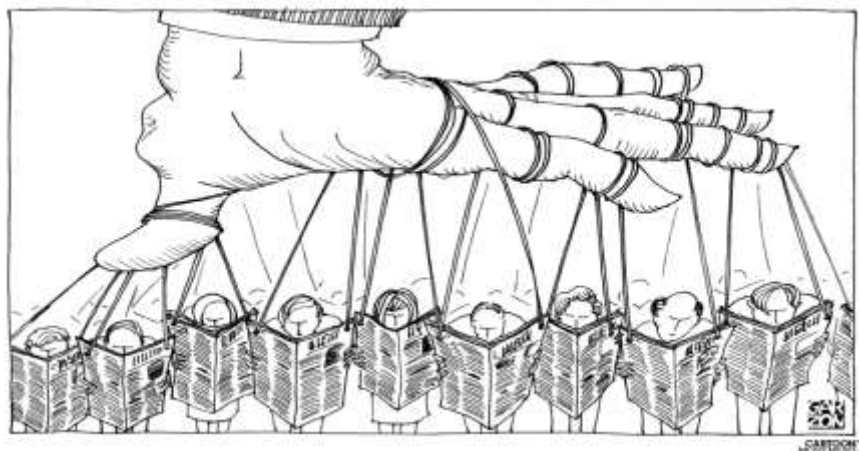




## Newsprint Media's Power over the Identity Discourse

*How were discourses and expressions of national identity presented in the front pages of newsprint media at the outset and peak of the Troubles?*



(Garzon 2014)

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ENG4790 (Credits: 30)

Spring 2020

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## **Abstract**

This thesis investigates how the front pages of newsprint media presented the national discourse at the outset and peak of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. More specifically, it does so by examining in detail what is given the most priority on the front pages of five prominent newspapers: *The Belfast Telegraph*, *The Irish News*, *The News Letter*, *The Irish Times*, and *The Times*, covering the deployment of the British Army and Bloody Sunday. This is done through the use of critical discourse analysis to break down the rich combination of words and images utilised on the front pages. The thesis argues that the national discourse and expressions presented on the front pages of the different newspapers fostered and deepened the divide between the members of the society. It does so on account of strong us versus them discourse and cultural identifiers in the newsprint media, influencing people on what to think of and which side they belong to.

## **Acknowledgements**

This thesis could not have happened without considerable help from others. First and foremost, I wish to express my sincere appreciation to my supervisor, Stuart McWilliams, for his constructive feedback, invaluable insight into Northern Irish culture and identity and words of encouragement. Without his help, this thesis would never have been realised.

Secondly, I would like to acknowledge my family and friends who kept me sane during this thesis with their words of reassurance and show of interest. A heartfelt thanks to my close friend, Silje Lippmann, for taking the time to proof-read my thesis in its final stages and for giving me much appreciated feedback. It kept me going and this work would not have been possible without her input.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

All changed, changed utterly:  
A terrible beauty is born (Yeats 1921)

A century ago, Ireland split into two parts in response to the uprising against British rule; the south, the Irish state, later known as the Republic of Ireland, and the north, that became Northern Ireland. This fraction led up to decades of unrest and violence in the north. The phrase ‘the Troubles’ is commonly used to refer to the three decades of conflict spanning from the end of the 1960s up until the late 1990s in Northern Ireland. The crux of the conflict was the question of whether to stay within the United Kingdom or unite with Ireland and become independent. The unionists, mostly consisting of protestant members, wanted to stay within the United Kingdom whilst uniting and becoming an independent Ireland was advocated by nationalists, which were mainly catholic. However, the other major players in this conflict were the British Army, Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), and Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) which claimed the role of ‘peacekeepers’ against the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the loyalist paramilitary forces. The Troubles in effect ended with the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998. The conflict had cost approximately 3600 lives in a civil war filled with roadblocks, sniper fire, and lack of civil rights. Furthermore, it was a time of espionage, censorship and cover-ups, which even today remains a tangled web.

The events of the Troubles in question for this thesis are the deployment of the British Army and Bloody Sunday. They have been selected due to their significance, as the deployment signals the start of the Troubles and Bloody Sunday is the day that violence peaked during the conflict. Moreover, they have been chosen to establish a relative chronological perspective and due to personal interest. By presenting these significant events of the Troubles, this thesis aims to explore the discourses and expressions of national identity presented in the front pages of different newsprint media by asking the following: *How were discourses and expressions of national identity presented in the front pages of newsprint media at the outset and peak of the Troubles?*

### Central Conceptions

The mass media is the eyes and the ears of the public, essentially the main conveyers of reality. Hence, media influences the way we think; what we think about and what we believe about what is happening in the world, is shaped by how the events occurring are being reported on (Fields). ‘The mass media brings simulated reality into our lives and we find

ourselves relying on those sources to provide a conceptualized image of the real world.’ (Fields). This view of the power of the media has been critiqued as an exaggeration when it comes to shaping the way we think, and its power rather lies in what we think about because it puts certain issues and agendas forward in what it chooses to cover (Fields).

Communication is essential for shaping our cultural experiences and to the conduct of politics, hence ‘Censorship is centrally related to the exercise of power and the management of experience’ (Miller 1995). Therefore, censorship and what was being covered in the media played a substantial part in the conflict. In times of grave military conflict, the use of direct censorship increases as a means of limiting and/or managing the flow of information. There are as well other methods beside direct censorship to manage the flow of information, such as self-censorship, intimidation and the use of the law, not to mention public relations. ‘In Northern Ireland routine official PR has been dedicated to promoting the view that the conflict is caused either by deep and irreconcilable divisions between Irish nationalists and Ulster Unionists, or simply by ‘terrorism’ (Miller 1995).

Furthermore, the media is said to hold an integral role when it comes to the social construction of national identities. National identity ‘is constructed and conveyed in discourse, predominantly in narratives of national culture. National identity is thus the product of discourse’ (De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak 1999, 22). Also, according to David Machin and Andrea Mayr (2005): ‘In any language there exists no neutral way to represent a person. And all choices will serve to draw attention to certain aspects of identity that will be associated with certain kinds of discourse’ (77).

As abovementioned the power of the media lies in its coverage, which may solidify or change perceptions about the national identity discourse. According to British cultural studies pioneer Stuart Hall: ‘National cultures construct identities by creating meanings of ‘the nation’, with which we can identify; these are contained in stories that are told about the nation, in memories which link its present to its past and in the perceptions of it that are constructed’ (as cited in De Cillia et. al 1999, 23). The shared memory of the members of a society is an important factor when it comes to supporting national identity. The Polish philosopher Leszek Kołakowski believed that ‘it is not important whether the content of historical memory is true, partly true or legendary. The further into the past the real or imaginary memories reach, the more securely national identity is supported’ (as cited in De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999, 25). Hence, the power of newsprint media is its power to construct images that we will think about and recall, becoming a part of a society’s collective memory.

## **Selected Method, Literature and Sources**

This thesis makes use of critical discourse analysis (CDA) which is neither a qualitative nor a quantitative research method. CDA concerns itself with language and the production of meaning to construct the social world. To do this, it uses various processes to deconstruct and/or examine speech or other forms of communicative text to discover underlying, implicit, or concealed meanings. Norman Fairclough, one of the founders of CDA, defines the agenda of his method as such:

(...) systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power (Fairclough 1995).

This generally continues to be agreed upon as the main agenda of CDA. It examines the form, structure and content of discourse, from the language, meaning grammar and wording that is being used, in the creation, to its reception by the audience, and its interpretation by the said audience. A vital part of the analysis is to assess the content and tone of the discourse as well as how the verbs, pronouns and nouns are being employed.

In addition, the CDA analysis will also be applied to visuals such as photographs used in newsprint media because the newsprint media is constructing perceptions of the social world for its readers with the use of multimodality. Professor of psychology, particularly cognitive psychology, Stephen K. Reed states in his book *Thinking Visually*: ‘our cognitive abilities to comprehend, remember, reason, solve problems, and make decisions depend on rich combination of word and images’ (Reed 2010, 13). Words and pictures are stored differently in our long-term memory which is why their interaction enhances our ability to remember, recall and communicate. Words are stored with a single code in our memories which is why the use of concrete words, such as material verbs, are better than abstract ones. Whereas pictures are stored in two codes, visually and verbally, hence these memories are easier to access. Just as concrete words are easier to recall than abstract so is informative images easier to recall than abstract ones (Dewan 2015). Therefore, it becomes fundamental for this thesis to look at both visual and written communication.

There are, however, both advantages and possible drawbacks to applying a CDA approach as the basis for the analysis. Firstly, CDA is suitable because it is a critical look on discourse as

it is an assessment based upon what the discourse is doing in production, presentation and consumption, and what it is supposed to be doing. As abovementioned, national identity is a social construct created by a discourse which is an essential concept for this thesis. However, the few texts picked are due to personal interest and are specifically scrutinised for their possible underlying ideology and may then be victims of subjective interpretation.

The central primary sources in this thesis will be the front pages of five prominent newspapers circulating in the United Kingdom and Ireland. The selection of the five newspapers is *The Belfast Telegraph*, *The Irish News*, *The News Letter*, *The Irish Times*, and *The Times*. They were chosen because the three newspapers representing Northern Ireland are the three largest in daily readership with varying degrees of political orientation. The remaining two newspapers were picked due to their status in their respective countries as well as offering a potentially unique ‘outside’ perspective and representing two of the national identities in the conflict in Northern Ireland. These newspapers were also chosen due to the limitations concerning time and access to necessary material.

Newsprint media is considered one of the most important primary sources for the historian due to the fact newspapers have a threefold value when looked upon as a primary source. First, the social and political views that made the most impact at the time were being recorded. Second, it records day-to-day events and lastly, a newspaper may at times present results of more thorough enquiries into issues that go beyond the scope of normal news reporting (Tosh 2015). Analysis of newspapers should also, however, remain alert to the possibility of misinformation. Another aspect of newspapers that is commonly considered a drawback is possible bias, however, for this thesis, it will be considered an advantage.

The reason for analysing the front pages of different newsprint media instead of the newspaper in its entirety is due to the scope and limitations of the thesis. However, it is also due to exposure as one does not need to be a subscriber of a newspaper to have been exposed to the front page:

If a particular newspaper is sold exclusively by subscription and is distributed only by mail, the front page will not matter much, and instead the general content will be much more valued: If, on the other hand, the same newspaper has to be sold on the streets, everything changes, because it has to win readers one by one, by presenting an eye-catching external design, with big headlines that attract the attention and can be shouted out by the vendor to achieve a shocking effect (Díez, et al. 2015)



Subsequently, since newspapers need an eye-catching front page to win readers, the headlines, kickers, and photos are what will be given priority in the analysis. Headlines are in large type and immediately catch one's eye whilst photos enhance our communication as they accompany and enrich the article through visual representation. The reason the kickers is deemed important are due to the newsprint media's use of the inverted pyramid, where the most crucial information is given first in any article. Furthermore, the kicker is usually highlighted either by being in large type or underlined which attracts attention. Therefore, the front pages in question will be subjected to scrutiny when it comes to form, content and intent. As well as studying the layout of the front pages to see what is given priority at a first glance.

This will be done by studying key components in a multimodal text by looking at the following: emotive language, hedging, representational strategies, transitivity, nominalisation, presupposition, cultural characteristics, rhetorical tropes such as metaphors and hyperbole, what kind of images are used and how they are implemented.

Emotive language also known as emotional language is intended to cause an emotional reaction in its audience. It is a manipulative rhetorical method to make the audience react in a certain way. Newsprint media are notoriously known for applying this method when it comes to their headlines to hook the audience (Writing Explained 2020). The shock value of a newspaper makes it more sellable, hence emotive language becomes an important part regarding profit. It is also necessary to take advantage of emotive language if one wishes the reader to have one specific response to an article, whether it to be negative or positive, to put a spin on a story.

How one chooses to represent people or persons in a text is a semiotic choice known as representational strategies. These choices allow the speaker to highlight certain aspects of identity it wishes to draw attention to or omit, regarding both lexical and iconographical choices. Every choice 'have the effect of connoting sets of ideas, values and sequences of activity that are not necessarily overtly articulated' (Machin and Mayr 2015, 77). Newsprint media frequently applies referential choices to create opposition in articles to make the reader align or oppose with the person or people involved or be for or against particular incidents, this is known as 'ideological squaring' (Machin and Mayr 2015). The referential choices or social actors are categorised as personalisation and impersonalisation, individualisation versus collectivisation, nomination or functionalisation, use of honorifics, objectivation, anonymisation, aggregation, pronoun versus noun: the 'us' and 'them' division, or

suppression. These categories classify people and the ideological effects connoted (Machin and Mayr 2015).

According to CDA transitivity is the study of social action. By studying the verbs, one can reveal who is the agent or otherwise in the text. CDA draws for the most part on the verb classification of linguist Michael Halliday, 'who distinguished between material, behavioural, mental, verbal, existential and relational verbs' (Machin and Mayr 2015, 224). Material verbs are the process of doing and usually are concrete actions that have a physical result or consequence. 'The two key participants in material processes are the *actor* and the *goal*' (Machin and Mayr 2015, 106). Behavioural verbs denote physical or psychological behaviour, they semantically cross over with material and mental processes. Mental verbs can be divided into three parts: cognition, affection and perception, as it is about the process of *sensing*. Relational verbs are 'about states of being, where things are stated to exist in relation to other things' (Machin and Mayr 2015, 110), whilst existential verbs represent something that exists or happens (Machin and Mayr 2015). These categories can also be applied visually.

Hedging is applied in our language to create strategic ambiguity within our claims, to pad our language to soften the impact of bluntness. It can be used to distance ourselves from our own statements to possibly reduce the chances of any unwelcome responses. Additionally, hedging can often give the impression of being detailed and precise even as it lets the speaker avoid directness and commitment to their claims (Machin and Mayr 2015, 192).

Two linguistic strategies of concealment are nominalisation and presupposition.

'Nominalisation typically replaces verb processes with a noun construction, which can obscure agency and responsibility for an action, what exactly happened and when it took place' (Machin and Mayr 2015, 137). Presupposition lets the authors imply meanings without clearly stating them or it can present things as taken for granted and stable even though it may be contestable and ideological (Machin and Mayr 2015, 137).

Rhetorical tropes such as metaphor and hyperbole are integral tools for any speaker or writer. A metaphor is a way to express comparison without the use of comparison words but by instead using figurative language. It is used to make one's writing more interesting by giving it layers and texture, as well as leaving room for interpretation by the reader (Writing Explained 2020). Furthermore, our language is riddled with metaphors to make abstract concepts into tangible ones. Hyperbole is also a type of figurative language used for exaggeration and overstatement, usually for the sake of emphasis (Writing Explained 2020).

Cultural knowledge plays an important role in understanding a nation's identity because it is about knowing particular characteristics, values, beliefs, history and behaviours. Furthermore, how individuals use phrases or names to describe places or people gives the reader clues on the standpoint of the speaker's cultural background and their ideology. For example, Londonderry or Derry refer to the same city and county in Northern Ireland but from the perspective of a unionist or nationalist, whereas Londonderry is a unionist view and Derry is nationalist. 'Derry' comes from the Irish language and its heritage. The original Irish term for the city 'Doire' meaning oak grove as well as various texts with variations of the name led to its official name in the sixteenth century (Culture Northern Ireland 2003), hence why this name is preferred by nationalists. The name Londonderry, however, is due to the British Crown carrying out the Plantation of Ulster in 1608 in effort to anglicise Ulster and establish a loyal and compliant population in Ulster (Culture Northern Ireland 2003). Also, usage of descriptors such as unionist, loyalist, nationalist or republican varies according to whether political or militant status is being emphasised. Unionist and nationalist are the political terms and loyalist and republican traditionally carry a more militant connotation.

Newsprint media not only employ words to do their bidding, but they also deploy visual semiotic choices. Everything from the layout, font size, colouring, pictures and what is given priority is non-linguistic features and elements used to further communication with the audience. According to the semiotic theory of Roland Barthes, images can denote and connote. Images can document, or in semiotic terminology, denote, namely, they show particular people, places, incidents and things, however, denotation is not the only function nor necessarily the main function of an image. The primary function of an image may be to get a general or abstract concept across, such as what values, ideas, identities or feelings are being represented, in other words, what is being connoted. Whether an image is connotative or denotative in its primary function depends on the context the image is being used. When the image's primary function is connotative it creates emotive resonance with its audience which functions the same way as an emotive language without using verbal or written language. Another aspect to pay attention to, is an image attributes, for instance, pose, gaze, proximity, angle and salience (Machin and Mayr 2015).

## **Literature and Sources**

The five newspapers in question are as follows:

*The Belfast Telegraph* is a local newspaper published in Belfast, Northern Ireland. It was founded in 1870 and has traditionally been seen to represent the unionist political interest and has thus been mostly favoured by the Protestant population (Cunningham 2013). However, it is said to be the only newspaper ‘to be read by both the Protestant unionist and Catholic nationalist communities in Northern Ireland’ (VoxEurop – Société coopérative européenne 2017).

*The Irish News* is the main daily nationalist-oriented newspaper in Northern Ireland and has its base of operations in Belfast. It has always been critical towards terrorism and the IRA and ‘has a policy of promoting reconciliation between the unionist and nationalist communities.’ (VoxEurop – Société coopérative européenne 2017).

*The News Letter* was founded in 1737 and thus claims to be the world’s oldest continuously published daily newspaper. It is published in Belfast but is sold widely throughout Northern Ireland. *The News Letter* was at first a radical Presbyterian newspaper, but by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century it had a major political shift and became strongly unionist and conservative (British Expat Ltd 2013).

*The Irish Times* is one of the oldest and largest newspapers in Ireland, founded by protestants in 1859 (VoxEurop – Société coopérative européenne 2017). It has quite a liberal and social-democratic stance and keeps itself as neutral as possible about Ireland’s unification.

*The Times* is the only English newspaper taken into consideration because it was revered as the British establishment’s mouthpiece and newspaper of record (VoxEurop – Société coopérative européenne 2017). It is a London based daily newspaper that was founded in 1785 and during the Troubles was quite a conservative newspaper.

## **Structure**

This thesis has been organised in such a fashion that each case study is analysed and discussed separately. Each case study has a dedicated appendix containing the front pages in question. The reason for treating the cases separately is due to the three-year gap between them as well as keeping the thesis from becoming fragmented in its presentation. Both chapters will describe, analyse and discuss the thesis question before being brought together in the conclusion.

## **Chapter 2: The Deployment, August 1969**

The British troops were deployed in Northern Ireland on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August 1969 by request of the Unionist Government of Northern Ireland as a countermeasure to the growing disorder surrounding civil rights protests, and the steady increase of sectarian violence during the traditional Protestant marching season. The backdrop for the deployment this date was the annual Apprentice Boys march three days earlier where the Royal Ulster Constabulary for the first time deemed it necessary to use teargas to get the rioting under control. That, and the mobilisation of the Ulster Special Constabulary or B-Specials, escalated the violence and during the following three days and two nights, said violence, was mostly centred in the Catholic Bogside area but also erupted in Belfast and other towns across Northern Ireland (BBC News). It became known as Battle of the Bogside.

The Roman Catholic population had little faith in the R.U.C. as they viewed them as a pro-Protestant organisation, hence it was initially hoped that the British army would be more easily regarded and accepted as a peacekeeping force. This would later be proven to be misplaced optimism, as many in the Catholic community saw the British army as a tool of the Unionist Government in Northern Ireland (National Army Museum ). Consequently, illegal paramilitary groups from both sides of the conflict stepped up the levels of their campaigns of sectarian violence. Moreover, violence towards the police and the army was also increased.

On 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1969 the news of the battles that had raged on and the deployment of the troops hit the newsstands:

### ***The Belfast Telegraph* 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1969 Front Page (Appendix A: Figure 1)**

The focal points of *The Belfast Telegraph* front page on August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1969, are the image put in the centre accompanied by the bold banner, all in capital letters, atop. There are other smaller headlines and sub-heads scattered around the page, but they are only noticeable when one starts to explore the front page. The font size differs when it comes to headlines and subheads whilst the font type stays constant except for the title piece. Advertisements on the front page are placed at the ears and one in the right bottom corner, to remove gutter space as well as marketing. Moreover, most of the text has been separated into clear brackets and columns to give a clear structure to the front page.

The image below the main headline is a close captured picture of a man holding a piece of glass not facing the camera but in profile gazing off-frame or at a bullet hole in a window. A

picture taken at proximity invites the viewer to get to know the person, it gives room for intimacy and possible familiarity, because we get close to people that we want to know. Additionally, the picture is taken at eye level which often signals equal standing between the person in the image and the viewer. Another important aspect is the gaze of the subject which is not directed at the camera. When the gaze is not directed at the camera it does not require an action from the viewer, it rather opens for discerning the subjects given thoughts at the given time the picture was taken (Machin and Mayr 2015, 70-71). With slightly slumped shoulders and a forlorn look on his face, the man in the picture connotes emotions of sadness and mourning whilst giving a weight of seriousness to it.

Furthermore, the interaction between the image and the caption accompanying it furthers the understanding one is supposed to have while studying the picture. The caption of the image reads: 'Mr. Cornelius Rooney, whose nine-year-old son Patrick was shot dead during last night's rioting, looks at a bullet hole in the window of his home this morning.'. Suddenly, the social actor in the image is not just a man with a troubled look, he is the father of a boy who was shot dead the previous night's riot. By assigning these attributes to the man, the part of his identity that is being highlighted by the paper is that he is a father grieving a tremendous loss. The image's primary function is connotative as it is symbolising the event without using actual photos of the battles and gunfights as well as creating emotive resonance. It is also humanising the situation making it easier to relate to.

The kicker and the banner of the front page are essentially offering the audience the same piece of information:

**Soldiers will be used to-night on city streets**

**TROOPS MOVE INTO BELFAST**

The exceptions are, however, with the use of the verbs and the pronouns. The verbs used in the two headlines are both material verbs as they are both processes of doing and have a physical consequence. However, their grammatical tenses and 'activeness' differ, as the first use future tense and the latter present tense. Their grammatical tenses are in accord with the sentence activeness and lack thereof as the main headline with the active voice has a clear, direct, and strong tone whilst the kicker with its passive voice comes across as ambiguous, uncertain, and weak. However, this is most noticeable when one studies the two sentences in isolation from each other; when one studies them in tandem their synchronicity increases the

possibility of being memorable for the reader as well as reinforcing the thought of military personnel moving into their city.

Additionally, the repetitive nature of the kicker and the banner also emphasises on the social actors 'soldiers' and 'troops' respectively. Both are pronouns strongly associated with the military and yet, they do not conjure the same image. Soldiers are by definition: enlisted people engaged in military service, commonly the army (Oxford University Press 2002). On the other hand, troops refer to an unknown number of military personnel. A soldier encourages thoughts of heroism, professionalism, and patriotism due to the individualisation and personalisation of it. Whilst troops do not connote a lot of the aspects soldiers embody since troops are an unknown mass of people. This is due to 'troops' collectivisation and impersonalisation create a certain alienation from the public.

The kicker of the primary article:

**Belfast Telegraph reporters**

**ARMED BRITISH troops were moving into Belfast this afternoon to maintain law and order after a vicious night of rioting and killing**

Firstly, the by-line conveys that this article is by a collective of reporters from the newspaper. This creates an image of an unspecified number of people presenting an article in favour of the British army. The social actors mentioned and obscured by the kicker is the 'armed British troops' and the 'rioters and killers'. The army is in possession of the material verbs such as 'moving' and 'maintain' and the phrase 'law and order' whilst the others have the material verbs 'rioting' and 'killing' as well as the adjective 'vicious'. All the words used to describe the other social actor in the kicker brings forth associations of varying degrees of violence and fear. On the other hand, the phrase 'maintain law and order' connotes a functioning society and the upholding of the status quo. Furthermore, it is a descriptor of a situation where people respect and follow the laws, and crime is being handled by the police and justice system. By presenting the social actors in such a fashion it creates structural opposition or 'ideological squaring', where the reader is influenced by the wording to describe the actors and should be inclined to side with those that uphold their own ideology (Machin and Mayr 2015, 40-41).

'Armed' and 'British' are the two first words in the kicker, typed in capital letters, and are two adjectival words with strong emotive resonance. If one is to analyse the words separately 'armed' connotes weapons and conflict whilst 'British' may connote ideas of colonial power and people of Great Britain. However, scrutinised as one concept under the cultural lenses of

different inhabitants of Northern Ireland 'ARMED BRITISH troops' visualise quite different ideas. First of all, the sentence relays the information that there now is an unknown quantity of British soldiers in Belfast, carrying guns. For the unionists and Protestants, this is something with rather positive connotations as they are considered allies whereas for the nationalists and Catholics that are already suspicious of the R.U.C. and any tools of the Unionist government it is a source of uneasiness.

The secondary article of interest in *The Belfast Telegraph*:

### **The innocent victim the guns claimed**

There are two things of note regarding the headline of the secondary article which is the use of overlexicalisation and obscuration of social actors using a noun construction. A victim is someone who has been attacked or has suffered due to the action of others or by an action of a force. By attaching the word 'innocent' to the word victim is to emphasise on the sympathy one should have for those lost, and disgust towards the agents causing it. However, the lack of agency is due to the social actor being obscured by 'the guns' that refers to no one in particular and yet alludes to everyone involved in the previous night's riot.

The kicker following the secondary headline introduces us to the innocent victim the guns claimed:

**ALTAR BOY Patrick Rooney should have helped his parish priest at mass in St. Mary's Church, Belfast, this morning.**

Patrick Rooney, the child of the father depicted in the middle of the newspaper, is individualised and personalised by the kicker. Patrick is not just a faceless and nameless victim; he has been assigned certain attributes by journalist Martin Lindsay. The aspects of Patrick's identity are that Patrick was a young boy as well as an acolyte within the Catholic faith since St. Mary's Church is a Catholic church. However, the emphasis on Patrick's identity is that he was an 'altar boy' which brings connotations of a good Christian child, following the word of God and yet he was gunned down, however, due to the strategic ambiguity in the kicker it could have been anyone who ended the young boy's life.

Lindsay also uses subtle yet strong emotive language in his article. The past modal verbs 'should have helped' are used for hypotheticals, to converse about things that did not come to pass. The reader knows Patrick died, but by using the past modal verb phrase with the adverbial phrase 'this morning' it gives a sense of recency but also the loss of potential,



opportunity, and a future for a young boy. Furthermore, the article is accompanied by a small headshot of Patrick with the caption: 'Patrick – shot dead.'. The image interacts with the focal image by being smaller and below it and in that way showcases a father-son relationship.

### ***The Irish News* 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1969 Front Page (Appendix A: Figure 2)**

The layout of the front page is fairly similar to *The Belfast Telegraph* with the ears covered with advertisement as well as the right bottom corner, and the placement of subheads.

However, the front page is structured differently when it comes to its columns as it is not as finely defined as in *The Belfast Telegraph* with lines dividing the columns but rather uses the gutter space to make the different brackets.

The images centred in the newspaper are accompanied by the headline 'TROOPS MOVE IN – POLICE MARCH OUT'. 'March' is a verb commonly associated with the movement of troops but in this instance, it has been used with the removal of the police presence in the Bogside. Furthermore, 'march' also brings forth thoughts of a walk with purpose or to a destination and for the Bogside, this meant that the police removed themselves from their home. Hence, the movement of the police comes across as more forceful and definite than the troops.

The first picture depicts soldiers in armoured vehicles with their machine-guns moving ahead with the caption: 'Military troops moving up Shipquay Street towards the Diamond.'. An image taken from behind the subjects leaves a lot of room for the viewer to scrutinise it. Firstly, the military is a country's line of defence and to be placed behind their backs connotes a sense of security and protection. Secondly, even though the viewer is aware of the fact the soldiers are moving in due to its headline and caption, the angle and width of the image captured to make it seem like they are leaving as well. This makes it seem like the conflict has passed and there is no longer a need for military presence as well.

The image at the bottom depicts the B-Specials' march out of the Bogside and off-frame and beneath it follows the caption: 'B-Specials leaving the area after military take-over.'.

Contrary to the image above, the viewer is now positioned in front instead of the back watching the B-Specials leave. Police are supposed to be those who maintain the law and order of a society, this picture, however, rather shows the failure of the police as they need to leave an area they were supposed to protect. Moreover, since the image is taken from this angle it becomes final when the B-Specials pass the viewer because there is no background to allude to another destination.

The R.U.C. and the B-Specials were hated by the Catholic community as they were viewed as pro-Protestant forces. According to the front page, the Bogsideers rejoiced as the R.U.C. withdrew from the Bogside: 'They cheered because their 60-hour petrol-bomb battle was over. They cheered because the hated R.U.C. had withdrawn.' This is also in accord with the second image with the police needing to leave the Bogside. Moreover, since their enemy had withdrawn it leaves them as the victors, that they had prevailed against the Protestant regime.

The kicker heading the headline of *The Irish News*:

**Nine-years-old boy among victims in worst flare-up since 1921 'Troubles'**

The 1921 'Troubles' is referring to the divide that came between the north and south of Ireland and the bloody conflict surrounding it. The decision to split Ireland into two parts caused a rift between Irish nationalists, those for and those against the treaty which led to armed conflict and soon thereafter an all-out civil war. Pro-treaty nationalists eventually achieved a bloody victory in 1923 (McKittrick and McVea 2012, 3-4). It is also a presupposition as *The Irish News* are assuming the reader's cultural knowledge. Moreover, the comparison of the previous night's riots with what happened in 1921 is yet another presupposition that creates a powerful national image. The 1921 'Troubles' happened approximately 48 years ago which implies that people in their mid-fifties and onwards have a vivid recollection of what happened in 1921 and thus this comparison will resonate with its audience. Not to mention it is what ultimately created Northern Ireland which is creating powerful parallels to the nation forming process.

The banner of the front page, the primary article's subhead and the following kicker:

**AT LEAST FOUR SHOT DEAD IN BELFAST AND MANY WOUNDED**

Man dies as bullets smash into his home

**THREE MEN and a baby were shot dead and at least 30 people wounded when the guns came out again in Northern Ireland last night in the worst street flare-up since the 1921 "Troubles." A woman was also reported to have died from a heart attack after admission to hospital. The baby's name was not known.**

All the text above is riddled with strong emotive language. The banner's use of 'at least' and 'many wounded' indicates that there is more dead, as well as an uncountable number of injured people from the previous night. Also, a man was killed in his home by bullets smashing through it, and by having that as the primary article subhead, it creates uncertainty and fear as it alludes to the fact that one could be swept up in the fighting regardless of ones

own intent and participation. Furthermore, most of the verbs used are material verbs with negative connotations as they are all connected to murder, guns and violence. Moreover, the use of repetition regarding the 1921 'Troubles' in the kicker with most of the sentence structure from before intact is to solidify the image.

The social actors that are not being obscured by the banner, the primary article subhead and kicker have all died in some way or another, except those wounded, but they have no particular function beside emotive resonance. These social actors were objects of 'the guns' that were the initiators of 'the worst street flare-up since 1921 "Troubles"'. The noun 'the guns' conceals those who are responsible for the violence that occurred as well as creating strategic ambiguity so there is no need to commit to the statement.

Even though *The Irish News* uses the inverted pyramid, the kicker comes across as lacking in information as it feels concealed from the reader and ambiguous. The correlation between the first part and the second part of the kicker is diffuse at best. The last part of the kicker mentions a woman dying of a heart attack and the baby's name not being known, and at the beginning of the kicker, the baby was shot dead alongside three men. *The Irish News* seems to claim the heart attack that led to a woman's death was instigated by the flare-up. Additionally, since the sentence following the woman's passing is that which of the baby being unnamed, one is led to draw possible connections between them. There is also no further mention of the nine-year-old boy that became a victim, as he is not mentioned in the death count nor the rest of the kicker.

Another thing of note in *The Irish News* is the subhead at the bottom left that reads '*Protestant extremist rampage in Coleraine*'. The adjectives connected to the word protestant are negative and highly suggestive and a use of hyperbole. The combination of 'extremist' and 'rampage' together to describe it brings forth associations of radical violence and on top of that, it is being linked to the Protestant faith making it more appropriate to think of it as fanatical. Furthermore, the Protestant groups are described to be 'marauding' Catholic churches, harassing the Catholic population and the B-Specials 'eventually' dispersed them. The wording and phrasing of the Protestants and the B-Specials' lacklustre way of handling the situation create ideological squaring in favour of the Catholics.

### ***The News Letter* 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1969 Front Page (Appendix A: Figure 3)**

The layout of *The News Letter* is clear and structured. There are advertisements at the ears and the bottom corners framing the newspaper. The masthead is as per usual at the centre top of

the front page. The gutter space is used to divide the different articles, and the articles are more centred on the front page. There is a varied use of bold capital letters to signalise the banner and other articles of note. One of the articles is written in large type and in cursive, and therefore draws one's attention. Moreover, there is one large image placed to the left under the banner taking up most of the area on the upper part of the page.

The photo in question is a full shot taken at eye level from behind the main subjects. It contains five soldiers standing in front of barricades and behind those, a mass of protestors. As the observer is placed behind the soldiers it appears as if one is one of the soldiers. In contrast to *The Irish News* in which one looks on from behind the military one is now one of the soldiers, a protector instead of being protected. Furthermore, by having a divisive factor in the photo using barricades as well as the sheer contrast of protestors versus soldier it causes an ideological squaring between right and wrong, lawful and not.

Additionally, the caption below the photo reads: 'Rioters from the Bogside come face to face with men of the Prince of Wales' Regiment after their arrival in Londonderry yesterday.' (See Appendix A: Figure 3), which supports the oppositional representation in the photo. The people behind the barricades are described as 'rioters' which is a word with negative connotations. The military on the other hand is referred to by their official title 'Prince Wales' Regiment' highlighting their validity and on the right side of the brewing conflict against rebels. Another important aspect of the caption is the cultural backdrop to the wording 'Londonderry' which is the name preferred by unionists for describing the county.

The kicker preceding the banner and the banner of *The News Letter* front page:

North Belfast swept by bullets and flames

### **MACHINE-GUNS USED IN BELFAST TERROR**

Both the kicker and the banner are creating an image of violence and gunfire enveloping Belfast. The emotive language deployed to create this image are the phrase 'bullets and flames' and 'terror' which are all modes of destruction. Not to mention by producing the view of terrorism was the job of routine official PR in Northern Ireland. Both the heading kicker and the banner incorporate nouns as the stand-ins for the pronouns and social actors of the sentences. The shock value of the heading kicker and the banner entices further reading, as there are so many unanswered questions.

The kicker following the banner says:

Ulster's brief truce was shattered last night when machine-gun fire was directed at police in Belfast. Six people were taken to hospital with gunshot wounds.

Contrary to the other articles, *The News Letter* is stating that the gunfire was directed at the police and that was what broke the truce established in Belfast. However, it is also a presupposition by stating there was a 'brief truce' and it only broke when gunfire was shot at the police. Its use of the word 'Ulster' to describe the location is enforcing a unionist agenda. Technically speaking, Ulster refers to the province where six out of the nine historical counties are in Northern Ireland whilst the remaining three are in the Republic of Ireland. However, the six counties that become part of 'the North' and later Northern Ireland were predominantly protestant and unionist, hence 'Ulster' was appropriated by unionists to describe the counties in Northern Ireland where the defining feature was demographics ensuring decisive Protestant majority (McKittrick and McVea 2012, 4-5).

The other article of note is the headline in cursive and its kicker:

***Only Derry quietened by Bogside cheers***

The cheers which rang out in the Roman Catholic Bogside area of Londonderry when troops moved in yesterday acted like magic on the Maiden City.

The first thing of immediate note is that the subsidiary article headline is the only instance where Derry is used instead of Londonderry on the front page. 'Derry' is the term preferred by the Irish Nationalists, and it is being used with the adverb 'only' and the adjective 'quietened' produces ideas of dissonance in 'Derry' versus the rest of the country.

Furthermore, by having 'Roman Catholic' in the kicker is highlighting a Protestant ideology as 'Roman Catholic' is exclusively used by Protestants. It essentially is an old religious slur indicating one has pledged allegiance to the Roman Pontiff, hence has a divided allegiance from the Sovereign (Glover 1826, 22-24). It stems from Catholicism's problematic relationship with Britain. The rest of the article expresses that the authorities in Dublin were protesting the presence of the troops in Northern Ireland which aligns with the nationalist agenda.

The kicker following the subsidiary headline contains a lot of cultural specifics and presupposed knowledge with the mention of 'the Maiden City', 'Londonderry' and 'the Roman Catholic Bogside'. Firstly, Derry/Londonderry got its title the Maiden City due to the unconquered walls that withstood several sieges (Northern Ireland Tourist Board). Secondly, as previously mentioned Londonderry is the unionist way of referring to the county and the

city. Finally, 'Roman Catholic Bogside' refers to the area outside the city walls of Derry/Londonderry that was mostly inhabited by Irish Nationalists and Catholics.

The positive inclinations showcased in the kicker mirrors the hope of military presence being more accepted as a peace force than the R.U.C. It reads as in favour of the troops by the Catholic community due to the way it has been phrased 'The cheers which rang out (...) acted like magic on the Maiden City'. Cheers are synonymous with giving thanks; hence it expresses gratitude. Additionally, the notion of magic working wonders on the city with the walls who could not be conquered creates a fairy-talesque concept of good and bad. The entry of the 'troops' in combination with 'the cheers' worked like a charm that dispelled the evil, the R.U.C., that had rooted itself in the area.

#### ***The Irish Times* 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1969 Front Page (Appendix A: Figure 4)**

Contrary to the other layouts, the articles are moved to the left with the exceptions of the masthead and the banner. The front page is decorated with one squared photo at the right upper side connecting it to the banner. Another difference is the double advertisements at the ears and one large at the bottom right. The subsidiary articles and their headlines vary between being written in all-caps and not. Moreover, some are in cursive seemingly at random and the kicker of the primary article is written in bold letters that have been underlined. There are also two additional subheads after the banner and the kicker has its own kicker.

The photo is a stark contrast to the previous ones as there is no weight on the personal emotional resonance of the people, the military, or fall back of the B-Specials but rather a picture of one of the consequences of the event. It is a wide shot taken at eye level, placing the observer further away creating distance, physically and emotionally. The photo shows buildings on fire, a lot of smoke and firemen trying to get the fire under control. The caption of the image also indicates neutrality and lack of emotional connection: 'A picture taken at the height of the trouble in Belfast last night, shows the scene at the junction of Hooker street and Crumlin road, as firemen fought to bring one of the fires under control.' Also, by framing a photo and the caption like this it becomes an isolated event as well as softening the headlines on the left side. It is softening the headlines since the image and the banner's correlation connotes differently, hence they do not complement each other.

The banner of the front page:

### **6 KILLED IN NORTHERN SHOOTINGS**

*The Irish Times* banner stands out from the previous banners as it comes across as direct with no emotional attachment. It does not refer to either party of the conflict nor does it mention specifically Northern Ireland. It rather conveys how many were lost and it was in the north, which may be a choice to not refer to the given British name or separation of 1921. Moreover, by referring to the conflict the previous night as ‘shootings’ it is being downplayed. The social actors are also being anonymised since they are turned into a statistic.

The secondary headline after the banner:

Boy (9) one of five victims in Belfast, man dies in Armagh

In the first part of the headline, they have personalised one of the victims and separated him from the collective as the second part did not happen in Belfast but Armagh. In contrast to the banner, this headline expresses some notes of emotionality. To mention a boy at the age of nine being one of the victims due to shooting does bring forth an emotional reaction.

The tertiary headline after the banner:

*NIGHT OF GUN BATTLES IN SEVERAL PLACES AS PEACE RETURNS TO DERRY*

The headline with the most emotional connection of the ones under the banner is this one which is more in accord with the other banners from the other newspapers. Instead of just being shootings in the north, it is now described as a gun battle in multiple locations except in Derry which regained peace. That *The Irish Times* refers to the city as ‘Derry’ comes from the Irish language and heritage going back to the fifteenth century, as previously mentioned. It is also the preferred term for Irish Nationalists, which suits the paper as it is Irish as well as it correlates with the banners referment to northern instead of Northern Ireland.

The kicker following the tertiary headline:

SIX PEOPLE WERE SHOT DEAD IN NORTHERN IRELAND LAST NIGHT AS FIERCE GUN BATTLE RAGED ACROSS THE COUNTRY. A CHILD AND FOUR MEN WERE KILLED IN BELFAST, AND A MAN DIED IN THE ARMAGH SHOOTING.

All the headlines above accumulate and crystallises in the kicker regarding emotive language. ‘FIERCE’, ‘RAGED’, and ‘KILLED’, are the words that stand the most out in the kicker, even though everything is written in bold letters and underlined. The words stand out because they all have a strong emotional attachment and mostly negative. ‘FIERCE’ in this context is more on the line of wild, violent and ferocious, and ‘RAGED’ is being furious and angry. ‘KILLED’ connotes ideas of something that ended abruptly and was swiftly removed before

its time. When words like these are on top of that underlined and in large type, it highlights these negative emotions and is expecting a reaction befitting of the emotive language in return.

The headline and subhead of a subsidiary article:

Troops greeted by Bogside defenders

*B SPECIALS MOVE BACK*

Just like the article from the front page of *The News Letter*, *The Irish Times* does emphasise the initial positive response from the Bogside regarding the troops. The verb 'greeted' explicitly tell us that the troops were welcomed by the Bogside. Furthermore, the Bogsiders are being mentioned as 'defenders' which is a positive descriptor as they are protectors. Moreover, it puts the social actors, the Bogsiders in a favourable light as they were guarding and protecting their home giving them a just cause regarding the riots. However, the article does include some dissonant voices 'if they are only going to help the police it makes no difference' and individual officers of the regiment did state that they were there to assist the police.

### ***The Times* 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1969 Front Page (Appendix A: Figure 5)**

*The Times* has a photo centred to the upper-left and just like *The Belfast Telegraph*, it has defined their columns with clear lines. However, it stands out when it comes to the lack of advertisements, besides the use of the ear on the upper-right corner and the bottom-right corner. The left ear has been dedicated to the imprint to show the publisher details (Ingram and Henshall 2019). *The Times* overall impression is clear and structured with only a few selected articles gracing the front page.

The picture in the upper left dedicated to the troops of The Prince of Wales Regiment is a long shot taken at eye level. One soldier is in the foreground centred whilst others are in the background standing in two lines, all with weapons. The soldier at the front is holding his machine-gun with the gun barrel pointing upwards, his gaze is directed the same way. Since the gaze of the subject is not requiring the onlooker to respond in any way it leaves time to study the picture, give it meaning and discern the subject's thoughts at the time. The soldier's gaze is upwards and off frame whilst one of his hands are steadying the gun barrel and the other by the pistol grip with one finger on the trigger. He reads as alert and on guard, paying attention to possible threats from above.



Below the photo, the caption reads: 'Troops of The Prince of Wales Regiment in Londonderry yesterday, after relieving the regular police in the cordon around Bogside.' Firstly, *The Times* is a British newspaper and their use of Londonderry is due to the British Crown seizing of the Plantation of Ulster in 1608 and added the prefix London- to Derry. Secondly, by using the title of the Regiment it signalises the social actors' specialisation and the degree of respect and authority they inhabit. Thirdly, they have arrived to 'relieve' the regular police. To 'relieve' brings forth several associations such as: to help or provide support in various ways for people in need, take over someone's job or duties, to improve bad situations or make unpleasant feelings less strong. The image established by the photo and the caption is that the military is sent to aid and restore law and order in Londonderry and doing so properly.

The banner has no heading kicker and no kicker in bold like the previous ones. Moreover, it is a sharp contrast to the previous headlines covering the riots the previous night in Northern Ireland. The banner and its kicker of the front page:

#### **Five are killed in new Ulster riots**

Five people, one a child, were killed in Northern Ireland as rioting flared again last night and early today. In Belfast clashes developed into what police called "a little war".

'Ulster' is the biggest contrast to the previous banners when it comes to the description of where the riots took place. As previously mentioned, 'Ulster' refers to the nine historical counties where six is situated in Northern Ireland and three in the Republic of Ireland. It became the North and later Northern Ireland and the population was predominantly Protestant and unionist. *The Times* use of 'Ulster' instead of Northern Ireland is misleading as it technically is more than Northern Ireland. Therefore, it enforces a unionist and British agenda by using 'Ulster' as the word is loaded with intent and meaning. However, there also seems to be a correlation between how far away the publication is and its geographical references. They tend to become less geographically specific, the further away a publication is located.

The kicker, however, reverts and uses 'Northern Ireland' instead. This also validates the terms as interchangeable; which they are not nor possess the same intent. A lot of the phrasing is in accord with previous kickers regarding the rioting, except the dead count. Furthermore, *The Times* is the first of the five newspaper to comment that the police called the escalation 'a little war'. This is a significant way to describe the conflict from the police perspective. It means the conflict has escalated to such a degree that the deployment of troops was necessary. Moreover, it gives the troop legitimacy to enter Northern Ireland with force.

Subsidiary article headline following the previous article:

### **Child dies in ‘little war’**

The social actor, child, is a type, meaning it is used as a generalisation. The reason for it is to bring forth connotations of a ‘child’ as most people contribute certain attributes to the generic category. Attributes easily assigned to a child are adjectives like young, innocent and free but also an innate feeling of the need to protect a child. This is gathering sympathy as well as hostility towards the rioters, the enemy. Besides, the phrase ‘little war’ in this context compared to the above-mentioned is easier to condemn as well as the adjective ‘little’ modifies ‘war’ to a lesser battle and yet a child is dead.

Another headline of a subsidiary article of note is situated beneath the photo of Prince of Wales Regiment:

### **400 troops bring peace to devastated Bogside**

As mentioned previously, ‘troops’ is an unknown quantity of military personnel, hence adding ‘400’ furthers obscures the number of soldiers that entered the Bogside. Since four hundred is quite the large number it is fair to assume the troops were a small army or occupational force. The social actors of the headline are the collective troops, which the goal was to establish peace. It implicitly claims that the help of the British was sorely needed to establish peace to the ravaged Bogside. However, the first sentence of the article ‘Four hundred troops of the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion. The Prince of Wales’s Own Regiment of Yorkshire occupied the centre of Londonderry (...)’, paints a different picture than its headline. The headline states ‘bring peace’ whilst the article uses ‘occupied’. The different wording causes a disconnect between the headline and the article. At first glance the troops and their arrival, is wanted and necessary, whilst the article disrupts the view as it is describing it as an occupational force.

### **Discussion**

First and foremost, the three newspapers circulating in Northern Ireland have each their take on the deployment by use of their banners. *The Belfast Telegraph* and *The News Letter* have both opted for a much larger type running across the page as well as their initial message corresponds with each other, whereas *The Irish News* has a more muted banner as well as being verbose compared to its counterparts. The more concise, clear and specific the banner or headlines are the easier they are to remember and recall, which is why the use of material verbs is preferred. Moreover, the synchronicity offered by *The Belfast Telegraph* and *The*

*News Letter* banners reinforces the information given and adds on to it as they essentially give the same piece of information albeit differently. All three of the Northern Irish papers have heading kickers for their banners. *The Belfast Telegraph*, as mentioned previously, reinforces the information the banner is conveying. *The News Letter*'s heading kicker is, in essence, doing the same as it is more of a teaser to the main event, the banner.

*The Irish News*, however, distinguishes itself once more from the two other papers as its heading kicker is connecting memories from the past to the deployment. It is linking the past with the present with the intent of cementing the perceptions it is presenting. The recalling of the partition of Ireland into the new nation Northern Ireland is a part of the collective memory of the citizens of Northern Ireland. By doing so, *The Irish News* is constructing perceptions of the nation and its story which in turn builds a foundation for identity (Hall, cited in De Cillia et al. 1999). The memories being recalled also reach back to the country's beginning, supporting and cementing the notion of national identity (Kolakowski, cited in De Cillia et al. 1999). The use of repetition with the use of the banners heading kicker and the kicker following the headlines is also bolstering the national image the newspaper is constructing.

The two photos used on the front page of *The Belfast Telegraph* are highlighting a family identity and values which are familiar to most members of a society. Furthermore, they are important for any society as they are one of the cornerstones of societal values because that is the framework for how members of the society act outside the home. This is because one's firm sense of identity is commonly anchored in close interpersonal relationships, such as family (Hogg 2019). Therefore, the use of these images is intrinsic for the front page and the national discourse. These photos symbolise the event and the loss Northern Ireland itself faced due to the riots. There are no word to describe a parent's loss for a child. There are words for children losing their parents, orphan, or partners losing their spouse, widow or widower, but there is nothing that encompasses the grief for a parent that has lost a child. The child is on top of that a good Christian child, albeit Catholic even though it is not explicitly stated, which mainly alludes to strong Christian values. Religion is an important identifier when it comes to the identities, especially the national ones, at play in Northern Ireland and *The Belfast Telegraph* is the only one of the newspapers in question presenting the outgroup in a positive light.

*The Irish News*' two photos are about the motion, the insertion and removal of a powerful presence. It is about the perseverance of the nation's citizens. Both images create a discourse of them versus us. The observer of the photographs is placed in a position of a bystander

seeing one force enter and one force leave, which was hated, giving time to compare and contrast the intended purposes of the photos. Even though this is never explicitly mentioned, the way the image and the captions interact and how they, in turn, make the viewer interact is ideologically squaring. The quote ‘They cheered because the hated R.U.C. had withdrawn’ (See Appendix: A: Figure 2) from the paper also supports the ideological squaring. This discourse is also furthered by the subhead ‘*Protestant extremists rampage (...)*’ (See Appendix A: Figure 2) which is given certain characteristics to a group that is not their own. This is important for national discourse because the development of national identities largely relies on the defining boundaries of us versus them (van Hattum 2014, 107).

To be able to define the boundaries of us versus them, there is a need for comparison. Professor of social psychology Michael A. Hogg explains the phenomenon of comparison:

People compare themselves with fellow group members, they compare themselves with people in other groups, and they compare their own group with other groups. From these comparisons emerge group norms, group structure, and intergroup relations, which in turn provide the framework for group-based social comparisons (Hogg, Social Identity and Social Comparison 2000, 401).

Hence, it is intrinsic to the creation of national identity as well as the national discourse to be able to compare and contrast between Groups. It is the basis of how we define ourselves and then the entirety of the group, therefore us versus them is invaluable to the national discourse.

While *The Irish News*’ photo has placed the viewer as a relatively neutral bystander *The News Letter* has situated the observer behind and close to the backs of the soldiers. As one is now one of the soldiers and the photo is showing a stand-off between ‘rioters’ and ‘soldiers’ with the divisive factor of a barricade in between, is as well creating a discourse of us versus them. The caption is as well giving each side its identifier ‘Rioters from the Bogside come face to face with men of the Prince of Wales’ Regiment (...)’ (See Appendix A: Figure 3), solidifying the us versus them discourse.

In the primary article’s kicker of *The Belfast Telegraph* front page advances the us versus them discourse with the explanation of the social actors. The British Army is characterised as law-abiding, righteous and in favour of maintaining the status quo, whilst the others encourage lawlessness, violence and the uprooting of the status quo. The article and kicker have also been written by several reporters from the newspaper which creates an illusion that several people are in accord and in favour of the British Army’s involvement. It creates a

larger group of people expressing consensus, which in turn becomes easier to believe in as the truth. Moreover, the consensus gives the wording ‘ARMED BRITISH’ (See Appendix A: Figure 1) a positive undertone as it is the favourable as they are portrayed as our group and the ‘rioters’ as the other group. *The News Letter* is more clear-cut when it comes to who is us and who is them in the us versus them discourse. The banner’s kicker is creating structural opposition as those who fired at the police broke the truce (See Appendix A: Figure 3). Just like *The Belfast Telegraph* siding us with the British Army *The News Letter* is defining us as on the side of the police, which essentially is both on the same side.

A significant cultural difference on the Northern Irish newspapers’ front pages occurs in the language that is deeply rooted with identifiers of places or people of Northern Ireland. Regarding the national discourse, ‘The common interest within a nation and the shared way of speaking tend to create a cultural unity, a national identity’ (Joseph 2010, as cited in van Hattum 2014). *The Belfast Telegraph* has not deployed any of the loaded words or expressions in the parts of the front page covered and kept itself neutral with its words when it comes to explicit identifiers, same with *The Irish News*. *The News Letter*, on the other hand, has used quite a few, such as ‘Ulster’, ‘Roman Catholic’ ‘Derry’ and ‘Londonderry’ in its headlines and kickers (See Appendix A: Figure 3). As mentioned previously, ‘Ulster’ was appropriated by unionists to refer to the drawn-up boundaries ensuring Protestant majority, ‘Roman Catholic’ is an old religious slur, ‘Londonderry’ is the preferred name of the city for unionist and protestants and the way ‘Derry’ was used squared Irish nationalist as them, not us, hence the words are all deeply established cultural identifiers.

*The Irish Times* have distanced themselves from the entire situation of the deployment of the British troops with the photo chosen on the front page (See Appendix A: Figure 4). It portrays no emotional investment and distance, in itself creating us versus them discourse. Furthermore, its banner says ‘NORTHERN’ (See Appendix A: Figure 4) instead of Northern Ireland, implying the altercation happened in the north of Ireland. Consciously or not, *The Irish Times* is undermining the legitimacy of Northern Ireland as a nation by not recognising it in its banner. Even though *The Irish Times* does specify ‘Northern Ireland’ later in the tertiary headline’s kicker, it is overshadowed by the banner.

The tertiary headline’s use of ‘DERRY’ is a defining word, often used as an example of a ‘shibboleth’, a word or phrase used to distinguish groups of people from each other (The Oxford Companion to the English Language 2018). It is used for sharing cultural unity and identity as it is the preferred name for the city and county, alluding to the Irish language and

heritage. Additionally, the kicker of the tertiary headline is also the one with the most use of negative words, 'RAGED', 'KILLED' and 'FIERCE' which is directly connected to Northern Ireland and that is creating negative sentiments towards those in Northern Ireland. However, it does not encompass the people residing in the Bogside area (See Appendix A: Figure 4). The Bogside area is predominantly Catholic and nationalist which upholds the national identity *The Irish Times* inhabits, the Irish identity.

*The Times*, however, is putting its readers straight into the situation with the photo and following banners and headline articles. The photo is a statement to and for British identity as it is one of pride. The soldiers are all aligned neatly in the photo and the soldier centred is showcasing alertness and the uniform of the military, which is an institution created to protect the nation. Furthermore, it gives characteristics to their own group possessing the ability to keep law and order and doing so properly in a ravaged area. In addition, the headline of the subsidiary article placed directly under the photo is stating the troops 'bring peace' which is strengthening the image of maintaining law and order and also the presence of the military being wanted. It is also pointing out the sheer force in numbers, albeit uncountable, with '400 troops' presenting power (See Appendix A: Figure 5). Moreover, the caption below the photo is including the British shared way of speaking when talking about the city in Northern Ireland, 'Londonderry'. The same occurs in the front page's banner with the use of the word 'Ulster' for describing the region, which is the British identifier for it, due to its history.

The front pages of the Northern Irish newspapers are not presenting cultural unity but rather bolstering the Irish or British national identity, in accordance with the Irish newspaper and the British newspaper. *The News Letter* deploys the shared way of speaking similar to *The Times*, hence presenting and generating a British national identity by cultural unity when it comes to language but also how they square the outsiders from themselves. Whereas *The Belfast Telegraph* is mostly on board with these two newspapers front page it appears as more inclusive and willing to present two competing national identities so as to not take a definite stand towards either. Whilst *The Irish News*, as previously mentioned, shares the same notions and some of the characteristics presented in *The Irish Times*.

### **Chapter 3: Bloody Sunday**

1972 marked the worst year of the Troubles with its death toll of almost five hundred far exceeding previous years. ‘Fourteen of those deaths occurred in Londonderry on 30 January, in what was to be remembered as one of the key events of the troubles, Bloody Sunday’ (McKittrick and McVea 2012, 88). Thirteen people were killed and another thirteen injured, one fatally, when soldiers of the Parachute Regiment and other groups opened fire following a large illegal civil rights march in Londonderry. Both the Provisional and Official IRA denied any involvement regarding the civil rights march, whilst soldiers claimed they came under intensive attack from gunmen and nail-bombers. However, residents disputed the soldiers’ account of what happened, claiming they had opened fire without justification. No soldiers were either killed or injured by gunfire or nail-bombs and no weapons were recovered by the army. What happened on this day led to even more men and youths joining paramilitary groups (McKittrick and McVea 2012).

Bloody Sunday became a turning point for the Northern Irish culture, politics and society. ‘It became a frame of reference for denoting time – the past was partitioned into that which happened ‘before Bloody Sunday’ and that which happened ‘after Bloody Sunday’ (Conway 2010, 2). The divisive discourse following in the years after the event reinforced the structural opposition between nationalists and unionists. In addition, the discourse and how the story was being told was commemorated in the Northern Irish collective memory (Conway 2010, 2-3). Therefore, it became integral for the Northern Irish collective memory and did play a key part in maintaining and strengthening the divisions between nationalists and unionists.

26 years after Bloody Friday on Friday 3<sup>rd</sup> of April 1998, Lord Saville opened the proceedings of the Bloody Sunday Inquiry, commissioned by the British Prime Minister Tony Blair. It became the longest legal proceedings in British and Irish history, and it is commonly referred to as the Saville inquiry or report. This was the second inquiry looking into the events of Bloody Sunday; however, this report was not within eleven weeks of the day and already in favour of the British point of view. It was published in June 2010 and its main findings was that all dead and wounded were innocent. The British Prime Minister at the time of the publication David Cameron had to officially apologise and declare what had happened on Bloody Sunday was unjustified and unjustifiable (Museum of Free Derry).

On Monday the 31<sup>st</sup> of January 1972 the newsprint media put Bloody Sunday into words:

### ***The Belfast Telegraph* 31<sup>st</sup> of January 1972 Front Page (Appendix B: Figure 1)**

The layout of *The Belfast Telegraph* at the end of January 1972 has not gone through any major changes since mid-August 1969. The masthead is in the same style as previously and the placement of advertisement at the ears. However, instead of having one larger advertisement in the right bottom corner, it has been shifted to the left on this front page. The front page differs from the previous with the number of articles as this one contains longer but fewer articles, therefore, it comes across as a larger body of text than the previous.

Furthermore, there is no photo on the front page of *The Belfast Telegraph* in the wake of Bloody Sunday. It is the banner that has the centre stage when it comes to priority regarding the front page.

The choice made by *The Belfast Telegraph* to not have any visualising means to display the atrocities that transpired the day before comes at a cost. When pictures accompany a text, it enhances our communication and understanding, 'Pictures are not only more effortless to recognize and process than words, but also easier to recall' (Dewan 2015). Hence, by presenting a wall of text without any images it decreases the readability of the paper. It can be argued that the lack of photos is a sign of respect and privacy and upholding some morality.

The heading kicker and banner in bold capital letters running across the front page:

**Thousands of workers down tools over the 13 killings**  
**STANDSTILL, AS DERRY MOURNS**

The focal point of the front page is the short and powerful, yet specific banner. The first word of note in the banner is the material verb 'STANDSTILL' the definition which would be the absence of movement or progression. The other is the behavioural and material verb 'MOURNS' which describes the expression of grief and sorrow. Finally, is the word 'DERRY' which as previously mentioned is the preferred nationalist way of referring to the city, however in the following kicker both Londonderry and Derry are used. According to Paul Connolly, Readers' Editor at *The Belfast Telegraph*, is that it is its policy that the first reference in an article is Londonderry and everything after that to be Derry, as well as Derry being the style for headlines. Connolly claims the reason for this is that 'This paper has always regarded itself as serving both Northern Ireland's two main communities and takes immense pride in the legitimacy of both our cultural traditions' (Connolly 2011).

The following kicker is essentially is a padded-out version of the heading kicker:



**THOUSANDS OF WORKERS on both sides of the border to-day downed tools in protest against the 13 killings in Londonderry yesterday and in Derry itself, industrial life ground to a virtual halt.**

Firstly, the notion of ‘THOUSANDS OF WORKERS’ creates a collective from the working class condemning the 13 murders. This carries some weight as the industrial sector is an important factor for Northern Ireland’s economy, before and after the partition, especially the shipbuilding and linen production. However, those powers waned after World War II, but the 1960s and 70s saw the development of suburban industrial estates (Culture Northern Ireland 2006). Hence, by grinding industrial life to a halt by downing their tools these workers send a powerful message. Furthermore, it is not just workers from Northern Ireland downing their tools in protest but also workers from the other side of the border. The social actors of the kicker are standing in unison despite the border separating them.

A subsidiary headline situated on the right side of the front page presents a statement from the Army:

#### **IRA started march trouble – Army**

The headline is accusing the Irish Republican Army (IRA) outright for the event that transpired the previous day. It has no elements of strategic ambiguity or concealment and it is stated by the Army, which is an institution designed to safeguard the state from external threats and powers. Further claimed in the article is that the army was aware of the possibility of IRA provocation: ‘An operation officer on the ground said: “We knew before Sunday that the IRA would try to disrupt the march and cause trouble if they could, and this is obviously what has happened.”’ (See Appendix B: Figure 1).

The primary article also has a voice of support regarding the Army’s claim. Assistant Chief Constable of Renfrew Scotland Mr Robert Campbell said: ‘(...) the Army did not fire until after two bursts of automatic fire had been directed at them’ (See Appendix B: Figure 1). The use of Robert Campbell’s functional honorific, his official title, gives him as a social actor gravitas and respect, as well as making him sound more authoritative. There is, however, a statement further into the primary article contesting the Army’s claims: ‘Eye witness accounts from teachers present refute utterly the blatant lies of the British Army’ (See Appendix B: Figure 1). The statement was made on behalf of the Catholic teachers going on strike as a reaction to the killings the previous night. Whereas Mr Campbell is addressed by his full title as well as individualised which signals his authoritative nature, the teachers are being collectivised in a generic group and their statement lacks substance.

Although the statement of the teachers is implemented into the primary article it appears in the middle of the second column. If one is to cast a glance over the paper, one would never notice it, but one would see the Army's statement. Furthermore, newspapers utilise the inverted pyramid when assembling their articles. The statement made by Mr Campbell appears at the very start of the article while the statement made by the teachers on appears much later, implicitly stating its importance as less crucial for the article.

### ***The Irish News* 31<sup>st</sup> of January 1972 Front Page (Appendix B: Figure 2)**

The layout of *The Irish News* has not changed in any noteworthy way since mid-August 1969. Both ears and the right bottom corner have advertisements. The masthead has the same style and font as previously. This edition of the newspaper has dedicated more of its front page to text still using the gutter space in structuring its paper, except for one article framed by black lines. The priority is given to the photo as it is causing a break from all the text, what follows is the banner and headlines framing the image.

The photo adorning the front page of *The Irish News* is symbolising what happened the previous night. It is a full-shot photo taken at eye level depicting men carrying a person, due to the grim facial expression and ambience of the photo it comes across as a funeral procession. This connotation is furthered with the banner atop and caption underneath stating: 'Derry carries away Its dead – a sight that shocked the world yesterday' (See Appendix B: Figure 2). 'Derry' has been personified in the caption as a living entity with the capability of transporting those who passed away. It produces an image of an entire city taking action for those who fell yesterday that had such significance that it shocked the world. By personifying 'Derry' it forges a deeper connection with the reader, and it conveys a specific image easily attained by the reader as well.

The banner running across the front page of *The Irish News*:

### **13 DIE IN DERRY'S 'BLOODY SUNDAY'**

*The Irish News* is the only instance of the newspapers considered, that refers to the previous day as Bloody Sunday. Today, people are familiar with the phrase 'Bloody Sunday' and have specific connotations linked to it depending on their knowledge surrounding it. However, this is not the first 'Bloody Sunday' in Irish history. Bloody Sunday has occurred on multiple occasions such as in London 1887, in Dublin 1913 and in 1920. The 1887 Bloody Sunday was a protest about unemployment and coercion in Ireland which ended in violent clashes between the protestors and the British Army and police (Cannon and Crowcroft 2002, 106). In 1913 it

was clashes between strikers and the police which violence peaked in the August riot (Whelehan 2013). Bloody Sunday 1920 was that British forces fired into a crowd of spectators at a Gaelic football match, killing twelve people and injuring sixty. The shooting was done in retaliation for the nineteen men shot in the morning because they were suspected of being British spies (Whelehan 2013). All of the Bloody Sunday's draws parallels to 'the unsavoury side of the British involvement in Irish colonial and imperial history and of state repression (...)' (Conway 2010, 2).

The banner works well as it is eye-catching, short and concise. It is being specific in how many lost their lives by incorporating the number 13, followed by the name of the city 'DERRY'S' with an -s at the end showing it is an owner or a member of something, in this case, the following phrase 'BLOODY SUNDAY'. The phrase 'BLOODY SUNDAY' works especially well as it easily draws a picture on what happened with strong historical connotations. 'BLOODY' brings images of gore and violence and it is immediately linked to the day before as well as how many perished. By naming the massacre it is symbolising and creating emotional ties to it as well as drawing upon the collective memory of members of the society.

The headline of the primary article right below the banner, situated right next to the photo:

### **Army open fire into crowd – Witnesses**

Contrary to *The Belfast Telegraph*, *The Irish News* is giving 'the opposition' to the Army centre stage. The statement is turning the Army into the perpetrators and the instigators of 'BLOODY SUNDAY. It is short and concise, containing a material verb, and is the essence of what multiple witnesses are claiming. A problem with collectivisation is it becomes a generic group with no particular authority, and it does not hold anyone accountable for the statement.

No one is held accountable for the headline statement when it is being made by a generic group, however, past the kicker, Bernadette Devlin is quoted declaring: "It was mass murder by the British Army. This was our Sharpeville." (See Appendix B: Figure 2). This is one of the more clear-cut ideological squaring as it is addressing the classical them versus us with the use of 'our'. The statement made by Devlin is to create the divide between the outsiders and us as her statement contains no concealment, softening of language, or ambiguity. It is, without doubt, stating the British Army are solely responsible for the massacre, and thus not one of us.

A presupposition made is that the readers will be aware of Miss Devlin's political engagement and that she is a Member of Parliament for Mid Ulster, since in the article she is referred to as 'Miss Bernadette Devlin, who dived for cover as she stood on the back of a lorry at the meeting (...)' (See Appendix B: Figure 2), and not an MP. In this instance she becomes one of those who observed and got hands-on experience regarding 'BLOODY SUNDAY', giving her statement a greater weight.

The subsidiary article's headline located to the right of the photo:

*Reactions to mass Derry killings*

IMPARTIAL INQUIRY DEMANDED

The headline is situated closely to the banner that it sits right below 'BLOODY SUNDAY', which then underlines what requires an inquiry. Furthermore, 'IMPARTIAL' connotes that there is no foundation of trust as there is a need for an independent investigation. It is also being 'DEMANDED' which is a command being issued, furthering the distrust between the two sides. Additionally, the kicker following the headline begins with, 'The mass killing by paratroopers of Civil Rights demonstrators in Derry (...)' (See Appendix B: Figure 2). The word 'paratroopers' is not a necessarily negative loaded word as it alludes to people in a military occupation. However, here it is connected to 'mass killing' whilst the other side is being addressed as 'Civil Rights demonstrators' which connotes ideas of freedom fighters with a just cause. The social actors are so askew the squaring between us and them becomes overly stated by the emotive language deployed.

One of the reactions presented at the end of the article is by Ivan Cooper, referred to as Mr Cooper, "I want to state emphatically that the Army were not fired on by anyone at this stage. It was completely premeditated murder." (See Appendix B: Figure 2). This is another presupposition, which is that people are aware that Ivan Cooper is the co-founder of the Social Democratic Labour Party in Northern Ireland and thus possesses some inherent authority and ethos. Furthermore, 'not fired on' is added as a subhead in cursive above the small paragraph containing his statement which is the reason it is noticeable. The statement made by Ivan Cooper is another instance of political figures speaking out decisively against the British Army, bolstering the ideological squaring.

One of the subsidiary headlines on the front page:

**It was a massacre, says Derry priest**

Another statement turned into a headline; this time by a man of the cloth. The social actor is given a title and being linked to ‘Derry’ highlighting his identity and assumed ideology. The priest is furthered personalised in the article as Father Denis Bradley, by doing this brings the reader closer to the person in question. A ‘massacre’ is an extremely negative loaded word with synonyms like carnage and annihilation, adding on connotations to the banner ‘BLOODY SUNDAY’. Moreover, it is being said by a Catholic priest and Northern Ireland is a fairly religious country giving his statements added gravitas. He is also advancing the ideological squaring as well as undermining other narratives as he adds the statement: “I saw no one shooting at troops – if anybody had been I would have seen it. I only saw the army shooting.”” (See Appendix B: Figure 2).

### ***The News Letter* 31<sup>st</sup> of January 1972 Front Page (Appendix B: Figure 3)**

Like the other papers, *The News Letter* has not been through any particular changes since mid-August 1969 when it comes to its layout. The masthead uses the same style and size and advertisements in all of its corners. The two things of note in its layout are firstly that it not only uses gutter space in structuring its articles as some articles in this edition has been framed using black lines. The other thing of note is the photo used on the front page is extremely similar to the one used on the front page of 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1969 (See Appendix A: Figure 3). *The News Letter* front page has given priority to the last part of the banner and the photo, and then the rest of the front page.

The image is a wide shot which is often used to establish the scene and place the subjects within the scenery. It is also taken at eye level which is suitable for observation. The scene depicted is the soldiers are standing behind an armoured vehicle and there is a cluster of people in front in poses of throwing or agitation. Furthermore, as the observer is placed behind the soldiers it ideologically squares the observer and soldiers from the protestors. It is reminiscent of a standoff where it is soldiers versus civilians, however if that was the case, one is inclined to align themselves emotionally with the civilians. Therefore, the caption used by *The News Letter* is framing their specific narrative by the accompanying caption: ‘Soldiers taking cover behind an armoured vehicle as they were attacked by the stone-throwing mob in Londonderry yesterday.’ (See Appendix B: Figure 3). The narrative is told with the image and caption is that the soldiers are being attacked and thus must defend themselves.

The banner of the front page:

**Derry march ends with 13 DEAD**

What immediately grabs one's attention is the larger and bold font of '13 DEAD', which becomes the focal point of the banner. Even though *The News Letter* is utilising 'Derry' instead of Londonderry, since it is linked with 'march' it is morphed into a specific thing and not a name for a location. 'Derry' also has the compositional advantage of brevity, giving the banner more of an impact. There are a cause and effect parallel made with this banner as what is seen as the start of Troubles since it was due to a march located in the same part of the country.

The largest type kicker following the banner:

Thirteen people died in Londonderry yesterday – the city's bloodiest day of violence since October, 1968.

The kicker is supplementing information to the banner and is also creating a link between another horrible event which happened only four years ago. It is presupposed that readers of the newspaper are aware of what happened to the previous civil rights march in Derry on this day. The march in 1968 was organised by a left-wing group with the intention of provoking the authorities into a confrontation. It worked as the R.U.C. broke up the march by baton-charging the protestors leaving several people injured and led to two days of rioting between the Catholic population and the R.U.C. (McKittrick and McVea 2012, 47-48). In addition, here *The News Letter* is referring to the city and not to a specific event as 'Londonderry' highlighting a preferred unionist stance.

The smaller type kicker succeeding the previous kicker:

They were shot when what began as a peaceful – though illegal – civil rights march erupted into the worst violence ever seen on the streets of the city.

What is the most striking with the sentence is the two words separated from the rest of the sentence with the use of hyphens stating, 'though illegal'. It is creating dissonance visually as it is placed between the words 'peaceful' and 'civil rights march' as well as 'illegal' means something prohibited and against the law. *The News Letter* choice to add 'though illegal' is coming across as quite cold and with a lack of empathy for what happened at the march. Furthermore, the entirety of the sentence is generating dissonance. The social actors 'peaceful civil rights marchers' yet participating in something 'illegal' was being shot at, and the entire march turned into 'the worst violence ever seen'. It also brings forth the question of agency, or lack thereof. There is no one being held accountable for the action.

One of the subsidiary articles headline framed by the black lines:

#### DECISION ON MARCHES RIGHT-PM

It appears to be a summarisation of what the Prime Minister's opinion on the marches and their legality, although it does not present as coherent and concise. The beginning of the article launches directly into a statement made by the PM: "To-day we have seen riot and death on the streets of Londonderry, a city in which perhaps more than in any other area, the IRA has sought to impose its will' (See Appendix B: Figure 3). The Prime Minister is deploying hedging to create some strategic ambiguity in his statement regarding who is to blame. Subtly shifting the blame towards the IRA which is in opposition to the Unionist government is highlighting the narrative which is favourable as well as showcasing the ideology of the newspaper.

#### ***The Irish Times* 31<sup>st</sup> of January 1972 Front Page (Appendix B: Figure 4)**

*The Irish Times* layout is the same regarding its most essential features. The masthead has not changed nor has its placement of banners and hierarchy of subheads following. The exception with this front page is with the photos as it has chosen to include three of different size on this front page. They are given the most priority, on par with the banner, and are arranged from the upper-right descending to the lower left side. While the subsidiary articles are placed around the upper image.

The first and largest photo is a high angled shot. High angled photos make the observer look down at a subject and commonly have the effect of making the subject seem small, frightened or powerless. The subject of the photo is a person being obscured by a blanket laying on the asphalt, except for the person's hand and feet sticking out from underneath. Additionally, the subject's shoes seem to have been taken off and are placed in front of the feet protruding from the blanket. *The Irish Times* is also the only one of the newspapers analysed featuring death so openly. It is also forcing the observer to be a witness to death and concretising it. The caption below the photo: 'A body in a Bogside street, one of the 13 men shot dead by British troops yesterday.' It is evident by the caption that those who caused this photo to become a grim reality were the British Army, and there should be no question about it.

The second and the smallest photo is a headshot of a man in uniform. Close-up images taken at eye level come across as professional and are used for important occasions. Furthermore, the subject is wearing a uniform which is associated with the police or army. This furthers the aura of professionalism but also makes the subject less approachable as the gaze is not

directed at the observer. Notably, since the subject gaze is off-frame it gives the observer the time needed to discern the emotional state of the subject without having to respond. The caption accompanying the photo gives the social actor his title as well as parts of his statement: ‘Major-General Robert Ford...gunmen fired first...’. By presenting the social actor with his honorific is giving him some authority and affiliation, however, adding ellipses before and after the statement is giving it airs of uncertainty. Ellipses are also used in writing to omit details that have less importance than what is left.

The third photo is a wide shot at a slightly high angle as if the observer is standing on top of something or is placed a bit further up a hill than the subjects photographed. The scene set in the image is an urban area with assorted houses along the street in the background whilst the foreground contains a cluster of people by a blockade. The caption beneath reads: ‘Part of the crowd manning a barricade during yesterday’s anti-internment march in Derry, ducking as the first shots were fired at Rossville street flats. A few seconds later one of these people was dead. – (Photograph: Ciaran Donnelly)’. Firstly, the caption is giving the photo motion and a narrative for the poses the people are in. Secondly, it is being quite specific when it comes to location within ‘Derry’ as well as presenting their stand on the city’s name. Finally, the last sentence of the caption is freezing the photo in time and space where everyone was alive before the murders happened. It leaves it open that anyone could have been killed, which displays indiscriminate murder.

The banner all in large type and bold letters:

### **SOLDIERS KILL 13 IN BOGSIDE**

*The Irish Times* banner is the one with the strongest accusatory tone in a concise and coherent manner. The ‘SOLDIERS’ are the social actors that are physically responsible for the action ‘KILL’ that results in the goal ‘13 IN BOGSIDE’. The material verb ‘KILL’ leaves little to the imagination or connotation to other possible scenarios and actions made by the ‘SOLDIERS’. Even though the ‘SOLDIERS’ have not been connected to any nationality, however, ‘IN BOGSIDE’ links it to British and as an occupational force. It is also being conveyed as an unsolicited act by the British against innocent people of the Bogside.

The subheads following the banner:

### **Taoiseach to hold Cabinet meeting this morning KILLINGS WIDELY CONDEMNED**



What the headline is primarily telling us is that as a reaction to what transpired in Northern Ireland the day before, the Irish PM, Taoiseach, assembled his Cabinet for a meeting, because the murders are being ‘WIDELY CONDEMNED’. Further down the article, it is also stated that the Taoiseach had been in contact with the British PM and due to his response chose to hold a meeting with his Cabinet. This is, however, telling the reader the meeting was not only a reaction to the killings but also a reaction to the response of the British.

Placed to the left of the central image, focusing the viewer’s gaze on the covered-up body reads the subsidiary article headline to the left:

**Army commander describes shooting as defence action**

The functionalisation of the social actor as ‘Army commander’ makes us evaluate the social actor differently as the actor is only highlighted by its role. The role highlighted is being an officer with command over army units, giving the social actor authority and legitimacy regarding the statement made. The statement made is one of defence, however, how one reads it is being coloured by the banner as the reader has just been told the soldiers murdered people in the Bogside, accompanied with visual proof. Furthermore, accompanying this headline and article is the headshot of the ‘Army commander’ in question, which made the statement sound even more uncertain.

To the right of the central image and placed under the end of the banner, reads a subsidiary article headline:

**Faulkner blames I.R.A. and C.R.**

The placement of the headline is pushed so far to the right that the social actor ‘Faulkner’ is not given any honorific of any degree or full name. ‘Faulkner’ is referring to the Stormont Prime Minister Brian Faulkner. However, since it is not presented as such it is removing some of the inherent authoritative weight it would normally give a statement. The use of the material verb ‘blames’ is to place the responsibility onto someone or something. However, the verb in itself sounds informal and not befitting of the situation. The accused are the ‘I.R.A.’ and the ‘C.R.’; the IRA and the Stormont Government has always been at odds, but Faulkner is also putting the fault on to the civil rights organisers.

***The Times* 31<sup>st</sup> of January 1972 Front Page (Appendix B: Figure 5)**

The layout of *The Times* has not changed in noteworthy respects since the 1969 mid-August edition. All the advertisement, imprint and headlines are in places one expects them to be.

However, more of the gutter space have been utilised to structure it than before. In addition, all the articles on Northern Ireland have been placed within black lines framing it. The front page also has two photographs dedicated to the Northern Ireland articles, where the one placed on the top and given more priority than the one below. The first photo is also reminiscent of the photo used in *The News Letter* (See Appendix B: Figure 3). The largest photo is given the highest priority when it comes to the front page, rest comes second.

The first image is a full shot taken at eye level. In the foreground, soldiers are hiding behind the doors of their armoured vehicles whilst a group of people in front seem to be in retreat as most of their backs are facing the photo. Once again, the observer is placed behind the soldiers connoting ideas of being one of the soldiers or huddled behind the soldiers for 'safety'. The caption below reads: 'Troops in Londonderry taking cover behind armoured cars as they come under fire while dispersing demonstrators with CS gas'. The social actors in the photo are protecting themselves with the use of their armoured vehicles because they were being shot at, whereas the other social actors are scattering due to the use of chemical gas. CS gas or to put into layman's terms tear gas, is a riot control agent with compounds 'that temporarily make people unable to function by causing irritation to the eyes, mouth, throat, lungs, and skin' (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) 2018). *The Times* choice to use the word 'CS gas' instead of 'tear gas' is interesting as most people would be more familiar with the latter term and have a specific and less violent image. 'CS gas', on the other hand, has an air of mystery and eerie undertones as well as alluding to chemical warfare.

The photo at the bottom is a wide shot taken at eye level. It is depicting a line of people with their hands up behind their head, being herded off-frame by soldiers. The photograph's representational strategy concerning the social actors in it is quite simple, criminal and police, illegal and legal, right and wrong. It is also a show of power and the strength of law put on display for all to witness. The caption accompanying the photograph is also enforcing the notion of power and the strength of the law: 'Dozens of civilians with their hands on their heads are marched away by soldiers in Londonderry' (See Appendix B: Figure 5).

The banner of the front page:

### **13 civilians are killed as soldiers storm the Bogside**

A striking feature with the banner is how wordy it presents itself when compared to the banners of the other front pages. Hedging has been applied to soften the impact as well as to create distance from the statement made, to reduce possible unwelcome responses. The use of

‘as’ as a conjunction is to link a result with a cause, therefore the banner appears to be quite informative, even though it is creating ambiguity. It is stating that the loss of lives was a result of the attack of the area, however, it is not stating they were killed by said soldiers. Firstly, the social actors ‘civilians’ and ‘soldiers’ are opposites as ‘civilians’ are non-combatants and members of the public, whilst ‘soldiers’ are combatants and protectors of the public. It is by definition, giving the social actors different levels of authority and roles in society. Also, ‘civilians’ are connected to the material verb ‘killed’, and ‘soldiers’ are linked to the material verb ‘storm’, which is a sudden attack and capture of, in this case, an area. However, pairing ‘civilians’ with ‘killed’ will elicit a strong response from many readers since the killing of the civilians is associated with war crimes.

The article headline following the banner’s article:

### **March ends in shooting**

It is a supplementary headline for the banner atop. The way the headline is phrased, contrary to the banner, is presenting a cause and its result, which makes it short, concise and clear. The articles opening paragraph is also giving a reason for the result and the banner: ‘More than 200 heavily armed parachutists this afternoon stormed into the IRA stronghold of Bogside, Londonderry (...)’ (See Appendix B: Figure 5). The social actors are squared off to be identified as natural enemies, the ‘armed parachutists’ versus those at ‘the IRA stronghold’.

Below the main photograph and its caption is the subsidiary article headline:

### **IRA told: ‘Shoot as many troops as possible’**

The headline appears as a ‘red herring’, as it is misleading and distracting in its placement and meaning when it is seen in relation to the other headlines. It is instantly creating a connection to the banner and the headline beneath it because it is about harming ‘as many soldiers as possible’. The connection one is led to make and believe is that it was due to the intent of the IRA that the soldiers advanced on the Bogside. Further reading reveals the statement was made earlier this morning as a reaction to the killing of the ‘13 civilians’ and was not a factor regarding the shooting. However, if one has only picked up the points of interest on the front page the perceived notion and reality is different.

The subsidiary headline placed to the left of the picture in the right corner within the black lines of the front page:

### **Faulkner attack on protest organizers**

The social actor 'Faulkner', PM of Northern Ireland, is accusing the organisers of the march of being responsible for how it resulted. This is because the material verb 'attack' being used is referring to an instance of harsh criticism directed towards something or someone, in this case, the 'protest organizers'. At the end of the headline's accompanying article, is a piece of Faulkner issued statement containing his criticism of the 'protest organizers':

'(...) Those who organized this march must bear a terrible responsibility for having urged people to lawlessness and for having provided the IRA with the opportunity of again bringing death to our streets' (See Appendix B: Figure 5)

The first thing Faulkner is doing is to create structural opposition with the use of 'Those', distancing himself from them. Faulkner also bolsters the structural opposition with the use of 'our streets', distancing himself from 'Those' and creating a 'we'. Next, is the use of the modal verb 'must', expressing necessity and opinion of something logical and likely, with the following 'bear a terrible responsibility'. The social actors 'Those' are responsible for encouraging people to break the law and give an oppositional force to the government the possibility of 'bringing death to our streets'. The use of the metaphor 'bringing death to our streets' generates vivid imagery and conceptualises a painful and difficult occasion such as death.

## **Discussion**

When it comes to the media coverage on the day, that we today know as 'Bloody Sunday', it is *The Belfast Telegraph* that separates itself from its competitors, for better and worse. Firstly, its banner does not bear the same resemblance as the others which makes it interesting. It is focusing our attention on the notions of sympathy and the process of grief and reaction to it. Whereas the other banners are echoes of each other including the death count '13' and location and the main focus is on who is accountable. *The Belfast Telegraph* also uses 'DERRY' in its headline which was due to policy to include both national communities. Another thing of note *The Belfast Telegraph* is doing is to include the industrial pride and significance when it is halted and the possible effects it can have on the country's economy, signalling the people's importance. This is creating a story to tell about oneself about who one is as a person and community which is important for the national identity (Fukuyama 2018), which in turn is important for the national discourse.

Secondly, *The Belfast Telegraph* decided not to implement any photograph on its front page. According to Professor of Media and Communication Simon Cottle, it is not automatically the

case that images of the death or conflict will produce anti-sentiments towards conflict, tragedy and death. However, he also acknowledges that images of death and tragedy are necessary and useful because they are ‘potentially bearing witness to the suffering frequently caused in our name and which should never be rendered invisible on moral grounds of civility, taste or decency’ (Cottle 2006, 99). *The Belfast Telegraph* has rendered the suffering invisible as well as making it harder to recall, recognise and process, due to the lack of pictures. It is taking something crucial away from the story as we humans are more receptive to communication using a varied combination of words and images, hence it is inhibiting the national identity process and obscuring the national discourse.

The other newspapers, however, have all used photographs on the front pages. *The Irish News* photo with its caption creates a discourse of unity and perseverance in the face of adversity. The photo is focusing on the people ‘us’ and the caption personified a city in the process of transporting its dead (See Appendix B: Figure 2). The discourse made is integral for the national discourse as unity is important for the national identity, but so is the feeling of belonging to a ‘home’ and the personification of ‘Derry’ is doing just that. *The Irish Times* has created a narrative with the use of three distinct images in the following order: death, British Major-General and a panicked crowd (See Appendix B: Figure 4). What *The Irish Times* is doing is establishing a loss and then alludes to a British officer and panic, visually establishing the enemy or them, opposite from us. *The News Letter* and *The Times* use of pictures bears an uncanny resemblance (See Appendix B: Figure 3 & 5) and is rather focusing on the British soldiers and the need to protect themselves as they were under attack, creating a different us than the previous papers.

*The Irish News* bestows the name ‘BLOODY SUNDAY’ (See Appendix B: Figure 2) onto the events that took place the previous day and that naturally shapes our understanding of the event. A specific name solidifies one’s physical attachment in the social world and how one should interact with it. It becomes an important aspect of identity and cultural identifier. The name is being realised in the immediate aftermath of the killings cementing the feelings and perceptions of it. Since the name is short and specific and easily understood it is conceptualising a horrific event. The term Bloody Sunday has been repurposed by the paper to encapsulate the event on the 30<sup>th</sup> of January 1972, however since Bloody Sunday is such a historically rich formulation it strongly draws upon the collective memory of the Irish. Once more *The Irish News* constructs perceptions and cementing the notions of the nation and its story which is fundamental for the national identity. It uses the collective memory to its

advantage by reinforcing Irish identity as the national discourse as well as the recall will ideologically square the Irish as us with the British identity as them. In addition, Northern Ireland is in the middle of an event with such impact it later would be memorialised as a day of national importance.

All the media coverage of Bloody Sunday has a strong ideological squaring, which promotes the us versus them discourse. *The Irish Times* and *The Irish News* are advocating the same us versus them discourse strongly implicating the British as them. *The News Letter* and *The Times*, on the other hand, are presenting the British identity as us and does so with the use of natural enemies, the British Army and the IRA. Lastly, *The Belfast Telegraph* attempts to strengthen its efforts on unity and grief is overshadowed when it gives the British Army an article dedicated to their perspective.

*The Irish News* is showcasing the us versus them discourse with its witness accounts. First, there is the headline summarising that several witnesses claim the same that it was the Army who opened fire. Then it moves on to featuring prominent persons in political office, Devlin and Cooper, and a priest, Father Bradley, making the same statements with clear structural opposition where the Army is them and the ‘Civil Rights Demonstrators’ are us (See Appendix B: Figure 2). Their statements carry weight in the community as their inherent position in the society is in two key features of national discourse. Whereas *The Irish News* uses witness accounts, *The Irish Times* is serving judgement. There is no question from its banner and general tone who is to blame, and the British are merely trying to obscure their own blame and excuse it. The article about the Army claiming it was a defensive action and the article about Faulkner blaming both the IRA and the Civil Rights organisers both bolster the story that the British are excusing what happened.

*The News Letter* banner and following kickers and article are working in tandem to shift the perspective on the shooting. The first kicker is recalling the event happening four years earlier where another march ended in tragedy as a left-wing group wished to egg on the authorities. The following kicker is pointing out that this march was also illegal (See Appendix B: Figure 3), creating a parallel between the two. Even though the recalling is only a few years back it is still a story within the collective memory of the nation, and thus a strong resonating image. The article is refraining from using the material verb ‘blame’ like the others but rather ‘decision’ making it more formal and neutral sounding and within the article implies that the IRA is at fault: ‘(...) the IRA has sought to impose its will’ (See Appendix B: Figure 3). *The*

*News Letter* is constantly framing us as law-abiding citizens being protected by the soldiers and them as lawless and, in this instance, connected to the IRA.

*The Times* is in part doing the same as *The News Letter* with trying to shift the perspective on the killings but is doing so by creating strategic ambiguity and blaming the IRA. The front pages have framed the killings as a result after clashes between the IRA and the Army. The article headline containing the statement of the IRA's intent of killing as many soldiers as possible was later in the text explained to be a reaction to the previous day and not a reason for it. *The Times* has also its take on Faulkner's perspective on marches squaring the group of civil rights protestors for giving IRA a chance to hurt people and himself and his group.

A reason for using IRA as them and the Army as us in the discourse by *The News Letter* and *The Times* is due to their natural aversion to each other. The IRA's militancy was centred around three beliefs:

(...) complete rejection of British sovereignty over Northern Ireland; a refusal to engage meaningfully with existing political institutions for fear of granting legitimacy to the Northern Irish political unit; and a belief in the use of violence to achieve their goal of a united Ireland (Whiting 2016, 294)

However, for some, the commitment to violence was about defending Catholics against a British state they regarded as aggressive rather than fighting for Ireland's unification (Whiting 2016, 294). Whereas the British were there on behalf of the political unit, showing British sovereignty of Northern Ireland.

What all the newspapers are showing is ever-growing tension and lack of one unifying national identity, because of the different national discourses on the front pages. By having two national discourses of us and them in conflict, being spread in newsprint media strengthens the notion there is no national identity keeping them together. National identity is made up of the stories people tell about themselves: where they came from, what they celebrate, their shared historical memories, and their expectations about what it takes to become a genuine member of the community (Fukuyama 2018). Furthermore, newspapers expose people to 'people like me', those who share the same values and shared beliefs (Hogg 2019), but in this case, it is causing larger rifts between the members of the society as the stories being told about them are always in opposition.

## Chapter 4: Conclusion

The power of the newsprint media, especially its front pages, lies in its coverage, influencing what we think about. It has a massive arsenal when it comes to how to influence us and how to present national discourse without doing so explicitly. One of its greatest weapons is ideological squaring, where the newspaper does not tell us outright which side to take but by employing specific words and images persuading us taking their side. The front pages about the deployment of the British Army and Bloody Sunday have excessive use of ideological squaring regarding us and them, however, they are advocating the two opposing identities that have been in conflict since the beginning of Northern Ireland.

The crux of the problem in Northern Ireland revolves around the lack of one national identity. Ireland's partition was due to irreconcilable beliefs grounded in the notion of identity. Contrary to other countries, Northern Ireland is a young country, and therefore its collective memory is as well. The member of its society cannot draw upon it in most instances except recent political events and wars. It has not accumulated experiences rooted in literary, scientific and artistic work, hence there are fewer sources of national pride. Whereas Irish national identity and British national identity have accumulated sources increasing national pride and identity throughout centuries.

The Northern Irish papers have strong parallels to the Irish and British newspapers used in the thesis based on which discourse they have chosen to promote. It can particularly be seen in the papers use of the cultural identifiers Derry and Londonderry. There are also words such as Roman Catholic and Ulster, but they do not appear as frequently as the names for the city and county in Northern Ireland.

The deployment enhanced the voice of those who advocated the British identity and it was reflected in the national discourse. There is a great deal of media synchronicity between the papers regarding the deployment as the attitudes are mostly positive in note. *The Belfast Telegraph* separates itself with a greater deal of inclusivity for both identities whilst *The Irish News* and *The Irish Times* are presenting the positive attitudes towards the British but still brings forth notions of dissonance regarding it. *The News Letter* and *The Times* rather focuses on the greatness of the British and characteristics of power and stability.

Bloody Sunday, on the other hand, put significant cracks in the discourse advocating for the British identity and turned in favour of the Irish identity discourse. It can especially be seen in *The Irish News* being strongly in favour of the Irish identity based on its discourse and has a



strong resemblance to the attitudes presented in *The Irish Times*. The same phenomenon appears with *The News Letter* and *The Times*, but for the British national identity. *The Belfast Telegraph* falters and suffers under its attempt of neutrality as its national discourse presents as much weaker than its counterparts and at times give the impression of being fragmented.

Northern Ireland have not had the time needed to accumulate multiple sources of national pride; therefore, all the national discourse and expressions in the newsprint media are for the two largest identities, British and Irish. The absence of a singular national identity and a unifying discourse regarding identity, has caused the newspapers to be in opposition, deepening the divide between the members of society.

The newsprint media at the offset and peak of the Troubles presented a complete disregard for the up-and-coming nation Northern Ireland and nurturing of its own identity. In what has been analysed there is no room for any other national identity option than the two that were responsible for the creation of Northern Ireland. Even though, the newsprint media's power to shape what we think has been said to be an exaggeration it is, however, always pushing agendas forward and what we should be thinking about.

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Figure 1

VALUE! JOHNSTON UMBRELLAS 70/- 11 ANN ST.

# Belfast Telegraph

SIXTH

**Soldiers will be used to-night on city streets**

# TROOPS MOVE INTO BELFAST

**VIEWPOINT**  
Friday, August 13, 1966

### Get back to sanity!

As the majority in Northern Ireland demand that there be no more bloodshed, it is time to get back to sanity. The only way to achieve this is by a return to the rule of law. The only way to achieve this is by a return to the rule of law. The only way to achieve this is by a return to the rule of law.

**British Telegraph reports.**  
**ARMED BRITISH** troops were moving into Belfast this afternoon to maintain law and order after a violent night of rioting and killing.

It is understood that the Army was ordered to move into Belfast by Prime Minister Harold Wilson, following the announcement by the British Government that it would be prepared to use force to maintain law and order in Northern Ireland.

Mr. Conroy, who was shot in the back of the head during the night's rioting, looks at a doctor here in the window of his home.

### Fights break out at A.O.H. parade

SCUFFLES broke out at a parade of the A.O.H. in Belfast this afternoon. The parade was held in the city centre and was attended by a large number of people. The fighting broke out between the parade and a group of young men who were seen to be carrying weapons.

### Peace keeping

The British Army is being used to maintain law and order in Belfast. The Army is being used to maintain law and order in Belfast. The Army is being used to maintain law and order in Belfast.

### Emergency recall

And all the time the British Army is being used to maintain law and order in Belfast. The Army is being used to maintain law and order in Belfast. The Army is being used to maintain law and order in Belfast.

### Barbed wire, but Derry goes shopping

By our London correspondent  
LONDON (Special) - Derry, in the north-west of Ireland, is being surrounded by barbed wire. The British Army is being used to maintain law and order in Belfast.

### We didn't fire first, say RUC

The Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) has said that it did not fire first during the night's rioting. The RUC has said that it did not fire first during the night's rioting. The RUC has said that it did not fire first during the night's rioting.

### The innocent victim the guns claimed

By MARTIN LINDSAY  
ALAN RUIY, a young man, was shot in the back of the head during the night's rioting. He was shot in the back of the head during the night's rioting. He was shot in the back of the head during the night's rioting.

### Five people shot dead

Five people were shot dead during the night's rioting. Five people were shot dead during the night's rioting. Five people were shot dead during the night's rioting.

### Buses hi-jacked to form Road barricade

By GORDON HAMILTON  
THERE WAS MORE THAN ONE BUS hi-jacked in Belfast this afternoon. The buses were used to form a road barricade. The buses were used to form a road barricade. The buses were used to form a road barricade.

### Petrol tanker captured

A petrol tanker was captured during the night's rioting. A petrol tanker was captured during the night's rioting. A petrol tanker was captured during the night's rioting.

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**I'M AN ENTERTAINING CHARACTER**

RENT A TV SET 8/6 WEEKLY REDUCING

**ROMAX**

TV REPAIRS LTD.





Figure 3

CENTRAL MERCHANTS the REFRIGERATION people

NEWS LETTER

Telephone 44441 Friday, August 13, 1966 Price 5d (6d in Eire)

Your "Automatic" Choice VICTOR LTD

Dismay over walk out by M.P.s

It was political considerations... Dismay over walk out by M.P.s

Claim

The majority of areas... Claim

Approval

It was a great relief... Approval

Continued on Page 2

North Belfast swept by bullets and flames MACHINE-GUNS USED IN BELFAST TERROR



Men from the Royal Ulster Constabulary and men of the Ulster Defence Regiment after their arrival in Londonderry yesterday.

MAN DIES AFTER SHOOTING

A man has died as a result of bullet wounds... MAN DIES AFTER SHOOTING

Only Derry quietened by Bogside cheers

The streets which were set up in the Bogside... Only Derry quietened by Bogside cheers

News Letter reports

Ulster's brief truce was shattered last night when machine-gun fire was directed at police in Belfast. Six people were taken to hospital with gunshot wounds.

And in Armagh one man was killed in more shooting which heralded the worst night of terror yet.

Flames once more lit up Belfast's skyline when fire bombs rained down in the Crumlin Road area setting on fire two pubs—on the Roman Catholic sector and one in a Protestant street.

As the smoke rose the crowd cheered—then came the gunfire, apparently directed at police. At least eight were a house caught alight. There is a small number of houses in the area which are being burnt down.

Firing spread

The firing spread to the area as far as Park Road and... Firing spread

It was the point that people there gathered in the... Firing spread

Second attack

Starting from police stations which attacked by a mob... Second attack

A.O.H. OFFICERS TO BOYCOTT CHALLENGE TO BAN

It was announced last night that national officers of the A.O.H. will boycott today's demonstration in Douglas, which is to be held in spite of a Government ban.

Cancelled

Last night's meeting in O. London, the A.O.H. national headquarters, was cancelled and the demonstration in Douglas is also cancelled.

INJURED 'UNITE' -AT HOSPITAL

Injured Protestants and Roman Catholic rioters and injured police who went to the Royal Victoria Hospital casualty department early today spent the day in hospital.

It was a hard morning when it was found that the injured Protestants and Roman Catholic rioters and injured police who went to the Royal Victoria Hospital casualty department early today spent the day in hospital.

MR. BIG STILL BELFAST'S GREATEST LOVER OF SLAUGHTERED PRICES! 19 LR, NORTH STREET, BELFAST

LATEST... Belfast courts attacked

INJURED 'UNITE' -AT HOSPITAL

The Simple Life is simpler -with a bank account ULSTER BANK LTD

Figure 4

# 6 KILLED IN NORTHERN SHOOTINGS

## Boy (9) one of five victims in Belfast, man dies in Armagh

### NIGHT OF GUN BATTLES IN SEVERAL PLACES AS PEACE RETURNS TO DERRY

**SIX PEOPLE WERE SHOT DEAD IN NORTHERN IRELAND LAST NIGHT AS FIERCE GUN BATTLES RAGED ACROSS THE COUNTRY. A CHILD AND FOUR MEN WERE KILLED IN BELFAST, AND A MAN DIED IN THE ARMAIGH SHOOTING.**

Armed policemen and B Specials carrying rifles and machine guns were seen in various places in Belfast, Armagh, Derry, Down and other counties.

The first Belfast shooting occurred at 11.30 p.m. when a 12-year-old boy was killed in a street in the city. The boy was shot in the chest and died at the scene. He was the only child to be killed in the Belfast shootings.

The Armagh shooting occurred after a confrontation between Catholic and police members at a public meeting in the town. A man was killed in the shooting.

B.C.F. Headquarters Belfast reported at 4.30 p.m. that during the night 120 persons were treated in hospitals, 47 of them for gunshot wounds. Of the 120, 100 were police and 20 were civilians.

There were last continued deaths, and police advised that there was a 300.

### PEACE IN DERRY

The hourly gun-fighting came to an end after police had returned to the barracks in Derry.

An 11 p.m. B.C.F. report stated that the situation in Derry was peaceful. The city centre was quiet and there were no reports of further gun-battles.

The report also stated that the situation in the city centre was peaceful. The city centre was quiet and there were no reports of further gun-battles.

### FIELD HOSPITALS

Field hospitals were set up in various parts of the country to treat the wounded. The hospitals were staffed by medical personnel and volunteers.

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## Gun battles rage on the Falls road

### FIVE DEAD IN CITY

PROLONGED SHOOTING took place in Belfast last evening as five men were killed and 140 more injured. In total, 132 were treated, 42 for gunshot wounds.

## Man shot dead in Armagh clash

A man was shot dead in a gun battle in Armagh last night. The man was shot in the chest and died at the scene.

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A person seen in the heart of the trouble in Belfast last night shows the scene of the shooting of a man who was killed.

## Troops greeted by Bogside defenders

### B SPECIALS MOVE BACK

From Sean Connolly, in Derry

BRITISH troops moved into Derry at 5.15 yesterday afternoon and immediately took up positions throughout the city, with automatic rifles and sub-machine-guns.

The troops were met by a group of Bogside defenders who were armed with rifles and machine-guns. The defenders were seen to be firing at the troops.

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## ARMY DENIAL OF MASSIVE CALL-UP

### All activity centres on the field hospitals

From Sean Connolly, in Derry

THE ARMY has set up its hospitals near the Derry. The Army has denied a report that it had called up a large number of troops to Derry.

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## Home Office states purpose of troops

A STATEMENT from the Home Office today said that the troops were sent to Derry to maintain law and order.

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## B Specials fire eight shots in Omagh

SIXTY-NINE PEOPLE were injured in a shooting in Omagh last night. B Specials fired eight shots during the shooting.

The shooting in Omagh last night resulted in 69 people being injured. B Specials fired eight shots during the shooting.

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The EBS goes metric

**5.5%**

TAX FREE

Equal to 8 2/3% gross

Paid on Shares by the

**EDUCATIONAL BUILDING SOCIETY**

ASSETS £17.5M

Watch that 5.5% carefully. You'll be meeting it every when in the future. It always means a 5.5% Tax 4.5% means 5.5% and £7.5M means £7.5M of £17,500,000. More when you agree this.

See office WESTMORELAND ST. DUBLIN

Brochure on application to all 20 principal banks.



Figure 1

Viewpoint January 31, 1972

Thousands of workers down tools over the 13 killings

STANDSTILL, AS DERRY MOURNS

Death march... thousands of workers down tools over the 13 killings

Heath studies deaths report

FLASH - British Government to set up an independent inquiry into yesterday's riots.

Belfast Telegraph reporters THOUSANDS OF WORKERS on both sides of the border to-day downed tools in protest against the 13 killings in Londonderry yesterday and in Derry itself, industrial life ground to a virtual halt.

At Westminster, Government statements on the shootings were to be made later today in the Lords and the Commons. Earlier, a major 70-minute meeting of Ministers was held, with the Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, discussing reports of the Derry events with senior Ministers.

Mr. Heath, the Assistant Chief Constable of Londonderry, said that the Derry rioting, and the deaths of 13 people, had been a tragedy. He said that the Army did not fire until after the height of rioting, and that the deaths were a tragedy.

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Eire calls envoy back from London

1972 1972 Ambassador to London is being withdrawn immediately. The Taoiseach Mr. Jack Lynch announced this afternoon after the first meeting of an emergency Cabinet meeting.

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At least two hurt as gunfights flare in Belfast

At least two people were hurt in gunfights that flared up in Belfast today. The gunfights were reported to have taken place in the city centre.

IRA started march trouble - Army

The IRA started a march in Belfast today, which led to trouble with the Army. The march was reported to have taken place in the city centre.

Fight for life after big blast

A Belfast woman is fighting for her life after a big blast. The woman was reported to have been injured in the blast, which took place in the city centre.

Advertisement for Volkswagen 3000 cc engine, featuring a picture of the engine and text describing its performance.

Advertisement for Isaac Agnew Ltd., featuring a picture of a car and text describing the company's services.

Advertisement for Protest March by QUB Students, featuring text about the protest and the location.

Advertisement for Mercy, featuring text about the organization's services.

Advertisement for Find the Ball Postage Coupon, featuring text about the coupon and how to use it.

Advertisement for Why a Juror Was Reluctant, featuring text about the juror's experience.

Advertisement for RUC take-over report, featuring text about the report and the RUC's actions.

Advertisement for Fishy Finger, featuring text about the product and where to buy it.

Advertisement for London attacks, featuring text about the attacks and the impact on London.

Advertisement for TV-Page 6, featuring text about the page and the content it contains.

Advertisement for O'Weather, featuring text about the weather and the company's services.





Figure 4

Wine and Dine  
**THE GOAT GRILL**  
TELEPHONE COLLECTORS' RESTAURANT

# THE IRISH TIMES

PRICE 10c DUBLIN, MONDAY, JANUARY 31, 1972 No. 3486 CITY

**Fruitfield**  
FRUIT & VEGETABLES  
10c per lb. 10c per lb.

## SOLDIERS KILL 13 IN BOGSIDE

### Taoiseach to hold Cabinet meeting this morning KILLINGS WIDELY CONDEMNED

THIRTEEN PEOPLE WERE SHOT DEAD IN DERRY YESTERDAY AFTER A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN A BANNED CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH AND BRITISH PARATROOPERS. THOSE KILLED WERE 12 MEN AND A YOUTH. AT LEAST SIXTEEN OTHERS WERE INJURED BY GUNFIRE AND THE BRITISH ARMY MADE OVER 20 ARRESTS.

The trouble started at the marches, more than 15,000 strong, came up against a British Army barricade in William street. The march turned down Rossville street and went towards Free Derry Corner where the organisers planned to hold a protest meeting.

Troops followed the marchers into the Bogside to arrest demonstrators, and then firing began. The British Army claimed that their men opened fire only after they had been fired on by snipers, but eye-witness reports stated that the paratroopers opened fire first and fired indiscriminately into the large crowd.

Reaction to the shooting was widespread. The Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, announced that he had been in touch with the British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, but that "in view of Mr. Heath's response," he had declined to discuss the problem with his Cabinet colleagues this morning.

Mr. Lynch, Central Council, and other Northern politicians and religious leaders were condemning the shooting, while the Secretary of State, Mr. Callaghan, said that the British were not in the U.S.A. and in view of what had happened the night march.

Violence's events will be raised in tomorrow and Wednesday today and will discuss continuing on in the afternoon. Mr. Callaghan, Mr. Callaghan and Mr. Callaghan will also be among those who condemned the shootings.

### HEATH'S RESPONSE UNHELPFUL Lynch makes approach

MR. LYNCH, the Taoiseach, announced last night that he had been in touch with the British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, but that "in view of Mr. Heath's response," he had declined to discuss the problem with his Cabinet colleagues this morning.

The Taoiseach's approach to Mr. Heath was described as unhelpful. Mr. Lynch said that he had been in touch with Mr. Heath last night and that he had been told that Mr. Heath was not in the U.S.A. and in view of what had happened the night march.

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### Army commander describes shooting as defence action

Dick Greaves and Merle Cawley  
DERRY was a shambled and chaotic city last night as its people watched the rising tide of death and injury following yesterday afternoon's carnage on the Bogside when British soldiers opened up with automatic fire on thousands of anti-sectarian demonstrators.

By last late night 13 people had died and 16 others had been injured in the shooting, which lasted for about 20 minutes.

All the witnesses were sure that British soldiers, and possibly in the city there was widespread condemnation of the action which had indiscriminately and without warning.

Calls for a general strike and demands that the army, who have been accused by many of "snay snay", should be withdrawn from the streets, had been made by anti-sectarian, anti-sectarian.

There were 20 to 30 arrests during the afternoon.

Major General Robert Lee, Commander of the British Army Forces in the north, who stated that the army had opened fire only after they had been fired on by snipers, but eye-witness reports stated that the paratroopers opened fire first and fired indiscriminately into the large crowd.

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Victims of shootings  
A body at a Bogside street, one of the 13 men who died in British troops' yesterday.

### THREE MEN DIE ON BARRICADE Troops' conduct described

THREE MEN DIED on a barricade which I reported before the Bogside in Derry's north on four British Army tanks came rolling up the street.

The deaths of three men on the Bogside barricade, Monday night, in Derry, were described as "a tragedy" by the British Army. The deaths were described as "a tragedy" by the British Army.

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### Faulkner blames I.R.A. and C.R.

Mr. Faulkner, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, said that the British Army was not responsible for the deaths of the 13 people who were killed in Derry yesterday.

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### 26 HAVE DIED THIS MONTH

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19 **WOMEN'S RIGHTS**  
20 **WOMEN'S RIGHTS**



Part of the crowd remaining a barricade during yesterday's anti-sectarian march in Derry, during the first phase which led to the deaths of 13. A few seconds later one of these people was dead. (Photograph: Clive Donnelly.)

**IRISH PERMANENT BUILDING SOCIETY**  
O'CONNELL STREET, DUBLIN

**5 1/2% tax free**

**IRISH PERMANENT BUILDING SOCIETY**  
O'CONNELL STREET, DUBLIN



## 13 civilians are killed as soldiers storm the Bogside

Thirteen civilians were shot dead in Londonderry yesterday as British troops stormed into the Bogside after thousands of anti-intervention marchers had been dispersed at a city centre barricade. Civil rights leaders taking part in the march, which had been banned by Stormont, accused troops of indiscriminate firing but the Army said that they were applying to amper-

die and that the dead might not have been killed by soldiers.  
Mr Lynch, Prime Minister of the Irish Republic, who said he was appalled by the shootings, telephoned Mr Heath at Chequers to discuss them. A senior officer of the official IRA in Londonderry said members had long been given freedom to shoot as many British soldiers as possible.



Troops in Londonderry taking over behind armoured cars as they come under the withering demoralisation with US gas.

## March ends in shooting

From Brian Cavanagh and John Curtin  
Londonderry, Jan 30  
More than 200 British armed police in this afternoon stormed into the IRA stronghold of Bogside, Londonderry, and a bloody riotous struggle that 13 people were killed and 17 others, including two women, wounded in a hail of tear gas from snipers. The Albertville Hospital said the three of the dead were in a serious condition.  
The two of the dead were a young girl who had been shot dead by an armoured car.

Stormont leading the march consisted of between 7,000 and 10,000 strong, reported for the night (mainly) to the Bogside, where a large number of the marchers of local troops entered in March. A large number of the marchers were shot dead and 17 others, including two women, wounded in a hail of tear gas from snipers. The Albertville Hospital said the three of the dead were in a serious condition.  
The two of the dead were a young girl who had been shot dead by an armoured car.

## IRA told: 'Shoot as many troops as possible'

A top-accused member of the IRA in Londonderry said yesterday that the official IRA in Londonderry had urged its members to shoot as many troops as possible.  
The speaker, who had been seen by his soldiers from a 'back of the bus' of the IRA, had been shot dead. He was seen by his soldiers from a 'back of the bus' of the IRA, had been shot dead. He was seen by his soldiers from a 'back of the bus' of the IRA, had been shot dead.

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## Faulkner attack on protest organizers

Mr Faulkner, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, last night issued a statement attacking the organizers of the Bogside march.  
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## Australian recognition for Bangladesh as Pakistan quits the Commonwealth

Mr Whitlam, Prime Minister of Australia, last night announced that Australia would recognize Bangladesh as a sovereign state.  
This move followed Pakistan's decision to quit the Commonwealth.

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This move followed Pakistan's decision to quit the Commonwealth.

## Rhodesian ban on visits by MPs arouses fury in Westminster

Labour members of parliament today expressed their anger at the Rhodesian ban on visits by British MPs to their country.  
The ban was seen as a direct challenge to British influence in Rhodesia.

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## The rest of the news

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- London: Police plan to search for... 2
- Police: Devon will be public inquiry on last meeting with... 2
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## Moscow man's plea to Britain

A Soviet man has pleaded with the British Government to allow him to return to his country.  
He said he was being held in a detention camp in Moscow.

Moscow man's plea to Britain  
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He said he was being held in a detention camp in Moscow.

## Five more Ovambos killed

Five Ovambos were killed and three injured in a recent attack by South African soldiers.  
The attack took place in the Ovambo region of South West Africa.

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The attack took place in the Ovambo region of South West Africa.

## Warning of power reductions today

By Paul Rowledge  
Labour Correspondent  
The Central Electricity Generating Board has given a warning that because power stations were "under repair by today" there was a risk of power cuts today.  
The board's statement said that because power stations were "under repair by today" there was a risk of power cuts today.

## More snowfalls expected in many areas

By a Staff Reporter  
After a day of snow and ice throughout the Midlands and the London-Wales border, the British Meteorological Office has warned that more snowfalls are expected in many areas.  
The office said that more snowfalls are expected in many areas.

## Everything you need to know about real estate.

Advertisement for Jones Lang Wootton, a real estate company. The ad includes the company name in a stylized font and the text "Everything you need to know about real estate." Below the text is a small graphic of a building.

A table listing various news items with their corresponding page numbers. The items include news about Devon, London, police, and other local events.

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