributed information.

The story conveys, both through quoted sources' initiating (main) claims and through its own journalist-centered characterizing language and imagery, a prevailing image of impending evil, which serves as the rhetorical frame of the news text. Claims and counter-claims occur as *part of* and give argumentative substance *to* this larger rhetorical frame, which we might call the Apocalypse frame, and which is itself established *throughout* the text, not only through schema-based claims-making activity but by any number of other narrative elements – photo, headline, positionality of sources, and unique wording and phrasing by the reporter.

Same-Day Story in the East Liverpool *Review*: June 3, 1991

The first significant fact about the same-day story in the *Review*, as for its presentation, is that it ran across the top of the front page, just under the newspaper banner. This signals to readers the importance of the story, at least from the newspaper editor(s') viewpoint. A three-column photograph of Martin Sheen accompanies the article. He is standing atop a speaker's platform, talking into a microphone, his finger pointing into the air as if making a significant point. The caption itself constitutes a mini-narrative, repeating information also found in the article. The caption notes, in part, that Sheen had "taken time out Sunday from making a movie in Pittsburgh to offer his support for a protest of the" incinerator. It also notes that Sheen had said he wanted to "know how much foreign waste would be accepted at the facility and exactly how jobs would be created for East Liverpool residents."

This statement does not itself constitute a claim, in the sense that I have defined that term, as a claim (an argument) must feature some kind of claim/support structure (van Eemeren et al., 1997), or at least some minimal supporting grounds or evidence, if only of

a moral nature. But the statement does present a challenge that draws on an inference; that treating "foreign wastes" (presumably, from foreign countries) is somehow not as acceptable as, presumably, an incinerator that would treat "domestic" wastes. The statement also implicitly calls into question the economic logic of locating the plant in the town. Thus the photo and caption function strongly as a rhetorical framing mechanism that poses a basic contrast of perspectives, but not as an argument per se. The rhetorical framing here draws on aspects of what Sheen said during the rally, but is interpretively 'packaged' (Gamson, 1992) by the newspaper itself as the predominant image; it initially frames our entry to the rest of the article.

The headline, a major framing device in news articles (van Dijk, 1988a&b; Marquez, 1980; Freimuth et al., 1984), works in concert with the photo and caption, but ironically, the headline here actually downplays Sheen's very active and leading role in the protest. By stating, simply, that*: 'Actor Sheen attends anti-WTI rally,'* the headline makes Sheen's role that of merely a passive observer. While the sentence is, grammatically, an active verb construction (*'Sheen attends'*), the semantic effect is to diminish Sheen's role in a way that actually contradicts the more active construction of Sheen's protest role as depicted by the rhetorical frame initially established by the photo and caption.

The headline is denotatively accurate but not truly reflective of Sheen's actual role in the demonstration or, for that matter, of the way he is portrayed in the rest of the article. This becomes more apparent in reading the lead sentence -- schematically speaking, the Topic, which reasserts Sheen's centrality as main actor*: 'Opponents of a toxic waste incinerator due to open next year in the East End need to intensify their battle against the*

plant, actor/director Martin Sheen told about 400 people Sunday at a rally in front of City Hall.'

Second paragraph [Verbal Reaction/direct quote]: " *'Future generations will ask how this monster got here,' Sheen said Sunday of the $128 million Waste Technologies Industries complex along the Ohio River on property leased from the Columbiana County Port Authority.'*

Even if we account for the headline's passive construction of Sheen's role (as an attendee rather than as active participant) by criticizing it as bad or at least bland headline writing, the linguistic effect of the first portion of the text is to present an ideological contradiction: The photo, caption, and lead and supporting paragraphs construct Sheen in exactly the opposite manner than he is depicted in the headline. We encounter, then, at the textual level, an ideological 'problematic' (Morley, 1992, pp. 65-70; Rooney, 1995), a thematic proposition or conjuncture (or a cluster of them) that fixes our interpretation on a discursive contradiction within the text, even before we are very far into it: Sheen as passive agent/Sheen as active protest leader.

Because editors write headlines and reporters write the news, there is always a two-step process at work in any news article. So we cannot necessarily attribute the contradictory meaning of the article to anything like a conspiracy on the part of the newspaper. Even if the headline is simply the result of uncreative headline writing, the fact that readers confront two divergent constructions of Sheen is significant in terms of how Sheen as character is personified. This is a rhetorical construction on the part of the newspaper, even if unintended. It works, here, at a thematic level rather than through the more conscious presentation or active rhetorical construction of a reporter or editor.

The article does contain one claim and two separate counter-claims, all Type 1 source-centered. Interestingly, the article actually presents the first counter-claim (in paragraph 3) *before* we are presented with the main claim to which the counter-assertion relates. But we can only recognize it as a counter-claim *after* we encounter, somewhat later in the article, the main claim. The second of the two counter-claims, presented schematically as background narrative (and which occurs, sequentially, before the main claim) is as follows:

Paragraph 3 [Background]: '*The WTI plant scheduled to be in operation next year will burn toxic wastes at extreme heat, rendering the harmful substances more than 99 percent inert, company officials and supporters of the project say.*'

The background narrative unit, the reporter's explanation of general information about the plant, also contains an embedded Verbal Reaction (indirect quote), providing information sourced to 'company officials' and WTI 'supporters.' This embedding of one type of narrative/schematic property (in this case, Verbal Reaction) *within* another (in this case, Background) is something found quite often in analyzing all 74 same-day articles for this study, and also occurred, as noted, in my previous analysis of the same-day *Post-Gazette* story.

The background information provided by the reporter, and sourced to WTI supporters, relates to the general, informational fact of the plant being scheduled to be in operation at some point in the future. But the actual counter-claim occurs within the embedded clause segment: that harmful substances will be 'rendered' '99 percent inert,' which is information tied specifically (in indirect-quote fashion) to WTI officials and supporters. By telling us, through sources, that the plant's pollution can be quantitatively measured to

the degree that all but 1 percent will be removed before being released into the environment, the counter-claim calls up the rhetorical authority of science; scientific studies would have had to have been conducted to confirm this measurement, and this pollution limit is conveniently attested to for rhetorical purposes by WTI supporters.

Another interesting feature of this embedded construction is that, as noted in previous discourse analysis examples, the counter-claim is attributed to phantom *collective* sources, 'company officials and supporters of the project,' yet in this article we actually hear, directly, from but a single supporter, WTI spokeswoman Vicki Heidel; she provides the other counter-claim in the article, which will be presented shortly. The collapsing of sources assumed to share a viewpoint, in the above manner, is another way to ideologically construct elements of the news text at a thematic level: Only one For source is encountered in the story, yet the writer projects a counter-claim through sources which, strictly speaking, are absent in the text, yet whom appear in phantom-like form, as 'company officials and supporters.' We are left to take the reporter's word that he has actually established the truthfulness of this multi-source-based assertion in some context *outside* of the confines of this particular article (Pietila, 1992). This kind of multi-sourcing helps establish an authoritative tone to a news article that may actually be based on a reporter having spoken to just a single source. In this way, the ideology of 'comprehensive reporting' is highlighted, even though it may be based on less-than-comprehensive sourcing.

The actual main claim to which the above statement serves as a counter-response is not found until five paragraphs later. The entire main claim actually is a result of three paragraphs working as one. It is also, significantly, the same main claim that is presented

in the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* piece. The East Liverpool reporter was attracted to Sheen's use of the Dylan quote, about not needing a weatherman to 'know which way the wind blows,' because this metaphor is used to introduce the article's main claim. It is clear from encountering in both articles the Dylan song material that Sheen himself used the Dylan quote as a rhetorical prop – both during his appearance at the University of Pittsburgh earlier in the day (which the *Post-Gazette* article stems from) and also later that day in East Liverpool. As will also be seen, the same pollution measurement figures, highlighted by opponents, are used in both articles as well. This alone is significant, providing evidence of how social movement actors consciously construct their own rhetoric to be media-friendly (Anderson, 1997; Gamson, 1995, 1992, 1990; Hansen, 1991; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Gitlin, 1980; Melucci, 1989; Edelman, 1988; Adoni & Mane, 1984).

The three-paragraph main-claim structure in the *Review* occurs as follows:

Paragraph 8 [Comment]: '*WTI opponents are concerned about what may be blowing in the wind after the incinerator, which is designed to burn some 60,000 tons of hazardous waste per year.*'

Paragraph 9 [Consequences]*: 'Nine area physicians representing the Columbiana County Medical Association stated their opposition Sunday to the incineration system in a resolution challenging what they contend is a health risk posed by emissions from a 150-foot smokestack at the facility.*'

Paragraph 10 [Verbal Reaction, indirect quote]: '*Dr. Ted Hill stated the facility designed by owner and Switzerland-based Von Roll, will emit 79 tons of inhalable particles a year, including 4.7 tons of lead, 1.3 tons of mercury and almost 100 tons of sulfur.*'

The above three paragraphs, attributed variously to 'opponents,' physicians, and Dr. Hill, collectively constitute the main claim -- that WTI opponents are 'concerned' about what's blowing in the wind, and that physicians can point to actual, measurable pollution that will result if the plant is built. It is to this three-paragraph main claim that paragraph three (where the reporter tells us that WTI supporters say plant pollution will be 'rendered' 99 percent 'inert') serves as a counter-assertion. Paragraph three by itself makes for valuable information, but in relation to the main claim made by opponents later in the story (paragraphs eight, nine and 10), paragraph three is transformed into a response, yet this response, as noted, *actually comes first*, sequentially, in the news story. In other words, without the information in paragraphs eight through 10, the WTI-sourced material in paragraph three would have functioned *only as basic explanatory information.*

The important point here, from a discourse-analytic perspective with regard to claims-making activity, is that the news reader does not often come face to face with smoothly articulated claims and counter-claims in some logical, sequential order, although this does happen in some articles. It is not as if arguments and responses in the news text are logically ordered, as might be the case in a formal debate. Rather, the news text often functions more as a bumptious brew of objective detail and rancorous opinion mixed together into a zigzagging narrative, and only rarely as a solidly argued, logical construct. As this article shows, what appears first as information can be transformed later, from the perspective of claims-making, into a counter-assertion.

Rhetorically, the opponents' main claim draws on moral authority via the metaphor of the lurking evil - 'blowin' in the wind' - mixed potently with scientific authority, the litany of scientifically derived pollution figures that are believed to be the 'real-case'

scenario if the plant is allowed to start up. The counter-claim itself (in paragraph three, from WTI sources) draws on scientific authority to rhetorically make its own case -- that a modeling study has shown all but 1 percent of plant pollutants will be 'rendered inert.' It is interesting to note (and to wonder at) the reporter's decision to place information favorable to WTI (that the plant would remove 99 percent of pollutants) in such a prominent position in the article. Whether a conscious decision to give local WTI supporters the opening salvo, although as a counter-claim, or whether the reporter simply placed that information in that particular position without much thought, the practical effect is to draw the reader's attention *first* to WTI's position. The three-paragraph main-claim structure offered by WTI opponents is subordinated, not presented until paragraphs eight through 10. Still, by initially establishing the rhetorical frame of the article, as mentioned, through inclusion of the photo of a pontificating Sheen and the accompanying photo caption that is highly critical of WTI, the *Review* story cannot be said to be overtly biased toward WTI, unless we consider the somewhat contradictory fact that the headline itself *downplays* Sheen's role to that of mere *participant*. This textual phenomenon was noted earlier as an 'ideological problematic' evident from a close reading of textual structure and content.

It is also apparent from the *Review* article that the East Liverpool reporter either plagiarized some descriptive language used in the *Post-Gazette*, which at that time (1991) came out a few hours before the *Review*, the latter publication being an afternoon paper. (It became a morning paper only about two years ago.) Or, it is possible that WTI opponents could have issued a press release to both papers, and that both then extracted actual language from the press release. In any event, the *Review's*, *'WTI opponents are*

concerned about what may be blowing in the wind after the incinerator., which is designed to burn some 60,000 tons of hazardous wastes a year,' and the *Post-Gazette's 'What concerns the protesters is what may be blowing in the wind after the incinerator, designed to burn 60,000 tons of hazardous waste a year...'* are at the very least (giving the *Review* the benefit of the doubt) a good example of the intertextual nature of news reporting.

News reporters rely heavily on checking each others' reports and on comparing facts to assure, if only as a professional cover, that their reports will not diverge dramatically (Tuchman, 1972; Strentz, 1992; Ericson et al., 1989.) The above case appears to be something more than even this, an example of one news reporter's sense of the event having merged not only factually but linguistically so close to another paper's story that the claims and attendant language and imagery in both are nearly identical. It appears that what may have occurred is that the *Review* reporter read the *Post-Gazette* account of the Sheen-led protest, and then incorporated some of the *Post-Gazette's* characterizing language, word for word, into his own story.

Finally, the other counter-claim in the *Review* story, and which also is a counter-response to the main claim offered by WTI opponents in paragraphs eight through 10, occurs near the article's end, in the 16th and 17th paragraphs:

Paragraph 16 [Verbal Reaction, indirect]: *'Vicki Heidel, a spokesman for WTI, said later that people who oppose the plant should remember that it would destroy toxic waste, not create or stockpile it.'*

Paragraph 17 [Verbal Reaction, direct]: ' "*We are doing something positive about cleaning up the environment instead of giving it a lot of lip service,' she said. 'I'm*

curious about what Mr. Sheen's qualifications on waste incineration are and I can't help but wonder what the film industry is doing with the hazardous waste they are creating'."

Paragraph 16 characterizes Heidel's remarks as a set-up for the actual quote from her, presented in the next paragraph. The set-up indirect quote actually presents the immediate main claim -- that WTI is destroying, not creating wastes, attributing this statement to Heidel. Rhetorically, this statement is strategically geared to highlight a difference, between the activity of *creating* and the act of *destroying* wastes. It is bolstered in the follow-up quote by Heidel, when she remarks that WTI is "doing something positive about cleaning up the environment," a logical counter-move against the opponents' main claim: that the environment will be, in effect, destroyed by WTI.

In a strategic move to contrast Sheen's amateur environmental status with the professional status of WTI itself as a pollution-destroying industry, Heidel rhetorically positions Sheen within his *own* polluting industry (the movie business) to call into question both the pollution record of that industry and, as is demonstrated in the second part of the quote, Sheen's lack of formal/scientific qualifications, given the fact that he is, after all, only an actor. For these reasons, the rhetorical category to which these two paragraphs (this counter-claim) are tied is Strategic, although as is often the case in drawing upon a rhetorical category, in invoking one, others are, at least implicitly, called into service.

In Heidel's remark, Sheen's scientific credentials (or rather, lack of them) are called into question and posed, implicitly, against WTI's own. Recalling the other WTI counter-claim, regarding the 99 percent removal of pollutants from stack emissions, we are reminded as well that WTI can indeed make some claim to a scientific basis for its right

to exist. But the opponents, by presenting their own scientifically derived figures, put forth an equally strong claim. Both WTI opponents and supporters, then, use science as an institutional authority within which their opposing claims are ideologically grounded. By invoking the authoritative realm of science, their claims are thus bolstered rhetorically, given substance beyond mere statements of belief and therefore achieving the force of rational/instrumental arguments.

The *Review* article actually ends with a playful image that is itself ideologically loaded. The reporter reminds us, in case we thought otherwise, that "*not everyone*" at the rally was there to oppose WTI: '*A group carried signs welcoming the plant and three women in the crowd said they were fans of Sheen's and asked a newspaper photographer if they could buy pictures of the actor from him.*' The 'him' is, of course, the news writer of this article: Glenn Clark, who also took photographs for the story, and who must by journalistic dictate detach himself from the action. The use of third-person is the conventionally accepted tense marker for objective journalism, serving to guard the reporter against charges of being too close to the action being reported (Tuchman, 1972; Bell, 1991; van Dijk, 1988a&b). But the reporter's own thematic attachment to the scene of action comes to light in this closing paragraph, reminding us that "not everyone" is against WTI, and that Sheen is, after all, a star (someone from whom others hope to get an autograph) and not, just as Heidel has earlier informed us, an expert on pollution. The way in which the *Review* article opens and, especially, closes, can be significant, according to Strentz (1989), in decoding the underlying ideology of the news text, even if that ideology is not conscious (van Dijk, 1988a&b).

Conclusion

In the above textual analyses, I have gone into great detail in analyzing various discursive features of the same-day/same-issue article from the *Post-Gazette* and *Review* in hopes of bringing out both similarities and differences in as specific a manner as possible. There is no question that what I have produced in analyzing these two articles – and this applies to other articles, as well – is my own interpretation, one that has links with literary interpretation (Machery, 1978; Jameson, 1982) geared at understanding the text as a production and texts, also, as conduits for ideological reproduction (van Dijk, 1993; 1991b; Jensen, 1987; Morley, 1992). I attempted to search out not just systematic narrative properties (claims, counter-claims, schema and rhetorical categories), but underlying themes, motivations and ideologies connected to these properties. It is an interpretation that is more than simply a casual impression of what I take to be the "meaning" of either article (even though subjective impressions are crucial in the act of reading.) The discourse-analytic approach I have followed requires one to pay intensive and extensive attention to the text as a holistic property (Couture, 1989; Pietila, 1992; Dunmire, 1997; Kitis & Milapides, 1997; Jensen, 1987, 1986; van Dijk, 1991a) contrary to the methodology of content analysis, where only pre-specified elements within the text are considered important. Discourse analysis as applied in this study provides for an interpretation grounded in a narrative methodology (the news schema categories), and attentive to the manner in which arguments and counter-arguments can be identified and to how they inhere within a given text to produce a rhetoric grounded in various authority structures (Rhetorical Categories) constitutive of discursive fields.

I have also drawn upon my own and others' formal knowledge of journalism as a discursive practice grounded within a particular kind of knowledge-producing institution – the mass media. With this overarching interpretive, discourse-analytic perspective in mind, I believe I have shown that both newspapers in this same-day article constructed the protest rally in highly conflictual terms, in rhetorical-framing terms as a kind of *battle* metaphor, with WTI opponents and proponents clearly labeled and positions clearly staked out. (Recall the *Review's* lead sentence, where the reporter tells us that Sheen urged opponents *to 'intensify their battle against the plant.'*)

Both papers featured Sheen as main actor. Both posed his remarks in the context of an even better-known protest character, Bob Dylan, whose songs "Blowin' in the Wind" and "Subterranean Homesick Blues" were both invoked to help frame the protest/battle metaphor. Both framed their stories with photos of opponents, in the *Post-Gazette*, the 'alternative' lifestyle couple featuring a protest placard in the foreground; in the *Review*, Sheen himself pontificating to the assembled crowd. Both papers presented Type 1 claims and counter-claims, with the main claims in both papers coming from WTI opponents, and counter-claims coming from WTI sources.

The *Review* quoted four sources, three of them directly, and three of the four quoted sources were WTI opponents. The *Post-Gazette* also quoted four sources (three of them opponents, as well.) While the sole WTI proponent in both articles was WTI spokeswoman Heidel, she was quoted directly in the *Review* and only indirectly in the *Post-Gazette*. By giving Heidel a more direct opportunity to speak in her own words by direct quotation, the *Review* personified WTI more directly as an institution with a human face (Sigal, 1986), placing the incinerator, through its spokesperson, on more equal

footing with directly-quoted opponents. One can also argue that directly quoting Heidel shows that the *Review* deemed her more newsworthy (Massey, 1998, p. 398).[24] On the other hand, by quoting Heidel and WTI supporters indirectly, and schematically via Background, ('Heidel...said last week'...'WTI and the Columbiana County Port Authority...have claimed'), the *Post-Gazette* made WTI and its supporters seem a more distant and less substantial force, and perhaps less newsworthy, than the directly quoted WTI opponents, whose views were more prominently offered throughout the article.

Both newspapers used the more reporter-centered schema categories of Comment (evaluation) and Consequences (analysis) to present Type 1, source-centered claims, thus both engaged in newspaper-based analysis even as they linked claims to identified sources. Both papers, then, rhetorically framed their presentations of the East Liverpool protest in a convenient battle metaphor, an us-against-them binary opposition that, when considered in light of structural framing devices such as overall source selection, claim structures, and headline and photo use, result in two stories that present the conflict more from a 'doomsday view' of opponents than from the corporate, institutionally sanctioned, 'positive' view of WTI. (i.e., `We're destroying wastes, not creating them.')

"Future generations will ask how this monster got here," Sheen is quoted as saying in the *Review's* second paragraph. *"What concerns protesters is what may be blowing in the*

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[24] Citing Hallin, Manoff & Weddle (1993), Massey (1998, p. 398) writes of the attempt to gauge 'source dominance': "A source whose information is conveyed predominantly through full quotations arguably was deemed so newsworthy that he or she deserved a *direct voice* to readers. Sources given *indirect voices* - whereby information they provided is reported chiefly by partial quotes or paraphrases - could be said as having a lesser newsworthiness. Reporters allow certain sources to dominate the news by allowing them to speak directly to news audiences." This gets at the distinctions I made earlier, in the previous chapter on direct and indirect-quote use, between the rhetorical practice of using direct quotation to allow sources to speak for themselves, and the rhetorical decision to use indirect quotation as a more analytical, detached method of reporter-centered assessment of facts and issues. Both practices are rhetorical choices on the part

wind after the incinerator," the *Post-Gazette* tells us in the reporter's own commentary, which metaphorically characterizes the alleged view of opponents. The *Review* uses virtually identical language pertaining to the Dylanesque 'wind' metaphor, either because of plagiarism or because of the opponents' effective press release-writing, or perhaps because of both.

But at a deeper level, the ideological problematic in the two articles differs. The *Review* seems the more conservative and contradictory in presenting various kinds of information; it appears to hedge its conflict/battle metaphor even as it highlights it. On the one hand, Sheen is presented on page one in the *Review* as banner news, as the active agent leading the local protest. On the other hand, one of the central framing devices in the article -- the headline -- relegates Sheen's role to that of mere participant, someone who '*attends anti-WTI rally*.' Even if this is the result of bad or bland headline writing, as a textual feature it presents a thematic contradiction, given the more active role Sheen is accorded elsewhere. Taken into account with the appearance of two WTI counter-claims -- the one in the third paragraph, before we even encounter the main claim, and the lengthy quote from Heidel at the story's end -- the *Review* appears to give us, in one sense, a more balanced claim and counter-claim structure than what is offered by the Pittsburgh paper. At the same time, this balancing act, when considered in conjunction with the passive headline and, especially, with the reporter's somewhat personalized (albeit third-person) summing up in the end -- where we're reminded that '*not everyone*' at the rally was against WTI -- the *Review* appears to hedge or rein in the strident, opponent-centered, conflict/battle rhetoric that it otherwise so prominently portrays.

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of the reporter, but one choice gives over some linguistic control to sources, while the other choice, to use

In this interpretation we are confronted with a contradiction that strikes at the heart of a traditionally held, almost sacrosanct view in American journalism: The balance that is so routinely advocated as a means of achieving fairness can also function as a prop for assuring that conventional, institutionally powerful sources will always have their say, in one form or another.

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indirect quotation, maintains linguistic control more in the hands of the reporter.

Chapter 7

News Discourse Analysis Within Different Motivational Frames

As a way of bringing together in the broadest terms a comparative analysis of various narrative elements in WTI news stories from among the 74 same-day/same issue articles culled from both papers, this chapter offers discourse analyses of *Review* and *Post-Gazette* articles composed from within the four major Motivational Frames that emerged in this study. Those frames (institutional/organizational discursive structures) and related sources (institutional/organizational actors) are: Opposition (environmentalists and other WTI opponents); Regulation (the U.S. EPA and other regulatory agencies); Legal (the courts as well as lawyers offering legal views); and WTI (company employees, spokespersons, and others supporting WTI.) In other parts of this study (especially in Chapter 3), the motivated sources connected to these and other Motivational Frames were coded as either For (pro-WTI), Against (anti-WTI), or Neutral (those who by institutional mandate cannot express a personal opinion on WTI through they may have some legal, regulatory or political authority over its operations). Although these coding designations are not the central focus of the present chapter, they should be kept in mind when different source types are analyzed.

Frame, Discourse, & Text

At the rhetorical-textual level, the Motivational Frame can best be thought of as a *discourse frame* – discourse itself being defined as "fully contextualized social action and interaction. It refers to the social practices in and through which textual meanings are made" -- to the "plurality of social discourses" articulated within a given society and

pertaining to a given issue (Thibault, 1991, p. 120). A *text* is a discrete instance of various social discourses, or, as Thibault (1991, p. 120) puts it, "Text is a record or a product of the social semiotic processes in and through which it is made and used...Text is the realization of (typically) a plurality of social discourses." Thus in this study, my close reading of news articles is, conceptually, an engagement with the text (the symbolic totality that exists in the form of a news story) as a way of understanding the larger, contextual, social-discursive rhetorics articulated by social actors representing various institutions or organizations (discourse frames.) Applied conceptually to social-structural media theory (Tichenor et al., 1980), this linguistic, social-constructionist view would conceptually translate *social* structures into discourse or *discursive* structures.

The Motivational Frame, in this study, is associated with various social, economic, cultural, political and/or environmental institutions and to corresponding institutional and/or organizational actors (motivated sources) whose institutionally/organizationally framed discourses appear, in WTI news stories, as statements attributed to news sources. News media and other social institutions work hand in hand to effect social control (Tichenor et al, 1980; Ericson et al., 1991). Institutional authorities' rhetorical ability to make legitimate claims is tied to their strategic ability to gain media publicity as a means of securing social consent for institutional views (Ericson et al., 1991, p. 8). This process of media-filtered consent occurs via "*institutional frames* and their imprints on reality and morality" (Ericson et al., 1991, p. 8, emphasis added).

Tichenor et al. (1980), in the language of social-systems theory, characterize news media as agents of social control working in conjunction with other institutional actors: "What is called 'news judgment,' 'censorship,' or 'publicity' is, in each case, a decision

about information and therefore an act of control...despite [a] lack of deliberate consciousness" (Tichenor et al., 1980, p. 21). Here, Tichenor et al. imply an unconscious dimension to mass-media communication practices, or at least a rather unreflective decisionism that, it would seem, results from social-structure and professional newsmaking routines. Information produced for public consumption exists as a "joint activity of professionals within the mass media channels and professionals who have advocacy functions for interdependent special interest groups," effecting a "form of system linkage" (Tichenor et al., 1980, p. 15).

Along these same lines, then, discourse as conceived in the present study exists initially (conceptually) as a sociological rather than as a strictly linguistic (textual) phenomenon, in the form of social agents operating within real-world institutions or organizations. The organization or institution is *motivated* by certain symbolically articulated goals - translated at the operational level into institutional/organizational practices - and these goals are seen within the organization/institution as central to the functioning of that organization or institution. This is not to say these goals are always clearly articulated and/or understood by institutional/organizational agents; in fact, in some contemporary thinking about the logic of institutions, a fair amount of ambiguity over institutional/organizational goals may well be the norm (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). But institutions and organizations do have formal, symbolically formulated goals, regardless of how well they are articulated, and these goals must at some level be understood or played out by institutional/organizational actors.

From a sociology of knowledge/social constructionist perspective, Berger and Luckmann (1967), according to Powell & DiMaggio (1991, p. 21), define institutions as

cognitive constructions constituted by, in Berger and Luckmann's words, "a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors." The "actors" referred to in the previous statement are what in my study are considered *motivated sources*. Regulatory officials with the U.S. EPA, employees or spokespersons for the WTI incinerator, and members of any local, regional or national environmental groups (Save Our County, Greenpeace, etc.) all are social agents or actors whose rhetorical perspectives pertaining to the WTI controversy were governed by, and therefore framed from within, the respective institution (*motivational frame*) to which each agent belongs. These social agents are *motivated*, when contacted by news reporters writing WTI-related stories, to put forward in the most persuasive manner their respective institutional perspectives on the WTI issue. My concept of Motivated Frame/Motivated Source thus recognizes that institutions and organizations produce discourse in ways constrained by internal rules and practices expressed symbolically.

Symbolic Framing & Objectivity as Professional Norm

Institutional/organizational perspectives achieve textual realization (Thibault, 1991) in the form of various social agents being quoted as knowledgeable sources in news articles, which linguistically transform these motivationally framed messages (discourse frames) into the discrete, *symbolic frame* of the news report itself. This symbolic framing, occurring at the level of the textual symbol-making, is what media studies utilizing framing as a concept tend to focus upon (Entman, 1993, 1991; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Gitlin, 1980). Kintsch & van Dijk (1978) construe frames in a more individual-psychological sense, as the pre-existing mental schemas or scripts an individual applies to make sense of media content, although van Dijk's notion of schema categories, the

narrative superstructure of the news text (1988a&b; 1985a&b; 1983) is similar to what Entman (1993) would call 'textual' framing – one of four different levels of framing he theorizes in any text. The focus in the present study, however, is to consider framing from both this textual-symbolic level (symbolic framing) as well as, and perhaps more importantly from a rhetorical claims-making perspective, as being initiated by those institutions that typically serve as major news actors who actually generate much of the day's news. Entman (1993) and Pan & Kosicki (1993) do pay attention to this extra-textual level of framing, but the vast majority of framing studies seem to downplay the initiating role of institutions and news sources in favor of an almost exclusive analytical attention to recurring themes, symbols, and images – either within the text or within the individual interpreting it.

In producing stories for publication, reporters are themselves motivated by their occupational, professionally dictated need for 'balanced' and comprehensive information. As a result, reporters seek out - in addition to the occasional viewpoint from the 'person on the street' - institutional/organizational sources representing various viewpoints, and whose statements are then quoted directly or indirectly. The well-established institutional/professional nexus between recognized social actors, on the one hand, and reporters, on the other hand, who translate these actors' views into stories for mass consumption, is the rhetorical domain within which contemporary journalism exits and that consequently constrains reporters to construct stories in predefined, professionally sanctioned ways (Tuchman, 1972, 1978; Ericson et al., 1991, 1989). This rhetorical domain, an ingrained system of linguistic constraints, results in news stories framed from within the views of sanctioned social actors (Ericson et al., 1991) and, consequently, from

within the established linguistic practices and institutional logic of professional journalists, for whom objectivity is the overriding occupational norm (Phillips, 1977; Tuchman, 1977; Hirsch, 1977; Lipari, 1996; Durham, 1998)

Professional norms guiding journalists in producing stories are "largely molded by the organizational constraints on, and bureaucratic convenience mandated by, mass media organizations" (Hirsch, 1977, p. 36; see also Molotch & Lester, 1974).

Rhetorical framing at the discrete, symbolic (textual) level occurs as reporters select which source statements to use, and at which specific points in a story to use them, in addition to any other documentary information (reports, lawsuit material, statistical information, etc.) that may be included. Though constrained by the need to quote socially recognized institutional/organizational sources (Ericson et al., 1989, 1991; Tuchman, 1972, 1978; Fishman, 1980), reporters are still relatively autonomous in their own discrete framing of stories. They have a high degree of creativity in picking and choosing how exactly to shape the elements of a story as well as whom to quote and at which points in the story to quote them. Their relative autonomy results as well from the professionally recognized need to produce easy-to-understand stories for mass consumption, for a general audience (Strodthoff et al., 1986, p. 139; Vivian, 1997), rather than highly complex, technical reports for more specialized consumption.

Journalists must tell 'good' stories. "Regardless of the genre of news in which they work, journalists hold certain commonsensical understandings of what makes a good story and how it should be told," and these commonsensical understandings appear to relate to the most "ancient storytelling conventions" (Ehrlich, 1996, p. 2. See also, Darnton, 1975; Roeh, 1989; and Davis, 1990, pp. 166-171) Thus journalists follow their

own ideological rules and practices, based in the discursive logic of their own institution, the mass media. These rules and practices must be squared with those of the various sources whom journalists rely upon for news (Fishman, 1980; Ericson et al., 1989; Sigal, 1986, 1973; Roshco, 1975; Tuchman, 1978). As Wolfsfeld (1991) remarks of the interactive relationship between political antagonists' and the media:

> The relationship between political actors and the press is much more than a straightforward business deal: it is a form of social interaction in which the behaviors of each side are regulated by elaborate, independent sets of ideologies which go far beyond simple calculations of cost and benefit. The most useful way for researchers to deal with this aspect of the relationship is to focus on the interpretive frames which are put forth by the mass media and the antagonists (p. 3).

The Motivational Frame itself embodies the discursive logic -- the symbolic rules and practices -- that exist within any defined institution or organization. It contains the intellectual/social "field" characteristics (Prosise et al., 1996) described in Chapter 6, inasmuch as an actor within an organization or institution possesses certain skills and professional knowledge that identifies the actor as a group member. The Motivational Frame is *motivational* in that a reporter writing a story comes into contact with persons (motivated sources) associated with a particular institution, organization, or group, and these individuals are motivated to offer views on an issue at hand *from within the discursive logic of their respective institutional realm.* Moreover, any particular institution or organization is motivated, in some cases, to actively seek out the press for coverage, but in other cases to avoid the press. Regardless of whether a motivated source wishes to be in or out of the news, he or she will, if willing to speak to the press at all, *present the viewpoint of his or her particular institution.* When these views are

retranslated into the language of news, the Motivational Frame has been transformed into the symbolic framing of the news text itself.

Motivational Frame Distinctions, Claims-Making, & Source Use

With respect to controversial issues, these group-sanctioned views, ideally gleaned from a number of group-based perspectives, are translated into the journalistic language of the "news report" in the form of claims and counter-claims (arguments featuring a claim/support structure [van Eemeren et al., 1997]) grounded in various rhetorical warrants (Best, 1987), and ultimately distributed through the news schema categories, mainly Verbal Reactions (both direct and indirect quotes), and Context and Background, and less often those of History, Consequences, and Comment. Given the highly contentious nature of the WTI dispute, analyzing how source arguments were depicted by the newspapers is a fitting example of studying 'conflict discourse' (Candlin, 1987). The value of analyzing such discourse is that it informs us about the social/discursive formation and underlying ideological perspectives from which and through which conflict is expressed. From a critical discourse-analysis perspective, ideology is "coded implicity" in the various narrative structures of the text (Fowler, 1987, p. 482).

As explained in the previous chapter, claims-making itself comes in two rhetorical forms, either Type 1 source-based arguments featuring some claim/support (evidentiary) structure, or Type 2 claims, which exist not as arguments *per se*, but more loosely as journalist-centered ***summarization*** and ***analysis***, usually pertaining to source-based information but sometimes functioning as a reporter's independent analysis. Most claims-making in all articles examined occurred as Type 1, source-based – an indication

that reporters for both newspapers relied heavily on a variable range of viewpoints to "tell" the story of WTI.

The Opposition Frame

Against sources, those associated with the Opposition Frame, were, in this study, always connected with one or more local or, in the case of Greenpeace-related sources, international environmental organizations. The Opposition Frame comprised 16 of the 74 same-day/same-issue stories analyzed in this study; in other words, eight same-day/same-issue stories in each paper. Regardless of which particular environmental organization one might belong to, any source opposing the WTI plant automatically shares a certain outlook on why the plant, from his/her environmental/oppositional viewpoint, should not be allowed to open. The usual practice of news reporters writing from an Opposition frame is to feature (position) WTI opponents as the central claims-makers, and then include responses (counter-claims) from WTI supporters, almost always incinerator spokespersons and, to a lesser degree, officially neutral sources such as EPA regulators.

Thus, in the Opposition frame, those working to shut down or severely limit the plant's ability to operate received primary attention, in terms of source positioning in news reports. The chief means of expressing these situated views was through covering protests, rallies, and press conferences organized by WTI opponents. In this regard, the Oppositional Frame is *event-centered.* Because their actual views and intellectual perspectives are often marginalized by mainstream media, environmental protesters and others who might typically be considered social deviants are virtually forced to engage in high-profile protest actions and other media-event strategies as an attention-getting

strategy (Ashley & Olson, 1998; Gamson, 1992; Gitlin, 1980; Tichenor et al., 1980; Tuchman, 1978.)

The Regulatory Frame

A source from the Regulatory Frame (in this study almost always functioning as a Neutral source) most often was professionally affiliated with the U.S. EPA or with any number of state/regional/local public agencies with regulatory powers over environmental matters pertaining to WTI. The Regulation frame comprised 26 same-day/same issue stories in both papers; 13 stories in each paper. While an opposition source would, typically, oppose, for example, the granting of a specific permit for WTI based upon moral or scientific or health-centered arguments, the regulatory source would point conversely to studies, such as inspection reports or other documentary data not to mention prevailing laws, that would be held forth as reasons why WTI should or could be granted the permit, provided the company followed stipulated rules, laws and guidelines. The reporter covering the WTI story most often would encounter a regulatory motivational frame via the public release of a regulatory report or legal ruling pertaining to some aspect of the incinerator over which a specific regulatory agency had authority.

The Legal Frame

As part of the Legal Frame, the legally affiliated source (which usually in this study was coded as Neutral, but did sometimes include some lawyers working on behalf of either WTI or its opponents) would present the discursive logic of his or her organization, usually that of the jurisdictional law court. Legal frame stories totaled 18 of the 74 total same-day/same issue news articles analyzed. The typical legal story stems from (thus is discursively framed from) a court ruling pertaining to WTI, from the filing of a lawsuit

by opponents, WTI, or regulatory sources, or from an actual court trial, such as when movie actor Martin Sheen and other WTI opponents were sued for trespassing on WTI property.

The WTI Frame

Finally, the WTI (Waste Technologies Industries, Inc.) Frame reflects the discursive logic of the incinerator company itself and its Swiss-based owner, Von Roll Inc. Although only eight of the 74 same-day/same-issue stories formally analyzed in this study derive from this frame, WTI-framed stories are worth studying as prime examples of how WTI sources themselves were motivated to seek out reporters to attempt to persuade them to write stories from the company's viewpoint. The professionally written press release or 'prepared statement' is a key rhetorical implement in this regard.

Motivational Frames, then, function as initial ordering devices designed to secure the attention of the news reporter, whose own interest is simply to produce a credible and dramatically compelling story (Davis, 1990). To the extent a source within a particular Motivational Frame is able to interest a reporter in actually writing a story, and assuming the source believes his or her views have been adequately represented by the reporter, the source has successfully accomplished a rhetorical goal; he or she has been able to present a specific viewpoint on a given issue of importance to the group with which he or she is affiliated. It is true that the particular 'motivating' source's view will typically not stand alone in a story, that it will be challenged by counter-source quotes. It is nonetheless the case that by initiating the story, the motivating source's initially offered story frame will tend to set the overall story 'tone,' if only because the lead sentence and headline tend to be couched from that storytelling perspective. Even in cases where the motivated source

would rather not be "in" the news (such as in cases where a WTI source offers only a "no comment," coded in this study as a Strategic rhetorical move, in terms of the Rhetorical Categories discussed in the previous chapter), the source has still presented an institutional logic, at least on that given day: A no-comment is still an act of rhetoric: it tells the reader, 'It's better for me to be silent, for now.' The reporter engages in a strategic rhetorical move when he or she includes a 'no-comment' phrase in the news report. In the latter case, the generic, persuasional goal is to assure readers of the journalist's overriding commitment to pursuing 'all' sides of the story, thus helping persuade readers of the reporter's attempt to establish empirical veracity (van Dijk, 1988a&b). In broader terms, this rhetorical strategy is sanctioned by the news professional's 'ideology of objectivity' (Schudson, 1978; Tuchman, 1978; Schiller, 1981; Lipari, 1996; Durham, 1998). In sum, the Motivational Frame offers the bounded, discursive logic that sources within a particular frame offer to reporters. This logic actively shapes the intellectual parameters and ideological boundaries of what will be reported on, of what the actual story will contain.

In this chapter I analyze comparative same-day stories from each of the above-noted Motivational Frames. Rather than textually analyze virtually every aspect of each story, as I have done in some previous chapters, the analysis will be somewhat more economical in the interest of evaluating a larger number of different stories. To this end I focus most attention on the discursive framing mechanisms of motivated sources, the claims-making activities linked to various rhetorical categories (Type 1 rhetoric), as well as on the more actively symbolic framing practices of reporters and editors via headlines, photographs, lead sentences, and other narrative techniques (Type 2 rhetoric.) It is often the case, as the

following textual analyses will show, that Type 1 and Type 2 rhetorics co-exist within the same news story.

Same-Day Stories, *Review & Post-Gazette*

1) The Opposition Frame

Oct. 14, 1991

Post-Gazette Story

October 14, 1991, was a big day in East Liverpool, at least from the point of view of those who opposed the WTI incinerator. It marked the second time that Hollywood actor Martin Sheen had come to town to lead an incinerator protest, the first time being four months earlier. This time Sheen did something sure to get the attention of the press, radio and television journalists who'd assembled in the East End, near the WTI incinerator site, to report on the rally. He jumped the fence at WTI, and 33 others followed him over the metal and barb wire. They shared Sheen's view that the plant, if allowed to be built, would "spew potentially dangerous effluent into the air," as the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette's* reporter characterized the collective view of opponents in technical language that, in the original, must certainly have been a more colorful expression.

Both papers ran two photographs to accompany their stories, and the *Review* wrote two separate stories that ran together. Both papers' photographs showed Sheen inside the fenced area of WTI, with the *Review's* photo documenting Sheen being arrested by local police. The *Post-Gazette* ran yet another photo, of a boy sitting on his father's shoulders, his mouth wide open in a visible yell, and carrying a placard that read, "No WTI." The boy's mother is seen standing next to her husband. She has her fingers in her mouth to produce a whistle. The photo caption notes that the family "*live about three miles from*

the plant." Another photo by the *Review* appears inside the paper. It depicts Sheen, well-known local protester Terri Swearingen and others locked arm in arm, walking down the street, with one of the protesters carrying a placard that reads, "Refuse to Die for WTI."

The *Post-Gazette* headline reads, '*Actor, 33 others arrested*,' accompanied by a sub-head: '*Trespassing charged at incinerator protest*.'

The *Review* headline for its first of two WTI stories in that day's edition reads, '*33 arrested during WTI protest rally*.' The headline of the second WTI story states, '*Protesters to build information center*,' and is based on opponents' stated intentions to set up such a center near the protest site.

In comparative terms, both the East Liverpool *Review* and the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* clearly frame the story as a rancorous conflict. Indeed, in deciding to cover the protest rally, which was organized by those actively fighting WTI, the Motivational Frame (the Opposition Frame) imposes itself as the central event, the naturally occurring discursive logic through which the journalistic account *has* to unfold. Regardless of what any particular reader might believe about the relative worth of WTI, the stories themselves, which are based on the material event, *the protest event itself*, strongly convey the discursive logic that, presumably, opponents had hoped to have conveyed: their strongly felt commitment to stopping WTI, including engaging in civil disobedience. The *Post-Gazette* story focuses mostly on the physical event, and offers a simple claim/counter-claim structure in paragraphs three and four:

Paragraph 3 [Context]: '*Sheen was among an estimated 700 protesters who contend that the incinerator will spew potentially dangerous effluent into the air*.'

Paragraph 4 [Context]: '*But the incinerator's owner, Waste Technologies Industries, issued a statement last week that pointed to scientific studies that showed it could be operated safely.*'

In presenting the main claim, the *Post-Gazette*, through the linguistic technique of source collectivization, depicts Sheen and 700 protesters as a single force '*who contend.*' The claim contains no actual evidence; rather, it simply asserts a state of affairs (in this case an anticipated state of affairs) and therefore is part of what I labeled (as a Rhetorical Category) an Assertion. It would seem to lack the claim/support structure that van Eemeren et al. (1997) identify as constituting an argument. But the claim gains its rhetorical force (its support as an argument) not from any evidentiary chain of reasoning but rather from the very fact that, as the reporter interprets it, so many people, the 700 protesters named in the article, believe it to be true – the 700 protesters who speak as one collective source. One presumes that many of these several-hundred souls have done their homework and concluded the incinerator is a bad thing. The claim itself, though sourced to WTI opponents, is actually phrased (as Context) by the reporter. Whatever was actually said remains a mystery. The reporter has interpreted whatever it was Sheen said as being the exact view, the 'contention' of the 700 other protesters who showed up, when in fact it is, practically speaking, impossible to know what each one thought. The rhetorical move by the reporter in this instance is to collectivize the putative views of many into the view of a single, constructed entity.

As opposed to other kinds of claims that contain an assertion and some explicit grounds and/or warrants for believing it, the rhetorical category of Assertion offers a more implicit claim that must be actively interpreted to establish its evidentiary grounds.

In the rhetorical assertion offered here, it might be interpreted as: Sheen and 700 others showed up to protest the plant because they believe it will harm the environment. The fact that so many people showed up is itself strong evidence for at least considering this claim to have merit.

The counter-claim is clearly marked by the transitional device, "But." The reporter, in presenting the counter-claim, relies on a previously gathered "statement issued last week" (issued to whom and when we are not told) by the corporation itself, WTI, not by any named individual representing the corporation. The "statement...pointed to scientific studies" that claim the plant "could be operated safely." It is clear that the reporter either did not contact or was not able to get in touch with WTI officials for an actual, same-day response to the protest rally. But in the interest of balancing the story, the reporter called on contextual narrativization to re-state what supposedly had been offered as a kind of general explanation from some previous statement offered by WTI. The counter-claim points directly to the rhetorical category of *scientific authority* to gain its persuasive force. WTI is not itself a scientific institution, but by virtue of the many laws and regulations it must follow to gain an operating permit, plant officials must rely on scientific authority in declaring their operation 'safe.'

As we will see in analyzing the *Review's* account of the same protest, the press release issued by WTI contained much more than a simple declaration of the company's scientific legitimacy.

Same-Day Story: Evening Review

The two separate stories written on the same subject by the *Review* contain a total of seven main claims, all of them from opponents, with only one of those claims met by a

counter-assertion. This heavy focus on opponent-centered claims with almost no corresponding counter-claims tilts this story, on its face, substantially toward WTI opponents. I will focus on the single main and counter-claim structure, and discuss much more briefly the other main claims offered by opponents.

The first of five main claims offered by opponents occurs in one of the two *Review* stories featuring the headline 'Protesters to build information center.' The headline is misleading because the article is actually given over to presenting allegations against WTI made by opponents, rather than to discussing in any detail the information center highlighted in the headline. This misleading headline, by downplaying the actual thematic thrust of the article, is quite similar to the *Review's* headline framing its story of the first Sheen-led protest four months earlier. That headline – 'Sheen Attends Rally' – passivized his very active role in leading the local protest, as depicted in the article itself (see June 3, 1991, article analysis, previous chapter).

As for the present article: The main claim occurs in paragraph five, through the schema category of Background, and draws on three different rhetorical categories: science, strategy, and legal-regulatory:

Paragraph 5 [Background]: *'The controversial plant located on the Ohio River has been the target of protesters who say it threatens aquifers, doesn't comply with construction permits and is too close to the elementary school..'*

In this reporter-interpreted claim, the opponents draw on the institutional authority of science (the threatening of aquifers), of legal-regulatory logic (it doesn't comply with construction permits) and on a strategic maneuver (it's too close to the elementary school.) As no opponent is quoted directly making this claim, we must as readers trust

that the reporter's summation of the argument of 'protesters' accurately reflects their actual sentiments.

The counter-claim appears in paragraphs six and eight, as a Background schema accompanied by a direct quotation. Interestingly, the quotation itself is taken not from an actual source but from a prepared statement issued some time previously by WTI. In other words, the counter-claim is actually extracted from a company press release, the author of which must remain a mystery. The only attributed source for the counter-claim is the collective, corporate designation, *WTI*:

Paragraph 6 [Background]: '*WTI, which is owned by Von Roll America, has said the incinerator opponents have distorted the situation and raised false issues.*'

This press-release-as-counter-claim, most likely written by WTI's local personnel office staff or by the company's out-of-town paid public relations staff, draws upon a clear moral conviction: that to distort is ethically wrong; the distortion has occurred by *raising false issues*. Those at WTI basically are implying opponents have lied. This reporter-constructed background narrative serves as well as a set-up for a direct quote also drawn from the prepared statement previously released by WTI:

Paragraph 8 [Verbal Reaction/direct]: ' "*WTI has undergone an unprecedented amount of public, scientific, and regulatory scrutiny that has led independent experts to conclude the facility is safe for the community and an asset, both environmentally and economically," said Von Roll President Blake Marshall.*'

Marshall's rhetorical case is made by actually pointing to the institutions that have signed off on WTI as a safe handler of hazardous wastes -- science and regulatory authorities, as well as the public itself, inasmuch as the various institutions' investigations

and proceedings are publicly available for scrutiny. The 'independent experts' referred to include, as well, those who are supposedly qualified to conclude the plant will be an *economic* asset to East Liverpool. Thus, in these two paragraphs, the WTI counter-claim has drawn broadly on Moral, Scientific, Regulatory, and Economic rhetorical categories to gain persuasive force, although, interestingly, here these independent authority structures are only *invoked*; nothing like 'evidence' from any single authority is offered in any empirical, evidentiary sense. This is the argumentative equivalent of name-dropping. It is as if the mere naming of authorities whom apparently agree with one's mission is itself enough to provide persuasive force to an argument. Rhetorically, the power of ethos is at work, the credibility established by the 'presence' of socially recognized authority figures.

Also interesting to note is paragraph seven, a contextual narrative unit designed by the reporter to inform readers that "company officials" had said "in a news release last week" that they would "not be available for comment" during the Sunday protest rally. The reporter goes on to note that he had attempted, anyway, to get a WTI response on Sunday but that there was "no answer" at the local WTI business office. This paragraph reveals the strategic, rhetorical logic of both WTI (whose spokespersons purposely decided not be available) and of the newspaper reporter himself, who assures us of his concerted attempt to obtain a real, rather than canned response from WTI.

In presenting the actual counter-claim, the *Review* reporter did not make it clear that the quotes from WTI actually came from a press release. Still, the combined rhetorical effect of this three-paragraph passage (the two paragraphs of counter-claim, and paragraph seven, which informs readers of the absence of an actual WTI spokesperson) is

to qualify WTI's counter-response-via-prepared-statement as just that, pre-fabricated. The rhetorical strategy deployed in this instance by the reporter would seem to offer a telling example of how reporters use "irony" (Ettema & Glasser, 1994) to point up contradictions, inconsistencies or other tactics and practices engaged in by sources but deemed somewhat suspect by the reporter. The inconsistency, or irony, in the above case is the noted contrast between the absence of a real, speaking human being and the presence of a statement extracted from a press release.

The two *Review* articles contain another six separate, source-centered main claims from opponents, none of which are answered with counter-responses. Briefly, these claims involve: the use by opponents themselves of irony as a rhetorical maneuver ('not building the plant is the only way to make it safe'); various moral assertions ('the issue is not science or technology, but politics'; 'toxic jobs or no jobs is not a fair choice.'; 'people should be able to dictate what happens in their communities.'; and 'sometimes you must break legal laws to uphold moral laws.'); and lastly, an assertion-based rhetorical claim, that, 'Sheen and 500 to 600 others explained the dangers of the incinerator facility.' This last claim is notable not only for the different number of protesters it reports were present – the *Post-Gazette* story had it as 700. It is also interesting because it simply projects, as Context, the assumption (alleged by protesters) that the plant *is* dangerous, and relies on the moral force of the fact that hundreds of people had shown up to protest, thus implicitly lending rhetorical force to the otherwise unargued assertion.

In both the *Post-Gazette* and *Review* stories, the Opposition Motivational Frame, acted out by the motivated sources, the WTI opponents, forcefully projects a sense of

ongoing conflict. By presenting a single claim and matching counter-claim, the *Post-Gazette* article might be more technically 'balanced' compared to the *Review*, which in two stories presented seven opponent-framed main claims, just one of them matched by a counter-claim. But on another score the *Review's* coverage was certainly more informative, albeit less balanced from a claim/counter-claim perspective, if only because the stories presented more perspectives - in the form of allegations - about various aspects of the WTI controversy. Someone reading both stories might conclude, then, that the *Post-Gazette* article presented a balanced but somewhat tidy view of the WTI conflict, while the *Review's* account was slanted heavily toward the many (mostly unmatched) claims of WTI protesters but was nonetheless more richly informative than was the Pittsburgh paper's story.

The *Review's* opposition-slanted coverage (in two separate stories, both of which, however, focused on the WTI protest) might also be defended by virtue of the fact that it was based on a protest action that drew several hundred people, and that WTI - the subject of the protest - chose to 'respond' only in pre-fabricated terms, through a previously released company-approved statement. WTI's press-release strategy was a strategy of containment, based on providing an 'information subsidy' (Gandy, 1982; see also, Griffin & Dunwoody, 1995) to the news media. It allowed WTI to distance itself from the immediate scene of action while at the same time allowing the incinerator company to castigate its opponents in the most explicitly derogatory terms, as purveyors of distortion and false information. The need for dramatic, colorful commentary provided by sources, even if delivered in the bastardized, subsidized format of the press release,

may understandably be too much for any news reporter to resist. The rhetorical logic of WTI thus worked its way into the rhetorical story-telling logic of the local newspaper.

2) The Regulation Frame

June 23, 1993

The next two news stories written within the Regulatory Frame are examples of reporters actively mixing Type 1 and Type 2 rhetorical frames, combining the persuasive views of sources with the impressionistic summarizing and analysis of journalistic writing itself. Rather than analyze each story separately, as was the process followed in the previous examples within the Opposition Frame, I will analyze features of each newspaper's story in more side-by-side fashion, comparing similar narrative elements in each publication one after the other.

The news item on this particular day – June 23, 1993, just over two months *after* the WTI incinerator had opened for business – has to do with the U.S. EPA announcing that its own regulatory analysis has shown WTI had released, three months earlier (in March), too much dioxin into the ambient air. Thus the story was automatically framed rhetorically from the point of view of *neutral* regulatory sources dispensing this information to the press, therefore placing WTI sources on the defensive. This is the discursive context within which reporters would initially have understood the story as *storyline*: WTI has violated pollution guidelines. This is not the kind of information that WTI itself would make a point of providing to the press; if anything, WTI would be happy to have this particular storyline never become news. The fact that the information on the violation of a pollution guideline is generated by a regulatory institution with

jurisdiction over WTI actively constrains (frames) the way the story can be initially conceived. It is in this sense that the "facts on the ground" delimit and therefore initially frame the facts on the page; this is the basic operating logic behind the Motivational Frame.

Although the EPA analysis itself is not neutral – it concludes WTI has violated a government-regulated pollution guideline – EPA sources are themselves neutral toward WTI, in that regulators do not (indeed, cannot) openly advocate the shutting down of the incinerator as can environmentalists and other plant opponents.

Review and *Post-Gazette* Story Analysis

While the *Review* quotes four sources and the *Post-Gazette* only two, I hope to show through close textual analysis of both articles that despite having fewer sources, the *Post-Gazette's* account is actually more in-depth and critical than that of the *Review*.

The number of sources in any article can be an important determinant of the overall quality of the reporting, if only because more sources equal more viewpoints. Of course, if there are several sources in a story but all of them represent the same general viewpoint, the story would be unbalanced (Fico & Cote, 1999; Bodle, 1996; Voakes et al., 1996; Massey, 1998). Ideally, a balanced story is one offering a relatively large number of sources that represent a variety of relevant viewpoints. But multi-sourced stories are not by definition better or more thorough than are those with fewer sources, especially if a story with relatively few sources features viewpoint diversity and a degree of reporter-centered, informed analysis. Informed analysis (which as a news schema category tends to occur through the Consequence narrative property) can be an important part of a story. It gives to the story a critical dimension – reasoned insight from a reporter

not merely rehashing the views of sources but also providing his or her own informed judgment and assessement of the larger significance of the issue at hand. Rhetorically, this kind of reasoned analysis can work less to persuasively color the facts of the story – that would be more the function of reporter Comment -- than to lend to the story an air of detachment and criticality.

Somewhat ironically, a reporter engaging in informed analysis must move away from simply quoting sources, the latter of which is in one sense what defines the traditionally objective reporter – the ability to present 'just the facts' based only on what others say. Most of what constitutes daily newspaper journalism relies mostly on this reporting technique (Condit & Selzer, 1985; Lipari, 1996; Durham, 1998). The truly analytical reporter, however, must actively reflect on the issues or events at hand to offer some insight and conclusions about their larger significance, without going as far as offering overt commentary or opinion.

Though beginning the story by referring to the EPA's WTI dioxin-violation announcement, the *Review* article does not actually quote any EPA sources; it quotes three Against (WTI opponents) and one For (pro-WTI) source. All but one source (WTI opponent Terri Swearingen) is quoted indirectly. The story is framed discursively by the EPA (Regulatory Motivational Frame) and because it is automatically "negative" news for WTI, the *Review* reporter naturally seeks out WTI opponents to play out and comment upon this angle. On the other hand, of the two sources quoted in the *Post-Gazette*, neither is an opponent. The *Post-Gazette* instead quotes one Neutral and one For source -- a U.S. EPA spokeswoman is quoted directly and a WTI spokesman indirectly. As was the case with the same-day stories evaluated in the previous section from within the Opposition

Frame, the *Review* offers more sources but less balanced viewpoints; conversely, the *Post-Gazette* depicts the views of just two sources but their respective viewpoints are in relative balance – one source (EPA) explains the violation, the other (WTI) reacts to it.

The East Liverpool paper ran its story, headlined, '*WTI released too much dioxin*,' as banner news, appearing just under the front-page headline and signaling the story's importance (from the viewpoint of editors) to local readers. The Pittsburgh paper ran its story, headlined virtually identically to that of the East Liverpool paper's, *'EPA says WTI burn was high for dioxin,'* on page B-1. The *Post-Gazette's* positioning the story on page B-1 makes sense in terms of news-value judgment: Any pollution threat from WTI would be considered less a matter of concern in Pittsburgh, 40 miles away, than it would in East Liverpool, where a potential dioxin threat is more naturally a real threat and thus naturally front-page news. Both papers' headlines frame the story from the regulatory perspective even while not specifically naming the regulatory agency that has declared that the plant exceeded allowable dioxin levels. Cognitively, most readers would know that some institution would have had to have made this conclusion for it to be highlighted as news – they understand implicitly this kind of news-information structure (van Dijk, 1988 a&b; Kintch & van Dijk, 1978). For this reason, a headline writer does not have to designate the actual name linked to the declaration appearing in the headline. It is the declaration itself that carries most of the linguistic weight of the headline, because the role of the headline is to selectively summarize and interpret the importance or significance of an event or issue (Freimuth et al., 1984, p. 64; Bell, 1991, p. 165; Marquez, 1980). Headlines "are an important element of the news story that serve not only to attract

attention to a particular item, but also possibly to influence the interpretation of a story" (Freimuth et al., 1984, p. 64.)

The corresponding lead sentences in both papers make clear through specific source attribution that this conclusion, that WTI has violated a dioxin rule, is the viewpoint of the U.S. EPA. Both papers' lead sentences refer to "higher-than-expected" dioxin levels and both mention the pollutant's connection to cancer. It is clear the 'higher-than-expected' phrasing comes from an EPA press release because the *Review* places the phrase within quotes, but the *Post-Gazette* eliminates the quotes, giving the appearance that the phrase is the reporter's own characterization. Significantly, the *Post-Gazette* characterizes dioxin as "a suspected carcinogen," thus using the more technical word for something believed to cause cancer. The *Review* eliminates this qualification ("suspected") and simply states that the EPA had documented "higher-than-expected" (the EPA's exact phrase) '*levels of cancer-causing dioxins during its mid-March test burn...*' This is an example of how the lead sentence and accompanying headline (schematically, the Topic) together fulfill the narrative role of summarizing and textually framing events and issues for readers. Later, in paragraph 6, the *Review* story does note that dioxins are "considered highly carcinogenic" (although we don't know who considers dioxins as such), but, the reporter adds, "the extent of their risk...is disputed."

Claim Structures

In terms of claim/counter-claim structures in both texts, the *Review* presents five separate main claims, three coming from opposition sources (Type 1 rhetoric) and two more from the newspaper itself (Type 2 rhetoric.) Only one of these claims, the first, is met by a counter-claim. In comparison, the *Post-Gazette* piece offers two claims and two matching

counter-claims, the first set being source-centered (Type 1), the second set reporter-centered (Type 2).

The first main claim offered in the *Review* story is the result of the reporter having condensed the EPA-generated information into an assertion and counter-assertion, through the headline, lead and supporting paragraph. I have already presented the *Review's* headline and essential lead material. The supporting paragraph, utilizing the transitional word, 'but,' provides part of the counter-claim to the 'too-much-dioxin' assertion: "*But an EPA official said the agency has concluded that the emissions 'did not pose a threat to human health or the environment'..*" Thus the claim and counter-claim structure is: [**Claim**] 'WTI released too much dioxin, [**Counter-claim**] but it's not a real threat' – all of it sourced to EPA but, ironically, with never a mention of through what means the information was actually "revealed." The reader is left to assume that the EPA had issued a press release or document of some sort. The allegation and counter-claim are filtered through the reporter, with only general attribution to the actual source ('But an EPA official said'), but with no specific information about exactly how the EPA had 'said' this to (communicated with) the reporter. This is important to note because, journalistically, this kind of embedded sourcing places more attention on statements, in this case, claims and counter-claims, as actively interpreted by the reporter, even though it may well be that the reporter is sticking fairly close to whatever written information he or she has obtained from the agency.

The claim/counter-claim structure in the above example secures its argumentative grounding by drawing on the authority of the regulatory agency itself, and by calling upon the institutional authority of *science*, which provides the theoretical standards and

statistical measures that enable EPA regulators adequately track the amount of dioxin coming from a smokestack and, therefore, the amount that would qualify as a violation of air-quality standards. The counter-claim also relies on the reporter's rhetorical strategy of 'covering all bases,' as readers are informed in paragraph 7 (via the Context schema) that *'WTI officials could not be reached for comment late Tuesday.'* Rhetorically, this works to convince readers of the reporter's attempt to include a response from WTI. It explicitly signals to readers a functional message: 'The dictates and authority of my *own* institution, the mass media, require that I be objective and attempt to balance viewpoints in the interest of assembling the most complete set of facts.' In this respect, the objective rhetorical form secures its own legitimacy by dressing itself in the ideology (Roeh, 1989) of 'attributable' facts and events that correspond to the accurate, truthful, reliable depiction of a 'real world' (Jensen, 1986).

As for the *Post-Gazette*, its first main claim also pertains to the allegation of dioxin (a 'suspected carcinogen') levels being exceeded by WTI, but this appears more clearly as a Type 1 claim because it is more directly tied to the EPA. The headline ('EPA says WTI burn is high for dioxin') and lead sentence (pointing to dioxin's status as a 'suspected carcinogen') together present the main claim – which is exactly the same claim presented by the *Review* story – but the sourcing pattern in the *Post-Gazette* ties it more directly to a specifically identified source.

We eventually hear from, via direct quote, EPA spokeswoman Nancy-Ellen Zusman, although not until the fourth paragraph. But by following the lead and supporting material, attributed more generally to the EPA, with a direct quote in paragraph four from Zusman, we as readers are assured the reporter has actually sought out a person to present

EPA's officially stated view, in addition to the reporter having drawn information from what appears to be some kind of agency press release. The second paragraph in the *Post-Gazette* story notes that the *"agency has asked plant operators to take immediate steps to reduce dioxin emissions*." Paragraph four offers the same kind of clarifying information that, in the *Review* story, served as a counter-claim: that although dioxin levels were exceeded, there is no danger to the public.

Paragraph 4 [Verbal Reaction, direct]: " '*We want to talk to the company about bringing down the numbers,' said Nancy-Ellen Zusman, assistant regional counsel for the EPA's Region 5. 'At the present time, there is no imminent threat to the environment*'."

In paragraph 6, the *Post-Gazette* reporter includes a little-used schema category – History – to provide a more comprehensive perspective to the story.

Paragraph 6 [History]: '*Opponents, including people who live near the plant and the environmental organization Greenpeace, have tried to block the $160 million plant from burning hazardous waste, citing concerns about dioxin emissions*.' In this rare use of the schema category of History (which offers somewhat more distantly related contextual material than does the similar Background schema category), the earlier-stated main claim – that dioxin levels are too high – is related to fears having been expressed in the past about dioxin by WTI opponents. In addition to the main claim calling up regulatory and scientific authority for persuasive force, the claim is bolstered by the historical information in paragraph six – that opponents have long feared dioxin as a health hazard. The rhetorical effect is to give greater social and political relevance to dioxin as an environmental concern, and to make the story itself more substantive and comprehensive.

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An important Background paragraph in the *Post-Gazette* story occurs prior to (and sets up) a counter-claim offered by a WTI spokesman. In paragraph 7, the *Post-Gazette* reporter notes that the EPA has no dioxin standards at present but that the agency is proposing to soon adopt a national standard, which would '*set the maximum allowable level of dioxin at 30 nanograms per dry standard cubic meter.*' This is apparently placed where it is in the story to give context to the counter-claim that will follow, and which concerns the fact (duly pointed out by WTI) that EPA has no dioxin standard, but that the regulatory agency is nevertheless accusing WTI of a dioxin violation.

The *Post-Gazette* WTI-based counter-claim, which does not occur until paragraph 11, is as follows:

Paragraph 11 [Context, as embedded indirect quote]: '*WTI spokesman Raymond Wayne said the company had a number of concerns it wanted to address at tomorrow's meeting, including EPA's failure to adopt dioxin emission standards.*'

Wayne's strategic response, as characterized in the *Post-Gazette*, is to place responsibility at the door of the EPA, accusing the agency of not adopting dioxin standards but of still, somehow, holding that WTI dioxin levels in March were too high.

The next part of the story provides something very much like a claim/counter-claim structure, this time in the form of Type 2 rhetoric, with the reporter's active insistence on specific information being the central focus. In this instance, the reporter characterizes both WTI and EPA responses, or lack of full responses, with respect to the reporter's pointed and probing questions about whether WTI must, technically speaking, actually halt its plant operations until the dioxin issue is resolved.

Paragraphs 12 & 13 (combined) [Verbal Reaction, indirect]: *'Wayne acknowledged that the EPA had expressed concerns about dioxin emissions, but declined to respond to them. He said he did not know whether the plant would refrain from restarting operations until tomorrow's meeting, as the EPA requested. He declined further comment.'*

If we identified the above as a claim, it would be one occurring from the reporter's perspective: that Wayne admits he has known of EPA's concerns about high dioxin levels, but that he really doesn't want to get into the issue with the reporter. This kind of Type 2 claims-making occurs, then, as a result of the reporter proactively asking questions aimed at exploring EPA's legal authority to act against WTI without regulations expressly allowing it to do so. The reporter obviously realizes the legal sensitivity of the issue, and is attempting to exploit it with the intent of resolving the issue for readers. In the above passage, the reader is signaled that the reporter has tried to get WTI spokesman Wayne to comment on his previous conversations with EPA regarding dioxin, but that Wayne has decided he does not want to go into that information at the moment. This, coupled with the no-comment qualification at the end ('He declined further comment') strategically performs the functional journalistic move of signaling to readers that the reporter is attempting to get as much information as is possible. In this section of the story, we are within the rhetorical frame of the reporter himself, attempting to indicate to readers how diligently he (the reporter) has tried, without success to, in effect, advance the debate. Here, the reporter's usual role of quiet, omniscient observer and recorder of facts is abandoned for a much more prominent rhetorical stance: the reporter as active participant.

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Immediately following this segment, we get something like a counter-response, in the form of an indirect quote followed by a direct quote from the EPA's Zusman, telling us that she had '*declined to respond directly when asked whether the EPA, without any formal standards, had any authority to order the company to reduce dioxin emissions.*' The reporter has succeeded in turning the focus of the story to the legal issue of whether a federal regulatory agency can issue a violation notice based upon a pollution-control standard that does not officially exist.

Zusman Direct Quote [same paragraph]: *"The meeting is going to take place on Thursday. We'll see what kind of implementation program we can agree on. We'd like to see them below the 30 number.*"

The reporter has kept us, as readers, within the authorial frame (Lucy, 1993a; see also, Hanks, 1993; Hickmann, 1993), noting that Zusman has declined to comment to the reporter's question. We hear directly, again, from Zusman herself, but her own words serve almost completely a rhetorical rather than informational purpose (Larson, 1978) – they simply note the upcoming meeting, while adding that the EPA would like to see a specific dioxin number agreed to ('We'd like to seem them below the 30 number.') Framing the information in this way serves to place the reporter in the center of the story, as the one asking important questions, but also to personalize the exchange between WTI spokesman Wayne (whom we only hear from via indirect quote) and the plant's accuser, EPA, via Zusman.

The story concludes by offering even more inside details; about letters exchanged between EPA and WTI regarding the EPA's 'unhappiness' with WTI dioxin levels; that

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EPA had considered the dioxin levels "unacceptable" and had asked WTI to temporarily shut down in the interest of resolving the dispute.

In contrast to the highly technical, legalistic, reporter-centered question-and-answer rhetorical format of the *Post-Gazette* article, the *Review* story uses the dioxin issue as a way into opposition-led charges against WTI, specifically by making a topic shift in paragraph eight, which offers the following main claim:

Paragraph 8 [Verbal Reaction, indirect]: '*The environmental group Greenpeace, which is leading opposition to WTI, said the EPA announcement shows that the Clinton Administration should not have permitted WTI to operate before the results of its test burn were analyzed.*' In terms of rhetorical categories attached to the main claim, Moral, Scientific, and Regulatory logics are called up all at once in the above statement. The claim contains a moral essence in the form of a *should*-statement (a should/should-not linguistic distinction), while referring implicitly to scientific and regulatory logics, by mentioning 'results' of a 'test burn' that needed to be 'analyzed.'

Significantly, neither this claim nor three others that flesh out the rest of the *Review* article are matched with any counter-claims, making for a fairly unbalanced article in terms of sourcing patterns. We are introduced to a reporter-centered (Type 2) claim (via the rarely occurring category of Comment): '*...Thursday's meeting along with the EPA announcement, will give opponents new ammunition to demand that the administration shut down the incinerator.*' This is clearly the reporter's own view, going beyond informed analysis – it is an evaluative remark, and one relying on a battle metaphor, that may or may not be correct ('Thursday's meeting...will give opponents new ammunition...') The reporter offers what he thinks will be the strategy of opponents,

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given the dioxin-release information and the upcoming meeting in which this is to be discussed.

After mentioning that opponents have "assembled a choir of scientific experts" to help them make their case against the plant, the *Review* reporter then quotes the single most-vocal opponent of all, Terri Swearingen: " 'How much more do they need us to look into the future and see what is going to happen before they see...the only acceptable solution is to shut it down?," Swearingen asked Tuesday.' Swearingen here draws purely on whatever moral authority this statement might evoke in an audience of readers, stating, in so many words, 'We've looked at this issue and know the future, which is bad news, so the only thing to do is stop the plant, period.' The assertiveness and dire quality of the statement is its own best persuasive force, invoking an apocalyptic tone that seems to plead: '*What are we to do*?'

Finally, the story ends with yet another claim, again from an opponent, this time a political authority, U.S. Rep. Bill Richardson, a Congressional Democrat. Quoted indirectly, Richardson is characterized as supporting a "shut down" of WTI, based on new legislation that would restrict the location of incinerators that are near schools. The *Review* reports that '*...enactment of the legislation would send a message to the EPA that the East Liverpool incinerator should be shut down, said Rep. Bill Richardson, D – N.M.*' The claim-and-support structure here is that legislators have studied the placement of incinerators and concluded that WTI's hazardous-waste treatment plant is too close to a public school; therefore, it should be shut down. In terms of its assignment as a Rhetorical Category (see Chapter 6), the claim functions essentially as a moral invocation, as it comments implicitly on the basic *rightness* of locating a plant near a

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public school. It does gain added rhetorical force by linking, somewhat vaguely, Richardson's conclusion to some kind of previous study pertaining to safe distances between incinerators and schools.

In sum, both the *Review* and *Post-Gazette* stories present a great deal of information, and in the disputatious, conflict-oriented, opposition-led tone that permeated virtually every article on WTI written by both papers and examined in this study. Both newspapers include a fair amount of technical detail, as well, pertaining to the nature of dioxin and the political negotiations underway between WTI and the EPA regarding how to reduce dioxins from the plant. The *Review* presents more sources (four) than does the *Post-Gazette* (just two), but the former paper's sourcing is less balanced in terms of claims and matching counter-claims because it fails to match most claims with corresponding counter-assertions. And the claims the *Review* presents all are linked to WTI opposition sources.

While both papers do position WTI as the entity 'under the gun' (given the dioxin emissions information that is negative news for WTI), the *Post-Gazette's* account is more nuanced, with the reporter actively inserting himself into the debate by asking probing questions that, he tells readers, were not readily answered by either the EPA or WTI sources appearing in the article. The *Review* takes a more traditional, source-based route. The East Liverpool paper grants opposition forces plenty of room to make allegations about various 'dangerous' aspects of the plant, noting that the paper was unable to reach a WTI source for official response. The *Post-Gazette*, perhaps by luck or persistence or both, was able to get through to WTI, and the result is a story that tells us a lot about the plant operator's rhetorical stance toward the dioxin issue, as well as much about the

reporter's own interest in the legal issue regarding dioxin regulation and the lack of existing standards.

The *Post-Gazette* stays on topic, reporting only on the dioxin dispute and on an upcoming meeting between WTI and EPA designed to iron things out. The *Review,* on the other hand, uses the main story peg (that WTI sent too much dioxin into the air) as an opportunity to shift topics, offering other WTI opponent-led claims that are not necessarily immediately relevant to the main topic.

These two stories do present more detailed, informative, analytical and evaluative information in a way that is richer and more in-depth, generally speaking, than what the reader is likely to get from a typical story written within the Opposition Frame, the latter of which serves to highly more of the raw conflict of a discrete event, such as a protest or press conference. An essential, material difference between the Opposition and the Regulatory Frames is that in the former, *events* take center stage; in the latter, *issues* tend to prevail. The differing material natures of the two motivational frames influences the discursive logic a reporter uses to report on each type of framing activity. The central power of the Motivational Frame as an initializing, discursive framing logic exists in the material reality that events and issues are naturally construed differently by those who exist within different institutions, organizations or groups: An event is something that happens; an issue is something concocted discursively, an intellectual event that may be linked to an event *proper* (Molotch & Lester, 1975, 1974).

In covering a protest rally (part of the Opposition Motivational Frame), the reporter is understandably more likely to render his or her story in blow-by-blow fashion, paying much more attention to the *event* itself, with somewhat less attention to what is actually

said and argued for by claimants and counter-claimants (Ashley & Olson, 1998, pp. 263-264)[25] Tichenor et al. (1980, p. 114 and p. 223) point out that any media attention, positive or negative, is often welcomed by a protest group. Conversely, because it is naturally issue rather than event-centered, the Regulatory Motivational Frame appears to allow reporters space to depict the news in a more nuanced, broader, intellectual, and more explanatory context.

3) The Legal Frame

In analyzing same-day stories in this section, I define the relationship between legal and news media discourse, discuss briefly two major distinctions that emerged in my discourse analysis of both stories, and then conduct a discourse analysis of two same-day/same-issue stories to document these differences.

Much like the Regulation Frame analyzed previously, the Legal Motivational Frame tends to be issue rather than event-centered, although a court trial is also, of course, an actual event that can prompt news coverage, but an event centered on intellectually articulated and disputational issues. This scenario contrasts with the Oppositional Frame, which is generated more by events themselves such as protests and demonstrations, meaning the event rather than the issues behind the event tend to become the main focus in the resulting news discourse.

Rulings delivered by courts focus on disputatious issues between at least two contending partie and require often complex legalistic, regulatory, intellectual and moral

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[25] Ashley & Olson (1998, p. 264), relating their social-protest research to that of several others who have studied how protest groups are framed in the media (Parenti, 1986; Paletz & Entman, 1981; Gitlin, 1980; Pan & Kosicki, 1993) conclude: "News media can frame a protest group in several ways: by ignoring it; burying the article in the back section; by the description given to the protesters; reporting the events rather

reasoning on the part of lawyers deciding cases. The Legal Motivational Frame is one in which reporters' cognitive attention and thus news judgments are guided by legal rulings of one sort or another. The conflictual nature of legal decisions, with one side tending to "win" and the other side "losing," naturally leads reporters to obtain views from each side, in accordance with the rules of objectivity – getting 'both sides' of the story.

Law, or a legal ruling, is a codified expression of social order, "a conceptual device for the coordination of institutional activities. Law is a kind of order system that functions to allocate resources...to regulate and resolve conflict...and to keep the peace" (Ericson et al., 1991, p. 6). Ericson et al. contend that the news is 'obsessed' with the law:

> News discourse is dominated by representations of law and legal regulations in these terms. It concentrates on the allocation of resources, the regulation and resolution of conflicts, and peace-keeping. It focuses on procedural improprieties that raise questions of law; it assigns responsibility and thereby specifies who should be controlled by what legal procedures; and it relies upon legal officials and their documents to support the validity of its claims about what needs to be done to keep things in order. Contemporary with the society it reports on, news discourse represents order through a particular obsession with law" (Ericson et al., 1991, p. 6).

By being a popular conduit through which legal expressions are publicized, news discourse becomes as much a "disciplinary and normalizing discourse" as is legal discourse itself (Ericson et al., p. 6). The "news of law serves as an influential vehicle through which the authority system can instruct people on what to *be* as well as what to *do*" (Ericson et al., 1991, p. 7, italics in original.) In this sense news media and legal institutions intersect as a matrix-like coercive, ideological apparatus of social control (Ericson et al., 1991, p. 12). Legal discourse and the discourses of all other institutions express, at bottom, views of morality – morality being "embedded in an institution's

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than the group's goals and interests; trivializing the protest by making light of their dress, language, age, style, or goals; or marginalizing viewpoints by attributing them to a social deviant."

classification scheme, and it is this scheme that gives, and frames, a sense of justice" (Ericson et al., 1991, p. 7; see also, Fowler, 1987; Candlin, 1987). This framing effect underlies my notion of the Motivational Frame, which may be thought of, in Ericson et al.'s above-stated sense, as an institution's classification scheme, articulated through institutional actors, *motivated sources* in my own terminology.

Legal discourse, like news discourse, secures its institutional legitimacy through an appearance of neutrality (Ericson et al., 1991, p. 7). The law's neutrality derives, for example, from the procedural norm that, in the American democratic system at least, one is officially assumed innocent until proven guilty, and that guilt or innocence shall be established through a trial in which the accused will be adequately represented and dispassionately judged. The news media's neutrality derives from the institutional norm of objectivity. Objectivity in the media is maintained through a collection of strategically ritualized (Tuchman, 1972) routines and guidelines that preclude reporters from specifically expressing their own views in stories, and which require issues to be presented from at least two sides and to be based on "officially sanctioned events," (Miraldi, 1989, p. 3). Newsworthy events and issues, in the objective-news framework, are initiated by socially recognized, authoritative sources, by what Fowler (1991, p. 21) calls "proven sources" and by what in my study is encapsulated in the dual notion of *motivated sources* representing *motivational frames*. This news production framework results in stories that follow "standardized formats" (Miraldi, 1989, p. 3), or what van Dijk (1988a&b, 1993, 1991a) calls the 'superstructure' of the news text: news narrative schema categories (topics, context, background, history, verbal reactions, consequences, and comments), which I have analyzed extensively throughout this study. Because of their

constraint within the objective-reporting framework, the news media necessarily are driven to rely on official sources (Ericson et al., 1989; Sigal, 1986) for stories, resulting in a discourse that serves to "encode the attitudes of a powerful elite" (Fowler, 1991, p. 23), to reproduce officially sanctioned political, social and cultural ideologies (Paletz et al., 1971; Paletz & LaFuria, 1977) even as that status-quo discourse may also to varying degrees engage in social, political and cultural critique (Turow, 1985; Gitlin, 1980). Indeed, the element of critique in objective news reporting actually certifies its professional legitimacy. "By revealing the faults of powerful people and organizations in the society, the media organization...can enhance its own credibility with the public" (Turow, 1985, p. 148). But this element of critique or "cultural argumentation" results in "a fundamental tension between the media system and other institutions of society," which is usually resolved in mainstream media by news discourse that offers 'remedial' (reformative) rather than revolutionary ('supplantive') critique (Turow, 1985, p. 148), or to what Bennett (1996) considers an elite-centered 'normalizing' of troubling events and issues (see also, Bennett & Lawrence, 1995).

The recognized authority of the legal institution in democratic society is perhaps the most powerful institutional authority of all. It provides reporters with ready-made legalistic frameworks within which notions of right and wrong or legal and illegal can be morally evaluated and popularly publicized. Because of its issue-centered and often informationally complex nature, reporters covering Legal Frame stories must engage in a fair amount of background and contextual detail so that readers are clear on just what *is* the issue at hand. In my own analysis of Legal Frame same-day stories, I found that even in cases where a court or presiding lawyer had delayed passing formal judgment, the news

storyline reported on the "delayed decision" and also offered contextual material about the nature of the case at hand and the basic legalistic entailments.

The same-day stories analyzed in this section are from Jan. 23, 1993, about three months before the WTI incinerator opened for business. The "news" of that particular day concerned a federal judge's postponement of a decision regarding WTI's permission to conduct a "trial burn." The judge was to rule that day on an injunction filed by plant opponents against WTI's planned trial burn. But she decided more scientific testimony on various health and regulatory issues was needed before she could rule on the injunction. Though this was "bad news" for WTI -- because it constituted a delay of the trial burn -- WTI's response was that it was not troubled by the ruling; apparently, plant officials had wanted more time to prepare, anyway. Still, the news of the day was that something WTI had desired (a go-ahead for its trial burn) would have to wait.

There are two significant differences between the East Liverpool *Review* and Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* stories devoted to the Jan. 23 news item. First, the East Liverpool paper's story presents four main claims (three of them from opposition sources and the other via Type 2/newspaper-centered rhetoric), and a single, lengthy but general counter-claim. These four claims and one counter-claim come from seven quoted sources: three neutral, two against, and two supporting WTI. The Pittsburgh paper's story, on the other hand, presents no argumentative claims at all. The *Post-Gazette* simply details the judge's postponement decision, and includes the views of various sources -- two neutral sources, one source against the plant, and one WTI supporter. Both stories, therefore, contain source diversity, and in a fairly balanced manner. But only one of the stories (the

Review's) offers argumentative claims, even though both stories quote opposing sides in the WTI controversy.

The *Post-Gazette* story, which presents no claims, is therefore more descriptive in a general sense without, however, sacrificing a certain writerly flair for metaphoric and even interpretive analysis, but not the kind of interpretation that would qualify as a rhetorical (Type 2) claim. Conversely, the *Review* presents an even more detailed account of the judge's decision, including well-defined arguments from different perspectives as well as its own Type 2 rhetorical claims-making (in the headline/lead sentence structure) via the Topic news-schema narrative category. The analysis of these two stories demonstrates that it is possible for a news story to present the views of opposing sources without those views necessarily rising to the level of claims-making argumentation, as was the case in the *Post-Gazette* account, though this was the exception rather than the rule in my comparison of same-day/same-issue stories.

Second, the rhetorical claims-making presented in the *Review* story (presented below) betrays a bias that, given the otherwise generally objective and balanced nature of the rest of the article, can be read as an attempt (not necessarily conscious) by the reporter to mitigate the "bad news" (the trial-burn postponement decision) against WTI. This point becomes more evident in that the newspaper rhetoric in the *Review* story occurs as part of the Topic, occurring in the lead sentence which, together with the headline, typically functions in the news narrative as the reader's entry point into the story, the point at which a story is initially, symbolically framed. But ironically, in this particular *Review* story (as will be shown below) the headline is relatively straight-forward; it informs

readers of the delayed decision and notes that concerns about "indirect exposure" of pollution were an issue behind the delay.

The analytical focus on headline and lead, as Topic, is important because the headline and lead typically provide, in news discourse, a narrative *summarization* function – "explicit evaluation" (Bell, 1991, p. 165), although the headline itself can alone accomplish this. Sometimes, a lead will not reflect the summarizing information presented in a headline, but I found this to occur only rarely in my comparative analysis of same-day/same-issue WTI stories. Usually, the lead rearticulates in somewhat more detailed fashion the evaluation offered by the preceding headline. The Topic (headline and lead) is thus, through its 'explicit evaluation,' a major symbolic framing device, placing into a certain context the rest of the details and opinions to come. While the *content* of the Topic is semantic in nature (oriented toward actual textual *meaning*), the Topic itself, as a news schemata, is syntactic; like any of the other news schemata, it is a formal category – an element of the news text's 'superstructure' (van Dijk, 1988 a&b; 1985b) – *through which* meaning is presented (Bell, 1991, p. 163).

***Post-Gazette* & *Review* stories**

Jan. 23, 1993

The headlines in both papers are quite similar. The *Post-Gazette* headline announces that the "Test burn at WTI incinerator is delayed." The *Review* notes that the "Trail burn is still on hold," and adds a sub-head: "Judge expects Feb. 7 hearing; 'indirect exposure' at issue." I noted earlier that the *Review* headline was "relatively straightforward," the reason being that the headline writer inserts the value-laden word "still" in characterizing the delayed trial burn. The word "still" is value-laden inasmuch as the headline would

make equal sense by merely telling readers the trial burn *is* on hold. Rhetorically, the insertion of "still" functions at the interpersonal-linguistic level, because it adds to an otherwise denotative comment an "evaluative orientation" (Lemke, 1989, p. 39). The insertion of "*still* on hold" in the headline draws attention to the newspaper itself as information source, signaling to readers that the newspaper assumes its audience is generally aware of previous hold-ups at the plant. This assumption, that readers are familiar with previous plant delays of one sort or another, is borne out further by the *Review's* accompanying lead sentence, which functions syntactically as the news schemata of Consequences (reporter analysis). (The lead sentence, however, is not, in this case, clearly reflective of the preceding headline, a rare occurrence in terms of most other stories analyzed in this study.) The *Review's* lead sentence reads: "*A hazardous waste incinerator in East Liverpool may eventually get its chance to conduct a trial burn.*" The incinerator "getting its chance" refers to the headline's information, that the incinerator test-burn is "still on hold."

Paragraph Two: "*But it has been ordered not to perform one for at least two more weeks unless something unforeseen occurs.*"

The headline contextualizes the lead and follow-up sentences, and all three collectively form the newspaper's own rhetorical claim, which I will analyze momentarily. It is interesting to note that the lead sentence characterizes WTI as getting "*its* chance" to burn wastes, rather than getting "a" chance. The insertion of the possessive, "its," would seem to imply WTI *deserves* a chance to conduct a test burn. The insertion of the reporter's analysis in the lead sentence, "...may eventually get its chance to conduct a trail burn," taken together with the headline's "Trial burn still on hold," set

up an expectation that someone, a news source, will talk about the plant getting its chance to burn wastes on a trial basis. But this never happens. Sources in the *Review* story are quoted on a variety of contentious claims, but never do we encounter any justification for the reporter's telling us that WTI "may eventually get its chance to conduct a trail burn." We are left with the question: Says who? The only source we can point to for the authority of this remark is the reporter himself, the person referred to in the story's byline.

Coding these topical sentences under the news schema category of Consequences instead of Comment (explicit opinion and evaluation) is a close call, as the reporter is certainly offering us a kind of evaluation. But because the evaluation also attempts to place the news of the day in some larger causal context, such a statement, following van Dijk (1988 a&b), functions more strictly as Consequences. As is often the case in schema-category analysis, one category can betray the narrative traits of certain other, similar-function categories.

The *Review's* headline and lead sentence, then, constitute a Type 2 rhetorical claim, a summarization and characterization on the part of the newspaper itself. The headline and lead here function narratively (cognitively) as topical sentences that *semantically* portray WTI as an institution that may yet "get its chance" - an institution that may even deserve a chance - to conduct a trial burn. In terms of its narrative news structure, this information occurs, syntactically, as reporter-centered Consequences, as an analysis on the writer's part. The Rhetorical Category drawn upon in the statement is that of Assertion, the declaration of an assumed state of affairs, but one that appears to be based on more than just simple wishful thinking or native belief.

Presented as a kind of rhetorical claim (a Type 2 claim), the *Review* lead and headline structure could be stated roughly along the following lines: *I, the reporter, being in a position to know, declare that WTI may eventually gets its chance to conduct a trail burn, even though it has been ordered not to do so until further notice.* Rhetorically, the local reader may be willing to accept this statement as a kind of argumentative claim and not just a simple expression of casual belief, because newspaper readers are socially conditioned to trust the newspaper as, at least, a marginally legitimate information provider, in a way we do not automatically trust just anyone to dispense evaluative information. Even among the cynical, whom often tend to dismiss their local newspaper as biased or one-sided, the newspaper *as newspaper* maintains a recognized social status as an information provider (Tichenor et al., 1980), a status not generally accorded the layperson.

In other words, because of their professional mandate to gather and provide information on broad matters of social importance, the news media are in a position to *know*. Thus the assertive rhetorical claim in this part of the *Review* story possesses argumentative force by virtue of the newspaper's recognized role as a "knowledgeable" authority, very much akin to the authority automatically vested in any number of other institutional sources. The news media derive their social authority, thus their claims to official knowledge, from the same social ideologies and knowledge structures other institutions draw upon and express linguistically (Fowler, 1991). The news is a "form of institutional discourse," the journalist "is employed to write for an institution which is governed by the very same institutional constraints which build the ideology," and readers themselves "have habitual exposure to this discourse" and are consequently familiar with

its main themes (Fowler, 1991, p. 46). The newspaper's embedding within the social formation is what Tichenor et al. (1980) would cal a sub-system function, and which in my own Rhetorical Framing Model (Chapter 2) is labeled as coding orientations within the Sociological/Ideological realm.

The *Review's* own rhetorical claim, that WTI may "still" get "its" chance to perform a test burn would, from the perspective of Best (1987) seem to lack "data" – facts appealed to as a foundation for the claim - but is based upon at least an implicit "warrant" – a moral justification for the claim, the warrant being the assumption that WTI deserves a chance to prove itself. To the extent any particular reader automatically trusts the newspaper to make this assertion, the claim is warranted (justified) and thus gains something like the argumentative force more clearly associated with Type 1, source-based rhetorical claims-making, which often (but not always) is founded on a claim-and-support structure (van Eemeren et al., 1997) or, following Best (1987, and borrowing from Toulmin, 1958), on a data-and-warrant structure, the claim itself being the resulting "conclusion." This is not at all to devalue the power of the reader to make his or her own judgment about the justification of the newspaper's claim. To the degree a reader questions the intellectual basis of this implicitly authoritative knowledge, the claim is reduced to the status of mere speculation.

The rhetorical claim on the part of the *Review* in its headline and lead structure seems entirely out of place given the remainder of the article, which never follows up on or fleshes out this initial claim. In this sense, then, the article presents a thematic contradiction that reveals the newspaper's own ideological positioning regarding the news of the day. The ideological lens through which the *Review*, through its headline/lead

structure, seems to interpret the relevance of the judge's postponement decision - as to how that affects WTI's "chance" to conduct a test burn - can be contrasted to the relatively flat account offered in the lead sentence of the same-day *Post-Gazette* story. Recall that the *Post-Gazette's* headline on this story reads, in strictly denotative language, "Test burn at WTI incinerator delayed." The lead sentence merely fleshes this out, again without any particular interpretation evident: "*Postponement of a federal court hearing has delayed the performance test burn at a controversial hazardous-waste treatment incinerator in East Liverpool, Ohio, until at least the second week in February.*"

The reporter does note the impact of the ruling, that WTI's plans may be stalled for a few weeks, but this is tied to the judge's own statement that the next court date would be Feb. 7. Compared to the *Review's* lead sentence, there is no insertion of unsupported evaluation or speculation. Rhetorically, the headline and lead in the *Post-Gazette* are congruent, unlike the headline/lead structure in the *Review*.

Both stories do feature a general tone of conflict, as both present opposition sources responding to aspects pertaining to that day's news. The Pittsburgh paper immediately establishes a binary opposition between WTI and its opponents, by source and counter-source positioning, while the East Liverpool paper seems to submerge or downplay the conflict by focusing its attention on the impact the postponement ruling may have on WTI. For example, the second and third paragraphs in the *Post-Gazette* account present an opposition viewpoint, in paragraph two (Context, embedding an indirect quote) characterizing the nature of the opponents' complaint against WTI, followed in the next paragraph, paragraph 3, by a direct quote (Verbal Reaction) from opponent Terri Swearingen.

Paragraph Two: "*Opponents say the delay should allow Vice President Al Gore plenty of time to make good on a post-election promise to stop the trial burn test at the Waste Technologies Industries incinerator until after the General Accounting Office can investigate questions about its safety.*"

Paragraph Three: ' "*We would hope Gore will take immediate action," said Terri Swearingen, an incinerator opponent. "Our sole purpose in bringing this action to court is to buy time, and we expect him and President Clinton to follow through*".'

These two paragraphs, in conjunction with the lead sentence, set up a conflict tone, yet without the opponent's statement qualifying as an argumentative claim. The reporter is merely presenting a view from a source. The rhetoric of conflict is, however, established by the reporter's decision to position an opposition statement following the lead, rather than to first present more contextual information relating to the judge's decision. Although a rhetorical claim is not presented, the newspaper is still engaging in a rhetorical *maneuver* by its selection of an opposition source that serves to contextualize the news of the day.

Conversely, the *Review* account devotes the first 10 paragraphs to Context, Verbal Reaction (from the judge) and Background, all of it in the service of explaining the judge's rationale in postponing a decision on allowing the trail burn to go forward. But even here, the conflictual nature of the news - based on the ongoing opposition between WTI supporters and opponents - seems to be watered down by virtue of the *Review* presenting, instead, several lengthy quotes from Judge Ann Aldrich that focus attention on the ruling's impact upon WTI's operational plans.

Paragraph Seven [Verbal Reaction, direct quote]: ' *"There is a great concern in this country with respect to the disposal of hazardous waste, but we all use it," she said. 'She added that a method of safe disposal must be found.'*

Paragraph Eight: ' *"It is unrealistic we will be taking our country back to the garden of Eden anytime soon," Aldrich said.'*

That the judge made these remarks is not in dispute. What is of interest from a discourse-analysis perspective is that the *Review* chose to begin its series of quotations by using direct quotes from the judge, the rhetorical effect being to suggest a pro-incinerator viewpoint. Unlike the Pittsburgh paper, which strikes up a rhetorical conflict between WTI proponents and opponents by presenting an opposition-based quote in paragraphs three and four, the *Review* backs into this oppositional element in its own story, and at a much later stage in the article. Thus, while both papers do indeed present substantial quotations and information regarding the general dispute, and from a variety of sources, the ideological tone is different in each paper: a concern with the legal ruling's impact on WTI in the *Review*, but a highlighting of the WTI dispute between opponents and supporters in the *Post-Gazette*. The *Review*'s lead sentence is contradictory because it presents a rhetorical claim (its own, that WTI may yet get 'its chance' to operate) which is never pursued elsewhere in the story. The East Liverpool paper appears to couch its entire story from within the general perspective of WTI . The *Post-Gazette* presents, comparatively, a flat, referential lead and headline (Topical summary), but immediately establishes a strong conflictual tone by introducing the opposition's stance in paragraphs two and three, including a direct quotation from the most high-profile of any WTI opponent, Terri Swearingen.

I will briefly address the three other main claims that appear in the *Review* story through quoting Against (opposition) sources, as well as two counter-claims, one from a For WTI source and another from a Neutral regulatory source. I will assess this claim/counter-claim structure in its own right and compare this against related narrative elements in the *Post-Gazette* story, the latter of which, as already noted, presented no claims though it did offer many source perspectives.

The *Review's* three main claims all are presented from opposition sources, with two of the claims coming from a single source. Recall that the first 10 paragraphs in the *Review* story are devoted to a general account of the judge's postponement decision, and that any larger tone of conflict is sublimated within the perspective of how this decision might affect WTI's business plans. In paragraph 11, an attorney for the plaintiffs (WTI opponents) who had filed the injunction against WTI is quoted, indirectly, saying recent EPA studies have shown that 'indirect exposure' to dioxins is '10,000 times more potentially harmful to humans than air emissions of dioxins.' This source is also quoted indirectly asking why EPA 'never performed risk assessments in relation to indirect exposure.' Because he is quoted indirectly, these statements are the reporter's characterization (Lucy, 1993a) or re-translation of what the source, Mr. Harrison, actually said. But because the information from Harrison contextualizes the story's main topic (the judge's postponement) in a way not immediately related to the news of the day (which is the fact of the judge's postponement), Harrison's characterized statements function as Background information.

Rhetorically, this particular WTI opponent's statements clearly appeal for their intellectual or argumentative authority on scientific knowledge (that studies show indirect

dioxin exposure to be more harmful than air exposure). Having grounded his claim in the Rhetorical Category of scientific authority, the rhetorical force of the statement is bolstered further by Harrison then being able to pose a rhetorical question: *Why hasn't EPA ever performed dioxin risk assessments, if studies already show how risky the pollutant is*? The newspaper itself helps establish Harrison's own authority by devoting the next paragraph to telling the reader who Harrison is: a lawyer with a public interest law firm in Washington, D.C., known as the Government Accountability Project.

In paragraph 17, Harrison is quoted directly, and makes a second claim. Paragraph 17: ' "*It is our hope that in the next few days we'll have a real dialogue with the EPA, justice department and the new administration that will result in a consensus that this machine is to (sic) dangerous to test or operate*," *Harrison said*.'

In conjunction with Harrison's previous, scientifically based claim about the dangers of dioxin, this second claim (direct-quote Verbal Reaction) works as a kind of coda: *Because of documented dangers known to be associated with dioxin, the 'machine' that is WTI is too dangerous to test or even operate*. In other words, Harrison is claiming that, given these documented dangers, WTI should not be allowed to exist. Standing alone, this second claim would function only as a rhetorical assertion pointing to health risks from dioxin. But in the context of the previous claim, regarding specific amounts of dioxin that are believed to pose a potential health threat, this latter assertion gains a warrant (moral justification), and becomes a logical conclusion: Shut the plant down!

The final main claim in the article comes from WTI opponent Terri Swearingen, who is quoted directly in paragraph 19:

' *"We believe when a full GAO investigation is conducted it will be the end of WTI," said plaintiff Terri Swearingen of Chester. "One of our goals was to buy time for Clinton and Gore. We now expect them to fulfill their promise'."*

Unlike Harrison, Swearingen offers no material evidence for her argument; rather, she engages in if/then logic: if an investigation is held, the evidence will confirm that WTI is too dangerous to operate. As such, whatever rhetorical force her claim possesses relies on the assertive power of this if/then logic.

This paragraph is followed by one in which readers are informed that WTI has released a statement that *'they had nothing more to say about Friday's court proceedings than what was in the release.'* The 'release' itself, issued earlier, is the basis for WTI's counter-claim, which occurs in the last three paragraphs:

Paragraph 19 [Verbal Reaction, indirect]: *"The statement, from Von Roll President Blake Marshall, said Greenpeace had used 'quasi-scientific theories' in presenting its case against WTI. He said the company has spent more than $25 million in regulatory delays and legal battles because of opponents."*

Paragraph 20 [Verbal Reaction, direct]: *'"We believe that we will prevail when given a fair and balanced opportunity to disprove their allegations in the context of the real world," Marshall said. "Greenpeace's arrogance that it knows better than the scores of regulators and scientists who have studied WTI is nauseating".'*

Paragraph 21 [Verbal Reaction, direct & indirect]: *"Marshall also said in the release that taking the company to court and stopping operations is 'counter productive, and, at the heart, corrupt to the system of free enterprise'."*

The above four paragraphs – beginning with the reporter's note that WTI would have no further comment than what had already appeared in an earlier prepared statement, followed by direct and indirect quotation *from* Marshall's prepared statement – form an interesting series of counter-assertions that draw on numerous Rhetorical Categories for argumentative force. Yet nowhere in these counter-assertions do we find any direct response to the main claim from WTI opponent and legal representative Harrison, *that scientific studies have shown dioxin to be extremely dangerous.* Instead, Marshall, or rather, a prepared statement attributed to Marshall but most likely written by a public relations specialist with Marshall's endorsement, engages in *ad hominum* argument; Marshall (through the press release) attacks the character of his opponent rather than the actual claims being made against WTI.

Ad hominum is, of course, a long-standing rhetorical device, and both sides in the WTI dispute routinely engaged in it. What stands out in the use of the rhetorical device by Marshall in the *Review* story, however, is that his entire response occurs in this mode. His response is in the form of a prepared statement, a press release, that is probably better constructed and more articulate than what Marshall himself or almost anyone, for that matter, would be able to muster during a live interview with a reporter. WTI's rhetorical strategy in this particular instance, and which the company often used, was to argue its case via the prepared statement, from which the *Review* quoted liberally, in the news-schematic form of Verbal Reaction/direct quotation, thus making it appear almost like one is hearing from an actual source. Recall WTI also, as the story points out, had released an *additional* statement, which simply said, in so many words: *We will have no comment beyond our previously released statement.* Left without a live quote, the *Review*

reporter then drew upon the previously released and very well-articulated prepared statement, which itself draws on three different rhetorical categories -- morality, science, and logic.

Marshall claims (via a partial quote drawn from the prepared statement) that Greenpeace is relying on 'quasi-scientific theories,' which serves to counter-pose WTI itself as an institution that respects only truly scientific knowledge; in other words, the claim here is that Greenpeace is engaging in hack science for, presumably, more exclusively political aims. This statement is followed by a separate sentence, in which the reporter tells us, via indirect quotation, that Marshall says that WTI opponents' actions have cost the company millions in 'regulatory delays and legal battles.' This statement presents a presumably actual fact -- the expenditures of millions of dollars -- as a way to make a moral claim: that it is wrong to make the company spend money on what, according to the company's view, are groundless claims based on 'quasi-science.'

Next, Marshall's statement calls upon scientific and logical authority in asserting that, when given a 'fair and balanced hearing,' the company will 'prevail...in the context of the real world.' The fair and balanced hearing would, we must presume, be based in a respect for scientific facts, and these facts would correspond to the 'real' and logical rather than to some fantasy or less-than-legitimate world -- the kind of place, in the latter case, peopled (presumably) by the likes of Greenpeace supporters.

The Marshall statement then invokes a mixture of science and morality in claiming that it is 'nauseating' that Greenpeace thinks it is smarter than the 'scores' of scientists and regulators who have evaluated WTI. The nausea referred to by Marshall can only be a kind of moral aversion to the 'quasi-scientific' mindset whose arrogance is such that it

believes its own reality is more authoritative than that of science and regulatory authorities. Ironically, WTI spokespersons routinely, in other articles, *challenge* scientific and regulatory authority when either one of these entities challenges WTI's own views in these institutional domains; but in this particular *Review* story, WTI is actually aligning itself with the very authorities that, at other times, it so often takes issue with.

At issue in this counter-claim, then, is the whole question of what counts as legitimate knowledge in the 'real world.' Greenpeace, according to Marshall's prepared statement, belongs to a deviant order whose views do not deserve legitimate scrutiny, and which have a real-world and, in Marshall's view, 'nauseating' impact – namely, the expenditure of millions of dollars by WTI on unnecessary battles.

The final portion of the counter-claim draws entirely on a moral rhetorical logic: that, given the illegitimacy of Greenpeace, taking WTI to court and stopping its operation is, at 'heart', "corrupt to the system of free enterprise." WTI invokes the spirit of capitalism itself as a guiding moral force; no one can actually point to some material thing called the 'system of capitalism' -- it exists, rather, as some phenomenal power that has been violated by the nauseating influence of Greenpeace.

In these four paragraphs, WTI presents an extremely effective rhetoric, at least in terms of it being a well-articulated counter-force to Greenpeace. But WTI's counter-claims do not specifically engage the actual issues presented by Greenpeace. The fact that the reporter tells us that WTI *will have no statement* beyond its previously released one is evidence the newspaper did at least attempt to go beyond this kind of 'PR logic' employed by WTI in the interest of examining actual, material issues in the dispute. The *Review's* own strategic logic, in part, was to notify readers that the newspaper had

attempted to carry out its primary function: presenting the most fully informed and comprehensive set of facts; but to no avail.

As for the *Post-Gazette's* same-day account, while the *Post-Gazette* presents no actual claims or counter-claims, its article is nonetheless informative, even if it exists at a somewhat more superficial level by providing a kind of raw and undiluted rather than more fully examined conflict. The *Post-Gazette* story manages to be somewhat more metaphoric and therefore more personable than the *Review's* account. The Pittsburgh paper notes, contextually, for example, that Judge Aldrich had '*cut her Caribbean vacation short to return to the bench for yesterday's hearing.*' This is followed by another paragraph, involving reporter Comment mixed in with Context, in which readers are told: '*Aldrich, appearing tan but decidedly unsunny, told about 50 incinerator opponents packed into the small courtroom that WTI would not be permitted to go forward with the government-required trial burn until complex scientific arguments were aired in court and the case decided.*'

That Aldrich 'appeared tan but decided unsunny' is pure opinion, established by metaphor, on the reporter's part, though it does lend an air of immediacy to the story; we can almost see the tanned judge frowning seriously over the complexity of the issues at hand. The reporter's metaphoric, descriptive writing here exists at the level of the poetic, but it does not qualify in any sense as a rhetorical claim. It is rhetorical, in a sense, in that it is aimed at persuading the reader that the reporter's account should be trusted, because he was there; he saw and heard from the judge whose decision, or lack of one, constituted the news of the day. The *Post-Gazette* then quotes the judge, who frames the entire event as a drama: '"*I'm sorry you all came to a play that didn't happen, but this is the best way*

to go," *Aldrich said from the bench.*' Noting that the statement was made 'from the bench' again adds to the realism of the story, the you-are-there quality.

In sum, the *Post-Gazette* took a generally more superficial approach to covering the judge's ruling compared to the *Review's* account, which offers more specific details on the nuts and bolts surrounding the circumstances of the ruling, in addition to many arguments and counter-arguments from WTI opponents and supporters. Though it uses a variety of soruces, nowhere, for example, does the *Post-Gazette* refer to the dangers believed to be associated with dioxin; we learn only that the legal dispute involves, in stilted journalese, '*test-burn safety.*' The *Review*, on the other hand, details more of the perceived health threat from the plant, giving opposing sources a chance to speak out, thereby fleshing out the issues, while at the same time constructing the first part of the story from a WTI focus. The East Liverpool paper informs readers, for example, that the delay imposed by Judge Aldrich was actually requested by the EPA, a fact that helps place the immediate dispute in context but which is not included in the *Post-Gazette* story.

But the *Review*, as noted earlier, also seems to water down the otherwise conflictual tone of its story by couching the article, early on, in a WTI-focused frame of reference, analyzing the judge's decision with respect to the impact on WTI and, later, quoting Judge Aldrich in what appears to be WTI-friendly comments. The newspaper also devotes the last four paragraphs to WTI's Marshall. Thus, the newspaper begins and ends its story frame with a WTI focus, even though it does take pains to present a number of opposition claims.

Conversely, the *Post-Gazette* sticks to a comparatively surface account of the conflict, presenting opponents' views early on and giving readers an up-close-and-personal narrative of the actual trial proceedings, but never going much beyond this undigested conflict. While informative, the *Post-Gazette* story never offers anything that qualifies as an argumentative claim. The *Review* offers four such claims and one lengthy, detailed counter-response. Significantly, the first rhetorical claim in the *Review* article is the newspaper's own, occurring as a result of the headline/lead sentence construction, the Topic *summarization* function. It is this reporter-centered claims-making (Type 2 rhetoric) that presents an ideological contradiction on the part of the newspaper. This rhetorical claim by the newspaper calls into question the *Review's* overall 'balance' in reporting on the WTI controversy, because it presents, as framing device, reporter evaluation entirely unconnected to anything else depicted in the rest of the story: Nowhere in the story does any quoted source indicate that WTI might still get "its chance" to conduct a trial burn. This assertion comes from the newspaper itself, and is unconnected to any other information in the story.

Though both newspapers reacted to a Legal Frame event, which was the judge's decision to postpone a ruling on the trial burn, the event involved various policy issues relating to *whether* WTI should be allowed to conduct the test burn at all. Both newspapers thus framed their coverage based on the judge's ruling, and in this sense the legal decision *initiated* the story frame and consequently dictated to a certain degree the content of the story. The Legal Frame motivated reporters to respond in certain ways that shaped the reporters' own symbolic framing of their individually authored texts, including

the selection of certain kinds of sources. But reporters do exercise a fair degree of autonomy, within these institutionally framed limitations.

Reporters for both papers chose to use this 'legal decision frame' as a jumping off point to write about the more general WTI conflict itself, as seen through the eyes of For, Against, and Neutral sources. Both papers 'sourced' the story beyond the simple citation of legal sources, and in this regard both publications went beyond simple stenographic coverage to provide a more critical, full-blown account of issues pertaining to the judge's ruling. But the ruling itself set the agenda for coverage, providing the news peg on which the two reporters hung various factual and evaluative elements emanating from quoted sources and from their own authorial motivations.

Though Judge Aldrich was, in the language of this study, a Neutral source – given her institutional mandate to pass judgment only on legal matters within her jurisdiction – she was nevertheless positioned in the *Review* story in a way that made her comments about the plant seem favorable toward WTI. No such reporter bias could be detected in the *Post-Gazette* story. Ironically, although the *Review* story contained this rhetorical slant, it was also a more detailed and comprehensive account compared to that of the *Post-Gazette*. The latter newspaper stuck to providing more surface details but, at the same time, was more *writerly* in some respects; for example, through its conscious use of metaphor and personalization in characterizing Judge Aldrich.

The discourse analysis of the two Legal Frame stories reveals, in the broadest terms, that these news texts - and this is true of most articles analyzed in this study - are quite complex in their overall rhetorical structure. Even a relatively short news report can contain a plethora of rhetorical moves. Many voices, both of quoted sources and of the

newspaper itself, compete for our attention at any given point in a news story, and in ways that do not offer easy conclusions about the relative journalistic 'quality' of one paper compared to another. The identification of bias itself is a matter of interpretation. To the extent that we can identify something like 'bias' (Hackett, 1984; Fico & Cote, 1999) in a story, its presence may be somewhat counter-acted by other parts of the story which offer a diversity of views from a variety of sources, even if there is not a relative structural balance in terms of space alloted to differing views. It may be better to replace the concept of 'bias' (as distortion) with the notion more apropos to the perspective of social constructionism, that all news – all language, for that matter – represents or mediates some preconceived reality or putative state of affairs (Fowler, 1991, p. 12). The mediation or representation (as in, to *re*-present, to present again) provided by a newspaper is based on its respective social structure (Tichenor et al., 1980), a given market orientation (Ericson et al., 1991), and its particular organizational framework and sense of what kind of audience or readership it is addressing (Coulthard, 1987, 1987, p. 186). All of these factors can then be considered the central rhetorical determinants of the newspaper's particular 'mode of address' (Fowler, 1991, p. 48):

> The language employed will thus be the *newspaper's own version of the language of the public to whom it is principally addressed: its* version of the rhetoric, imagery and underlying common stock of knowledge which it assumes its audience shares and which thus forms the basis of the reciprocity of producer/reader (Fowler, 1991, p. 48, italics in original).

I now examine the last of the four major Motivational Frames that emerged in this study – the WTI frame, in which the company itself initiated news coverage in ways that led reporters to symbolically frame the content of their stories in certain ways.

4) The WTI Frame

As part of a multinational corporation, Waste Technologies Industries, Inc., is just one of many companies owned by the Swiss-based corporation, Von Roll International, which also operates hazardous waste incinerators in Europe. The WTI incinerator in East Liverpool is owned by a subsidiary of the company known as Von Roll America, whose president during the early 1990s was the oft-quoted Blake Marshall. As a company with vast resources and the will to overcome all odds in opening the waste incinerator in East Liverpool, Von Roll employed a series of public relations specialists who routinely churned out press releases and prepared statements, many of these featuring "comments" by Marshall, as the previous Legal Frame story analysis demonstrated.

Locally, various WTI plant managers and employees identified as "spokespersons," who were actually part of the local personnel and public relations office, were allowed to speak to the media. WTI often would communicate via these prepared statements, especially when the news of the day was not something favorable to company interests. But when any "good" news, issues or events that reflected well on WTI, was in the offing, the company was more than willing to notify local and regional media. This is clear from the fact that several stories in both newspapers contained quoted material from the same WTI press release.

More than simply being interested in protecting and preserving its public image, corporations view public relations as a vital tool in accomplishing and sustaining their economic survival: "Private capital is invested in the symbolic politics of news and advertising because sophistication in defending against bad news and trafficking in good news is seen as an essential part of achieving capital gains" (Ericson et al., 1991, p. 14).

By utilizing public relations, government and private-sector organizations are involved in 'organizational enactment,' because organizations are constituted on the production of images, "subjective congeries of experience which are bound and located spatially and temporally" (Ericson et al., 1991, pp. 14-15, quoting Manning, 1982, p. 13).

The eight same-day stories that emerged in this study as being within the WTI Motivational Frame all appear to have been generated by WTI's own public relations efforts. As a result, many stories include journalistic phrases such as, WTI "announced," or WTI "said today in a prepared statement." WTI provided, in other words, information subsidies (Gandy, 1982) to the news media, and both papers appeared more than willing to accept these subsidies as legitimate, newsworthy information.

The chief characteristic of news stories written within the WTI frame, then, is that the news of the day was generated (initiated) by WTI or its supporters and therefore was framed within the company's institutional, rhetorical logic. Reporters would respond to this rhetoric by featuring it in headlines and leads, symbolically framing the story from a WTI perspective. In the journalistic interest of fleshing out and giving critical substance to the WTI-initiated stories, reporters would often, but not always, obtain "the other side," from WTI opponents or from such officially "neutral" sources as the EPA or regional health and regulatory officials.

The two stories discourse-analyzed below, from 1993, concern a WTI announcement: that, nearly four months after the plant had opened for business, WTI's dioxin-removal system was working well beyond expectations, well below a federal EPA pollution-control standard governing the suspected carcinogen. WTI was only too happy to announce this news to the press especially, perhaps, because just five months before the

plant had exceeded its allowable dioxin emissions and had been ordered by the EPA to correct the problem (see story analysis in earlier section of this chapter). The company, not surprisingly from a public relations or even a common-sense point of view, had not bothered to contact the press about this "bad" news several months before. In business, government and private life, one does not normally trumpet one's failures.

By contacting the media about the favorable dioxin-control information, WTI was hoping to generate positive press coverage. As the same-day stories below will show, WTI's goal in this regard was largely accomplished, although an opposition source's view was included in the brief story published on the front page of the East Liverpool *Review*. The *Review* story thus offered a source-based (Type 1) claim and counter-claim narrative structure. The Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* included no opposing-source views in its account, yet offered more specific background and contextual details overall compared to the *Review* story. This greater amount of detail in the *Post-Gazette* report qualified, collectively, as a kind of newspaper-based counter-statement (Type 2) posed against the main claim presented by WTI: that test results showed the incinerator was easily meeting dioxin-removal standards.

***Review* & *Post-Gazette* stories**

Aug. 3, 1993

Both papers' headlines are very similar, focusing on WTI's success in controlling dioxin emissions. The *Post-Gazette* headline announces, declaratively, "Dioxin blocker working at WTI," while the *Review*'s headline relies on source-attribution, "WTI says dioxin falling." That the East Liverpool paper ran the story in a right-hand column on its front

page signals to readers the importance, in the newspaper's opinion, of this information, especially as dioxin control had been a problem at the plant several months before.

The *Review's* lead sentence is a simple restatement and expansion upon the headline: "*Waste Technologies Industries has announced a newly-installed system is effectively controlling dioxin emissions*." This is quite similar to the more wordy and informational *Post-Gazette* lead: "*New dioxin-control equipment installed on Waste Technologies Industries' hazardous-waste incinerator is effectively limiting emissions of the suspected carcinogen, according to preliminary test results released by the company*." In the latter account the information comes from 'preliminary test results released by the company.' In the *Review's* lead sentence the information simply comes from WTI 'announcing' it. The *Post-Gazette* includes the information that dioxin is a suspected carcinogen; the *Review* withholds this information until its second paragraph.

Also of interest is the fact both papers use the phrase "effectively" with respect to dioxin control – "effectively limiting" in the case of the *Post-Gazette* and "effectively controlling" in the *Review's* lead. So similar is the phraseology that it seems likely both papers were rephrasing information from a WTI press release, a mark of rhetorical success from the company's perspective. It is in this regard that certain sources in the news can be said to actually "write" or construct the news themselves (Ericson, et al., 1991). "News sources often function as journalists by submitting news releases that are published or broadcast verbatim..." (Ericson et al., 1991, p. 13). To the extent that press-release information goes into a newspaper more or less intact, the news source that has generated the information is authoring the news, displacing the journalist from this role. As was demonstrated in Chapter 4 regarding reporters' differential use of the narrative

schema category of Verbal Reaction and direct/indirect-quotation patterns, this PR-spokesperson-as-author phenomenon is similar to what occurs when reporters interview and quote actual sources: To the degree a reporter uses direct quotation, allowing sources to 'speak for themselves,' the reporter has effectively given over authorial and therefore rhetorical control to those sources, who are then in the position of authoring the news. To the degree a reporter chooses, instead, to *characterize* and *analyze* (Lucy, 1993a) rather than simply present the views of actual sources, the reporter maintains a greater degree of authorial/rhetorical control of the news report.

Each newspaper utilized different schema categories in presenting the WTI-generated main claim, that new test results showed dioxin was being effectively controlled. The claim actually occurs as part of the Topic (headline/lead: summarization) structure in the *Review*, and is clearly sourced to WTI as the claimant. The *Review* headline itself carries the attribution, 'WTI says...' The *Post-Gazette* headline simply declares a state of affairs, that the 'dioxin blocker' is working, and then fleshes out the claim later in the story by attributing it to WTI spokesperson Raymond Wayne and to a company-hired scientist who conducted the tests, Gary Liberson.

Both papers present the claim within the rhetorical, albeit implicitly stated, authority of Science: A dioxin control mechanism would, we presume, have to be based upon pollution-control science. Both papers also present the claim as grounded within the regulatory logic (as Rhetorical Category) of the EPA. That both papers, it appears, probably rewrote (without much revision) a company press release becomes more apparent in the second paragraphs, where each newspaper's account again uses very similar language:

Paragraph 2, *Post-Gazette* [Context/embedding indirect quotation]: '*The five unofficial tests last month at the incinerator in East Liverpool, Ohio, measured dioxin-emission concentrations at well under the standard set for WTI by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, the company said yesterday.*'

Paragraph 2, *Review* [Context/embedding indirect quotation]: '*The company says five unofficial tests conducted last month show the average emission of the suspected carcinogen to be 12.8 nanograms per cubic meter, which is below the recently announced standard of 30 set by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.*'

Both sentences present essentially the same information. Both mention 'five unofficial tests,' though the *Review* offers a specific dioxin measurement. Both sentences end by telling readers that the dioxin level is 'well under' or 'below' the federal EPA standard. It is highly unlikely both papers independently decided on the phrase 'five unofficial tests' in characterizing the number and type of tests done at the plant; this kind of wording would seem to have been taken directly from a WTI press release.

Further evidence that the stories are framed by the language of a company-written press release occurs when we encounter Dr. Gary Liberson, a company-hired scientist who conducted the tests; presumably, this is why the test results are 'unofficial,' because they were done by a company-paid scientist. Liberson is quoted *identically* by both papers. ' "*I can see no reason to believe WTI will not meet this limit during the actual performance test*",' both papers quote Liberson as saying, the *Post-Gazette* adding only a parenthetical '30-nanograms' in the quote to explain the allowable dioxin limit. The *Post-Gazette* story also includes a supportive quote from WTI spokesman Raymond Wayne, who says that based upon preliminary results, "*our confidence is further enhanced.*"

A counter-claim in response to this good news (main claim) from WTI occurs in the *Review* article via a direct quote from Alonzo Spencer, an often-quoted WTI opponent affiliated with an East Liverpool environmenntal organization. Just after the comment from Liberson, Spencer is quoted [Verbal Reaction/partial direct quote]: *'But facility opponent Alonzo Spencer said the announcement "sounds like another public relations ploy," adding, "There's absolutely nothing official in this statement".'* In this example, Spencer himself identifies what he believes to be a conscious rhetorical strategy by WTI – to concoct a statement as a tactical device rather than to provide more substantive information.

Spencer's statement exists largely as a rhetorical declaration, and clearly as a moral indictment inasmuch as he believes WTI is being disingenuous, engaging in a 'ploy.' At the same time, Spencer's counter-assertion also invokes the notion that WTI's 'ploy' should be distinguished from something like a more properly scientific knowledge. By counter-claiming that there is 'nothing official' in the test results, Spencer points implicitly to the idea that only the EPA can officially (formally) declare such test results valid. Thus, the rhetorical category of science itself, via regulatory authority, is implicitly conjured in Spencer's remark; even the company, after all, labeled its test results 'unofficial.'

From a rhetorical claims-making perspective, a useful strategic tactic is to agree with the 'official' knowledge of a particular institutionally sanctioned source (such as EPA or local and regional regulatory agencies) when that source's knowledge or viewpoint happens to favor one's own immediate strategic interests, but to disagree and call into question the validity of that same source's knowledge when it goes *against* one's own

interests. Both WTI and its opponents often followed this rhetorical strategy. "Claims-makers inevitably hope to persuade," and claims-making success "may well depend, in part, on the constellation of interests and resources held by various constituencies in the process..." (Best, 1987, p. 102.)

While not directly presenting, via Type 1 source quotation, a counter-claim posed against WTI's initiating claim of safe dioxin-removal, the *Post-Gazette* same-day/same-issue story nevertheless offered a series of facts that cohered into a Type 2 counter-assertion. At the very least, the serial facts fleshed out in the *Post-Gazette* story provided an explanatory template that, semantically, would remind readers of the plant's past problems in controlling dioxin and of the pollutant's possible threat to the local environment.

The *Post-Gazette*, in various paragraphs, provides the following information through a variety of schema categories:

Consequences: '*Dioxin -- a by-product of the combustion process -- especially the combustion of chlorinated waste -- is suspected of being a human carcinogen.*'

Background: '*The incinerator had started commercial operations earlier this year but was shut down for routine maintenance in June. While the plant was closed, the federal government and the state of Ohio ordered it to install new pollution equipment to reduce higher than expected dioxin emissions detected during a test burn in March. The dioxin levels were two to five times higher than the new federal standard.*'

Background [embedding Consequences]: '*The Swiss-owned incinerator, whose operation has been delayed by regulatory missteps and court challenges by opponents, will be the*

first hazardous-waste incinerator in the country required to meet the new EPA standards on dioxin.'

Background [embedding Consequences]: '*The incinerator is 30 miles northwest of Pittsburgh on the Ohio River, less than 1,500 feet from an elementary school and hundreds of homes.*'

Read as a series of facts, none of which are attributed to any recognized source, the rhetorical effect is to alert the reader to what the reporter apparently believes are important elements of consideration in understanding the plant, its location, and WTI's regulatory history with respect to dioxin control. The last sentence in particular is a highly rhetorical device very often used by reporters to convey the salience of a certain fact or issue; the plant is '*less than* 1,500 feet away from an elementary school and *hundreds* of homes.' The use of numbers, according to van Dijk (1988b, pp. 114-115), is the single most powerful rhetorical device used by newspapers because numbers specify facts and issues at hand, thereby lending an air of certitude and credibility to the newspaper itself. More generally, claims-makers help establish the basic grounds or data supportive of their arguments through specifying 'magnitude' (Best, 1987, p. 106). Using numbers to pinpoint empirical occurrences advances the news media's own rhetorical agenda, which is to persuade readers of the veracity and comprehensiveness of the information being represented (van Dijk, 1988b):

> The persuasive nature of news is not primarily geared toward the change of opinions and attitudes, even when these may eventually change on the basis of information given or suggested by news discourse. Rather, news has an assertion-type speech act function, and its major aim is to achieve credibility with the reader. Hence, rhetorical strategies are used to stress the preciseness and the truthfulness of the text. Rhetorical devices that may be used include direct observations, interviews with eyewitnesses, quotations from participants, scene descriptions, and especially numbers (van Dijk, 1988b, p. 114).

A specific number combined with a modifier like 'less than' drives home a point even more. The *Post-Gazette* reporter, after all, could have chosen to say homes were situated 'about 1,500 feet' or even 'more than 1,400 feet' from the WTI incinerator. The use of *less than* or *more than*, depending on the circumstance, is one of the most obvious ways reporters have of signaling the drama of a particular fact and, even more importantly, of signaling *their own perspective* on the event or issue being described.

In the above case the *Post-Gazette* reporter appears to be almost warning readers that the school is uncomfortably close to a potentially dangerous facility, which is also near 'hundreds' of homes. The reporter could have said the plant is 'near a neighborhood.' In either case, the language choice would have been equally factual; the difference is that the qualifiers used by the *Post-Gazette* imbue the factual information with dramatic flair and rhetorical force, lending a sense of imminent danger creeping in on East Liverpool residents living near WTI. Some might read the above passages from the *Post-Gazette* as evidence of 'bias.' From another perspective, the reporter could be considered to be offering informed judgment or analysis to his report; in fact, the embedded use of the schema category of Consequences in some of the above passages accomplishes just that, reporter analysis linked to causality. In any event, the above characterizations by the *Post-Gazette* are good examples of a reporter not merely presenting WTI-framed information but choosing to move beyond the initial discursive scope, to place the immediate news of the day into a larger, more contextual and critical perspective. The reporter's linguistic descriptions exist, in the first instance, as a discrete rhetoric of the text. But also, in a more generic, formal sense, the textual rhetoric contributes to the

newspaper's larger persuasional goal of offering certifiable, specific information to readers.

By telling us that previous dioxin limits were 'two to five times higher' than the allowable standard, and that the plant has been hit with 'court challenges from opponents,' this sense of imposing danger is anchored even further. The various statements draw, as well, on a series of rhetorical categories for their argumentative appeal -- to morality, health, legality, regulation, and science. In more literary terms, these facts cohere to convey a metaphor of 'danger,' especially the last statement, which specifically locates neighborhood homes and an elementary school as being directly in the pollution zone of the incinerator. Collectively, then, this series of facts can be interpreted as good and even critical reporting. As well, it conveys a highly rhetorical dimension, the effect of which – in terms of its functioning as a Type 2 (newspaper-centered) counter-claim – is to challenge the WTI main claim that the incinerator's new dioxin-control equipment will guarantee the plant can be operated safely.

Conclusion

The comparative discourse analysis of this WTI Frame same-issue story in the *Post-Gazette* and *Review* shows the divergent ways in which each paper presented the news of the day. In constructing their narratives, both papers followed to a large degree the consciously imposed, public-relations based frame initially established by WTI itself, even to the extent of using nearly identical explanatory language. Both papers even used an identical direct quote gleaned from a WTI press release that was obtained by both news organizations.

The papers diverged substantially, however, in the use of other narrative properties, especially with regard to claims-making activity. The *Review* story followed a Type 1 source-based claim/counter-claim structure; the *Post-Gazette* a Type 2 strategy, presenting a WTI-based main claim (indeed the *same* main claim the *Review* presented) but offering its own counter-claim in the form of a series of facts represented primarily through Background and Consequences schema properties. The *Post-Gazette* report was more detailed and specific, and certainly more dramatic, in depicting the locale of East Liverpool in relation to the plant. It was also more thorough in explaining factual and technical details relating to WTI's current dioxin-control measures and the plant's regulatory history with respect to dioxin control.

The *Post-Gazette* offered a more critical account that gave readers greater insight and context regarding important environmental news. But both newspapers offered readers plenty of oppositional information. The *Review's* account, while less critical and comprehensive than the *Post-Gazette's*, gave readers a counter-statement from a well-known local opponent, although WTI opponent Spencer's remarks added little in the way of substantive information; rather, he was used to criticize WTI for engaging in a PR 'ploy.' The *Post-Gazette's* approach in offering oppositional information was to present its own reporter-centered series of facts, collectively serving as a counter-claim to WTI's main claim. The rhetorical effect of the *Post-Gazette* piece was to add drama and significance to the facts at hand, while at the same time positing a counter-assertion to the 'safety' claim offered within the WTI 'announcement.'

Finally, both papers clearly were swayed by the very conscious strategy on the part of WTI to get its "good" news into the paper, apparently via a well-thought-out press release

that resulted in much of the PR material actually making it, nearly word for word, into both papers. Then again, this information – that WTI dioxin-contol measures appeared to be working – did qualify as newsworthy. But both papers endeavored, in different ways, to filter the news through at least a minimum of differing viewpoints and rhetorical claims. To include a critical element to its report, the *Review* interviewed and quoted directly a well-known WTI opponent as a means of counter-acting the WTI "good news," while the *Post-Gazette* drew on its own powers of rhetorical analysis to imbue the text with an oppositional edge.

This and previous chapters have attempted to demonstrate the major narrative elements at work in conflict-centered news about an environmental dispute, as depicted by two newspapers operating within two distinctly different social structures. The final chapter summarizes and revisits previously documented empirical findings and story interpretations, with the aim of considering implications for mass-media theory informed by social-structural and discourse-centered research.

Chapter 8

General Discussion & Conclusions

Journalism as a Rhetoric of Objectivity: Discourse for Democracy?

The goal in this chapter is to draw on my own empirical results with respect to questions of general importance to news media theory. The two general areas of research in this study have pertained to questions of *media sociology* – to news as a socially-structured form of symbolic production – and to *news as discourse*; specifically, same-issue 'conflict' stories written by the East Liverpool and Pittsburgh newspapers relating to the WTI incinerator controversy.

In the most general sense, the comparative newspaper reports of WTI are examples of what might be broadly construed as the rhetorical ideology of news: the idea that the newspaper journalist's genre-based communicative goal or authorial intention of 'informing' in a 'real-world,' factual, non-partisan manner (Jensen, 1986; van Dijk, 1988a&b; Roeh, 1989; and see Rhetorical Framing Model and iterations in Chapter 2) reflects an underlying storytelling ideology, and ideology based in objectivity as a professional storytelling norm (Schudson, 1978). The Rhetorical Framing model and its iterations are ways of understanding heuristically how news discourse reflects and reproduces social ideology (Fowler, 1991, 1987; Fowler et al., 1979; Kitis & Milapides, 1997; Kress & Hodge, 1988, 1979; Threadgold, 1987; Trew, 1979; Dunmire, 1997).[26]

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[26] But see Kieran (1997) for a good counter-argument to the entire 'news-as-ideology' theoretical perspective. Though it is not the intention of the present study to debate Kieran's general assertion that ideology, as mystification, is not necessarily pervasive in news media accounts, his arguments for this position merit close attention and, in some respects, are upheld in my own findings; specifically, with respect to how some news reports were both ideologically biased but at the same time highly informative and critical in perspective.

The basic model draws on insights from functional linguistics (especially Martin, 1992; Ventola, 1987; Gregory, 1988, 1987; Halliday, 1985; and Matthiessen, 1992). It incorporates important discursive elements examined throughout the study, such as my own concepts of Motivational Frames and associated Motivational Sources at the broadest level (that of ideology) and, at the model's upper-most end (in the linguistic product that is the news story itself), the schema categories formulated by van Dijk (1988a&b; 1985a&b; 1991a&b; 1983). The news story, within this basic model, exists as what I call a discrete *symbolic frame*, built upon what I label *rhetorical frames*, the latter supplied primarily by institutionally bound sources that function within the larger matrix of social forces. The sources whose views are reproduced in news reports may well be the most salient element in understanding the news as a form of discourse, as journalists rely almost exclusively upon them to supply the basic news 'content.' Though there is nothing new in this particular insight (Sigal, 1986, 1973; Tuchman, 1978, 1977, 1972; Fishman, 1980; Ericson et al., 1991, 1989; Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994; Chibnall, 1977) my detailed textual analysis of WTI conflict stories has, I hope, brought to life just how important sourcing is as a central discursive feature of news production, and how sourcing is central to the ideology of journalism via what might be called the *objective rhetorical form*.

Although a certain textual ideology – founded on this objective rhetorical form – is at work in any news story, it may be more readily displayed in news articles that focus on highly conflictual subjects (Candlin, 1987), as was the case in WTI stories in both papers. This ideology, in other words, is realized textually through the rhetorical *form* of objectivity (Tuchman, 1972, 1978; Schudson, 1978; Condit & Selzer, 1985; Miraldi,

1989; Ericson et al., 1989; Koch, 1990; O'Neill 1992; Curtin, 1993; Mindich, 1993; Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994; Lipari, 1996; Durham, 1998), the most important formal feature of this objective rhetorical form being, as mentioned, the presentation of the partisan views of various news sources.

In general, the objective rhetorical form is founded on a journalistic ideology of supplying, via news depictions, non-partisan information (Kieran, 1997) to a diverse population. As such, the journalistic story-telling form corresponds to and is a fundamental expression of perhaps the most central tenet of democratic theory, wherein the populace relies on accurate information from a diversity of views, thus enabling intelligent, collaborative decision-making within the social-political realm. This fundamentally normative belief and its relation to journalism is nicely expressed by Anderson et al. (1997, p. 98), who – in critiquing American newspapers' general failure to live up to the democratic ideal of helping create and sustain a well-informed public – proposes that the newspaper should aspire to be "a site for public dialogue shared by all citizens and accessible to all citizens," thereby giving citizens "both the means and the encouragement to encounter together the same ideas and issues and to test through civic discourse where we stand."

Journalism's *A-Rhetorical* Stance

As a story-telling form, journalism appears to follow a somewhat ironic *a-rhetorical* story-telling strategy, which goes hand in hand with the almost mythical but nonetheless still popular ideological notion of the 'marketplace of ideas.' The irony inherent in the journalistic story-telling form exists as a rhetorical tension between the reporter fulfilling his or her democratic duty by having to be seen as objective and non-partisan, while

presenting the views of sources who have no such constraints. Even officially 'neutral' sources whom represents not their own opinion but that of their respective organizations, such as sources (in the present study) representing the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, are nevertheless strong advocates *for their own institutional view*. The official, institutional view of journalism is, in principle, to have no view (Epstein, 1973; Lipari, 1996). "In journalism...the constraints of objectivity require the journalist to conceal his or her own participation in [the] social dialogue. Journalists must speak indirectly, as ventriloquists, through the words of others" (Lipari, 1996, p. 831.)

Proscribed as they are from actively interpreting the news (Condit & Selzer, 1985, p. 213), reporters are left to concoct, each day, a marketplace of ideas through presenting the highly rhetorical (i.e., partisan) views of different sources, selected according to how well the reporter determines various sources can express different viewpoints given a particular event or issue. The views of openly rhetorical sources are thus "filtered" through what I think is most adequately lableled the a-rhetorical, objective form of the news story, which attempts to balance these views – usually just two basic viewpoints – in a way that will provide, in principle, a general assessment of a given situation to readers, who are then, in principle, in a position to intelligently make up their minds. Source balancing is thus equated with story 'fairness,' a fair and balanced account being essential to journalism's role in sustaining a democratically informed populace. As Miraldi (1989, p. 11) notes, "Seeking the other side in any story is basic in fair reporting and an important attribute of objective journalism." Fico & Cote (1999) eqate seeking the other side with "fairness," a value typically associated with journalistic objectivity and

which many contempoary journalists, perhaps too cynical to believe in objectivity *per se*, often conclude is the realistically obtainable goal of journalism.

But source selection, and therefore the selection of viewpoints, always implies choice, and choosing which elements to include in a news story is fundamentally rhetorical in nature – the journalist, in this way, actively shapes a particular view of the world within a "rhetoric of objectivity" (Condit & Selzer, 1985, p. 213): "Such choices are covert opinions, not readily available for scrutiny by the reading public, disguised, as they are, as 'objective' fact" (p. 212). This source-selection process provides a defensible means for journalists to decide which sources to use, and *where* in the story, resulting in the journalist actively shaping a story to represent a partial view of 'reality.' According to Tuchman (1972, p. 668), a reporter following the objective method "may remove his opinion from the story by getting others to say what he himself thinks." One does not have to be a conspiracy theorist to acknowledge that the journalist, like any storyteller (Singer & Endreny, 1986), must select what story elements to include and which to leave out. As a former newspaper reporter who spent nearly 12 years in daily journalism, I can attest to this inescapable fact: The 'objective' reporter gets most of his or her sense of reality given a particular newsworthy issue or event (if only because they *have to*) from the sources with whom they routinely interact, and some of these viewpoints will correspond with the reporter's own, and will consequently find their way into stories. The rhetorical challenge – the challenge imposed by the rhetoric of objectivity – is to present the information in a way that will be perceived by readers as 'balanced and fair,' primarily by presenting contrasting viewpoints, none of which must be seen as stemming directly from the reporter. The rhetorical process of news reporting, in this light, can be

seen as a combination of the objective filtering of non-objective source views, within the compositional hands of the 'objective' reporter.

A central idea informing my own theoretical stance throughout the present study is that, through its formal dedication to non-partisanship, journalism officially espouses a non-rhetorical or *a-rhetorical* philosophy, *but that this very dedication to providing non-partisan information is itself a rhetorical stance*. Journalism's desire to be objective rests, at bottom, in a compelling irony: The espousal of neutrality – notwithstanding even the most noble, pluralistic, democratically minded intentions – is just another rhetorical tactic. As a brand of rhetoric, journalism's persuasive power lies in its ability to assert, convincingly, its own facticity (Tuchman, 1978), its own putative non-persuasiveness (van Dijk, 1988a&b; Jensen, 1986; Curtin, 1993; Mindich, 1993). It is in this sense that journalism is not a mirror of reality but a social construction. As Curtin (1993, p. 3) puts it, journalism is just one example of "the constructed nature of all mass media accounts of social reality" whether factual or fictional. In a recent study of the evolution of American journalism's inverted-pyramid story-telling mode, Mindich (1993, p. 9) similarly concludes: "The 'objective' news report is, at best, an earnest assertion of its own factuality; at worst, it is a deliberate ordering of 'facts' to manipulate public perception."

As a story-telling form, the news report is a rhetorical document because it is intentionally designed to persuade readers of the accuracy and essential veracity of what is put forth by the reporter as real-world (Jensen, 1986) events and issues – basically by focusing on 'material' (Condit & Selzer, 1985), observable, documentable occurrences.

Journalism's objective mode corresponds to a discourse of the real, or at least to what journalists attempt to project as the real.

The rhetorical ideology of journalism (Roeh, 1989) is realized in the objective form of the news article, featuring a triparate rhetorical structure (Condit & Selzer, 1985, pp.211-214) founded on the depiction of material (observable) events and/or clearly articulated issues; on the balancing of viewpoints by providing quotations "from both sides of a case" (p. 212); and on using quotation marks and other "distancers," such as the use of 'allegedly' or 'reportedly' to give the appearance of neutrality and to avoid libel risks (Condit & Selzer, 1985, pp. 212-213; see also, Tuchman, 1972, 1978). This basic rhetorical format contains both visible and relatively invisible features, which I now describe in general based on a comparative analysis of WTI same-day news stories in the East Liverpool and Pittsburgh papers.

Major Rhetorical Features of News Discourse about the WTI Controversy

In the present study, two of these three above-listed features – a focus on material events or issues, and quoting sources from two principle sides of an issue (e.g., 'For' sources supporting WTI and 'Against' sources opposing the incinerator) were strongly in evidence; reporters from both papers generally did not use distancers, favoring instead a more straightforward approach of usually (but by no means always) tying statements to attributed sources.

At the more discrete level of the text itself, newspaper journalism's objective rhetorical form consists of a series of relatively visible features that present study has attempted to document. The more 'visible' elements include:

- *summarizing* information, provided through the inverted-pyramid lead sentence format, which structures information from most-important to least important, with the lead sentence offering the most important information that is usually, but not always, reflected in a similar headline; as summarizing information, the language often relies upon metaphor or other connotative (evaluative) means of expression.
- *photographs* that represent or visualize aspects of the story, accompanied by 'cutlines' that explain the relevance of the photograph, and which sometimes qualify as a newspaper-based rhetorical claim [Type 2 framing].
- *human sources* representing, through the reporter's use of direct and indirect quotation, differing viewpoints on a given subject, and generally demarcated within the story by a given source appearing in a separate paragraph. In the present study, the main sources fell into three distinct categories: those supporting WTI ('For' sources), those opposing the plant ('Against' sources), and those who by institutional proscription can offer only neutral views, positions relating to their respective institutional authority, ('Neutral' sources).
- *relative balancing* of human source views throughout an article, in a way designed, in principle, to convince readers the report is 'fair' – referred to in the above section as one of the three foundational aspects of objective reporting (Condit & Selzer, 1985). In the present study, the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* was the more balanced (in fact, almost perfectly balanced) in terms of presenting different source views, with the small-town East Liverpool *Evening Review* featuring nearly half (47%; see Chapter 3) of all source views from the WTI opposition ('Against' sources.) This finding, along with other results pertaining to rhetorical claims-making, is an important element of

the present study as these results shed light on social-structural media theory, to which Chapter 3 is devoted, and which is also revisted in this concluding chapter.

- *physical sources,* including statistical or other 'factual' documents, reports, press releases, letters, etc., which add credibility to a news report and can indicate a reporter's commitment to providing some analytical depth and comprehensiveness beyond the simple reproduction of human-source views; only scant evidence of this was found in either newspaper, though it was used most often in news stories about legal aspects of the WTI dispute, and more often by the East Liverpool *Review*.
- *general description,* based on the reporter's own observational powers, provided the physical observations are relatively denotational, i.e., factual, rather than evaluative or connotational. Though not formally analyzed in the present study, the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* appeared to use general description somewhat more than did the *Review*, but this was not strongly in evidence in either newspaper. This quality can generally be associated with what would be regarded as a 'well-written' story.

The above elements are documentable primarily through standard content analysis. Other, less clearly visible story elements examined in the present study, and documented primarily through a more text-centered discourse-analysis, include:

- *source views analyzed as claims and counter-claims*; that is, source arguments and counter-arguments reflecting the rhetorical positions of different sources regarding the WTI controversy, and labeled in this study as Type 1 Rhetoric. The vast majority of rhetorical claims-making documented in the present study occurred through directly and indirectly quoted sources, with most *initiating* claims (also known as main claims) in both papers (mean = 53%) being made by WTI opponents and nearly half

of all *responses* or counter-claims (mean = 48%) in both papers attributable to WTI proponents. In other words, the essential rhetorical engagement in the WTI stories produced by both papers was one in which the opposition was in the offense position, and the WTI supporters were in a defensive, reaction mode.

- *newspaper claims*, which often exist as part of the summarizing function of headlines and lead sentences (Topic schema), or less often through certain phraseology or general analysis and commentary provided by the reporter; in the present study labeled as Type 2 Rhetoric, and which averaged about 14% of all claims and counter-claims in both papers.
- *Rhetorical Categories*, such as legal, regulatory, scientific, and – perhaps most importantly in the present study – moral 'knowledge domains' that underlie a claim, lending argumentative credibility to an assertion or counter assertion because of the claim's association with socially recognized institutions or groups. In this study, the concept of Motivational Frames (institutions and groups) and Motivated Sources (the actors representing these institutions and groups as quoted news *sources*) incorporates this general idea, inasmuch as knowledge domains or 'fields' expressed by sources are linked to the groups and organizations with which those sources are connected.
- *Schema Categories*, the syntactic, narrative properties of the news report, which include Topic, Context, Background, History, Verbal Reactions, Consequences, and Comment, each one of which functions as a unique information conduit, although often one can function very much like another – through what I labeled 'embedding.' These categories are super-structural elements (van Dijk, 1988a&b; 1991a&b) *through which* the meaning – the semantic content – of the news report itself is

conveyed in 'discontinuous installments' (van Dijk, 1988a&b). As such, the schema categories incorporate and convey all the other elements of the news report listed above, collectively providing the rhetorical framework, the storytelling skeleton (the super-structure) of the news report.

To summarize thus far, the news report is designed generically (schematically) as a 'factual' and objectively verifiable discourse (an 'assertion-type' speech act function) formally designed to persuade readers of its accuracy ("to achieve credibility with the reader" [van Dijk, 1988b, p. 114]) through an array of both visible and somewhat less visible discursive elements, each of which can be analyzed discretely. The persuasive – i.e., the rhetorical – quality of news as a form of discourse is founded in the reporter's institutionally mandated need to convince an audience of the news story's veracity, of its essential truthfulness and accuracy relating to the depiction of given events in the 'real' world. News is a 'realist' discourse (Jensen, 1986), a construction of reality, albeit one that, if well constructed along conventional lines, can render what will be fairly convincing as a detailed, comprehensive account of important socio-political events and issues.

Objectivity requires that reporters keep their own views out of the story, that they attempt to avoid outright personal bias or interpretive slant. Stripped by institutional mandate of the ability to engage in their ownd partisan rhetoric, reporters seek out – and are sought out by – highly partisan sources motivated to represent the interests of their own groups or organizations (Motivational Frames). The credibility (in rhetorical terminology, the *ethos*) of the source is based in large part on the credibility of the institution or group the source represents. Additionally, to add an additional air of

credibility to their stories, reporters can draw on any number of available documents, from the most partisan (such as press releases, prepared statements, company brochures) to those automatically considered somewhat more objective (e.g., government reports or legal rulings), mixing this kind of information with the rhetoric of human sources. The reporter's role, formally speaking, is merely to serve as a neutral conduit for these human and documentary sources. It is in the latter sense that journalism can be categorized linguistically as an objective rhetorical form.

WTI Stories as *Politicized* Reporting

In examining same-issue stories from the Pittsburgh and East Liverpool newspapers regarding the WTI hazardous waste siting controversy, I found that what I was examining was not really journalism about the environment, but narrowly political, or *politicized reporting about an environmental dispute*, the scientific and environmental details of which were often lacking, with the conflict itself granted center stage. This is understandable, given that conflict and drama are central news values in American journalism (Hough, 1988). It is also troubling because, ideally in a democracy, one hopes for more comprehensive, systematically critical coverage of important social, political and economic events and issues (see Davis, 1990), rather than reporting that primarily displays personal disputes between issue participants. The last part of this chapter deals more with this issue, in a way that attempts to characterize and critique the specific nature of WTI stories.

WTI Stories as Reflective of News Media Social Structures

Questions directly pertaining to the sociology of mass media were addressed in the present study by a critique and extension of the social-structural media theory of

Tichenor, Donohue and Olien, as best articulated in their Community Conflict & the Press (1980)[27]. A content and discourse-analysis of a matched set of same-day/same-issue 'conflict' stories (N=74; 37 matched stories in each paper) was conducted. The stories came from two structurally distinct newspapers, the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* and the East Liverpool *Evening Review*. Through content analysis of source-citation patterns I discovered evidence suggesting the small-town newspaper in East Liverpool, which in social-structural theory would normally be expected to downplay local conflict, actually quoted WTI opponents much more often than those 'for' or those 'neutral' toward the plant. This finding ran contrary to the usual view propounded in social-structural media theory, which says the less pluralistic, more interpersonal social structure of the small town should result in its newspaper downplaying rather than highlighting conflict. Larger metropolitan papers – of which the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* is an example – normally are associated with a conflict-highlighting role. The finding that the small-town paper was more conflictual was moderated somewhat, however, by the fact, gleaned from discourse analysis, that in other ways the East Liverpool *Evening Review* struck a more consensual tone – through certain phraseology, headlines, word choices and the like – *even as it highlighted oppositional source views*. I deal with these questions of media social structure in more detail subsequently.

Linking Mass Media Sociology & News Discourse

This study has focused on two areas pertaining to the "work" of journalism. These may be defined fairly broadly as the *sociology of news production*, and the *linguistics of the news product*. The link between the two is that, whether examining news-media sociology or

[27] But see also, Donohue et al., (1989, 1985, 1995, 1984, 1973); Olien et al., (1989, 1984) ; and Tichenor et

news-media texts, the analyst is engaged at some level with language itself. The focus in the present study is explicitly centered on the discourse of the news as a reflection, in large part, of underlying social-structural forces, those of the big city and the small town. The Rhetorical Framing Model and its iterations offered in Chapter 2 map out this basic idea, as a heuristic for understanding news discourse as performing the essentially ideological function of social reproduction (van Dijk, 1991; Fowler, 1991). As Halliday (cited in de Joia & Stenton, 1980, p. 87) has remarked, "The investigation of language as social behaviour is not only relevant to the understanding of social structure; it is also relevant to the understanding of language." In this spirit, I have attempted to critique social-structural news media theory – which typically pays only remote attention to news texts *as texts* – by fleshing out the discourse of news articles that were created within distinct social structures, and have offered evidence for how discourse analysis can produce findings that support social-structural theory in some aspects but also point to its limits. As such, I have identified a certain number of what can only be called contradictions within the comparative news texts, the central one being that a single news text can be simultaneously *both supportive and critical of the status quo*. This contradiction may be the result of the scenario outlined in the first part of this chapter: The objective mode of reporting, for all its laudable links to democratic theory, constrains the journalist to promulgating and reproducing the ideological views of partisan sources, while at the same time requiring the reporter to represent these views in an equally balanced mixture. My general results show that this balance is far from assured, resulting in stories that can both critique and reproduce the status quo.

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al., (1984).

Throughout this dissertation, I have offered specific conclusions and discrete analyses within each subject-centered chapter. Therefore, the remainder of this chapter restates my research aims and offers a general analysis of empirical results pertaining to the nature of 'conflict' stories in two structurally distinct newspapers, and of how these stories were realized rhetorically as an objective, realist *discourse* about the world. The first portion relates to the structural-pluralism hypothesis of Tichenor et al. (1980) and how that played out in the stories I analyzed. The latter section focuses on major discursive features of the news texts and how these elements reflect the rhetorical tension inherent in the objective reporting form. I also address questions of method and limitations of the present study. Finally, with more ethical and concerns in mind, I conclude by characterizing and critiquing WTI conflict stories in both papers as *politicized* reporting about an environmental subject, and consider the normative implications for the practice of daily journalism.

Two Research Questions: Explanation & Exploration

Two basic research questions informed this study. The first asked whether in covering the WTI hazardous-waste site controversy, the small-town newspaper – the East Liverpool *Evening Review* – would be less conflictual and critical in tone than the much larger, metropolitan Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, less than 40 miles east. This question was formulated upon Tichenor, Donohue and Olien's (1980) relatively well-founded thesis that big-city papers, because of the social-structural nature of the metropolitan, conflict-rich urban environment with its many competing power brokers, are more naturally prone to critical, conflict-centered coverage of controversial issues than are newspapers in smaller towns, where consensus and interpersonal networking tend to submerge most

local conflicts. I was therefore interested in trying to explain or account for any differences in the two newspapers by virtue of existing explanatory media theory.

The second research question was more exploratory in nature: What distinct discursive elements would emerge if each news story was examined through a close linguistic analysis? Exploring the discourse of even a single news article was very much like doing archeological spade work, rooting around in a rich and often tangled textual soil in hopes of identifying fragments that might point to an underlying structure. I ultimately wanted to discover, through discourse-analysis informed by rhetorical theory, and by using news media social-structural theory as a general theoretical perspective, how 74 matched stories in both papers were constructed *as* discourse, in fairly broad as well as in more microscopic terms.

Exploring headline and lead-sentence construction, accompanying photographs and cutlines, the number, nature and type of argumentative claims and counter-claims, the use of certain words and phrases, the occurrence of direct quotation, and the plotting of news schema categories, provided me an extremely detailed means of understanding the newspaper story as a particular kind of rhetorical expression. This kind of close reading of stories is methodologically complex, tedious, and time-consuming. But it does, I believe, provide a solid ground for deconstructing a story into its various linguistic elements. The method also requires a good deal of technical commitment and creativity. Through a certain degree of trial and error, I devised a discourse-analytic method that can, I hope, be used fruitfully in subsequent research along these lines. This kind of discourse analysis offers discrete insight into the minute construction of a news story. It allows one

to speculate with some confidence about the *how* of news writing, how each paper portrayed the WTI story as conflict, and not just *what* was reported.

While the first research question – regarding structural-pluralism as a general theory – engages questions of the sociology of mass media, the second concerns the linguistic nature of a particular media format, the newspaper article. The hope was that a macro (sociological) and micro (linguistic) analysis of one issue in two structurally distinct newspapers would extend knowledge of an already well-founded mass media theory, in addition to shedding light on the intricate workings of newspaper discourse as a certain kind of rhetorical text – the objective, informative news story, constructed so as to persuade readers of its 'real-world' veracity.

The two research questions are related in that the obvious social-structural differences in East Liverpool and Pittsburgh as communities should, theoretcially, be revealed in distinct textual differences in the WTI news stories produced by both papers. The fact that these stories dealt with a long-standing, highly charged social, political, environmental conflict also made them well worth examining, because the analysis of social conflict as it is articulated in the small community and the large metropolitan newspaper is the central focus of Tichenor et al.'s Community Conflict & the Press (1980). In comparing matched-story coverage of the WTI controversy between the most intensively reported years of 1991 and 1993, I ultimately sought to explore news as conflict-discourse and to offer some explanation regarding any differences that might emerge in the way each paper portrayed the conflict.

In the most general sense, I believe I have discovered, given my methods of investigation, some solid findings about the specific nature of conflict reporting in

newspapers representing fundamentally different social structures. At the same time I am mindful of a contradiction that emerged: Any single story, regardless of which newspaper one examines, can contain narrative elements that portray both social and political conflict *as well as* a certain amount of consensus toward the existing powers that be. (Indeed, Tichenor, Donohue and Olien contend that all newspapers, regardless of size, are reflective of the local status quo.)

I now summarize and speculate upon findings regarding the first-stated, more explanatory research question. I then turn to specific findings and implications regarding the second research question, relating to how discourse functioned in the comparative news texts. Finally, I address normative speculations about the WTI news stories as a brand of what I characterize as politicized reporting of an environmental subject.

The Social-Structural Hypothesis Revisited

As is detailed in Chapter 3, I discovered evidence for what I have called the 'buried counter-thesis' in Tichenor et al.'s social-structural theory: Sometimes, the small-town newspaper will openly and actively engage in conflict reporting on a local matter; this proposition is only suggested but not really pursued to any great degree in Community Conflict & the Press, thus it serves as a highly suggestive and useful counter-thesis that can be contrasted against the main, structural-pluralist 'thesis' in the book.

In the present study, this oppositionally focused reporting about the WTI hazardous waste siting controversy occurred to a much higher degree in the small-town paper, at least at the level of source parity and source claims-making balance, than in the big-city paper – providing evidence against the central thesis of Tichenor et al.'s social-structural theory. Tichenor and company provide the key in their own work, however, to why what

I call the counter-thesis might have been at work in the East Liverpool paper's reporting of WTI. It has to do with the fact that when conflict situations in small towns are viewed as being caused by external ('outside') forces, rather than as stemming from the community itself, then the community newspaper may actively publicize the conflict.

Though the East Liverpool Chamber of Commerce and other business elements supported WTI, the incinerator is a Swiss-owned, not locally owned corporation. It is an outsider who moved into town to do business. Many in the community certainly felt invaded by the presence of a plant that would release pollution into the ambient air, regardless of the fact it would create about 100 new jobs. This sentiment against the outsider was consistently expressed in highly vocal ways by two local protest groups (later joined by Greenpeace, the international environmental organization), which managed to gain and keep the attention of the local press. This was, in the language of Community Conflict & the Press, an externally generated conflict that can unite community sentiment against the outside instigator.

To revisit Tichenor et al. (1980, pp. 104-105) on this point about externally generated conflict:

> Such observed tendencies toward maintenance of consensus and surface harmony in the smaller community do not guarantee that the community press will *never* deal with controversy; rather, the homogeneous community structure provides a continuing pressure against such controversy. With increasing entrance of new and stronger external forces into the community, however, the role of the community press may differ...The community press in these cases, however, will often portray a community relatively unified in its concerns or in its opposition to the outside force. However, once an issue erupts, the community press may at least temporarily give as much attention to the scope, tension, and bitterness of the conflict as a metropolitan newspaper might – perhaps even more so.

The authors connect this last sentence to a long footnote (#4, p. 106), which furthers their speculation about how the community press may at times differ "sharply from its usual consensus-oriented role." They note that, "When new and external forces bring a new issue into the community, the community press may temporarily employ reporting procedures that portray the full dimensions of the controversy, including the acrimony and rancor that may be generated within the community itself"(1980, footnote #4, p. 106.)

The small-town East Liverpool *Review*, in its reporting of the WTI story, certainly did offer all of "the acrimony and rancor that may be generated within the community itself," if based only on the fact that 47 percent of all quoted sources represented the *Against* views of assorted WTI opponents; Neutral sources made up 27 percent and For sources 26 percent. The *Post-Gazette* quoted a virtually even number of source types (For, 34%; Against, 33%; and Neutral, 33%), and featured a somewhat more balanced claims/counter-claim structure than did the small-town paper [see Chapter 5]. However, even this counter-thesis' conditions were not met completely, as the community was never "relatively unified" in opposition to the incinerator.

The authors (p. 104) speculate, as well, that "the increasing level of training among journalists" may "itself be producing a greater amount of feedback reporting," feedback being equated with a more critical, conflict-oriented news account. To the extent that this may occur, the authors conclude, even small-town journalists may begin to report more conflict as a result of their advanced journalistic education and "a greater sense of professionalism" (p. 104). In-depth interviews with two East Liverpool and two Pittsburgh reporters who covered many of the WTI stories revealed that at least three are college educated; unfortunately, my notes do not reflect any information about the

education of one of the two former East Liverpool *Review* reporters. As a general proposition, however, I do think Tichenor et al.'s speculation about an increasingly better educated number of professional reporters leading to more critical reporting deserves more attention in future work that examines the structural-pluralism hypothesis. The most recent indications of undergraduate university enrollments in U.S. journalism and mass communication schools are that enrollments have increased each of the last four years, "signaling a continued growth in the field" (Kosicki & Becker, 1998, p. 63).

Other reasons why the small-town *Review* may have been more conflictual in reporting the WTI story than what the main thesis of the social-pluralism hypothesis predict, and which may merit greater attention in future studies, include:

- Ever-greater external regulatory, legal, and budgetary control from county, state and federal bureaucracies, which Community Conflict & the Press (1980) clearly identifies as a growing reality in post-World War II America. The WTI plant, while a for-profit business, was and is heavily regulated by the U.S. and Ohio EPAs, thus the plant is itself an external force and, as a result, attracts external legal-regulatory attention. Moreover, the regulators themselves represent 'external forces.'
- The growing phenomenon of 'urban sprawl,' the continued suburbanization of American cities, with suburbs being built further and further from central-city locations. This has occurred to a certain degree over the last 20 years or so in East Liverpool, with an outlying area comprised mainly of newer housing and franchise businesses. Community Conflict & the Press (1980, pp. 54-57) identifies suburbanization as a factor that, at a certain level, might be thought to contribute to a collapse of the traditional differences between bigger and smaller cities, at least in

terms of how citizens in each community view conflict as a social phenomenon. A suburbanized culture can give rise to new, suburban newspapers reflective of a more conflictual tone than may exist in the small-town community paper. Although this is only speculation, it could be that the suburbanization of East Liverpool may, at least, have contributed to a more economically and thus socially diverse social setting, which could consequently indicate a greater willingness to openly embrace conflict by the newspaper that serves the outlying region.

- A society-wide increase in information inputs brought about by digital information technology (the Internet and Web pages; e-mail; Faxing; desktop publishing) and by the major diffusion of cable and satellite television channels in most American communities. I am aware of at least one Web site devoted entirely to the WTI issue, from the opposition perspective, though it is not known whether this site or others might have been up and running between 1991 and 1993. But Fax, e-mail and desktop publishing were in use during the early 1990s, and opponents may have used these communicative means to spread their message. The WTI story also became a statewide and even national issue of interest via television, newspaper and magazine coverage, particularly in the latter stages of the conflict, a development that is well recognized in social-movement and conflict literature (Gamson, 1992; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Tichenor et al., 1980; Olien et al., 1984; and see Salmon, 1989). These reports, especially the dramatically rich, contention filled reports of regional television news stations, would have been monitored by East Liverpool reporters, thereby increasing the newsworthiness of what local reporters might otherwise have seen as a somewhat less important or dramatic social conflict. As mentioned earlier,

both ABC's "Good Morning America" and CBS' "Sixty Minutes" did pieces on WTI before the incinerator opened, not to mention many national and state newspapers weighing in with conflict-centered stories.

- Finally, social movement activists show a growing sophistication in how to effectively generate news media coverage, particularly by staging dramatic media events, such as protests (Gamson, 1995, 1992, 1990; Adoni & Mane, 1984; Melucci, 1996, 1989; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989) The fact that Greenpeace – an internationally recognized environmental protest group that routinely employs media-event strategies (Anderson, 1997; Yearly, 1992) – entered the WTI fray in the early 1990s cannot be underestimated as a force working towards greater conflict coverage in East Liverpool. My own interviews with East Liverpool reporters confirmed their routine interaction with Greenpeace representatives (as well as, for that matter, with WTI representatives) hrough face-to-face as well as through regular telephone contact and press releases; this confirms Tichenor et al.'s (1980, pp. 221-223) point about the small-town journalists more frequent and more direct interaction with news sources. A similar interpersonal interaction did not exist in Pittsburgh, according to the two *Post-Gazette* reporters interviewed for this study.
- Finally, social-movement actors appear to be less motivated by historically defined, overtly political interests, and more by symbolic, psychologically based 'identity-forming and sustaining' motivations that may have more to do with cultural and lifestyle choices, thus leading to social struggle as a kind of 'sign politics' conducted through media-centered semiotic networks (Melucci, 1989). The WTI opponents engaged in routine protests and demonstrations, including symbolic expressions of

their angst at the plant through such means as group prayer, scaling the fence at WTI, and waving hot dogs ('weenies') at the Ohio governor during an occupation of his office in Columbus, a photo of which was published by the Associated Press.

The above items are, of course, primarily speculations stemming from my own findings and which, as such, offer some suggestive possibilities for future research involving social movements and social conflict as articulated through the news media.

Elements of Consensus Reporting in East Liverpool

However, this greater highlighting of the conflict in the East Liverpool paper was tempered by other, more moderating elements within the news narrative that did seem to lend a generally higher tone of *consensus* to that newspaper's reporting, thus tending to give some support to the central thesis of social-structural theory. That is, discourse analysis of news stories – going beyond the counting of source and claims-balancing arrived at through content-analysis – did reveal the small-town paper's language and general tone was in certain respects more consensus oriented than the similar reporting of the Pittsburgh paper. I evaluate these discourse-analysis findings in a later section of this chapter.

Contextual evidence, based on an interview with one of the former East Liverpool reporters, reveals a strongly consensual drive on the part of the newspaper's editorial management. The reporter, Dennis Wise, who is no longer with the paper, said he had been pressured by his publisher not to give too much space to WTI opponents. "Management said we don't want to make this look like a bigger thing than it is," according to Wise. "There were times when you'd be asked to do real short stuff, just get one side and don't get the side from opponents...I think it had to do with the fact I was

getting picked on at the Chamber of Commerce meetings." Wise said he disregarded the admonition: "I didn't go along with that at all...I made calls to get the other side." Wise explained his reaction against the publisher's directive as, in part, an act of professional and ethical resistance to what, in his view, would have been an unfair reporting practice, i.e., giving only WTI a voice. He also explained, in more general terms that bespeak a kind of philosophy of conventional reporting, "You want to make sure you're not siding with the company [WTI], versus what's happening in the community," i.e., the environmental protest over WTI. Apparently, however, this management pressure was not continuous, because there is no evidence the paper backed off in any way from giving the views of opponents; opponent viewpoints and claims were presented more often than were those of opponents. The above comments provide evidence, at least from one reporter who covered many of the WTI stories for the East Liverpool *Review*, that reporter autonomy cannot be underestimated.

In-depth interviews with two *Post-Gazette* reporters reveal that neither indicated any pressure whatsoever was brought to bear upon them to write the story one way or another. In other words, while Wise indicated he definitely felt pressure (which he resisted) to conform to a certain ideological line, the *Post-Gazette* reporters, 40 miles away, apparently had virtually complete autonomy in reporting the story any way they chose. It is significant that, given the pressure from the *Review's* publisher, according to Wise, to give short shrift to the views of WTI opponents in *Review* stories, my analysis of stories shows just the opposite occurred – that the *Review* favored the views of opponents, at least when measured by source-citation and claims-making frequency.

Contextual evidence, however, is more suggestive of a drive for consensus in East Liverpool. Though not part of the formally analyzed news stories, a review of all WTI news stories in both papers (n = 422; 315 in *Review*, 107 in *Post-Gazette*) reveals that only the Pittsburgh paper took a specific editorial stance about WTI on its opinion pages. The *Post-Gazette* published three opinion pieces on WTI between 1991 and 1993, but the East Liverpool paper never voiced its own view about the general wisdom of locating a plant in town. The Pittsburgh paper's three WTI editorials each argued that the company had met all its regulatory permitting requirements and had earned the right to do business. According to Wise, the *Review's* publisher "didn't want to create waves either way, because in a small town, you'd kill your sources." Had the *Review* chosen to take an editorial stance, Wise said he believes "it probably would've gone in favor of the company, because it [meant] jobs for the community." He noted that the *Review* did occasionally accept advertising from WTI.

The above information does appear to give weight to the existence of a consensus-oriented pressure at work in the small-town: The *Post-Gazette*, existing within the more critical, conflict-driven social structure of Pittsburgh, Pa., 40 miles away from the plant, actually took an editorial position on WTI, but the *Review* itself, doing business a few miles away from WTI, offered no in-house view about the incinerator that caused such a conflict in its own community.

In sum, social structure plays an important role in how reporters do their journalistic work. But newspaper content decisions are made within social-structural climates that cannot easily be explained by simply pointing out differences between big-city and small-town social environments, as if social structure itself magically and monolithically pre-

determines reporter choices. It is probably more accurate, in my judgment, to view the reporter's work as the product of a continuum between large-scale social forces in the community setting at one end, and individual choices made with a fair degree of autonomy, at the other end.

Though a drive for consensus certainly existed in East Liverpool, the simple fact that the *Review* featured a much higher number of Against sources in its same-issue coverage than did the *Post-Gazette* – and also a somewhat higher amount of Against-source rhetorical claims – means *Review* reporters successfully resisted the pressure for consensus. This finding, then, goes against the main thesis of social-structural media theory, and lends support to Tichenor and company's less-noted but important idea *that an outside force causing a conflict in a small town can produce highly conflictual coverage*. Tichenor and company speculate that a small town paper's conflict coverage, when it occurs, may be only temporary, and may then be followed by a period of 'consensus' reporting (1980, p. 104). But that was not the case in the WTI story as reported by the *Review*. The small-town paper continued to report the conflict for its duration, and even began reporting it many years before the larger newspaper.

In this respect, *Review* reporters might be credited with providing a more objective account of 'reality' if objectivity is equated with something like providing an accurate depiction of prevailing or predominant sentiment within a community. It is somewhat encouraging that the undoubtedly pervasive power of social structure, which in Community Conflict & the Press often seems all but monolithic, may be able to be overcome through the sheer persistence and determination of the individual reporter, who

increasingly is probably better-educated and perhaps, in this media-and-information saturated world, somewhat more willing to *not* go along to get along.

Tichenor and company do acknowledge that "differences in journalistic skill and publishing entrepreneurship...may occur from one community to another," but conclude that the "possible range of their effects is apparently quite constricted" because of "basic community characteristics" revealed through social structure (1980, p. 49). In the present study, small-town reporters appeared to go a long way in overcoming to a fair degree those social-structural, consensus-driven constraints.

Interviews with two *Post-Gazette* reporters revealed the constraints of their own social structure upon the way they viewed the WTI story. Their geographical distance from the "scene of action" gave them a more abstract, perhaps more even-handed, more disinterested stance in covering the story. It was certainly not the imporant daily news item that it was for the East Liverpool paper. One view of critical news coverage might be that it offers a general 'balance' of views (Fico & Cote, 1999), thus a fuller, more nuanced understanding of an issue. But this distanced attitude might arguably be seen as a more *conservative* stance toward the WTI issue, especially since the single-highest source-group quoted across all *Post-Gazette* stories was For sources (WTI supporters) at 34%. If source-balancing and claims-balancing are to have any value in terms of journalistic fairness, then the *Post-Gazette* was, overall, the more fair-minded newspaper in this regard.

On Fairness, Balance & Bias

Another general finding of this study is the *Post-Gazette* was, considering all stories analyzed through content-analysis results, *somewhat more balanced* in terms of claims-

making opportunities for all sides in the dispute, and certainly in terms of offering virtually equal numbers of For, Against, and Neutral sources. But it was often the case that a given story – in either newspaper – would reflect a deeper, semantically oriented bias or slant toward one side or the other, and this was revealed only through detailed discourse analysis. Because of the complex nature of even a single news story, as revealed through discourse rather than simply content analysis, it is not possible for me to confidently conclude that one newspaper was consistently more favorable to a particular disputant's side. In other words, one newspaper might appear on one day to favor one side, given a specific issue or event, and on another day to favor the opposite side. This was true of both newspapers.

Content-analysis results show that the *Post-Gazette* presented a much more balanced sourcing pattern and a somewhat more balanced claims-making pattern, thus in this respect *the big-city paper better achieved a more general standard of journalistic fairness*, which is one way to measure objectivity. For example, 48 percent of all initiating claims were attributed in *Post-Gazette* stories to WTI opponents, compared to 58 percent in the *Review*. In other words, both papers featured most prominently the claims of WTI opponents, the *Review* even more so than the *Post-Gazette* – yet another indication of the former newspaper's more conflict-oriented (but not necessarily more critical) stance. In terms of counter-claims provided by quoted sources, WTI proponents ('For' sources) were in this 'response' mode at 48 percent of all counter-claims in the *Review* and at 47 percent in the *Post-Gazette*, virtually identical rates.

When comparing the frequency of all claims from any source type to counter-claims in each paper as a measure of 'balance,' the *Review* was somewhat less balanced than the

Post-Gazette: Initiating claims accounted for 73 percent of all claims-making activity in the *Review*, meaning basically that only one of every three claims was met by a counter-claim; in the *Post-Gazette*, about one of every three initiating claims (which accounted for 64 percent) was met by a counter-claim (36 percent) [See Tables 2 and 3, Chapter 5]. Similarly, Against sources accounted for 71 percent (n = 51) of all main claims in the *Review* and 62 percent (n = 29) in the *Post-Gazette* [see Table 2, Chapter 5].

Type 1, Source-Based Claims

Just as was the case when evaluating differential source-use, the *Review* projected a somewhat larger number of opposition-based claims [58%] than did the *Post-Gazette* [48%]. As a two-paper average, WTI opponents were the clear leaders in claims-making in both papers, at 53 percent of all initiating claims. Even outside of their own Opposition Motivational Frame, the WTI opponents' view was the most routinely articulated by both papers.

For example, in the Regulation Motivational Frame, which comprised 35 percent of all stories in both papers, Neutral *sources* comprised a two-paper average of 46 percent, in terms of their simple presence in stories, *but accounted for only 26 percent of all source claims*. Claims-making in this category was the province of Against sources, who accounted for 46 percent of all Regulation Frame source-claims in both papers, while For sources were in response mode (counter-claim position) 62 percent of the time!

The significance of this is that, from a claims-making perspective, *the WTI opponents dominated the frame even when they were not the most prevalent source group in that frame*. Just because a particular source group – in the case of the Regulation Frame, Neutral sources – predominated in number, did not mean this same group dominated in

claims-making. The lesson here may be that those with the loudest and, perhaps, most dramatic claims, might more often win more space from reporters. Some other examples: Not surprisingly, in the Opposition Motivational Frame (accounting for 22 percent of all stories), the clear dominance of WTI opponents came through, as they accounted for *60 percent of all sources in both papers and 85 percent of all claims*, with For sources being in counter-claim position 71 percent of the time.

This same trend occurred in the Legal Frame, accounting for 24 percent of all stories in both papers. In this frame, WTI opponents once again emerged as the most frequent source (49% on average, both papers) and as the chief claims-makers, at 44 percent average in both papers. But there was one notable difference in this frame: In the Legal Motivational Frame, Against sources actually were depicted as making the *most counter-claims, as well.* Against-sources accounted for 57 percent of all counter-claims in this frame, even higher than their claims percentage. This means reporters gave WTI opponents virtual carte blanche to present their rhetoric against the plant. Their heavy presence on both *offense* and *defense* in this frame may be due to the generally contentious nature of legal rulings, most of which did go against the interests of WTI opponents, who were then sought out by reporters to respond.

The generally pervasive power of Motivational Frames becomes apparent when comparing claims-making activity in the WTI story frame, which makes up 11 percent of all stories in both papers. In this WTI source-led frame, company spokespersons, not surprisingly, comprised both a strong majority in terms of their presence as sources (68% mean, both papers), and with respect to claims-initiating, at 54 percent of all main claims in both papers. For once, the Against sources were cast in a response or *defensive*

rhetorical mode, at 50 percent average in both papers, while as sources in this frame the opponents (Against sources) made up only 7 percent. Moreover, the Against sources *made no claims at all in the WTI Motivational Frame.* As for Neutral sources, they comprised 25 percent of all sources, *but made no claims nor counter-claims.*

In general, the conclusion on this score is that the Motivational Frame will tend to assure that the source group naturally associated with projecting a particular frame (e.g., Neutral sources constituting the Regulation frame) will predominate in terms of their presence as sources. But claims-making power may not logically follow, as results in this study showed that, in general, claims-making was the province of WTI opponents across most frames.

Type 2, Reporter-Centered Claims

The source-based claims and counter-claims described above are what I have called, for convenience, Type 1. But unique to claims-making is the rhetorical flourish of reporters themselves. Primarily through headlines and lead sentences, journalists represent the claims of sources but, because it appears as summarization and crystallization of viewpoints, these Type 2 claims cannot always be clearly linked to a specific source. They are, in essence, the interpretive spin reporters place on events in a way that makes them very similar to the argumentative form of claims-making. As I have examined Type 2 claims-making in detail in previous chapters, I will not spend more time detailing it here. But its importance, in general, exists in the fact that *it is a convenient way for reporters not only to summarize and crystallize views in their own reportorial logic, but to do so when a specific source is not available for immediate quotation.*

This summarizing function often occurs, schematically speaking, as part of the *topic* of a story, via the headline and accompanying lead sentence, so that readers are introduced to the central idea of a story in the form of the newspaper's general claim about reality, the details of which are then spun out through Type 1, source-centered narrative devices. Most often, Type 1 (source-centered) and Type 2 (reporter-centered) claims-making occur within *different segments* of the *same* story.

Type 2 claims made up only 14 percent of all claims in all stories, and occurred through the reporter's own assessment of reality, often through metaphors and commentary, and quite often through headline and lead-structures that summarize or put an interpretive spin on events and issues. In one case, in an article written by the *Review* on Oct. 15, 1991, an accompanying photograph served as a newspaper claim. It shows several protesters sitting beside a large placard that declares, "Prevent Child Abuse – Impeach Voinovich." George Voinovich, the Republican governor of Ohio, is accused in an accompanying cutline of, according to demonstrators, "ignoring their pleas to stop the controversial" incinerator. The implicit claim, presented partly by virtue of the visual impact of the photo itself, is that because Voinovich has ignored the protesters' pleas, he is, *ipso facto*, a child abuser and deserves impeachment.

The high moral tone of outrageous indignation – the *pathos* of the protesters – is what provides the rhetorical force of the argument. The newspaper's role in making the claim is that it chose to include the photograph as part of its story package. In this sense, a compositional decision involving visual data can be read as part of the presentational storytelling ideology of the newspaper itself, thus as the newspaper's engagement in rhetorical claims-making. Moreover, in the face of such an outrageous claim – that

Voinovich is a child abuser – the newspaper provided no counter-claim. But because this photo accompanied two separate WTI stories appearing in the *Review* on that day, when the photo and stories are read collectively, readers do get a much less slanted view of reality.

Some Contradictions & Insights Emerging from Discourse Analysis

Phantom Sources, Source Collectives, Source Pluarlization

The *Post-Gazette*, in terms of the above analysis, was the more balanced. Yet discourse analysis of the matched news articles revealed a contradiction: The news narrative – pieced together through a patchwork of competing source views and claims and summarized by newspaper leads and headlines that may or may not accurately reflect the rest of the story – is a complex discourse that, in any given article, might appear to reflect an ideological affinity with one side or another in the dispute. This can be true *even though the overall sourcing and claims-making pattern of a story might be fairly balanced* (see Bodle, 1996; and Voakes et al., 1996, for similar findings on sourcing). For example, a *Review* story of Dec. 7, 1992 (the only one written within the Political Motivational Frame) begins by the reporter making an unattributed, clearly evaluative statement (a rare example of the use of the Comment schema category) that a federally inspired investigation of safety concerns at WTI "will not only delay, but will also postpone, if not kill, plans for a new downtown." Though a WTI supporter is quoted two paragraphs later, the supporter is quoted indirectly as saying the delay "*could* kill" a renovation plan. The story's headline offers contradictory information, saying the WTI investigation "*may* postpone plans for a new downtown." The story does mention, in paragraph 2, that "opponents of the plant cheered the news" of the delay, but no opponent

is ever quoted in the story. This latter phenomenon is an instance of 'phantom' sourcing. When the *Review*, in an Oct. 16, 1991, story refers to local environmental protesters as "wanton lawbreakers," without attributing the information, it is difficult to know if this is merely shoddy reporting that in more competent hands would be attributed to a source, or whether the reporter actually holds this view. In any event, these and other similar examples, mainly occurring within *Review* stories, although relatively infrequent, do give some indication of a status quo consensus possibly at work in the small-town paper's reporting – even though the *Review*, in all its stories, presented nearly half (47%) of all source quotes as coming from WTI opponents.

Moreover, even when sources from one side appearing in a particular news story outnumber sources quoted from an opposing side, *the outnumbered sources' general views may actually predominate in the text.* This latter phenomenon can occur most often as a result of headline and lead-sentence structure that summarizes the issue of the day from one particular source view; of certain phraseology used by a reporter; or of extended quotation or claims-making opportunity given a particular source, even if that source is outnumbered by others representing a differing view.

The reporter's own narrative technique, realized via the schema categories (Topic, Context, Background, History, Verbal Reaction, Consequences, and Comment), can also serve to 'invoke' a source's previously stated view, even though that source may not appear in the news article of the day. In other words, a source's perceived view or stand on an issue, which may also qualify as an argumentative claim or counter-claim, can be presented by the reporter *even when no such source actually appears in the story*. This is what I came to label 'phantom sourcing,' or source 'invoking,' and it is an important

ideological technique because it allows the reporter to provide story 'balance' even in a source's immediate absence. It is also related to source 'pluralization,' in which a reporter refers to "opponents" or "officials" yet only one such attributed source actually appears in the story (see below).

Phantom sourcing is typically accomplished by the reporter invoking the source's putative viewpoint or claim by mentioning, for example, that "opponents contend" a certain state of affairs exists. No opposition source will appear, as a quoted source, in the actual story. The phantom source appears, instead, usually by means of the schema category of Context or Background information, two of the most frequent schema categories, used at virtually identical rates in both papers (see Chapter 4). In this instance, what first appears as a Verbal Reaction schema (as indirect quotation from a source) actually is narrativized through another schema, usually, as mentioned, through Context or Background. This latter phenomenon is what I have referred to as schema 'embedding,' when on schema serves a narrative purpose quite similar to another. In this way, the rhetorical tension of the dispute is maintained – and the journalist's rhetorical/ideological mission of objectivity, i.e., presenting 'both sides' of an issue – is also maintained, *even in a source's absence*. This is an example of the central importance schema categories, the narrative units of the news text, play in structuring the actual discourse and the potential *meaning* of the text. The schema categories – the syntactical 'super-structure' (van Dijk, 1988a&b) through which semantic content is filtered – function as the elemental, rhetorical form through which both sources and reporters provide the actual rhetoric and metaphoric coloring that constitute the symbolic frame of an individual news story (see Rhetorical Framing Model, Chapter 2).

Two related discursive phenomena relating to source use are also of note. A reporter including a source's viewpoint in a story often will utilize what Russell & Many (1993) call attributional 'collectives.' They associate this mainly with instances in which a reporter attributes a statement to, for example, the 'White House' or to the 'Supreme Court,' a use of synechdoche – representing the 'whole' by the 'part' or the part by the whole. To refer to a view expressed by a WTI representative as, "WTI has said," or to a Greenpeace representative's remark as, "According to Greenpeace," are two examples of source collectivization often encountered in both papers in the present study. The use of source collectives is a long-standing journalistic technique, a rhetorical device allowing a single source's view to be presented as the view of an entire institution or organization. In this way, the motivated actor representing the interested knowledge claims of particular actors within a Motivational Frame (i.e., Opposition, WTI, Regulation, Legal, etc.) is invoked solely through a narrative technique that represents this actor's view as that of an entire organziation.

Related to this source-collectivization technique is yet another, which I label source 'pluralization.' This occurs when, for example, a reporter has spoken to just one source yet casts that source's statement or claim as if having been uttered by more than one source. The use of "opponents said," "officials agree," or the "company contends," are just a few of the many ways in which source pluralization occurs, and it was used frequently by both newspapers. As is the practice of using collectives, source pluralization is also a common journalistic device that is, however, a literally inaccurate use of attribution because it attributes to a group what just a single member of a group said. But the more significant point is that it allows a reporter to inject into his or her

copy the appearance of having gained insight from more than just one viewpoint. As such, source pluralization – like source embedding, source collectives, and phantom sourcing – provides significant ideological cover for a reporter whose generic, communicative purpose, schematically speaking, is to 'inform,' ideally from a range of views. From a reader's viewpoint, encountering a knowledge claim from "officials" or "opponents" rather than from "an official" or "an opponent" might, it would seem, induce a greater sense in the reader that the news reporter has gleaned widespread knowledge from more than just a few individuals. In pluralizing or collectivizing a single source's statement, the reporter is engaged in a kind of rhetorical feather-bedding – ironically, using inaccurate attribution in the service of persuading readers of the story's trustworthiness and accuracy.

These various, narratively induced sourcing techniques, then, can lend an air of authority, comprehensiveness and completeness to a story that might in other ways be considered slanted or biased in terms of numeric source and/or claims balance.

Direct-Quotation Use: A Rhetorical Device Favoring Source Control

As also detailed in Chapter 4, the *Review's* more frequent use of direct quotation is an indication of its willingness to cede some control of its stories directly to sources – in other words, to simply present the actual, undiluted views of sources rather than maintain narrative control through paraphrasing and characterizing source views. In this light, the *Review* can be seen as engaging in consensus reporting, because indirect quotation would generally be associated with reporter-centered analysis and characterization (Lucy, 1993). The *Review* used direct quotation 70 percent of the time when presenting the views of

sources. This compares to 61 percent direct-quotation in the *Post-Gazette* (see Table 2, Chapter 4).

Direct quotation is a 'presentational' (Lucy, 1993a) narrative device that allows the source a free hand in engaging in unvarnished rhetoric; conversely, indirect quotation, functioning to paraphrase and thus restate and reinterpret what sources say directly, is a distancing technique, a more analytical, writer-centered narrative device that one might associate with perhaps more objective accounts of reality.

The *Review's* somewhat higher use of direct quotation could in part be a reflection of the fact that it featured a somewhat higher number of sources overall, on average about 3.3 sources per article, than did the Pittsburgh paper, which quoted an average of about 2.4 sources per article. This result confirms what Martin (1988, pp. 986-989) discovered, that the closer in proximity to an event or newsworthy issue a media organization is, the more sources it will quote; as well, the further away a media organization is, the higher will be its use of 'official' sources. The fact that the Pittsburgh paper quoted relatively higher numbers of both neutral (i.e., bureaucratic) and pro-WTI sources (almost exclusively company spokespersons) confirms this related hypothesis. But in neither paper was their any but the most fleeting use of an independent source, someone connected to no official viewpoint. Even the WTI opponents were connected with well-organized protest organizations.

WTI Opposition Positioned as 'Legitimate' Sources

Reporters can engage in "systematic bias" by simply offering the views of a narrow range of sources, such as government officials, to the general neglect of, say, the views of women, minorities or the disenfranchised (Soley, 1992, p. 17; see also, Lee & Solomon,

1990; Fico & Cote, 1999; Bodle, 1996; Voakes et al., 1996; Massey, 1998). This was indeed a finding of the present study, because virtually no sources unconnected to institutional or group-based viewpoints (coded as Independent) were quoted. However, the views of incinerator opponents were the most frequently presented, especially in the small-town paper, so one at least can conclude that an important contrasting view was maintained.

As mentioned earlier, WTI opponents managed through routine media events such as protests and demonstrations to repeatedly gain and sustain media attention from both newspapers, particularly in the local *Review*. In Hallins's (1992) terms, the opponents may have succeeded in transforming themselves from their natural sphere of ideological deviance to the sphere of 'legitimate controversy.' This finding may be relevant in putting into perspective what may be a somewhat inflated claim among media theorists regarding 'deviant' sources' difficulty in getting into the news. If anything, my finding shows that, through strong organizational and media-savvy measures, *environmentalists gained ideological control of the mass-mediated dispute*: They secured 47 percent of all source-quotes in the small-town paper and 33 percent in the metropolitan publication.

On the other hand, the fact that opponents' actions often were connected, by their own choice, with protests and rallies and that WTI supporters frequently cast their opponents as representing negative and 'outsider' views, lends credence to Gitlin's (1980) and, more recently, Ashley & Olsen's (1998) concern that alternative, oppositional views may only get aired only when news actors supporting such views engage in stereotypically deviant attention-getting actions. The anti-WTI environmentalists did nothing to detract from this image, so it is hard to fault either paper for portraying them in this way. Recall that

Tichenor et al. (1980) contend that protest groups tend to welcome any kind of media attention.

At bottom, the WTI controversy was played out through the traditional rhetorical power of *ethos*, through the credibility of sources who were, from a professional and institutional viewpoint, 'in the know,' although the heavy presence of opponents as sources and claims-makers is notable. But even here, the opponents quoted in news reports were almost always identified with organized opposition groups, either the handful of local and regional environmental organizations working against WTI, or with the Greenpeace international environmental organization, whose high-level protest and demonstration strategies (basically, media events) succeeded in keeping opponents' voices in the news. Perhaps a lesson from this particular finding, and one Gamson (1992) has done much to demonstrate, is that those who would wish to gain media attention for a particular cause or concern must be organized in some minimally formal sense: Individual viewpoints expressed in the news, especially those from the traditionally disempowered, are generally relegated to silence.

For those who do manage to organize effectively, the creation of high-level media strategies such as protests, sit-ins and other demonstrations, will function as 'sign politics' and will tend to gain strong media attention (Melucci, 1996, 1989); this was certainly the case in the WTI story. The down side, of course, is that such high-profile media events feed into journalists' professionally encouraged need for personality-driven drama in the news. Such stories tend to generate much heat but little light – only minimal comprehensive understanding of underlying political-economic issues.

Summary of Other Major Discursive Features of the News Texts

I next offer several case-in-point findings relating to a range of other important discursive features that emerged in the comparative analysis of the WTI news.

***In-Depth, Critical Reporting*:** No clear pattern emerged. For the most part, the typical story in either paper was content to deal with surface political disputes, with little depth of information or critical assessment of underlying facts and issues. But in cases where these higher standards of reporting were met, the East Liverpool *Evening Review* was about as likely to have provided in-depth reporting of information and a critical assessment of issues as was the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* (though not necessarily on the same story.) This was somewhat surprising, given the small-town reporters' more restrictive deadline pressures and their need to produce several news stories each day, as compared to the metropolitan *Post-Gazette*. On the other hand, East Liverpool reporters – as was revealed through in-depth interviews – had more direct personal access to sources from both sides, by virtue of covering a controversy in their home town.

Ironically, the fact that an article provided depth and important details – what some would call "mobilizing information" (Wilkins & Patterson, 1987) – does not necessarily mean that same article was balanced in terms of source parity (i.e., a relatively even number of For, Against and Neutral sources) or that it contained a relatively equal number of argumentative claims versus counter-claims. On this score, as has already been noted, the *Post-Gazette* was much more evenhanded in source parity and somewhat more balanced in presenting claims and counter-claims. From a readership perspective, however, it is possible that one can obtain fairly detailed information and a critical assessment of issues about an event or issue *even if the article is biased toward particular*

sources or unbalanced in rhetorical claims-making. In other words, a story may feature sources representing only one side but still provide fairly detailed fact-gathering by the reporter, and the story could also, by quoting only one source type, still provide – through even a single source – a critical assessment of facts and issues, depending upon how extensively the source or source group is quoted. The point is that an imbalance in source and claims-making does not prevent readers from gaining a critical or relatively well-informed awareness of facts and issues. This finding is broadly in line with a similar result obtained by Voakes et al. (1996), who found that newspapers' 'content diversity'(the basic sweep of ideologically distinct ideas in an article) "may sometimes accompany source diversity," but that the existence of one by no means assures the existence of the other.

Source Quotation & Claims-Making Often Independent: Sources can often appear in stories and present views, *without those views qualifying as claims* – as an argument founded on some kind of evidence or supporting grounds, if only on moral grounds (which in fact was the single most frequent Rhetorical Category linked to claims-making, especially among Against sources, in both newspapers [see Chapter 6]). Thus, the existence of different sources in a story, while a good way to measure the balance of viewpoints in an article, *is not necessarily a good indication of which sources have rhetorical control*. This is because the rhetoric – the arguments and counter-arguments provided by sources in the WTI stories – are based in claims-making, which is an argumentative discourse, not simply the existence of a source's statement or view, which may contain no argumentative aspect at all.

To analyze a claim is to study the rhetoric of a claimant, the ideological views of different sources, virtually all of which, in the WTI stories, were framed from within the 'fields' of the three most frequently occurring Motivational Frames – Regulation (35%), Legal (24%), and Opposition (22%). Sources offer more than just claims. Frequently, they offer only general viewpoints or explanatory information that, while valuable for fleshing out the details of an issue or event, function only as more or less objective 'information' rather than as an ideological testament to some aspect of the worthiness of the plant itself. Claims, on the other hand, provide insight into the evaluations sources make about the reality of WTI as an institution that, depending upon the source, was said to spell either widespread prosperity or imminent doom to the populace.

***Evening Review More Consensus-Oriented*:** As noted earlier, one contradiction that emerged in this study is that while the *Review* was more critical or conflictual in its coverage *if measured only by source and claims balancing* – both of which favored WTI opponents' views – more detailed study of headline and lead structure, and particular phrasings and wordings, does indicate a drive toward consensus in the small-town paper's WTI stories. This is evident, for example, when the *Review* headline (6-3-91) noted rather dryly that Martin Sheen "Attends Rally," when in fact the Hollywood actor organized and led it. In a story of 10-1-92, regarding WTI getting EPA approval to soon begin burning hazardous wastes, the *Review*, unlike the *Post-Gazette*, makes no mention of a local protest that was planned to demonstrate against this ruling. This was the case, ironically, even though this particular *Review* story was much more detailed and explanatory in other ways than was the same story in the *Post-Gazette*.

In a story of 3-27-93, about two weeks before WTI finally opened for business, the Ohio EPA required the plant to make some technical alterations that would delay the planned start up. The *Post-Gazette* took a technical approach to what was, indeed, a technical series of facts, while the *Review* approached the story from a more personal angle, in terms of the impact upon the plant. The *Review's* headline reads, "WTI Stalled Again," as if in resignation. The *Post-Gazette* plays it more straight: "Ohio orders WTI to redo test." Even though the *Review* was more balanced in its claims-making in this particular article, it marginalizes the opposition's view by merely mentioning, in the very end, that they are still fighting to shut down the plant. In the *Post-Gazette*, on the other hand, opponents are quoted directly and prominently.

In another story (9-27-91, analyzed earlier in this study) the *Review* gave half the entire article to a long string of direct quotes by a WTI plant official, castigating the opposition. And in another story noted elsewhere (10-16-91), the *Review* reporter characterized some of the protest actions of WTI opponents as being the acts of "wanton lawbreakers." This characterization is one of the rare examples, in either paper, of overt evaluation, or in schema terms, of the use of reporter Comment. These and other similar examples indicate that even in a story where opposition sources, or at least opposition views, appeared, the *Review* was generally more prone to include headlines or certain phraseology that would indicate a WTI slant, *a move toward some consensus* that was not as often noted in *Post-Gazette* coverage of the same-day issue or event.

Post-Gazette Showed Occasional Bias: Though less obvious than in the *Review*, the Pittsburgh paper did in some respects indicate its own pro-WTI slant. This is most obvious in one respect already analyzed, in that the most frequently occurring source

group in the *Post-Gazette* was For (pro-WTI) sources, at 34 percent. The most glaring example from a discourse-analysis perspective – one in which, however, both papers' stories were highly biased toward WTI – is in the already noted story of March 27, 1991, where the *Post-Gazette* headline announced: 'Foes plan march: Group wants to derail project.' Nowhere in the story does a single WTI opposition source appear. In fact, the story quotes only two For sources and three Neutrals. The headline does not even reflect the lead sentence nor the bulk of the story, which concerns a recent meeting that was canceled because of shouting by protesters, and extensive quotes from an environmental sociologist who talks about protest movement tactics in fairly theoretical terms. This source comments that sometimes a well-organized protest movement is successful in 'derailing' hazardous waste plants – apparently, this is what the *Post-Gazette's* headline is based on: an assumption that this is what the local protesters desire. Ironically, the story is quite insightful about the nature of protest movements – it provides some in-depth knowledge about an important topic relevant to the WTI controversy – but the headline completely misleads the reader about the nature of the accompanying story.

The *Review's* account, however, is no less biased – offering WTI spokesperson Kasley half the entire story to attack WTI protesters, when the first part of the story concerns the technical aspects of the recently canceled meeting. Another irony is that the *Review* story does feature two Against sources and one For source, the latter being the extensively quoted WTI spokesperson, Kasley.

This is yet another example of how simply counting the relative balance of sources in a story is no necessary indication that it is balanced in viewpoints or in 'content diversity' (Voakes et al., 1996; see also, Bodle, 1996; and Massey, 1998; Fico & Cote, 1999).

***Headlines and Accountability*:** As part of the Topic schema category, headlines are the essential entry point into a story, introducing readers to the basic summary of what is to come. Headlines are an important element in the inverted-pyramid story structure, a hallmark of the objective rhetorical form in which the 'most important' facts occur in declining order of importance. The lead and headline together constitute the topic of the story, in summary form (van Dijk, 1988a&b; Marquez, 1980; Freimuth et al., 1984). Headlines, however, may be misleading in terms of what the rest of the story actually contains, though overall, most headlines in this study were accurate on this score.

Headlines also can indicate who is responsible for events, by being grammatically couched in either active or passive voice. For example, in one story (10-15-91), a follow-up to the Martin Sheen-led protest in East Liverpool, the subject of each paper's headline differs. The *Review* produced two related stories on this particular day. The *Review's* headline in one story notes: 'WTI opponents vow to stage more protests.' The headline for its second story focuses on more recent police action, announcing, 'Police arrest another protester at plant.' Both headlines are in active voice, which makes clear a subject's role in an event or issue (Fowler, 1991). In contrast, the *Post-Gazette's* single story of 10-15-91 is written in passive voice: 'Waste facility protesters arrested.' According to Fowler (1991), such a headline takes the spotlight off of police actions and places it more on those who are arrested, thus this can be an indication of an ideological slant on the newspaper's part.

(In fact, in the remainder of the story the *Post-Gazette* quotes only a single source, WTI president Blake Marshall, through a press release in which he castigates protesters for not being 'scientific' but rather bombastic in their arguments against the plant. This

main claim is not met with a counter-claim. In a second claim, however, opponents are the featured claimants, contending the plant 'is dangerous,' but they do not appear directly in the story. Their view is invoked by the reporter's use of the background schema category, as is the matching counter-claim, "but the company says government studies and its own show the plant is safe." Here is another example of source and schema 'embedding,' mentioned earlier as journalistic rhetorical tactics designed to invoke the authority of sources without actually quoting them.)

Thus, while the *Post-Gazette* headline does seem to marginalize the police's role, and while the story itself gives more attention to WTI's view, the article also at least invokes, through schema and source embedding, the protester's side of the issue. The *Review's* two stories quote *only* Against sources, two in each story, and both story's headlines give more prominence to the protesters themselves. But the *Review* also presents the other side's point of view by invoking a WTI position, again using the background schema category: "WTI has said incinerator opponents have distorted and raised false issues" [emphasis added]. Once again, the objective rhetorical form of the news story dictates that source balancing should occur, even in cases where no source is available to directly comment.

An important point here is that *headlines and story content must be read collectively*, and even then it is often difficult to make confident conclusions about the story being balanced or biased one way or another. As was so often the case in this study, I found that virtually any story from either paper can include highly contradictory elements that on the one hand indicate a bias but, sometimes in the very next sentence, indicate a critical, informative edge.

***Copy-Cat Reporting*:** The WTI issue was fought out not only by divergent sources directly offering their views to reporters. The controversy was often waged as a PR battle, with WTI hiring professional public relations experts to do their ideological bidding, and Greenpeace routinely providing its own published propaganda about the dangers of the plant and the unwisdom and outright moral shortcomings of those supporting it. Pitched in highly dramatic and rhetorically charged language, these press releases often hit their intended mark by reporters from both papers using the information in stories. In several cases, nearly exact quotations would appear in stories written by both papers on the same day. This was especially true in WTI's case, with WTI president Blake Marshall's statements (some of which became rhetorical claims) more often appearing via a prepared statement that was not always indicated as such by both newspapers.

In a few cases, the *Review* quoted Marshall's prepared remarks *as if* he had spoken them directly; this was evident by reading the same-day story in the *Post-Gazette*, which did a much better job in general of noting when a remark was excerpted from a prepared statement. In this regard, the *Post-Gazette* was more consistently accurate in its portrayal of source views, whereas the *Review* was more willing to engage in an illusion of accuracy, as if it had actually spoken to a source.

Because the *Post-Gazette* is a morning paper and the *Review*, during 1991 to 1993, was an afternoon paper, it appears *Review* reporters sometimes had read a WTI story in the *Post-Gazette* early in the morning and, possibly, then used the same quotation from the same press release that both papers would likely have been issued. But what I refer to as copy-cat reporting was more evident in comparing headlines and, to a lesser degree, phraseology and quotations in various matched stories. Sometimes, the copy-catting

bordered on plagiarism. This was evident in the June 3, 1991, story, where the *Review* reporter wrote that "what concerns protesters is what's blowing in the wind," the exact phraseology used by the *Post-Gazette* reporter, whose story would have come out hours earlier.

More pervasive was the existence of similarly phrased headlines. For example: A story of March 10, 1993, in the *Post-Gazette*, noted in its headline, 'Mission fizzles: Incinerator foes not heard in D.C.' The *Review* summarized the story by writing a headline declaring, 'WTI opponents get cold shoulder.' Moreover, the *Post-Gazette's* lead sentence notes that 20 people "failed to force a meeting" with White House officials in Washington, D.C., while the *Review's* lead concludes, in part, "...angry opponents of the facility struck out at the White House." In short, both papers paint a metaphor of failure in their headlines and accompanying lead sentences, and one that appears to be based on the *Review* copy-catting the *Post-Gazette*. (Both of the papers' headline and lead structures function, as well, as Type 2 (newspaper-based) claims, as they offer not only a summarization but a claim that something occurred – *because* WTI opponents did not achieve their goal, *they failed*, the "mission fizzled," they got "the cold shoulder." In this manner, the newspapers were able to offer a highly evaluative take on reality that may not have been shared by the opponents themselves. This is just one of the many ways that the ideological sentiments of the newspaper can be detected.)

The importance of identifying copy-cat reporting is that it indicates how ideological storylines can emerge. While there is plenty of evidence of independent, detailed reporting in both papers, there is a fair amount of verbiage that provides some evidence for what is sometimes known as the 'pack journalism' mentality. Partly, this storyline

consistency can result from the PR wars waged in a controversy, and partly it may result from reporters simply comparing their own take on reality with another reporter's, the result of which is similar story interpretation.

Media Event Strategies: The mention earlier of the WTI opponents' placard accusing Ohio Gov. Voinovich of being a child abuser is important to note as an active media event strategy on the part of opponents. A protest march is, itself, a media event. But placards, especially ones as large and antagonistically worded as was the anti-Voinovich message, are clear attempts on the part of issue disputants to gain media attention. Gitlin (1980) has written extensively about this with respect to Vietnam war protesters, and Gamson (1995, 1992) provides more recent examples of media event strategies and tactics.

Although most stories analyzed for the present study did not contain any photos at all, those that did most often depicted the actions of protesters. In one story written by the *Post-Gazette* (5-12-93), protesters are seen standing beside an enlarged photograph of President Clinton, who is holding a check for $10,000 from WTI. The implication is that Clinton, who earlier had seemed to support the interests of protesters, had been bought off by WTI.

A less obvious but still powerful media attention-getter is the well-written press release. Both papers, in several stories, referred to the "fact," occurring in a WTI press release, that WTI was "losing $115,000 a day" because of delays forced on them by protest actions and ensuing legal entanglements. The importance of these media strategies is that well-planned actions (protests, press conferences) as well as well-placed words and catchy photos can be significant rhetorical devices utilized by issue disputants, and which

will tend to catch the attention of newspapers. Source views and claims, in other words, exist as much more than just the quick, knee-jerk responses given to a reporter's question. A media event strategy is one in which the source is a 'purposive communicator' (Westly & MacLean, 1957; Tichenor et al., 1980) actively at work in the interest of injecting a pre-planned viewpoint into a story, even if only through a photograph or largely symbolic event.

On Conflict, Consensus, Methods, Limits & Contradictions

Notwithstanding any shortcomings in methodology applied in this study, I believe I have extended – perhaps only a bit, and from a mostly qualitative perspective – the very valuable work long associated with the structural pluralism hypothesis. As well, through the tedious spade work of discourse analysis, I believe I have unearthed some interesting data and conclusions about major discursive features of news texts devoted to portraying the WTI conflict story. Along the way, as noted in various parts of this work, I have identified some theoretical contradictions, perhaps the broadest being that a single news story can contain elements of both conflict *and* consensus.

Undoubtedly, some of the contradictions that emerged in this study may be the artifactual result of my own rather complex discourse-analytic method. One is always subject to the limitations, and to the consequent results, of a given method. In terms of applied methodology, this has been a truly experimental work, though I have attempted to tie in any results to extant theory. I do hope to fine-tune this highly time-consuming method in the future. I have already learned a lot by trial and error.

One limitation of this methodological approach is that it does not lend itself to a detailed study of a very large number of news stories. Even the 74 matched stories

analyzed for this study took months to complete. For a relatively small sample of items, however, this approach can yield highly detailed results. But this qualitatively driven discourse analysis, unless applied to a much larger number of systematically selected texts, cannot yield generlizable results. Rather, its value may lie more in the area of hypothesis and theory building – in this study, with respect to critiquing and extending social-structural media theory and, at the level of the text, with respect to how the conflict-centered news article is founded on the objective rhetorical form, realized via the ideology of objectivity. Drama and controversy clearly emerge through this rhetorical form, but through the 'objective' reporter's invocation of openly contesting sources.

Discourse analysis of comparative news stories in both papers during a three-year period did provide a wealth of information about the specific ways and means of presenting information pertaining to a highly controversial subject. I rather painstakingly created and continually modified my discourse-analysis procedures along the way until I was satisfied I had found an appropriate means of systematically interpreting the news discourse. With this in mind, my discourse-specific findings and conclusions have been offered as a kind of extended laundry list, each element of which deserves more attention in future research.

The discourse-analytic method led me to examine closely how sources are presented; what and how they actually say what they say; how source views and the newspapers' own are cast as claims and counter-claims; how photographs, headline and lead sentences are structured; and how source media-event strategies are utilized by the newspapers. Collectively, this discourse-centered approach has allowed me to go well beyond the valuable insights provided by content analysis, which was used to generate,

quantitatively, certain structural patterns within the comparative news texts. I used these descriptive statistics (frequencies and means) in conjunction with my close-reading of stories, the result of which, I hope, is a richer and more detailed picture of the rhetorical reality that two newspapers presented about WTI as a species of social conflict.

Essentially, because of its own rhetorical need to present 'information' in objective terms, the newspaper must translate the rhetoric of sources holding divergent positions in a predictably structured way that will appear to give relatively equal credence to all sides. The accomplishment of this view-balancing tactic is perhaps the fundamental accomplishment of the objective journalistic method (Kieran, 1997). Both sources and newspapers are bound by their own distinct rhetorical aims, their own guiding ideologies: *Sources* are committed to active persuasion, the *newspapers* are devoted by institutional mandate to persuading readers that what is being read accurately depicts reality. Both kinds of rhetoric are social constructions and, as such, ideological accounts of the world, even though both kinds of rhetoric, to be persuasive, must include empirically verifiable facts and evaluations that, because they *are* verifiable and open to rational investigation, are not themselves ideological in the sense of purveying 'false consciousness.' Rather, it is in linguistic *form* that ideology inheres, not necessarily in its discrete *content*. The position that journalism as a communicative form is ideological can, it seems to me, be maintained even against those who, like Kieran (1997), would deny that the news media are not inherently ideological as a matter of routine practice.

The Rhetorical Framing Model of Chapter 2 is an attempt at formulating the way newspapers function within society at large, with special attention to its ideological/sociological grounding in connection to consequent journalistic language

practices and 'register' choices, all of which produce journalism's own special brand of rhetoric. It is in many ways a discursive, social-constructionist take on basic insights offered by social-structural media theory, ala' Tichenor, Donohue and Olien's long-standing work in more traditional news-media sociology. The model is a heuristic that helps systematize my own thinking about the news media's role as a sense-making institution withinin the larger social formation, and a model that, as a result, is of course open to modification and fine-tuning. This is the task of future research.

Coda: Environmental Conflict as a Narrowly Politicized Story

I end this work in a normative vein, by characterizing what I have referred to earlier as the *politicized* nature of environmental reporting. On a related point, I also share some closing thoughts on the ideological nature of journalism as a 'discourse of the real.'

Once I began examining the WTI stories as written by both papers, it became clear that they were, for the most part, chiefly focused on the political nature – or rather, on the day-to-day *politics* of the WTI conflict, mainly by centering dramatically on the views articulated by key sources representing WTI supporters and opponents. The stories were centered mainly on the raw conflict itself, on the claims and counter-claims of WTI opponents, the company itself, and various public-sector regulators, and not, as I had expected, concerned with studying the environmental and more structural, political-economic issues underlying this personality-driven conflict. One did obtain a very good sense of the rhetoric underlying the highly charged claims-making between sources, and this alone is important information. Readers need to understand the motivations and interests of opposing sources in a dispute. But if journalism stops at that, it is casting the social conflict *only* as what sources say about it.

What one encounters in these stories is political controversy and conflict, but not anything like a detailed analysis of 'the environment' as such, even though it is the environment and its potential degradation that led to the conflict in the first place. For this reason, I do not think my object of analysis has been 'environmental journalism,' unless one extends that notion to include the politics of environmental conflict. While this is a legitimate part of any environmental story, it is only one part of it. I believe it is more appropriate to call the stories I formally examined for this study *politicized reporting about an environmental subject*. The notion of politicized reporting can be opposed to what Wilkins and Patterson (1987, p. 89; see also, Singer & Endreny, 1987) call the 'political' reporting of risk. They believe mass media stories about 'risk' are – or should be – political stories, but political in a much deeper, sociologically relevant sense.

At bottom, the WTI story was indeed about risk: the risk of having a plant spew a certain amount of toxic pollutants (by EPA regulation, less than 1% of total emissions) into the air against the risk of some perceived, undesirable environmental and human health degradation. It was also about the risk of building a plant burning 60,000 tons a year of hazardous waste while located in the middle of a poor neighborhood, near an elementary school on the banks of the Ohio River. It was about hundreds of hazardous waste-bearing trucks making trips in and out of East Liverpool each year. About the nature of Dioxin and of mercury as pollutants, of which little is known, and for which very accurate safety standards were lacking. There are political, economic, scientific, social and even cultural implications behind these and other WTI-related issues, but few were ever examined in any continuing, extended depth in either paper.

As such, both newspapers focused on the personalities behind the conflict, thus providing an essentially *politicized* story about a marginally environmental topic. Wilkins & Patterson's notion of covering risk as a political story implies the journalist's political analysis of risk should cast a fairly broad net, including covering not only the personalities staking out varying positions – as WTI stories I analyzed did almost exclusively – but also "technological and scientific underpinnings" (1987, p. 90). Risk as a political story implies, under this definition, the 'thematic,' full-bodied, comprehensive kind of coverage that Iyengar (1992) and Bennett (1996) identify with understanding, in some larger causal sense, the systemic political and economic forces underlying a social controversy. In this respect, a focus on the political motivations of various contrasting personalities to a social conflict would be only one element of a much broader story, one that ultimately would delve into the deeper political-economy of social conflict.

As written, the WTI stories I examined in both newspapers too often focused only on the dramatic and rancorous articulation of issues, and almost exclusively from contesting sources' perspectives. Newspaper journalism's traditional objective rhetorical mode, in my view, virtually forces reporters into this intellectual vice grip, but it does not constrain them from broadening their net of coverage by expanding who qualifies as a legitimate source. Nor does it preclude, indeed, it would seem to encourage, a harder-nosed use of available documentary facts and statistical information that would provide a more critical cast to the surface dispute. This latter kind of reporting, investigative in nature, is what ties journalism as a truth-telling craft to a democratically informed citizenry (O'Neill, 1992, pp. 18-22).

Political reporting in the best sense of the word would be comprehensive, systemic coverage allowing for informed citizen action and analysis, as opposed to fragmented, personality-driven, episodic coverage (Iyengar, 1992; Bennett, 1996) that leaves citizens with, at most, a disconnected, disparate sense of the social and economic forces underlying any conflict. *Politicized* reporting, featuring opponents in the constant heat of battle, is founded on the easily understood but intellectually barren notion that all problems are merely *individual* in nature, that one day's episode has no necessary relation to another.

Wilkins & Patterson (1987) summarize their view of covering risk as a broadly political story as follows:

> The mass media need to adopt a news heuristic that has at its base the notion that risk is a political story: not a story of clashing ideologies, dueling stereotypes, horse races, or wins disconnected from losses, but the story of how society chooses to make the tradeoff between social benefits and social harms, to various groups, administered in various ways, extending those through various generations...[T]he media need to view risky events as primarily political stories with scientific and technological underpinnings. In this sense, risk communication is no different than communication about any other form of politics; it's a story of who gets what and at what cost...The earlier such information is obtained, the higher its value. Reporting on risk must anticipate problems and provide, where appropriate, mobilizing information to allow concerned citizens to act...Finally, the mass media need to view the assumption of risk as a series of political decisions, decisions which by their very nature are events and hence worthy of news coverage (pp. 89-90).

The Marginally 'Political' Nature of Coverage in Both Papers

Given over as they were to highlighting conflict and controversy almost, it seemed, for their own sake, the stories I examined in both papers qualify as a kind of mass-mediated articulation of politics, but not really as an in-depth analysis of the *political*, certainly not in the sense of which Wilkins & Patterson speak. The stories were narrowly political in

that they projected the conflict as a politicized battle of wits and rancorous wills between WTI supporters and their highly vocal environmental opponents.

The fact that both papers saw fit to cover many of the same WTI-related issues or events occurring on a particular day would seem to indicate, objectively, that issue's importance as more than just a fleeting story of strictly local concern. That both papers covered a same-day event or issue would seem to speak to the nature of that event or issue as important in a more broadly political sense, political as defined by Wilkins & Patterson. Only sporadically did any story in either paper dig deeper into the environmental or more socially relevant issues that underlay the surface conflict. Both papers, in this respect, failed to meet a consistent standard of the genuinely political (Wilkins & Patterson, 1987) that might have provided for a comprehensive analysis of issues important to the citizen-based decision-making process that, however mythical in these days of political cynicism, historically low voter turnout and market-driven journalism (O'Neill, 1992), is still held as essential to the healthy functioning of a democratic 'marketplace of ideas.'

It is true both papers wrote many more stories than were analyzed formally in this study. But a more casual reading of all of these stories – between 1981 and 1993, more than 300 from the *Review* and more than 100 from the *Post-Gazette* – indicates the same basic pattern of coverage as was found in the sample of 74 matched stories that were produced between 1991 and 1993, the most active years of the environmental dispute. The focus was primarily on easy-to-digest personality-driven conflict reporting, not much more.

The *Post-Gazette* did produce a series of articles in March 1992 on WTI and similar hazardous-waste treatment plant proposals that were then being talked about. The *Review* never produced what would qualify as a series devoted to a full understanding of the issues and concerns surrounding WTI, although the sheer amount of the small-town paper's coverage of WTI over the years does show the *Review* saw this as a story worthy of continued coverage, however superficial. Thus, both papers clearly saw the conflict as newsworthy, but both failed to dig much deeper than just pitting one often angry and cynical source against another. Generally speaking, both newspapers offered relatively short accounts of the WTI issue or event of the day, typically with a handful of WTI opponents battling it out in rhetorical exchanges with plant supporters, most often with WTI officials or hired PR spokespersons.

It may be that the events and issues, the "critical discourse moments" (Gamson, 1992) both papers chose to cover – 60 percent of which had to do with opposition, regulatory and legally focused items – were covered precisely because they could be easily portrayed as controversy. Obviously, a political news event or issue of interest to more than just one media outlet inherently contains some element of conflict and controversy. But one can, at least in principle, choose to portray the conflict through an *individualist* lens, through the politically jaundiced eyes of sources, and leave it pretty much at that. Or one can go deeper into the realm of the more broadly *political* (ala' Wilkins and Patterson's formulation) by delving into the underlying structural social, economic and cultural forces behind the personalities. Both the Pittsburgh and East Liverpool papers, for all the many narrative differences demonstrated in this study, chose to take primarily an individualist line in covering the WTI controversy. To this extent, readers – citizens – were sold short.

The Political as Critical

It is not that there weren't plenty of examples of good and even, less often, relatively thorough reporting. Rather, the problem is that the central theme of virtually every story was yet another reiteration of the raging conflict between those opposing the incinerator and those supporting it. Truly political reporting (Wilkins & Patterson, 1987) or, to use Koch's (1990, p. 143) related terminology, "critical" reporting, would look beyond the 'boundary event,' the actual news event or issue, to 'antecedent' occurrences and factors, and through a variety of fact-gathering techniques – source interviews being just one. In this view, "The reporter, like the pathologist, searches for information beyond the bounds of what officials or participants say occurred" (Koch, 1990, pp. 143-144). Perhaps more importantly, this kind of antecedent fact-gathering allows the reporter to develop different takes on reality, to see an issue or event in many different ways and thus to examine and report on them in more than just a source-centered manner. This kind of critical reporting "provides to the news professional an independence that is the essential component to any notion of objectivity" (Koch, 1990, p. 145).

The important point here is that truly political or 'critical' reporting does not deny the relative value of the objective method. Rather, objectivity is upgraded into a much more independent form of analysis that sees routine sources as just one, and probably not even the most important, kind of information input.

The analysis of WTI stories in the small-town and big-city papers, it is hoped, sheds light on how politics or *politicized* conflict and controversy, as such, were played out as a series of rhetorical exchanges in the news. But this analysis may be of only marginal importance for a study of environmental journalism, the latter of which I tend to associate

with a more scientifically based attempt to understand various aspects of the natural world (or its destruction and abuse) through popular reports. The best environmental journalism must translate sometimes complex scientific knowledge, but the resultant story will not itself be a work of science; it will always be a mass-mediated, popular account of reality and therefore, a story first. This means the environmental journalist, like any other reporter, cannot get away from including personalities in the news. As so defined, environmental journalism will contain not just scientific information but also surface political controversies that may be engendered over the science and the politics of an environmental issue. Science and politics cannot easily be separated.

News Rhetoric as 'Real World' Ideology: The Objective Rhetorical Form

What I have called politicized reporting, a strong focus on personalities rather than on the systemic political, social, scientific, economic and cultural realities underlying any newsworthy social conflict, is in my view a function in large part of the very constraints imposed by journalism's objective rhetorical form. Though differing social structures do translate into differences in the way news media in a big city or small town conceive of and thus report on the news (Tichenor et al., 1980), newspapers in both communities are still bound by the rhetorical form of news reporting, a discursive style founded centrally on journalists being ventriloquists (Lipari, 1996) for news sources. Why this is so – which basically has to do with the shift to an urbanized, professionalized, scientistic culture in the first decades of this century that turned what was once an overtly political, narrative-centered journalism into a professional, market-driven, advertising-sanctioned craft – has been well documented and critiqued elsewhere (Schudson, 1978; Schiller, 1981).

The practical effect of today's market-driven, inverted-pyramid-style reporting is that it results in a discursive style well suited to pitting one source against another, but to very little else. Hence, politicized reporting of the environment or of any other social conflict is articulated through the rhetoric of objectivity (Condit & Selzer, 1985), which is also an ideological discourse (Roeh, 1989, p. 162), or what Schudson (1978) calls the 'ideology of objectivity.' Objectivity, as a discursive form, implies a particular interpretive *stance* toward the world, and any stand-point must assume a ground of shared assumptions, be they professional, personal or otherwise. Journalism's interpretive stance, based in seeing the world in objective (non-partisan [Kieran, 1997], or purely 'informational' terms) is a significant discursive feature that makes the news a specific kind of storytelling *genre*, a "way of understanding...in a characteristic perspective...establishing a communicative situation" (Jensen, 1986, p. 50). As Schudson (1986) points out, genres are themselves historically bound; the narrative storytelling style of 19th Century American journalism evolved into, in this century, the inverted pyramid – although just why is subject to much debate (Mindich, 1993). The point is that the reigning style and practice of journalism, its institutionalized generic stance, is always evolving, thus it is always, in principle, open to critique and improvement.

The news exists as a "mode of formal composition" (Jensen, pp. 50-51) realized through headlines and lead sentences providing summary information and through photographs, and in a top-to-bottom, most-important-to-least important compositional structure. This inverted-pyramid mode of story telling relates directly back to generic stance, "a way of understanding"" (Jensen, p. 50) and projects, in the final analysis,

stories based in "realism," in the myth that something like a *real world* is "out there" as part of nature, waiting only to be articulated as such (Jensen, pp. 56-57).

Lee & Solomon (1990, p. 15) conclude that, despite journalists' tendency to hold up objectivity as an important norm guarding against bias and helping ensure fairness, "value judgments infuse everything in the media." "Mass media not only report the news – they also literally *make* the news. Familiar types of coverage can come across as 'objective' precisely because they're so ubiquitous, blending in with the customary media landscape" (Lee & Solomon, 1990, p. 16). The customary media landscape is, typically, what passes for the easy-to-articulate disputes and surface issues as defined by news sources.

News is, therefore, a discourse of the real, a realist text, dedicated to concocting a rather narrow sense of 'reality.' As applied to news stories examined in the present study, the WTI controversy was portrayed consistently as a naturally occurring antagonism between those who saw the waste-treatment plant as economic salvation for a dying town, and those who viewed the plant as an environmental threat to human health and welfare. Another, more scientifically, environmentally and socially attuned account of WTI could have been produced, as there were many important scientific, social, economic and culture issues underlying the surface conflict. But the predominant theme in both news texts – the discourse of the real as pertaining to WTI – was one of personalities doing battle over highly complex issues that, at most, were only tangentially examined.

It was the theme of never-ending conflict *for the sake of conflict* that became the certified reality of WTI as *story*, inspired largely by the very successful organizational and PR efforts of Greenpeace and other more localized opposition groups. For the most part, the newspapers took the easy bait, and by choosing to give voice to a primary theme of

antagonism, conflict, and opposition, allowed the opposition groups to actively construct and maintain conflict as the basic theme of the story. It is important that, at the very least, an alternative view was actively and continually voiced. But it was only one alternative view, that of the officially sanctioned 'environmental advocates.'

The newspapers' official stance on WTI was, of course, to have *no* stance. The newspapers were, in this respect, a-rhetorical. But as I have attempted to show, any newspaper story can be biased, slanted, or otherwise reflective of any number of evaluative stances by virtue of the way sources are positioned and basic information is structured.

The ideological desire to project 'the real,' which is the ruling desire – in the form of a professionally sanctioned mandate of objectivity – of the American news media, is as much a social construction (and therefore a rhetorical act) as is the desire to depict a fictional or fanciful account of the world. News, as the official presentation of the real world, attempts to contradict its actual status as a social construction (Jensen, 1986, p. 58.) The trick of the realist text, in other words, is to make it seem as if it is a natural account of the world, rather than a highly selective set of symbols, a naturalized, common-sense account, in Barthes' (1972) sense of the word. Jensen (1986, p. 58) concludes: "In the end, the standards of objectivity and impartiality which enter into the process of validation enable the news organizations to assert the privileged status of their news accounts to both readers and regulators."

James Carey (1986, p. 148) asserts that the "tyrannical aspect of daily journalism" lies in the narrative structure imposed by the objective rhetorical form – "the injunction that the elements be assembled, arrayed, and accounted for in the lead, the topic sentence, or

at best...the first paragraph." The result, he concludes, is a journalism stripped of the ability to more fully explain events within a systemic perspective:

> Explanation in daily journalism...demands that the journalist not only retell an event but account for it...However, the canons of objectivity, the absence of a forum or method through which evidence can be systematically adduced, and the absence of an explicit ideological commitment on the part of journalists renders the task of explanation radically problematic...(Carey, 1986, p. 166).

The ideological commitment Carey refers to has to do with the objective journalist's socially and historically sanctioned refusal of political partisanship, which may or may not be a good thing. This lack of an explicitly political ideology informing the news is replaced by a professionally sanctioned journalistic ideology, the objective rhetorical form of the daily news report. The result can often be a narrow way of seeing the world, and a highly constrained form of storytelling. This can render the best intentions of objective journalism, whatever its relative merits, into little more than routine, surface, politicized accounts of reality, instead of into more openly diverse, critical sense-making practices that might better serve a democratic citizenry.

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