Media Coverage of Industrial Relations Issues and Audience Perception with Particular Reference to the Wapping Dispute

Laid Zaghlami

Dissertation Submitted for the Degree of Master of Philosophy

Department of Sociology

University of Surrey

December 1988
Acknowledgements

My greatest and deepest gratitude to Mike Procter and Colin Tipton, my supervisors who cautiously and patiently guided the completion of this research. Thanks are due also to Miss Lynda Hulcoop from English Language Institute, who thoroughly read and corrected parts of the draft. I am equally grateful to the staff of my department of Sociology, for their help.

I am indebted to my country, the Algerian people and the Ministry of Information for the financial support. It is also with deep affection that I record my debt to my friends notably Toufik Djebbabi.

I would also like to acknowledge the moral support provided by my beloved Fatiha Djemaoui (Algiers).

Finally, I owe very sincere thanks to my parents in Belkheir (Algeria) for their care and love.
I) Readers' Attitudes and Perception of the Press Coverage: 123

1) Prelude 123
2) The Social Survey 125
   2.1) The Sample Design 125
   2.2) Questionnaire Design 129
   2.3) Characteristics of the Sample 131
   2.4) Preliminary Results 133
   2.5) Main Findings and Analysis 144

J) Conclusion 154

Appendices
Bibliography
Tables and Figures:

Figure 1: The Uses and Gratifications Approach Schema
Figure 1.1: Alternative Perspectives on Media Functions
Figure 1.2: Alternative Powers of the Media
Figure 1.3: Media Ownership of Newspapers
Figure 2: Main Topics in Industrial Relations Items
Figure 2.1: Industrial Relations Items in National Papers
Figure 2.2: Reasons for Reading Newspapers
Figure 2.3: To Which Medium Do You Feel Closest?.
Figure 2.4: Murdoch' International Empire
Figure 3: Frequency of Articles in January and February 1986
Figure 3.1: Sample of Articles in Each Newspaper
Figure 3.2: Distributions of Words
Figure 3.3: Frequency of Occurrence of Key Words
Figure 3.4: Categorisation of The Sun' Headlines
Figure 3.5: Categorisation of The Mail' Headlines
Figure 3.6: Categorisation of The Mirror' Headlines
Figure 3.7: Categorisation of The Times' Headlines
Figure 3.8: Categorisation of The Financial Times' Headlines
Figure 3.9: Categorisation of The Guardian' Headlines
Figure 4: Frequency of Categories in Each Newspaper
Figure 4.1: Frequency of Categories in All Newspapers
Table 5: Characteristics of the Sample
Table 5.1: Percentage of Students' Confidence in Institutions
Table 5.2: Prominence and Credibility of the Media
Table 5.3: Frequency of Watching Television
Table 5.4: Frequency of Reading Newspapers

1
Table 5.5: Frequency of Reading Items in Newspapers
Table 6 : Relationship (Faculty and Reading Items)
Table 6.1: Relationship (Faculty and Reading Newspapers)
Table 6.2: Relationship (Faculty and Social Class)
Table 6.3: Relationship (Importance of Media and Faculty)
Table 6.4: Relationship (Year of Studies and Reading Papers)
Table 6.5: Relationship (Social Class and Reading Papers)
Table 6.6: Relationship (Nature of Coverage and Faculty)
Table 6.7: Relationship (Nature of Coverage and Social Class)
Introduction

At a general level, the media are defined in a contradictory, vague and sometimes controversial manner. The lack of precision and accuracy in defining them has helped to perpetuate sentiments of uncertainty and scepticism. Thus, on the one hand, they are regarded as unfair, biased and a threat to our privacy. On the other, they are seen as a mirror to promote opinions and ideas.

However, the facts reveal that different people read, listen and watch the media for different reasons at different times. Undoubtedly, the media have become an intrinsic part of our private and social life. In certain circumstances they play unchallenged roles and exert pressures on groups or individuals. At the same time they contribute to social integration and emancipation.

In the present study, the aim is to find out how the media in Britain portray and present articles on industrial relations regarding the impartiality or the biased nature of the coverage. In other words, do the media cover fairly and objectively industrial relations issues?. Highlights of some recent studies on this subject are proposed in this study. Further and in detail, research has been carried out on the press report of the 'Wapping Issue': An item of industrial relations which illustrates the controversy surrounding new technology and its social and economic implications.
With regard to the press coverage of this industrial action, the present research aims at discovering which side in this dispute has a prominent and favourable coverage. The other dimension of the study is to assess the readers' attitudes and perception of the press report of that item in relation to their year of studies and their educational and social background.

Content analysis and social survey are the main methods applied. Thus, in the first instance, the content analysis method is implemented to scrutinize content of articles and editorials on the so-called 'Wapping Dispute'. It allows us to find out how this item of social interest within industrial relations was portrayed and reported. The main question is whether the press portrays impartially and fairly this item regardless of the political and economic context?.

The survey, however, deals with students' perception and opinions about the press coverage of the dispute. In fact, it consists of self-completion questionnaires and in-depth interviews. At this level, the hypotheses concern variables of year of studies, education and social class of the students and how these variables affect students' attitudes towards the media and the press coverage of the Wapping dispute.

Obviously, it will be inappropriate to look at just one single item (in this case: Wapping) and draw conclusions without referring to previous studies on this matter. Among them are those carried out by McQuail, The Glasgow University
Media Group, Hartmann and other studies of relevance to the present research.

The structure of the research is divided into two main parts. The first part presents a general review of the media coverage of industrial relations in this country, whereas the second one looks into the specific item of Wapping and how the press covered it.

Thus, after the introduction, the first chapter examines the history, approaches and theories of media research, followed by the content analysis method, its application to the media and the press in particular. The critical review in chapter three shows a variety of views and functions of the media, the audience and industrial relations. A presentation of the system of media, services and institutions and the way they cover industrial relations issues are also suggested.

Further, the policy of the present government towards the unions and particularly industrial items (another area of interest developed by some studies) is examined in chapter four. Chapter five proposes some frameworks to study the press in relation to its features, functions and characteristics. The second part of this chapter refers to the dimensions of readership and the impact (if any) of what people read on their opinions.

The next chapter analyses the British press in the present and future, in the wake of the era of new technology
and its social, economic and journalistic implications. Chapter seven highlights the events of the Wapping Dispute. In fact, this strike has to be perceived and analysed within the context of the present state of the press.

The next two chapters concern the empirical approach to the issue through the content analysis of six newspapers, followed by a social survey on the readers' attitudes and perception of the press coverage. How did they react to what happened in Fleet Street in general and the Wapping plant in particular?. It is important to mention that, the sample of students in the survey is not as representative as it should be (because of lack of time and resources). Nevertheless tentative conclusions can be drawn on questions raised, particularly on the correlation between readership and social origin on one hand, and press coverage of industrial issues and students' perception of it on the other hand. The last chapter concludes this piece of research, by interpreting the findings and suggesting new directions and areas of research.
A) Research on the media:

1) History of the research:

Research in this field has broadened since the 1930's and 1940s. Early studies focused on the power of the media and their influence on people's opinions and beliefs. Amongst the early pioneers, was Lasswell (1949), who applied an experimental approach to political issues, orientated to the idea 'who says what, to whom, through which medium with what effects'. Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) were interested in the factors and roles of the media in the life of the audience.

Klapper (1960) acknowledged that the media-effects are weak, therefore the idea of media omnipotence, which was for some time valid was no longer entirely accepted. Instead, Klapper suggested that the media tended to reinforce existing, commonly held opinions. They may succeed in reinforcing the status quo and contributing to the maintenance of the social and political system.

However, scientific investigations carried out in a context shaped by media interests did not achieve conclusive results (Schramm, 1964). But recent studies (Halloran, 1967) have drawn attention to people in their social context by looking at what people know rather than at their attitudes and opinions. Further possible directions of media research in the future are proposed by C.R Wright (1987). He suggests the
study of changes and differences, which have occurred over time and among different societies. Further, how individuals depend on the media for information.

In fact, a literature review has been provided from the diversity of studies. Most of the literature has analysed the media impact in different contexts. As a consequence, the findings displayed divergent models and patterns. Besides, research approaches vary from country to country, from time to time and within the country, from group to group or to individuals.

Therefore, the question of conceptualization and the choice of an effective approach are raised (Bennet, 1981). He argued that 'most researchers are not dealing with different theories about the same media but with different theories about different concepts of the media'. The pertinent example of the divergence of views came from classical empirical studies. These admitted that the media had little influence and that their role consisted of consolidating the values and attitudes of audience members. On the other hand, the orthodox theory advocated the omnipotence of the media.

In this research, some of the approaches that are discussed, include:

a) The neo-Weberian approach which stresses the market, organisation and production of the media.

b) The neo-Durkheimian approach which focuses on culture.

c) The neo-Marxist approach which emphasizes the
ideological and hegemonic role of the media (Schudon, 1987). Other relevant approaches are examined in the next section, which suggest a plausible way of studying the media:

2) Approaches and Theories

2.1) Main Approaches:

a) The Media-Effects Approach

McQuail (1984) has defined this approach as 'the effects of the media on the public through different frames and it can be explained by sociological theories'. Indeed, the media can exert pressures on the audience. They identify the ruler and ruled, the powerful and powerless, the masses and elites. This approach measures, forms and shapes the attitudes and opinions of the audience.

McQuail proposes different angles to examine the media-effects approach.

1) The media effects are power of persuasion and influence.
2) Individuals' attitudes are formed, changed or confirmed when exposed to the media.
3) The social totality and media influence individuals' opinions.

However, the opponents of this approach argue that McQuail fails to give an objective and valid approach to explain such a complex process. It lacks a clear definition of the social reality in which the media content is created. Further, the degree and the media-effects are not defined.
b) The Uses and Gratifications Approach:

Here, the emphasis is placed on members of the audience in accordance with their own needs (Blumer and Katz, 1974). It is an alternative way of looking at the relation between media content and audience. In theory, this approach is presented as follows:

Figure 1: The uses and gratifications approach schema:

- [social, psychological origin]
- (expectation of the media)
- generate differential pattern of media exposure
- [results in needs, gratifications]

Source: The Audience, Unit 7 and 8 The Open University 1977

In practice, this approach has been widely applied. McCombs (1981) has used it in several studies to determine the motives and reasons that lead to newspaper readership and the personal, psychological rewards that result from reading them. For example, an individual has a fundamental need for social interaction. He expects to fulfill this from his consumption of the media. It is more likely that, what he wants is determined by his background and needs. Hence, he takes what is usable for him or what will function in his life.

However, this approach is regarded as individualistic in method, therefore it is inappropriate to apply it to a large group of individuals.
c) The Cultural Studies Approach:
This approach reveals how ideas and values are transmitted through media messages. It focuses on the study of the codes meanings of the messages and the manner in which the audience decodes, understands and negotiates them. Furthermore, how the audience receives the messages is regarded as essential to reach a consensus of opinion.

Habermas (1979) insists on the question of the system codes, in which messages are cast and the nature of meanings through which they are processed. The message itself is vital to interpret, understand the audience which is asked to share various codes and expectations and be familiar with certain codes. This approach conceptualises the culture as inter-related to social practices and values which is considered as means and values. Furthermore, it develops distinctive social groups and classes regarding the historical condition and determination of the media content and audiences expectations.

Hall (1975) refers to the asymmetry of this process as on the one hand, the majority of the audiences select their 'preferred version and interpretation'. On the other hand, they interpret messages in different ways. Hall attributes the lack of a uniform interpretation to social background and personal preferences.

d) The Social Cultural Approach:
This approach considers the media as social institutions and
mass communication as a social process. It sets up principles to define the framework in relation to the social and cultural context:

1) The audience must not be singled out, nor the message from the whole social process of the communication.

2) The communicator and the receiver have an interdependent communication.

3) The message should be regarded as one link in a long chain of communication.

4) All individuals involved have a place and role in the social structure. The messages flow from one individual or group to another.

Defleur (1982) sets up a model for media research. It is portrayed as an intrinsic web of connected institutions and subject to the impact of social and economic conditions.

In sum, research on the media which has produced a variety of approaches and theories, still faces difficulties. Halloran (1964) point out that 'one major difficulty, which obstructs the research, is a lack of theories and those proposed, have failed to keep pace with the techniques'. He concludes that 'most of the work carried out so far, has been descriptive rather than analytical'. Nevertheless the lack of an accurate framework for the research on the media might be in itself a source of motivation and richness for further analysis.

The next section highlights basic theories applied in the media study regarding the political and economic context.
2.2) Theories:

The media have been studied by different schools and scholars. They suggested various approaches and theories dealing with the power and structure of the media.

a) The Conspiracy Theory:
This theory stipulates that the definition and the interpretation of political controversies, are determined by the ruling political ideology. There is a sort of 'collusion' between the media and state. The journalists are no more than ideological agents, whereas the audience is regarded as a mass of isolated individuals, deprived of knowledge and information. Indeed, the ideology of the dominant class imposes and seeks an 'appropriate image and conception of the world' on the people, who are kept unaware or informed in such a way as to sustain 'their conspiratorial view'.

b) The Displacement Theory:
This theory provides a different perspective on the part played by the media. The image of the media is thought not to confer authority, but rather to construct these perspectives and present them as part of society as a whole.

c) The Laissez-Faire Theory:
Here the media do not attempt to shape or mould events, but in contrast provide objective information for the public, who in return make up their minds in a rational manner.
e) The Cognitive Theory:
This framework explains that in general, people seek to ease and minimize the psychological discomfort of incompatible values and beliefs. Then, the use of the media may contribute to continuity, social control, integration and motivation.

f) The Mirror of the World Theory:
This theory is regarded as a view to reality and a window to the outside world. It provides an objective image of what is occurring.

g) The Cultivation Theory:
The significance of the social environment comes not from the forces of the masses, but from the creation of shared views of selected events by delivering to them a technologically produced message system (Gerbner, 1986). Here, the media offer a uniform and relatively consensual version of social reality and consequently the audiences are acculturated in relation to that version.

In brief, studies of the media have progressed and an increasing amount of work has been devoted to understanding the languages and other forms of the media. With regard to the present research, some approaches are considered to analyse how for instance, the readers use the media, namely the press? For which purposes and what gratifications they get from the papers they read?. Indeed, this conception has to be examined within the social and cultural context in which the press
works: a context shaped by the economic and political policy of the present government. Besides, these approaches will be discussed with respect to the frameworks of the media in this country.

Prior to this, the study of the audience and how people make sense of media content, have helped to discover how the meanings have been originally encoded (Levy and Windhall, 1978). The media content happens to be one of the most voluminous sets of data, explaining much about society and their accessibility over time and across frontiers. In fact, the use of content analysis technique has contributed to analysing messages and studying the media with respect to its social, political and cultural context.

B) Content Analysis Method:

Content analysis is a long established method in the social sciences. It is used for making inferences from texts and providing interpretations of symbolic significance. Content analysis method has been applied to test hypotheses in conjunction with other techniques applied in social research. Recently, there has been a re-emergence of interest in this method, encouraged by the rapid growth of data processing and computerisation.

In practice, researchers in this area have advocated different approaches. Wong (1979) suggests the quantitative approach as a statistical technique for obtaining descriptive data on content variables. It provides objective and reliable
observations about their frequency. The qualitative approach refers to a number of different aspects of research procedure. In a conciliatory approach, Kracauer (1982) suggests a synthesis of both of them to compare and contrast the results extracted from their implementation. In fact, the empirical approach is based on the use of computing facilities and package programs in textual analysis. However, this approach requires an intellectual process to grasp and analyse meanings of the statistical findings in terms of categories (Mochmann, 1987).

This brief introduction gives an idea of approaches used throughout this period where content analysis has gained accuracy and credibility, supplemented by an abundance of definitions.

1) Definitions of the Content Analysis Method:

Berelson (1952) defined this method as 'a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication'. Further, Holsti (1969) suggests that this method is 'a general analysis and description of the manifest content of text'. This technique sets out to characterize, condense and elucidate the content of the media by revealing features, which are not necessarily apparent at once. Furthermore, content analysis describes the characteristics of the communication in terms of semantics and syntactics.
Osgood (1957) defines it as 'a procedure whereby one makes inferences about sources and receivers from evidence in the message they exchange'. Stone (1966) proposes an analytical approach to grasp the text and defines it as 'a research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identified characteristics within the text'. Recently, Krippendorff (1980) has described it as 'a research technique for making replicable inferences from data to their context'.

2) Rules and Concepts of Content Analysis:

a) Rules:
At an early stage of the research, the analyst is required to answer the question of the purpose of applying this method. He ought to know to which data the questions are related and analysed. Afterwards, he has to define the frequencies analysis (what is the question?), the scale of intensity (what is important?), the qualitative analysis (what is right?), and the contingency (what is related to what question?). Here, the contingency is applied to test the structure in a message by the units of content and categories.

In practice, Wimmer (1987) has suggested the following steps to implement this method:

1) The analyst sets up hypotheses and questions
2) He selects a sample and defines categories
3) He reads codes of the content
4. It establishes the scale item
5. It includes some other factors and compares them
6. Finally, he interprets findings in appropriate contexts.

In the light of this procedure, the analyst has to

1. Formulate the research problem, defined in terms of categories.
2. Once the items are classified, the system of examination of
categories will be set up.

It is necessary to remind ourselves that in the case

of this method, the category system is vital. The analyst
acknowledges that the content analysis stands or falls by the
categories. Thus, the categories should be carefully examined
and formulated. Further, they should be exclusive, 

exclusive, reliable, and strictly defined by the purposes and
hypotheses of the research.

4. Concepts:

The following concepts are implemented in this method to
divide texts in various types of units:

1. The sampling units:
   - They are part of observed reality of source language
     expression.

2. The reading units:
   - This is a part of sampling units, but defined on
     specific segments of content.

3. The content units:
   - Here the units set limits to the contextual interaction
     e.g., sentence, paragraph.
4) The coding units:
They concern themes, codes in relation to the time element, mode expression, condition and statement etc...

Indeed an adequate coding is fundamental to the description of how data sheets are used and administered. Then, the text is divided into units, involving counting length and frequency of occurrence of the units eg: headlines, articles and paragraphs.

The other dimensions of content analysis are validity and reliability. Holsti (1969) suggested that this method is objective and valid when its measure and procedure are reliable.

He worked out reliability as: \( \frac{2M}{N_1+N_2} \) where M is the number of coding decisions on which two coders agree. N1 and N2 refer to the total number of coding, decided by the first coder and the second respectively.

3) Uses and Applications of Content Analysis:
The use of content analysis is the generation of cultural indicators (beliefs, values, traditions, ideologies or other cultural systems). At a macro-level, this technique uses the culture to assess the relationship between economic, cultural and political changes. At the micro-level, however, it refers to the media, texts and newspapers.
a) Uses in the Media:
Content analysis describes the text derived from a source in several ways, in different situations and across different audiences. The research design insists on characteristics of the communication process, analyses techniques of persuasion, readability, flow of information and style.

Thus, the knowledge extracted from the sources is a valuable aid in assessing the strength or the weakness of the press sources and their thematic content. The press content transmits political communication, shaped by the economic and political system. It is also known that the content analysis method is applied to describe attributes of messages through the process of transmission and reception.

In sum, this method is widely used. The availability of programs in textual analysis (Cocoa, Ocp, Textpack) is a significant testimony of its success. Regarding the present research, a programme called Textpack5 is applied. It has been released by Mohler and Zuell (West Germany 1987) suitable for quantitative analysis and data management in qualitative text analysis. It offers different operations and facilities through several sub-programs:

a) Sentence: It transforms the raw text files into a text pack system. The text can be automatically divided into sub-units.
b) Senmerge: It helps to correct and supplement existing files
c) Listsplit: It divides the normal text in a sentence file into
a file of single words.

d) Freq: It counts word frequencies for the entire text

e) Kwic: It is designed to represent in context words, words
    roots or multiple word combination

f) Xreff: It generates a list of the words of a text with references to where they occur (index).

g) Wordcomp: It compares the vocabularies of two texts directly

h) Tagcoder: It is designed to code a text with the aid of a predefined vocabulary (content analysis dictionary, list of the most frequent words, list of synonyms etc...).

b) Analysis of Press Content:

Content analysis of newspapers has to answer some basic questions. Do newspapers provide fair coverage of news?, ie: Do they report the events fairly and fully or not?. How can this method measure bias and distortion in the text etc...?

In the present study, this method seeks to analyse and examine editorials and commentaries of newspapers during the 'Wapping dispute'. In other words, a thorough analysis is carried out from these papers by looking at the intensity of the editorials (in terms of approval or disapproval) and the attitudes of the editors and reporters towards the issue. At the same time, the way the issue is presented, is examined in relation to the present social, economic and technological context. Indeed, the analysis of press content is a barometric check on articles and items with respect to their performance, their impartiality and differences of reporting the issue.
The next chapter presents a critical review of the three areas of this research namely the media, the audience and industrial relations in relation to Britain.

C) Media, Audience and Industrial Relations:

1) The Media:

The study of media organisation is essential in order to grasp how the media operate in the social and political system. So essential are the content, the selection, the control and the creation of messages. Although it is difficult to specify how the influence process works, the development of communication has served to integrate more people through the process of socialization. The media have become the central features of modern society and the dependencies that individuals or groups may have on them, are determined by the social system and culture (McQuail, 1987).

The definition of the media necessitates a reference to their social institution, organisation and context. The institutions, for instance which embody the spirit of one or more press theories, provide general and enduring rules of the game for handling questions of function or roles in society. Nevertheless, their system of organisation helps to inter-relate different media and occupations and influences the activities and roles of those who work in them. This aspect is considered as a specific setting in which the production process takes place.
The media cover the whole environment of information and communication, though this description is insufficient with regard to their power, their functions and organisation in society. The media process produces and requires several organisational units and bodies for distribution.

1.1) The Functions of The Media:

The media are considered to be communicators, legitimating values, norms, conferring status, validity, setting agenda and holding functions for individuals and society.

In society, the media provide information, explanation and interpretation of the meanings of events. They also offer entertainment, mobilize and campaign for societal objectives in the sphere of politics. For individuals, however, they assist in finding out about relevant events and conditions in society and the world. They reinforce personal values and self-education. Further, they provide a basis for relaxation and social interaction (figure 1.1).

Besides these functions, Lasswell (1960) listed three basic elements that comprise the activities of the media:
   a) They have the function of surveillance of the environment
   b) They have a role of correlating the parts of society
   c) They transmit the social heritage from one generation to the next.

Wright (1960) adds the function of entertainment. Lazarsfeld and Merton (1960) suggest the ethical function
where the media uphold social norms and values.

Figure 1.1: Alternative Perspective on Functions of the Media

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Society/Nation</th>
<th>integration goal-attainment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dominant class</td>
<td>control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>power</td>
<td>profit status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mass communicators work</td>
<td>Mass Media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satisfaction</td>
<td>access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass Media</td>
<td>source of change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voices in society</td>
<td>information, culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Audience</td>
<td>uses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: "Mass Communication Theory" McQuail 1987, p75

1.2) The Structure and Organisation of The Media:

The relationship of the media to institutions and political organisation determines their role in the situation (Gurevitch, 1982). Therefore the organisational structure of the media in society and the cultural aspects which affect the nature of the products of the media have to be considered. In addition, there is the dimension of who owns or finances them.

The media system is intricately involved in aspects of the life of the audience. It is also a means by which it can be known how they operate links to the whole social system (Curran, 1986). In media organisation, there is a sort of internal division of labour and role. Murdock and Golding (1977) point out the political and economic dimensions of media institutions which analyse the structure of ownership,
the control, the cultural aspects and explained according to their economic determination.

1.3) The Power of Emancipation or Hegemony?.

Who controls the media and in whose interests?. Who can get access to them and on what terms?. Whose version or conception of the outside world prevails and how effective are the media in achieving their ends?. These questions are in fact intended to define the media power in society where much of this power takes forms of manipulation. Mills (1969) identifies the 'monopolistic control of the media' which denies contact with real experience and frustrates the emergence of public opinion and participation (figure 1.2).

Carey (1969) mentioned the rise of the 'centrifugal force of the media' which generates a differentiation between class, interest group and occupation. The second dimension is the 'centripetal force' which is related to centralisation and massification. Furthermore, Carey acknowledges that the media tend to block out values, attitudes and groups threatening the basis of social order.

Indeed, the media hold critical positions during some political changes in relation to their role in information and propaganda. Marcuse (1964) highlights 'the impotence of the media which deprives us of the capacity for critical thought, essential if we are to change the world'. The real trouble is that they promote a levelling mediocrity at the expense of true values of individual excellence and accused of spreading
the cultural ideology of the ruling class.

Figure 1.2: Alternative Powers of the Media

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dominance</th>
<th>pluralism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ruling class</td>
<td>competing political, social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>societal or dominant elite</td>
<td>cultural interests and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>source</td>
<td>groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>media</td>
<td>under concentrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ownership and of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>an uniform type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>many and independent of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>production</td>
<td>standardized, routinized,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>creative, free, original</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>controlled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>content and world view</td>
<td>selective and coherent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>decided from 'above'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>diverse and competing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>responsive to audience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>audience</td>
<td>dependent, passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>organized on large scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fragmented, selective,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reactive and active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>effects</td>
<td>confirmative and strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inconsistent and numerous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of established social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>predictability of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>predictability of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>direction, but no effect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: "Mass Communication Theory" McQuail, 1987 p86

This conflicting power of the media has in practice led to more misunderstanding and misuse. On the one hand, they have the power of social and cultural promotion, through the process of socialization. On the other hand, they are really an obstacle for any prospect of democracy and freedom. They are sometimes used as weapons to undermine the principles of that democracy and maintain a partial view of the world.
Thus, McQuail has shown the occurrence of both the repressive and emancipatory role of the media. In certain circumstances, the media are centrally controlled, with just one transmitter and many receivers. Here, consumer behaviour is passive because the owners and proprietors of the media exert strict pressures on the consumer.

Hall (1979) explains the repressive use of the media as hegemonic and dominant. In his words 'hegemony exists when a ruling class is able, not only to coerce a subordinate class to conform to its interests, but exerts total social authority over classes and social forces as a whole'. Here, the media are part of the political and social system, in which they remain orientated within the power system and defined by the political and economic structure. Curran (1986) adds the factor of legitimacy that the media offer and confer to some individuals, who in return use them as an instrument of social power. By contrast, the emancipatory role allows the mobilization of the masses, sustained by the interaction of the individuals involved.

In short, the media have a powerful role which can be used or misused at any time, although this power can be seen or formulated in a variety of ways such as the effectiveness to persuade and inform. Indeed this aspect depends actually on legitimacy, authority and support in a society. Therefore, the media ought to be fairly used as they can be a means to repress, undermine and usurp people's freedom and democracy.
If the power of the media is not the central question in this research, the issues do concern how and by whom this power is wielded?. Halloran (1964) proposes a new vision by getting away from the habit of thinking in terms of 'what people do to the media' and substitutes for it the idea of 'what people do with the media'.

Instead of viewing the media acting upon individuals, the audience has to be regarded as acting upon media content to which they expose themselves. Balle (L'Express 22/5/87) believes that the media are powerful because of the weakness of the readers and viewers. Indeed some light is thrown on this opinion in the next section, as well as the relation and attitudes of the audience towards the media.

2) The Audience:
The audience is a central parameter to grasp the relationship between media and society. It emerges as a significant part of the system in which media content is integrated into political social and economic realities. This is related to the social structure where some individuals can have greater access to the media because of their political status. Paletz and Entman (1981) raise the question of opportunities for the audience and its ability to control some aspects of the media, which is then translated into political power.
2.1) Definitions:

Jarvie (1970) defines the audience 'as typically incoherent unstructured group that has no social organisation, no body'. In the same way, Escarpit (1981) perceives it as 'a group of people from different strata assembled around a particular programme type'. Indeed the media are defined by the audience who in turn is seen as a large and heterogeneous group in composition (Blumer and Katz, 1974). It is not only composed of consumers, who passively accept anything that the media can offer, but an active group of individuals. He can consume the media in the context of his personal and social purposes.

However, one may wonder whether the audience can influence the media content or not? How powerful is it? How are audiences values and beliefs influenced by what they hear and see? The answers require a prior knowledge of the characteristics of this audience.

2.2) Characteristics:

Morley (1980) describes the audiences as aggregates of viewers, readers and listeners. They are number of personalities within demographic, social and cultural characteristics of interests.

a) There are personality and educational differences: Some people are more easily persuaded than others, some can understand more complicated arguments and so on...

b) The public is situated in a variety of social settings: One person may be liberal, another is more conservative.
c) The attitudes that one has may vary:
One may be deeply involved or have no attitudes at all.

d) Some external events can affect audience's attitudes and shape opinions.

The personalities within the audience have to be perceived and examined in the appropriate context regarding their characteristics. Thus, a person with high intelligence and education is likely to have more basis for his opinions than an illiterate person. Similarly, people who express a moderate degree of anxiety are most easily persuaded (McGuire, 1973). Curran and Seaton (1985) revealed that the reaction of the audience is determined by age, class and beliefs, emphasizing that the working class audience is the most vulnerable group.

2.3) Conceptions:

There are many ways of conceiving the audiences and three of them are developed in this section:

a) The egotistical view:
This view enables the person to think of the audience as a relatively inert mass. It is seen as egotistical because it attributes more power to communicators.

b) The audience as a body of individuals:
This body may decide whether they will be influenced or not by what they see, hear and watch. The audience is regarded as a public or social group, brought into a social unit through mutual recognition or problems for which common solutions have
to be sought. In spite of this, some people tend to expose themselves to communication in which they are interested. They avoid what might be irritating or incompatible with their own opinions.

c) The audience as market:
The audience is considered as potential customers of products and plays commercial roles in the market.

The audience has its internal structure, differences of interest, attention and effects which are associated with social differentiation. Its relationship to the media is related to the appropriate context because various factors are involved. In spite of this, the audience remains a valid parameter to define the media with regard to the political, economic context and personal factors of the audience.

3) Industrial Relations:
The third dimension of this research concerns the industrial relations issues and more precisely the 'Wapping dispute'. It is perceived within the present state of the British printing industry which has entered a new era of technology. These changes in the industry will undoubtedly have different implications for the workforce and future of trade unionism.

3.1) The Concept of Industrial Relations:
Understanding the concept of industrial relations requires the analysis of its history and organisation in society. However, in the present research, the emphasis is placed on its
contemporary political and technological environment. In fact, a better understanding of industrial relations is based on the knowledge of the environment and appropriate context in which they operate. For instance, in Britain, industrial relations are different from other nations. The bastion of the industrial revolution has recently generated a series of labour relations bills to 'curb' the power of the unions. The next section illustrates the long process of industrial relations with respect to the different contexts.

3.2) Contexts of Industrial Relations in Britain:

Britain is still a class society. Industrial conflicts are to some extent the result of present social, economic and political values. Since Mrs Thatcher came to office the industrial climate has markedly changed. Conflicts tend to be less violent and less frequent because of the decline of industry and introduction of legislation on industrial relations (J. Lloyd in Financial Times 15/5/87). However, the knowledge of industrial relations depends on the analysis of the forces which shape and sustain it and the context within which industrial relations have grown (Panitch, 1986). Thus, the concept of industrial relations and its contexts is presented with regard to its past, present and future in Britain.

a) The Economic Context:

Economic factors affect industrial relations issues. The present government advocates a policy of monetarism and
efficiency. In practice, this is illustrated by the process of privatisation and the intervention of market forces. The reduction of spending in the 'uneconomic areas' and social services are part of the current economic policy.

b) The Political Context:

There is a resurgence of capitalistic values. The return to the practices of classical capitalism has occurred after the election of the Conservative government in 1979. These values have been reiterated since the General Election of June 1987. Probably, these changes are the consequences of the central features and the 'abusive power' of trade unions in the British political system (Taylor, 1980).

c) The Technological Context:

Changes in technology inevitably affect industrial relations, and create new production systems (Martin, 1981). Furthermore, they shape the occupational structure of the labour market. Although the shift to a new technology is inevitable, the question is how this process can be applied without bringing about more industrial disputes and strikes.

Since 1979 the new economic context of industrial relations has affected the relationship between employers, workers and their representatives. In addition, unemployment and new technology continue to enforce a restructuring of the workforce. As a consequence, there have been changes in employees' attitudes to management.
The industrial relations revolution has led to about 40 cases in which the arbitration service (Acas) documented companies abolishing their recognition agreement with the unions. Increasingly the collective bargaining machinery has been replaced by individual contracts. Hence, it seems that new technology and flexible working practices have contributed to changes.

3.3) The New Vision of Industrial Relations

A "new realism" is conceived in industrial relations in the wake of Conservative economic policy (advocating strike free deals, single union etc...). This new pragmatic view is shared by some unions, who claim that they have to survive a hostile climate emanating from employers and government. Yet partisans of this new vision argue that if the unions and workers are to meet the challenge of the future, they have to abandon the 'rigidities' of the past, be ready to change and opt for genuine partnership.

In this context, the electricians union (EETPU) which has 360,000 members is a vivid example of the "new realism". This union hires workers but once inside the plant, workers are on individual contracts, wholly at the disposal of the management (The Guardian January 24 1987). As far back as May 1988, the EETPU was thinking of leaving the trades union congress (TUC) or to being expelled from it because it would not break no strike deals which it had already signed (in the Wapping case). Indeed, at their conference in Bournemouth (September 1988), the TUC decided overwhelmingly to expel the
This situation is interpreted as a conflict of two philosophies of trade unionism, which may destabilise the inter-union recruitment war with companies throughout the country (The Economist June 4 1988).

Will this "new realism" last and will the new pattern of industrial relations succeed? Will it change when economic climate improves? The future will confirm or infirm this new vision, which admit the existence of a crisis in the union movement (a crisis caused by the decline of membership which has led to intense inter-union rivalry). For instance, the May 1988 Employment report recently published, noted that there was a decline of 2.6% in union membership and 20.7% lower than the 1979 peak. There has been a decline in the number of manual workers in unionised establishments and there are large regional differences. The general anti-union ethos promoted by the government has contributed to the poor public image and status of the unions (The Independent 5/2/88).

In the end, will the political, social and economic changes which have been occurring, improve the social system, or just be an attempt to change an order which is in gradual collapse? The possible responses lie in some of the facts: Where 1% of the population own 42% of personal wealth, 5% posses 75% and 10% have 83%. In other words, 9 million people are at or below the poverty line and advised to go to charitable bodies for help (BBC2 Money Programme 20.3.88).
These figures illustrate accurately how the scale of social and economic differentiation is widening and that social disintegration is increasing. Yet in reality, Britain is divided between haves and have-nots, North and South, new and old industries. Moreover, in spite of the efforts to redevelop industry and improve industrial relations, social and economic inequalities remain in force.

D) Coverage of Industrial Relations in Britain:

1) The Media in Britain:
In capitalist societies, the media tend to perform according to highly functional rules, which are the expression of a system of domination and means of reinforcing it. Moreover, they are engaged in a process of disseminating information to large groups of individuals (Golding, 1974).

In terms of effects as already noted in the section on theories and approaches, the media may influence not only individual political opinions, but also the way politics is conducted and its activities. Britain falls in the category of societies where the media are organized in such a way as to perpetuate the interests of the dominant class.

1.1) The Media Within the System:

The main source of variation of the media in this country is the system of constituent control. By this is meant, the media are part of social institutions where owners and proprietors of the media exert the power to propagate their opinions in
connivance with the present order. They represent the elites who dominate the British society and provide many changes in the media organisation and structure (Golding and Murdock, 1977).

Economic, social and political system determines the relationship between the two classes: The class which owns and controls the wealth and the class which is deprived of it. In effect, there is a confrontation of inequality between the two classes. The first class exerts pressures and monopolises a great degree of political power to control decision-making in the social and political environment (Miliband, 1969). Thus, the present decade is called 'decade of inequality' (Wicks, 1986) and this is reflected in media ownership (figure 1.3).

1.2) The Institutions and Services of the Media:

The media inextricably part of the establishment have their services and institutions spread throughout the country. Thus, the statistics show that more daily papers are sold in this country than in most other developed countries. More than 15.5 million copies are published on weekdays and 18.3 million on Sundays. There are 10 Daily national, 8 Sundays papers and 98 Regional papers. An additional 950 appear once or twice a week and there are 6,000 periodical publications (Official Handbook). According to the European Institute for the Media, more national and regional papers are sold in Britain (624 copies per 1,000 inhabitants), than in any other nation apart from Canada and Australia.
Figure 1.3: Media Ownership of Newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Papers</th>
<th>TV Companies</th>
<th>Radio Companies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>LWT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International</td>
<td>The Sun, News of The World, Sunday Times</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirror Group</td>
<td>The Mirror, Sunday Mirror, Sunday People</td>
<td>Central Radio Tay, Clyde Aire Northsound Moray Firth,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Newspapers</td>
<td>Daily Express, The Star, Sunday Express</td>
<td>TyneTees, Yorkshire, HTV, TV-am</td>
<td>Hallam, Two Counties, Radio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associated Newspapers</td>
<td>Daily Mail, The Mail on Sunday</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Signal Radio, Piccadilly, LBC, Radio210, Severn Sound, Plymouth Sound, Swansea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Telegraph</td>
<td>Daily Telegraph Sunday Telegraph</td>
<td>LWT</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>The Guardian, Manchester Evening News</td>
<td>Anglia Piccadilly, County Sound</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson</td>
<td>Financial Times, Yorkshire, MetroRadio, Essex Radio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lonrho</td>
<td>The Observer, Border</td>
<td>Radio Clyde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Labour Research volume 75 number 3 March 1986

Although there are many papers in this country, 95% of them are controlled by 5 companies, whose interests contradict certainly, the public interest and impartiality and integrity of the press. Owners such as Maxwell, Thomson, Murdoch, Anderson and Matthews are the barons of this press. Their political allegiance to the present system does not have to be
explicitly stated here. Though the law provides safeguards and guidelines against concentration, Murdoch, owner of News International for instance, has more than five titles and about to launch new television channels (figure 2.4).

The other means of the media is Broadcasting. It is based on the tradition of public services being accountable to the people. However, in reality, it contradicts the roles attributed to them. This means of information has two public services (BBC, IBA) and provides Television and Radio services throughout the country.

The average viewing time per person is about 27 hours a week (LWT Week End World 28.2.88). 35% of households have two or more receivers. Every home has a radio set (Official Handbook, 1986). Four Television channels are in operation: BBC1, BBC2, ITV, Channel4. Further, BBC Radio has 4 national and 32 local stations, more than 50 independent radio stations are operating throughout Britain.

A new system of regulation for Radio stations will operate next year (Radio Authority). Its responsibilities will be to supervise and regulate private and community radio stations. Furthermore, a new technology (Multipoint Video Distribution System) will be set up to provide British homes with a range of local television channels. Cable Authority and Broadcasting Complaints Authority are already in operation. In the wake of the new economic deregulation of Broadcasting, a new body has recently been created: The Broadcasting
Standards Council. Though, its duties are not clearly defined it appears that its chief concern is to curb violence and sex on the small screen.

In addition, there are new Broadcasting services: the Direct Broadcasting Satellite, British Satellite Broadcasting. They are in an advanced state of planning and will come into operation in the next few years. The government has drawn up new proposals to deregulate Broadcasting in the 1990's.

Besides these services and institutions, the press has its own Council. This body aims to safeguard the freedom of the press and ensure its impartiality.

However, will the proliferation of these bodies actually preserve integrity, decency and taste, or are they another authoritarian way of distorting Broadcasting and the press?. The answer is worth considering, although it is not the main focus of the present research.

It is generally admitted that the Press Council has failed to stop the tendencies towards concentration of paper ownership. Its concern to preserve the character of the British press regarding professional and commercial standards has not been well accomplished. The language of partisanship has weakened the confidence of the public in the impartiality of this body (Robertson, 1983).

In reality, it seems naive to expect a lot from this Council, whose efficiency and effectiveness rely on the social and political system, in which the media operate. Because of
this inadequacy, different forms of media (pirate radio stations, alternative press and campaign for freedom of the press and broadcasting) emerged to oppose the present system of the media regarded as hegemonic.

2) Coverage of Industrial Relations

2.1) The Political and Economic Context:

The present context is defined by the ideology and policy of the current government. Jenkins (1986) has written that 'Mrs Thatcher has given credit to those prepared to innovate, confront traditional practices, be ruthless where necessary'. In fact, this implies a change in the nature of the industry to direct it towards more efficiency and competitiveness. At the same time, the social climate is soured by the decline and in some cases the entire collapse of the industry. Consequently, the people are more preoccupied with the survival of it rather than going on strike and losing everything. In the industry, 'draconian measures' are applied in the era of high technology. Yet, the government has launched a programme of privatisation and sale of public assets.

Thus, today, the major preoccupation of the government is to encourage privatisation. But the main obstacle in realising this purpose, remain the workers and their unions. Haunted by the 'too powerful role' of the trade unions and the 'spectre of unemployment', the government is determined to translate its ideology into new economic policy, whose main
goals are to severely curtail the influence and prestige of the fifth estate (Taylor, 1980). The need to legislate and avoid conflict might be a successful strategy to tame the unions.

New clauses are promulgated for individual bargaining and defining new roles and actions for the unions in collective actions such as pensions, training etc... At the same time, the Thatcher government is working towards a time when the unions, in their present form, cease to exist. They will become genuine friendly societies, divorced from their main connection with industrial relations (The Times 14.12.87).

Redundancies, privatisation and banning of legitimate trade union activities, are some of the measures taken to wipe out the labour movement. Therefore, the media are solicited to put into effect this new vision through the 'production of false consciousness', which favours the government option. In their omnipotent role, the media are helping to keep up a sympathetic political climate towards the government.

The examples of this 'conspiracy' are legion. In the coal strike for instance, the media were clearly antagonistic to the miners (Jones, 1984). It is also worth recalling that during the last general election (June 1987) the total daily papers backing the Conservative party totalled 10.8 million and only 3.3 million copies endorsed the Labour party (The Economist June 6 1987). Christian (1982) has attributed this
under-representation to the historical legacy and the continuing inequalities of advertising allocation among the papers.

In effect, distortions and bias have helped to create an erroneous interpretation of social and economic topics. Furthermore, the coverage of social issues came from editors, who were in connivance with certain Cabinet Ministers (Cohen and Young, 1981). In the end, it emerges that most of the papers are part of the system or support its policy. It looks as if all the newspapers are unified in selecting items to cover, present and set up their assignment of news priorities.

In fact, throughout most Western countries, the great majority of the media speak editorially with a conservative tone. Even in the United States despite the political and cultural pluralism, multiple pressures are exerted on the media, which threaten to reduce their room for manoeuvre and undermine the freedom of expressing "controversial opinions" or providing facts, described as "subversive" by the establishment (Le Monde Diplomatique, December 1986). In Britain, the political system has determined the uses, the sort of control imposed on the media and who owns and has the right to use them.

2.2) The Government, Trade Unions and Industrial Relations:

The early years of the Thatcher government revealed the determination and eagerness of the Prime Minister to exclude the unions from the political arena (Dorfman, 1983). Thus,
when the Conservative party came to power in 1979, it changed the structure of the economy and introduced anti-union legislation. Three laws were promulgated, aiming primarily at ending disputes, making the unions more vulnerable and more 'responsive' to their members (The Economist October 31 1987). The other parts of the legislation concerned strike ballots, political funds and election of union executives.

Indeed, these bills were applied in response to the 'abuse' of the trade unions. The conservatives were prepared to solve 'the trade union problem' and wipe out the 'British disease'. However, this could not succeed without the help of the media nor the approval of some trade unions. The latter approached the question with a certain pragmatism. They looked for positive co-operation with the employers. Are they correct?. Does the future of industrial relations promise and augur such a conciliatory view, or lead to more disputes?.

The response is worth considering, as partisans of this approach argue that the government is the real victim of media coverage of trade unions. By crediting more power to the unions, the media have confined the government to a position of hostage. Do the majority of the workers support this opinion?. Do they therefore have to comply with 'the new irreversible shift of power' (Mrs Thatcher in the Election Campaign, June 1987 BBC1) or remain untouched?.

42
2.3) Unions' Attitudes Towards The Media:

How the unions perceive the media within the present system is the other area of interest for many researchers. In his study McQuail admitted that media coverage of industrial relations lacked impartiality and objectivity. The reports tended to keep up an unsympathetic climate in their treatment of the social issues. There was a shape and effect on the attitudes of public opinion towards trade unions.

In a survey (Sunday Times May 5 1978), the following results were obtained to the question whether the unions were good or bad thing for the country?:

44% think that the trade unions are a good thing
44% think the contrary

However, to the question whether the unions are powerful or not.

84% believe the unions are too powerful.

But what is remarkable is that 78% of those asked emphasized the importance of unions in protecting employees. It is important to remind ourselves that this survey was conducted in a climate affected by social and economic tensions, which led to the winter of discontent (1978-1979).

In an updated survey (The Listener 31.12.87), almost ten years later, the answers to the same question show that the unions appear to have gained in popularity and respect. The sample of respondents in this survey is different from the
previous one and the results show that:

71% of respondents say unions are a good thing
88% regarded them as providing essential protection at work.

Thus, the figures show that the unions are now more popular than at any time in the last thirty years. Though Britain has the highest proportion of trade union membership amongst the most industrialised nations, today they face the challenge of the future. They have to define a strategy for survival in the nineties and the beginning of the next century.

As far as the unions attitudes towards the media are concerned, they are sceptical and have long believed that the media are biased against them by launching a campaign of smears and attacks. One unionist confessed that all the country was at war with trade unions (Document Tuc: Cause for Concern, 1980). Because of this hostility, the trade unions are very critical and believe that the media are partial because they do not pay attention to the disputes and their real causes.

Further, the media are personalized in their style of attack. In the story of the 'awful truth about strikes in factories' (Edwards), which dominated the press headlines for some time, the event was in reality an imaginary product of journalists and editors. Headlines such as: a rubbish union, fanatics, extremists, loony and militants and so forth... are commonplace words in the press. In effect, such literature has not only demoralized the workers and their representatives but also distorted their role and image in society.
2.4) Recent Studies on Media Coverage of Industrial Items:

Recent studies have found that news of industrial relations topics are presented in a controversial way, which involves antagonistic parties (employers and workers). Therefore, it is not an easy task to state both positions impartially. Further, industrial relations issues are actually too complex to be newsworthy (Tunstall, 1971). The newspapers, for instance give only 4 to 6% of editorial space to this issue and only a minority even of this space deals with strikes (McQuail, 1977). By this is meant, the press coverage concentrates on a few industries and gives much less space to the settlement of disputes. The unionists however, argue that the press gives too much coverage to the disputes and not enough to the positive activities of trade unions. The press barons are naturally hostile to unions, therefore little sympathy is to be expected from them.

In the study of television coverage of this issue, the Glasgow Media Group regarded it as really unfair. The style of interview with managers displayed coherence and rationality, whereas the workers were presented as having brought troubles of unemployment upon themselves. Furthermore, in some cases, neither the television nor the press care to report or cover events relating to industrial relations. In fact, it is not surprising that recent studies have revealed the language of partisanship of the media and their lack of objectivity in reporting these issues.
In their studies, The Glasgow Media Group argue that industrial relations disputes are always about troubles for the management, for the nation but never for workers involved. These findings, though contested, point out that the media tend to blame only the workers and their unions for economic problems. They promulgate and reinforce the present social values in a number of forms and occasions. The results are also seen as a fundamental challenge to the values, beliefs and practices of the British media because they have disclosed the unfairness of the news on industrial topics.

Halloran (1970) found that the media are isolated from antecedent conditions by conveying very little understanding of either root causes or aims. At a glance, it appears as if the whole interpretation will tend to convey a negative image. This picture was later illustrated by the events relating to the demonstration against the Vietnam war (1968) and May Day (1973), which saw the largest trade union demonstration of recent years. The press labelled that event 'May Day Madness', fuelling a difficult situation and providing a negative image of events.

Similarly, Hartmann (1979) came to the same conclusion after discovering that news on industrial relations reflected a version of events relating to the interests of employers. Their treatment of disputes stressed effects rather than causes. However, even when the causes were explained, they were given superficially or explained in terms of
personalities and personal motivation rather than in structural terms. In the end, industrial items were handled in such a way as to cast doubt on the legitimacy of trade union activities and aspirations.

In further studies, Morley (1981) set up a framework relating to the image of society in the media, which is basic social equality. His analysis shows that pictures of trade unions were presented as one in which they were motivated by their own interests. On the other hand, employers were regarded as representatives and defenders of the 'national interest', fighting against inflation and preserving industrial peace.

Seaton (1982) acknowledges the presence of sustained media campaigns against the trade union movement, blamed responsible for virtually all economic difficulties. Thus, the causes of industrial actions ascribed or inferred are rarely given in a balanced manner. The results are that the workers are described as troublemakers with suspect motives.

Hence, most studies have highlighted the lack of impartiality which characterises media coverage of industrial relations. Undeniably, the Glasgow Media Group's findings are valuable in understanding the question of media coverage of industrial relations items. Even after a decade, they retain their initial importance. However, critics argue that their results displayed lack of understanding and failed to cover the area thoroughly (Harrison 1985). For his part, Tunstall (1971) admitted the presence of problems on press coverage of
industrial items resulting from the fact that these stories were handled by non-specialist sub-editors. The reporters often lacked sufficient knowledge of industry or industrial relations in general.

Westergaard (1977) notes the existence of a tendency to exclude wider issues, results from the general balance of power between unions and employers. In other words, the locus of power has to be sought primarily in the limits which define areas of conflicts and restrict the range of alternatives.

In conclusion, the coverage of such issues has become almost as big an issue as the dispute itself. The media have created an unrealistic image of British industrial relations by displaying them as a uniquely 'British disease'.

2.5) Outlines of McQuail's Research:

Some studies tend to emphasise either a single event or item within a short period of time or occurrence of events. In spite of this, these studies disclosed the existence of grievances and complaints. These are common leitmotif associated with the media in their treatment of these issues. It is generally admitted that more than 70% of the British press are pro-Conservative. Therefore they have no sympathy at all or very little towards the workers and the labour movement.

The research carried out by McQuail (1977) remains in some respects significant and complete. Covering the year
1975, McQuail analysed articles of industrial relations items in 8 national newspapers. He found that the proportion of space allocated to this item ranged from 4% to 6%. Most reports were dominated by strikes whereas the management was almost entirely absent from the newspaper content:

Figure 2: Main Topics of Industrial Relations Items

- 36% disputes, stoppages and industrial actions
- 18% actions by TUC
- 11% negotiations between unions and employers
- 10% unions elections
- 8% industrial or commercial development
- 6% actions by government
- 4% actions by employers or their organisations
- 2% legal action
- 2% worker control, participation and profit-sharing
- 2% general economic context
- 1% others


These figures showed how the papers concentrated on one particular topic or aspect of the dispute and ignored the whole context of the situation. By stressing dispute and strike only, the coverage certainly lacked completeness and fairness. Too much emphasis was put on negative dimensions of conflicts rather than on constructive points. The coverage insisted on the effects of the industrial action, instead of looking at the real causes, compelling the workers to defend themselves from attacks.

This study also illustrates how the press coverage is related to the dimensions of timing, status and causes of the strike. Indeed these factors determine the average size of each item on the topic and the sample of the newspapers as
McQuail had achieved. The figure (2.1) displayed industrial relations items in Daily Newspapers 24 issues in 1975 and frequency of each type:

**Figure 2.1: Industrial Relations Items in Daily Newspapers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type Papers</th>
<th>News items</th>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Editorials</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The D.Telegraph</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The F.Times</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morning Star</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Express</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Mail</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Mirror</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sun</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Table B1, p139 D. McQuail 1977.

What can be assumed from the figure, is that there are large differences between newspapers in the quantity of items. The variation is greater between newspapers regarding the types. The quality newspapers provide prominent treatment and coverage of industrial relations items compared with the popular press except the Morning Star. It is necessary to recall that coverage of such issues depend on their status and dimension in the society. These criteria dictate in some respects how the papers treat these items.

For instance, in the case of strikes, the newspapers concentrate on particular subjects and tend to ignore others:
20% of articles referred to loss of production
16% to loss of work by non-disputants
12% to inconvenience to public

In the case of disputes, other than strikes, the newspapers allocated the following percentage of each subject:

13% to inconvenience or danger to public
11% to discord in relations (union and government)
09% to obstinacy or unreasonable behaviour of worker

The prominence of the articles concerns profit and efficiency with disregard to the social factor. Needless to remind us that the status dimension is an important parameter to define the public sector and official strikes to be covered. Further, bad language, picketing and violence are words frequently appearing on the front page. The popular press exercises its monopoly in reporting stories sustained by an emotional and sensational style.

The press treatment of industrial issues has to be seen from certain angles as Hartmann (1975) proposed:

1) The reporting does not necessarily implicate the paper itself in any judgment or interpretation
2) The absence of contextual evidence makes it impossible to equate a count of references with assessment of papers direction or bias
3) The level of unfavourability of presentation of unions and their activities

Over and above these points, there is an impression and trend of closeness of political and industrial reporting. In fact the political factor orientates and dictates the
emphasis of topics and the amount of attention paid to them. Evidently, the validity of the version of the industrial stories does not depend on one criterion. The social and economic context, the owners of the media and pressure groups are other factors of influence with political power to affect the course of events.

In sum, the hostile climate of the media towards the unions has shaped public opinion which has asked for a curbing of the union's power to cure Britain of this 'disease'. But most of those who rebuke and criticize the unions have little or no experience of industrial relations. Thus their opinions are shaped only by the media, their sole source of information on the subject (Pimlott and Cook, 1982).

In further studies, Hartmann found the existence of a systematic difference between social classes and their views or attitudes towards industrial relations items. The middle class respondents, for example, tended to accept the media image of unions and workers more readily than the working class. The public is vulnerable to media images, but what is more important is to understand this vulnerability over time. Do people have the same attitudes and perception towards the media coverage of industrial relations issues over a long period of time?

Indeed, some of these questions will be developed and examined as far as the social class and attitudes of students are concerned. However, it is important to remember that in
1984, just 1% of those accepted into British Universities were from the unskilled social class and just 6% were from the semi-skilled class. Against this, 70% were from the top two social classes (Wicks, 1986). Will these figures reflect the students' responses in the present survey or will different perceptions emerge, which will disregard their social status and education?

Regarding the press coverage of the Wapping dispute, the social survey looks into those questions and analyses the students' responses and attitudes towards the coverage. But, prior to this, the studies, definition and functions of the press are developed in the next section with respect to the public perception, use of papers and dimensions of readership.

E) The Press and The Readers:

1) The Press:

1.1) Studies of The Press

Although a study of the press is based on previous theories of the media, a specific treatment is required to examine some of the press' particularities. Thus, the newspaper has a sense of its own identity and a sense of being legitimately accepted by the readership. This double aspect as Willis (1971) put it is related to the 'public persona' of the paper which contains a general orientation and particular values and defines broad areas of interest. The second aspect, however, refers to the 'private persona' of the newspaper which is in fact the latent
communication. Hence, the readers may be able to grasp both dimensions and distinguish between the two types of mechanism.

Taylor (1988) proposes some frameworks which provide a strategy for studying and understanding the press in their appropriate context.

a) The Authoritarian Theory:
This theory looks upon the press as a 'loud speaker' of the state. The press disseminates and reveals what the government wants to be communicated. It justifies in advance any kind of censorship and punishment for deviation.

b) The Libertarian Theory:
This framework defines the functions of the press, to inform, entertain and mainly to assist in discovering the truth.

c) The Social Responsibility Theory:
This conception makes the press responsible for freedom and democracy, by communicating truth, giving fair pictures and full access to information by citizens.

d) The Free Press Theory:
In this theory, there are a plurality of titles and competing groups between and within newspapers. It seems clear that there is a free press subject to free market forces, with some 'independence' from the government. The journalists write about what they like as long as it is within the 'voice' of the paper, generally consonant with the interests of capital.
In sum, these conceptions contribute to understanding the press in relation to the economic, political and cultural system and analyse it accordingly.

1.2) Functions and Features of The Press:

The advent of printing has enhanced the importance of the press in society. From the early stages of block printing, to movable type then to the present writing, a gigantic step has been made. It has led the press to the era of photo-composition, computers and satellites.

As a segment of the mass media, the press can be a powerful means of imposing a new social order and mobilising society. Further, as Singer (1981) suggests, it has functions of integration, to inform, entertain and educate people.

In Britain, the press is characterised by a tendency towards concentration of the readership on a small number of mass circulation papers and magazines. On the one hand, the press appears to play the role of watchdog and on the other hand, there is an association between social class and readers. For instance, the readers with high income and longer education tend to read more papers than those with low income and who are less literate.

Blumer and Katz (1974) argued that the press helps to retain the existence of loyalty to their readers and has a dynamic attraction for uncommitted readers. It contributes to holding firm individuals, whose political preferences are
in fact consistent with the political position of the papers they read. As a source of information in relation to its role, the press has created what Robinson (1972) described as 'the knowledge of information gap'. In fact, this gap explains the difference between higher and lower socio-economic stratum in knowledge terms.

In addition to the powerful role of the press in society, personal contact can be more influential than direct exposure to the media source. The 'opinion leaders' as Wackman (1979) called them, are more reliable sources for the local community than other means of media. They basically determine the attitudes taken by local residents regarding their community.

Nonetheless, the press remains essential for informing people about local issues. The features attracting readers lie in the existence of an extensive report in the newspapers where there is a sort of link between reader and press, eased by mutual understanding and co-operation.

Butler and Stokes (1970) carried out a survey on the press influence on readers' opinions and the results showed that:

73% of the readers shifted their opinions towards the party supported by the newspaper they read.

27% said their political allegiance was based on what they read in their papers. The press appears to retain different roles in changing society and conserving allegiances.
1.3) Press Barons and Editors: The Dilemma?

The newspapers have an internal structure of commands and orders, which put them under different pressures. For instance, the newspaper editors may sometimes face a dilemma. On the one hand, they are considered as moral agents, advocating the ideas, values and aspirations of society. On the other, they are considered as artisans and interested only in making money. Thus, this dilemma reflects their relation to the owners and publishers.

However, an attempt to define clear boundaries between editors and publishers is not an easy task. Nor it is easy to dissociate the commercial aspects from editorial standards. The publisher has the right to set up his own principles and character in his paper. But this policy has to be clearly discussed with the editorial staff to avoid conflict of interests and interference. Several examples illustrate cases of censorship (a perspective which distorts the basic reality of the press as an entertainment industry and source of information). For instance, during the American intervention in Grenada, Murdoch (Chairman of News International Company) instructed his editor to support this action.

In sum, the owners decide about the presentation of the items, their judgement and so forth... Every editorial, word and picture published has to favour the owner's views. In spite of this, the diversity and the integrity of the press always depend on the independence and security of editors.
This can easily be undermined by the short-term interests of owners. The editor faces pressures from different sides (political, economic, time, availability of material etc...). His relation to the owner is vital as are the impartiality, the right for readers to reply, their credibility and confidence in the papers.

2) Readership and Readers:

2.1) Dimensions of Readership:

Readership is the most extensive area. It has served to determine who reads and what items are read?. What rewards and gratifications do readers get from their choices? Recent studies have concentrated on structural considerations which stress the social and personal characteristics and functional ones, which look at the way readers use and perceive their papers.

Further studies have considered several aspects, such as the profile of the audience, which enables them to meet the choices and interests of their readers. Burgoon (1977) examined the lifestyle of the readers, interpreted the results and made his assumptions to meet their demands. Stamm (1980) suggests item-selection analysis, which provides a definition of who reads specific parts of the paper. Demographic, sociological and psychological characteristics of the audience also are defined to improve the newspaper circulation and quality.
The other dimension of readership is to identify the non-readers and their reasons for not reading the newspapers. This method has considered the control, changes of the readers, their social and personal status (Chaffee, Choe 1981). Income, education, age and marital status are other variables of the readership dimension. Bogart (1981) found that the infrequent readers are younger, poorer and less educated. They are geographically mobile and more likely to be male or unmarried. Jackson (1982) adds that non-readers tend to be older, widowed or divorced. In the end, a positive correlation between social class and readership appears to be very relevant, though the level of education promotes greater taste for the print medium in general (Schramm, 1973).

In short, the structural explanation refers to the fact that the readers are very busy, not interested or have health problems. Newspapers content and preferences for television are other reasons explaining the lack of reading.

2.2) Public Use and Perception of The Newspapers:

What items are the readers interested in and read the most?. What are their attitudes and attachments to the newspapers?. Why do they read them?. These are basic questions in order to understand the relation between the readers and newspapers. However, the answers lie in the nature of this relation which is measured in terms of degree of satisfaction the readers get from the papers.
The structure of the papers is important, as the front page stories tend to have much better readership and interest than pages at the back or in the middle. Curran (1978) finds that human interest stories (tragedy, sex, celebrities involved in scandal etc...) are the most read news items. In Britain, sex, scandal and sport have proved to be the most successful items, leading to an increase in uniformity of product. The popular dailies are mainly involved in attracting readers through offering them bingo prizes.

In fact, the amount of news available, the layout and the position of the paper determine the degree of influence and interest (Klapper, 1960). Other patterns of the readers' interest are related to the stability of the content and the circumstances of the time (Stempel, 1978). In certain cases, the readers are engaged in a systematic search for what is relevant to them. This refers to the use and gratifications approach where the readers accept or reject messages which do not interest them. After all, the response of the readers is a multi-dimensional one. By this is meant, they define for themselves the area of interest and concern within the newspapers content.

The newspapers still retain a good deal of public confidence. The readers' attitudes and opinions depend on the richness and distinctive features of the papers which offer a greater amount of flexibility in using them. Hence, a greater identification between the papers and readers takes place.
This friendly relationship is reflected in the daily contact with the papers, an aspect not available in other media. Bogart finds that one out of three persons "feels lost", if he can not read or buy newspapers.

This relationship between readers and newspapers illustrates clearly the diversity of uses, perception and the nature of readers' attitudes explained in terms of source of information, relaxation and security.

In a survey, Blumer and Katz (1974) obtained the following results explaining the reasons for reading papers:

Figure 2.2 : Reasons for Reading Newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>69% read papers to keep up with events of the day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52% for useful information</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42% for human interest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32% to satisfy curiosity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25% to be able to discuss things with others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23% for advice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04% to get reinforcement for their opinion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In spite of this, the pattern of readership is not fully established, because of the variability of readership and the variety of reasons for reading.

Further and despite the good effects that papers have, there has been a gradual decline in readership due to the advent of television. The figure (2.3) displays which medium is closer to the audience.
Figure 2.3: To which Medium do you feel Closest?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1982</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV channels</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio stations</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Amongst other factors in not reading newspapers are that sometimes, the readers tend to be turned off by the size of the newspaper. This can be a focus of interest for future study which might also look at the product and functions of the newspaper. In the meantime, the next section looks into the recent state of the British press industry which has entered the era of new technology. Will the technological revolution in the press survive the challenge of the electronic media? The future will confirm or disconfirm that. Meanwhile regarding the Wapping Dispute, Murdoch has already won a battle in the process of innovation and modernisation of his titles.

British Press Industry:

1) The Press Industry: Crisis of Technology or Mismanagement?

In theory, the press no matter where it exists should
neither be subject to state control, nor left entirely to the unregulated forces of the market. In Britain, today attempts are being made to strengthen the internal organisation of the press industry to withstand market pressures, but reject any possibilities of improving it. Though newsprint is vulnerable to commercial and political pressures, the government has regarded it as an industry of exceptional political importance. During this century, the British government has made a policy of having no policy for it at all (Seaton, 1982). Despite the scandal about the closure of some papers like The Financial Times in August 1977 and The Times in November 1978, the government refused to intervene in this industry.

The British press industry is uniquely a national one. The current orientation towards a national industry means that the country has a peculiarly class-based set of papers, divided between the popular and quality (Goodhart, 1986). The low sale qualities contain more advertisements than high sale populars. However, both papers have been under strong pressure. The first faces pressures from advertisers to restrict its audience whereas the second has been forced to maximise its audience.

In the end, the papers that do not comply with this trend or do not head towards one of these two areas tend to disappear into the industry's 'Bermuda triangle' (Goodhart). At the same time, fast rising costs and outdated technology have forced papers to close or amalgamate as has the challenge
of television, videotext, satellite and electronic media, which are certain to become the dominant means in the future.

It seems that the introduction of new technology is the only alternative in order to survive. Partisans regard the move to new technology as 'the saviour of the British press industry'. Shifting from the 'hot metal technology' to the era of photo-composition and computers is a gigantic step with high risk. Even now and within the industry itself, there are major difficulties:

a) The industry faces an archaic structure of finance, production and distribution.

b) The financial structure itself is in crisis and private hands display an abusive sense of power.

c) There are ideological dimensions to the question and some resistance to changes.

Facing these problems, the industry has to define the strategy for overcoming them and clarify its attitudes towards the system. At the same time, it has to define how to encourage greater technological support and development.

In practice, new technology has meant different things to different people. Thus, some printworkers were opposed to the move on the grounds there was no prior deal. By resisting these changes, the workers, the owners argued were placing in jeopardy their jobs and the future of the industry. Now, few newspapers have introduced or are able to make the optimum use of the most modern methods available. Those that
have succeeded have done so by confrontation with the unions, bringing about the closure of some papers (Jenkins, 1986).

Hence, how has the introduction of new technology become a national issue? Some critics have made it responsible for the Fleet Street 'diaspora'. Other have suggested that the crisis has been caused not only by the technological factor, but by the style of management. Thus, the managerial staff has treated the workers as if they were pieces of machinery to be disposed of.

In spite of these arguments, it is important to look into the political and economic context of the industry. The British press industry is immensely conservative. Wintour (1972) argued that this industry has always kept away from innovation or technological changes. Therefore, the debate on new technology is basically refuted and conducted almost in terms of deciding which manual workers should be laid off. It is also seen in terms of using what exists and not building anything new (Curran, 1978)

The issue is not about technical aspects, but about how people organise themselves to meet the challenges of a competitive future. If the workers are not well prepared to embrace new technology, the competition and challenge from alternative sources will spell the death knell of the press industry (Goodhart).

In brief, the question for the press industry is not whether it will be revolutionised which is inevitable, but who
will play the bigger part in the industry?. The next section explains how Fleet Street has dealt with the technological issue.

2) Fleet Street: The End of an Era?

It is worth remembering that the political and legal changes since 1979 have seriously curtailed the unions' power and role and shifted the balance of power in the employers' direction. But it seems that this has taken longer to succeed in Fleet Street because of the nature of the press industry. As conservative as Fleet Street is, the bastion of the British press has been kept alive and varied because of competition. However, it has had devastating effects, notably on managerial competence and innovation.

New technology has given birth to a huge alternative, employing small printers, though the environment in Fleet Street had been a powerful factor blocking modernisation and greater efficiency. Goodhart reckons that 'operating in Fleet Street means little or no opportunity to expand the business'. The place has been characterised by constant convulsions and the print unions veto has barred internal reforms. In addition Fleet Street's management has not developed very effective methods for dealing with industrial relations.

Though some attempts were made to improve industrial relations, but without success as the unions were accused of delaying the process of introducing new technology (Martin, 1981). The representatives of the workers responded that the
management had breached agreements, which stipulated the introduction of a gradual negotiated technological package.

Fleet Street was planned to become one of the most technologically sophisticated places as far as the press industry was concerned. But troubles have prevented the achievement of this objective owing to the incompetence of the managerial staff, the intransigence and indiscipline of the unions (Cleverley, 1976). In the 1970's, the situation reached its worst point. By 1977, the number of copies lost had begun to rise alarmingly. Not a single paper was free of labour troubles. In other words, there was an atmosphere of anarchy (Melvern, 1986). Shah (who owned the newspaper Today) admitted that Fleet Street was an area of intimidation where the management were as bad as the unions.

Economic, political and technological pressures have pushed the press industry towards a crisis. Critics argued that the difficulties were neither journalistic nor technological, but were rooted in industrial relations. The management has shown weakness and lack of ability to do its job properly. Corruption and violence were part of the common practices which created appalling labour relations (Magazine of the Student Industrial Societies 1987).

In fact, both parties were responsible for the crisis (Wintour, 1972). On the one hand the unions have had too much power and have opposed changes. The management, on the other hand has been ignorant of labour relations. Further, there has been the traditional struggle which exists between
employers and workers in capitalist society. However, it is crucial to remember the presence of another traditional inter-union rivalry, between the Nga and Sogat. The first has viewed itself as the elite, whereas the second group is merely composed of unskilled workers.

Consequently, industrial relations have reached a level of intolerance and anarchy. They have been worsened by the disastrous economic situation. The machinery has become obsolete, there has been a challenge from more sophisticated means of media.

Similarly, the structural dimension of the crisis is that the paper industry was founded on an autocratic and paternalistic basis where the owners kept the major decisions to themselves. The employers failed to introduce the new technology on terms and conditions desired by the parties involved in the newspaper industry. The owners were more concerned with market forces. This has caused an unacceptable reduction of newspaper circulation and quality standards and a concentration of ownership.

Martin (1981) described the situation in Fleet Street as conflictual, explaining that changes in the press industry depended on the way industrial relations were working. These relations are affected by the tension between politicians and the press. On one hand, the politicians accuse the press of invading privacy and low editorial standards. On the other hand, newspapers believe that politicians conceal the truth
by hiding behind the "alibi" of secrecy and confidentiality. They threaten the press by using the official secret acts (D. notice committee). This climate has created mistrust and frequent sources of political bias and frustration for journalists.

Besides, the technical dimension of the Fleet Street 'disaster' has damaged the process of production and dispatch. The place has become a monument of industrial archaeology (Jenkins, 1979). Without the constant and adequate perfection of the delivery system, even the surviving daily papers will find themselves in danger of collapse. Owing to the deplorable state of the plant in Fleet Street, it has become literally impossible to expand further, causing lower editorial standards in the pursuit of profit by increasing circulation.

Obviously, this chaotic situation has reached a point of no return and the atmosphere of anarchy has prevailed for some time. As Melvern has described it, there was a law of the jungle. The owners were concerned to make money and the managerial staff weakened by the lack of confidence and power, was in disarray. The workers found themselves deprived of their rights. Facing a fait accompli, they had no choice, but to oppose such a move. In the last instance, the government has already paved the way for the employers, by tightening up the industrial relations legislation and curbing the activities of the unions.

The arrival of "outsiders" appeared to be the only alternative to quash this dilemma and impose the appropriate
technological changes. 1986 was seen as the year for the big bang that would blow the clanking national paper industry into the electronic age (The Observer February 1986). In fact, 1986 was "year zero" of the Fleet Street revolution. Despite the resistance towards change, the newspaper 'Today' witnessed the first step towards innovation in the British press industry. In spite of its limited success, a new era has begun in the press industry in Britain.

The partisans of this development argue that the choices are harsh ones, but chapel officials have spent a lifetime offering owners, just such harsh choices. Undeniably, there has been a cavalier treatment of the workers by the press barons who claim that, it is the only alternative available to 'shake off years of corporation, compromise and decline' (Jenkins, 1986).

Overall, have these changes ignited the beginning of a real revolution in Fleet Street? Do they offer the potential for a wider revolution in the structure of the British labour movement? Will the British press, which has already had one revolution, come to terms with the battle for radical changes in the press industry? The answers are problematic, because the future of this press will depend on the people involved (staff, barons, workers in the production and distribution process and readers). Other factors are also relevant in determining the future of the press.

After all these changes, Fleet Street remains an
industry in uneasy equilibrium between the militant chapels, conservative readers and proprietorial motivation (Jenkins).

3) Docklands Option:

Eventually, the papers are likely to be extended. They will start to be electronically dispatched via cables, satellites and computers. This has to happen, but in the present context is not practical. Therefore most Fleet Street press companies have decided to move their business. Indeed the printing and distribution operations are moving out from the old bastion of the press in Fleet Street into the revitalised East London docklands, considered as the new land of hope and glory (The Economist February 13 1988).

Thus, most titles are now contemplating a mass escape to the new open space and investment tax havens. The Docklands option has become an 'elixir' of proprietorial vigour. The Daily Telegraph is to set up large printing plant, four miles to the East of the Isles of Dogs. The Guardian, The Daily Mail have already booked space in The Surrey Docks. The Mirror and The Financial Times have also done so. This move by the newspapers in the course of 1985-1986 threw the unions into retreat across the entire industry.

The importance of the new Docklands, as the employers argue, offers more opportunities compared with Fleet Street where the machine room chapels were source of conflict. Ironically, the decision to leave Fleet Street, was made only a short time before the balance of power had finally shifted
back towards the management.

In conclusion, it is difficult to foresee the future of the British press in the light of the new perspectives. However, will the new framework provide an adequate safeguard against distortion and bias?. How many titles are enough?. How much concentration is required to yield improvement in journalistic quality?. Seymour-Ure (1968) has pointed out that 'the more one asks how many papers are needed, the more the exercise becomes ludicrous'. To those who feel the press is inadequate, the answer as Jenkins suggests, is at the present with the will and whim of capitalist owners, editors and subordinate journalists. Above all, the British press has a valuable role in scrutinizing, criticizing, embarrassing and in the final analysis defending the principles of democracy and freedom.

G) The Wapping dispute:

1) Highlights of the Dispute:

The dispute sparked off by a year of violent demonstrations at News International's Wapping plant came to a head in January 1986. The print unions were given six months notice that collective agreements covering more than 5,500 workers would be terminated following the failure of talks. In fact the negotiations concerned the move to Wapping and its impact on the future of the workforce. The dispute lasted for one year from January 1986 to the beginning of February 1987. The
important and decisive dates which caused the breakdown of the talks and the beginning of the dispute can be highlighted as follows:

On the 12 January, the two unions involved in the dispute (National Graphical Association, and Sogat 82), decided to hold a strike ballot after the announcement that the Sunday Times supplement would be printed at Wapping. Murdoch, the owner of the company had threatened that all his four titles (The Times, The Sunday Times, The Sun and The News of the World) would be produced at Wapping, if there were further strikes at existing plants.

On the 21st of the same month, the Nga and Sogat 82 members voted in favour of industrial action. Later, the negotiations were deadlocked, in particular when the first offer of 50 million pounds by Murdoch was turned down. (though 1,700 members later accepted the compensation). On the 26 January, about 5,500 workers received dismissal notices, the journalists were exempted from this notice (in fact, they were a decisive factor in this dispute, had they refused to join the Wapping, the strike would have been won by the workers) and their reaction was different. Some of them had joined the new plant and others turned down the move to Wapping and were sacked. The next day, the first edition of the Times was rolled out of Wapping. This decision was seen by the unions as a breach of previous agreements and led the trades union congress to order sanctions against the company.
During the month of February, there was an increase of mass pickets and demonstrations at Wapping in order to prevent the production and distribution of the titles. Subsequently, legal action followed and the high court ordered an injunction to sequestrate 17 million pounds assets of Sogat.

In fact, the union movement was in discomfiture and both unions involved in this industrial action were deeply divided. The leader of National Graphical Association (NGA) lost control of the new plant and Brenda Dean, the leader of Sogat 82 felt obliged to opt for a strike because she feared being dragged into one by her militants (Jenkins, 1986).

The first anniversary of the dispute ended in violent and bloody riots outside Wapping. It had created sentiments of intimidation on both sides with abuse and violence. The unions accused Murdoch of ruthlessness and deception by sacking employees without compensation.

The worse thing happened when the union movement witnessed the first radical challenge to its members. The electricians were clandestinely recruited to do the job of the printworkers. Increasingly, the crisis over Wapping became not just an unequal trial of strength between Murdoch and the print unions, but a war of nerves between the electricians (EETPU) and trades unions congress (TUC). Yet, in their Southampton district office, the electricians supplied gangs of casual workers, cleared of union militancy and likely to
As regards the problem of transport and distribution of his titles, Murdoch had signed an agreement with his Australian ally Thomas Nationwide Transport (TNT). Yet, this company in which Murdoch held some stake had operated in Britain since 1972. It was an opportunity for Thomas company to challenge British rail newspapers distribution which was another breach of the agreement.

The Wapping plant itself looked like a police station. There was a heavy police presence (use of video camera, horses and other equipment). In statistical terms, the policing of the strike was very costly: More than 5.3 million pounds and 1.2 million of police hours worked to secure the situation. By the end of January 1987, about 1462 person arrested, most of them were accused of insulting behaviour (Panorama BBC1 19th January 1987). There were many injuries on both sides involved in the dispute with one person being killed by a lorry driver in unclear circumstances.

The police behaviour in the Wapping plant was subject to investigation and the Crown Prosecution service has announced that a number of officers are to face summonses. A decision on who will be prosecuted is to be made in due course.

These are some facts of the dispute. However, in order to keep this piece of research within the terms of impartiality and objectivity, it is necessary to look into the
way the newspapers covered and reported it. How had they portrayed it and which aspect or dimensions received priority over others? These questions will be carefully examined in the analysis of the newspapers content.

2) Fortress Wapping:

The atmosphere which had surrounded the dispute requires a great deal of attention. The Wapping plant appears to have become the Fleet Street of the future, in which the latest technology goes hand in hand with progressive labour practices. This perspective is in contrast to the old bastion of the British press, seen by some as a 'microcosm of Britain's industrial malaise at its worse'. The government and private enquiries recommended that Fleet Street should put its 'shameful house in order' (Melvern). The move to Wapping was the answer to that. Further, it has enabled Murdoch to break the unions and wreak his revenge for the delay they had caused (the Wapping plant had been forced to lie idle for 2 years since its effective completion in 1983).

There was a meticulous secret plan to introduce the latest technology in 'Fortress Wapping'. Electronic equipment (consisting of computers with each hard disc having a capacity of 300 million characters) was smuggled into this country in unmarked crates and secretly tested (The Listener January 22, 1987).

If inside the plant, the era of high technology has been in progress, outside and surrounding it, was barbed wire
of 4,000 meters, search lights, a 12 foot high fence and swivelling television camera which became a spectre for many people. Double fencing, razor wire and security guards are the new decoration of 'Fortress Wapping'.

Indeed, Murdoch has outlined his 'dash for freedom' by revolutionising the British press. Now it looks as if two hundred years of Fleet Street history is over. However, will this new era benefit the general interest and especially the integrity of the press? It is problematic, as a former editor of The Times acknowledged. Evans (1983) reckoned that selling papers had in theory served to create the myth that it was satisfactory for them to be owned by foreign companies or groups. But in reality, it is a dangerous myth, from which all are suffering. The most serious threat that Murdoch posed to the rest of the industry was in the market place. The papers are compelled to improve themselves technically, otherwise they will face hard choices for survival in a competitive industry.

3) Murdoch: The Tycoon and Citizen of The World

The chairman of News International was obviously a key figure in the dispute. He acknowledges that Wapping was a liberating experience. It had freed him from the "tyranny of the unions". Fleet Street was in fact, a frustrating souvenir for Murdoch. His move to the new plant, has made him a billionaire and secured him a place as the most powerful press baron. Now, he makes a profit of 2 million pounds per week from his titles in this country as well as owning publishing
and satellite companies. In Australia, he owns the country's only national daily papers, big city papers in Sydney, two television stations, book publishers, magazines, half an airline and an oil exploration company. In America, he owns national weekly newspapers, magazines, television stations and a major hollywood studio. Even in the Far East, he controls 51% of papers and magazines (Far East Economic review). The figure (2.4) highlights Murdoch's empire around the world.

The building of Murdoch's media empire throughout the world has not been realised without fights and controversies. His opponents claim, however that Murdoch is a controversial figure. An aggressive and expansionist magnate, he was once nicknamed 'the thug of Fleet Street' (L'Express January 29 1988). Although this aspect of his personality is not of immediate concern in this study, it can be an indicator for understanding and interpreting how he dealt with the crisis at Wapping. After all, he is the tycoon, the strike-breaker and citizen of the 'global village' (The Listener 22.1.1987).

After these highlights of the Wapping dispute, the next two chapters present the empirical approach of this piece of research, which applies the content analysis and social survey methods. So far, the critical review and discussion of recent studies has examined the partial and unbalanced character of the media coverage of industrial relations. This dimension is developed in the next section with particular regard to the press coverage of Wapping. But the question relating to the viewers' or readers' attitudes or opinions
Figure 2.4: Murdoch's International Empire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Britain</th>
<th>U.S.A</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Pacific Basin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>Boston Herald</td>
<td>Over 120 regional titles</td>
<td>South China Morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Times</td>
<td>Today</td>
<td>Express News</td>
<td>Fiji Times</td>
<td>Synday Times Post Courier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sun</td>
<td>News of the World</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazines and Books</th>
<th>Elle</th>
<th>Automobile Elle</th>
<th>TV Week Australian Islands Monthly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Times Supplements</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Family Circle</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplements</td>
<td>19 other Titles</td>
<td>Better Homes and Gardens</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Geographia         | Harper, Row Publishers | Others include Travel Guide | -                                  |
| Batholemew         | Salem House | Bay Books | -                                  |
| Nicholson          | Zondervan | Augus, Roberston Herald and Weekly Times Books | -                                  |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV, Films</th>
<th>Sky</th>
<th>20th Century Fox</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Channel</td>
<td>Fox Broadcasting</td>
<td>TV Stations in: Dalla, Houston, Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston, New York, Washington D.C</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Printing           | Bemrose | World Printing Over 20 Companies | - | - |


towards the media coverage of those issues appears to be neglected or disregarded. Hence, it seems appropriate to look into this aspect to have an objective picture of how the press covered that item of Wapping and how the readers perceived and understood it.
Specifically, the Wapping case is examined through two aspects. The first one concerns the analysis of press content of items relating to this strike, in terms of distortion, bias and impartiality. The second aspect assesses the impact or influence (if any) of the coverage on readers' attitudes and opinions.

G) Analysis of newspapers content:

Basically the purpose of the content analysis in this piece of research as already mentioned is to examine whether the press fairly covered and reported the issue of Wapping. In other words, which aspects or dimensions of the strike were stressed above others and which side had the prominent coverage?. How were the workers portrayed and what were the editors' views towards the dispute?. How were the causes and effects of this item presented and what was the distribution (number) of articles and editorials devoted by each newspaper to this dispute.

These are some of the questions, and the unit of analysis which is the most important item that counted in this method, will concern the selection of titles, dates and articles on this strike.

1) Selection of The Newspapers

The research concerns the analysis of articles reporting on Wapping in six newspapers. In fact the selection of the newspapers obeys in some respects the principles of sampling
technique as it will be implemented in the survey. Three quality newspapers and three popular ones have been chosen according to different criteria.

Thus, the first category of newspapers includes The Guardian, The Times and The Financial Times. The Guardian is selected for its political orientation. This newspaper is considered an independent paper, it has no proprietor. Owned by a trust, whose main objectives seem to ensure the continued existence and independence of the paper. Rival to it is The Times, which is owned by Murdoch. This newspaper was in the centre of the row at Wapping and regarded as a right wing paper. A third view is provided by The Financial Times. The paper of the city is concerned primarily with business matters.

The second category of newspapers includes The Sun, The Mail and the Mirror. Here also, The Sun is part of the dispute and well known for its comical, sensational and sexist style. The second paper is The Daily Mail, perceived by some people as a loyal conservative paper, but it was not involved in this dispute. The third angle of coverage is suggested by The Daily Mirror, considered supportive to the labour movement and sympathetic to its causes. The left of centre tradition of this title has actually managed to survive the passage of years and changing corporate ownership.

Obviously, the selection of these newspapers is still problematic because of the difficulties of categorising. In spite of this, the criteria in selecting them are based on
the category of papers in terms of popularity and quality, the political orientation, the circulation and the quality standards. Overall, the list is not exhaustive, but in a way depend on the hypotheses of the research. Though the number of newspapers selected remains small, a thorough analysis is carried out on their content to achieve conclusive results.

2) Techniques Applied:

After having defined the aims of this research, the issue and the sample, the next step consists of selecting articles and editorials to be scrutinized. Although the majority of the British press shows little support for the labour movement, a proportional number of items on the issue was drawn from each paper to analyse their way of reporting the events at Wapping.

During the year of the dispute, a great number of articles were published, as the issue itself went through different moments of tension. For example, when the strike broke out, there was an extensive coverage during the first two months. The strike calmed down the next month but reignited after the negotiations were deadlocked. The scenes of riots took place in April and May. Afterwards the low tension period followed and lasted throughout the summer (though there were picket lines every Saturday). The tension regenerated again in September and reached its climax in January 1987 which marked the first anniversary of the dispute.
In general, most newspapers reported the issue of Wapping irregularly from beginning to end. There were some differences of interpretation and emphasis in reporting events between the two categories of papers.

For instance, the quality papers seem to display more interest and published more articles on the strike compared with the popular press. In the first two months of the strike the quality papers reported and published almost twice the number of articles and editorials compared with the popular papers. The figure (3) shows the number of items published by each newspaper about the issue during January and February 1986:

Figure 3: Frequency of items (January and February 1986)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Papers</th>
<th>Numbers of articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Financial Times</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Daily Mail</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Daily Mirror</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sun</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems that the unequal number of articles between these papers was due mainly to the types of each paper, the nature and characteristics of the dispute and the course of the events relating to it. In spite of this, a systematic and representative sample is selected according to the data (for
After having counted the total number of articles and editorials on each paper published throughout the one year of the dispute, the next step consists of selecting items published each month. Then, articles and editorials are sampled, stratified according to each week of the month. Afterwards, from each week, items were sampled for each day of the week. In the end, a representative sample of articles and editorials is chosen for each paper and for the entire period of the strike (figure 3.1).

It is vital to remind ourselves that the distribution of the items varied from the beginning to the end of the dispute. When the strike broke out, as already mentioned a large number of articles were published, then the number tends to decrease from one newspaper to another and varied in relation to the course of events.

Figure 3.1: Sample of Articles in Each Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Papers</th>
<th>Number of articles and editorials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The F.Times</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The D.Mail</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The D.Mirror</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sun</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although the basic orientation of the majority of the British press is known for its allegiance to the Conservative Party, there was some difference in style and approach between the newspapers in their coverage of the strike. For example, the quality newspapers appear to be more factual and rational with fewer pictures. The popular papers, however, excel in their emotional, sensational style sometimes sustained by pictures of violence (in the Wapping dispute, the photographs display scenes of violence and armoury of weapons used etc...).

But prior to further comparison between the two sets of papers, it is essential to set up the category scheme design to analyse the content of articles. Yet, the choice of a system of enumeration of categories is not an easy operation, because the media define what types of events are significant and also offer different interpretations of how to understand them (Hall, 1977). This system has to be explicit and relevant to the hypotheses of the research.

In this study, the scheme of categories concerns the quantitative and qualitative approach. The first approach refers to the distribution, the frequency of occurrence of words and the space devoted to the dispute. The second conception, however, looks into the substance of the text with regard to the style and vocabulary. The third approach is to combine, compare results of both approaches and eventually interpret them for further analysis.
In addition to the scheme of categories, the analysis has to assess the degree of partiality and bias (if any) in both types of papers. In fact, the term bias has a consistent meaning from one author to the next. The difference between bias in a test and unfair test use is fundamental to an understanding of the purpose served by different methods for detecting bias (Berk, 1982). In statistical analysis, bias is a technical term which is defined as a systematic error in the measurement process. However, in the present study, the term is used to denote unfairness, partiality and unbalance.

The main problem is not a single one of whether for instance, the coverage of Wapping was biased or not. However, we must begin by enquiring 'bias in relation to what?', and looking for a number of dimensions along which the ensuing enquiry can be pursued (Harrison, 1985).

Indeed it is difficult to establish a true neutral point in the analysis. Foutaine (1985) reckons that we cannot work with a model which see two sides and between and above them a group of media professionals seeking to report in a balanced and unbiased way. Every report, every picture, every word put out necessarily favours one side or the other. Hence, the 'ideology of neutrality' is impossible to be achieved in the analysis (Glasgow Media Group, 1982).

In spite of this, a set of categories for measuring the bias in both types of newspapers is suggested and includes the space, the placement of the items and their lexical
devices. In this context, the bias element in the press coverage of the Wapping issue is defined through the following ways:

a) by explicit argument or opinion favouring one side
b) the use of facts or comments in a controversial way
c) the use of language, which reveals an implicit preference
d) the omission of points on one dimension over others

3) Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches:

In fact, both approaches are inter-related and interdependent in the sense that the analysis applies both of them in order to achieve complete and objective results. Throughout this section, they are implemented simultaneously for the analysis of the texts. The first element in the quantitative approach concerns the distribution of words.

3.1) The Distribution of Words:

This element deals with records, numbers of types, number of token and average sentence length in the text. The definition of record is related to the sentence, which is obviously divided into groups of words. Each word is called a token and each different word is a type. The division of the number of types by the number of tokens generates the type token ratio (TTR).

The TTR is one of the most common coefficients for analysing the complexity of texts and a reliable indicator for examining vocabularies, assessing the psychological state of the writer or reporter. Mochmann (1987) defines the TTR as
'an instrument to identify the easiness or not of the people when they write or talk'. This concept also reveals emotions and ideas of those who report and the time of occurrence of each type of words used within the text.

Specifically, the concepts are operationalized through the implementation of the textpack program (figure 3.2). Thus, the average sentence length in the entire text for each paper is worked out through the division of the total number of words in the text by its number of input records (sentences).

Figure 3.2: Distribution of Words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Records</th>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Token</th>
<th>Average sentence Length</th>
<th>TTR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sun</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>1034</td>
<td>3081</td>
<td>19.13</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The D.Mail</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>1436</td>
<td>4720</td>
<td>21.45</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The D.Mirror</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>3193</td>
<td>20.73</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>2700</td>
<td>9128</td>
<td>25.08</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>2450</td>
<td>8432</td>
<td>27.03</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The F.Times</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>2393</td>
<td>8036</td>
<td>33.76</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.1) Average Sentence Length: (Number of Words/Records)

The average of sentence length in the text for each paper can be a valid indicator to assess the space allocation and length of articles regarding the issue and published by each paper.

Hence, the previous figure displays that the category of popular press had low average sentence length, which is due mainly to the proportion of space and the format of the pages.
In fact, the pages in these papers have a small format, therefore less space is available. In addition, the photographs are included on the same page.

With regard to the length of articles and quantity of words, the quality papers tend to devote more space and words to the events. The Financial Times had a higher average sentence length (33.76), which means more information and coverage was provided by this newspaper. The two other quality papers fall in the same tendency. They had almost the same average sentence length (The Guardian 27.03, The Times 25.08).

The popular papers have less average sentence length than the quality one. In this category of papers, though The Mail has a high sentence length (21.45) than the two other titles (The Sun 19.13 and The Mirror 20.73) is still smaller than the quality papers. This reflects the style, vocabulary and the smaller sentence length in the tabloid press whose pages format is almost half the size of the pages in the quality papers.

In brief, the parameter of the average sentence length has enabled us to compare differences between these papers with respect to the quantitative approach and prominence of items.

3.1.2) The Token, Type Ratio (TTR):

Considering this factor in the analysis, the results tend to confirm previous findings relating to the average sentence length. For instance, The Sun had the highest ratio (0.34),
this explains perhaps how the state of the reporter is restricted or it is just a deliberate choice of restricted vocabulary for a down-market readership. The Mail and The Mirror have almost the same ratio, which reflected the type of vocabularies used. But, the lack of a large number of words and a variety of vocabulary in these papers was supplemented by more pictures. The quality newspapers had the same ratio as the tabloid press, except The Guardian (0.29), which means the tendency of this paper to provide various articles using a variety of words. Overall, the more the ratio is higher, the less the texts are rich and varied.

3.1.3) The Frequency of Occurrence of Key Words:

This parameter enables us to define which words are frequently repeated and the vocabulary used by different papers. At a glance, it appears that most of them concentrated on some key words such as Murdoch, Wapping, Unions and Papers.

The figure (3.3) shows the frequency of occurrence of each word in the paper. In the Sun, the rate of occurrence of words such as Wapping (3), EETPU (3) was lower compared with other words. The word Police seemed to be of high occurrence (28). The Mail focussed on the action of the unions in this dispute and the intervention of the police. Both words were very often used in this newspaper. However, the electricians union which played a key role in the strike (when its leader signed a single union deal with Murdoch), appears to be disregarded.
Instead, the Mail emphasized the illegal action of the unions (45). At the same time (though a few times), it praised and legitimised the EETPU decision. In The Mirror, the word Unions had a higher rate of occurrence which perhaps illustrated the sympathy expressed by this paper towards the workers. Words EETPU, Police, Court and Papers were also used.

In the other category of papers, most titles stressed words Newspapers, Court, Police. These words are related to facts of the dispute. In The Guardian, the word Wapping (20) had a higher rate of occurrence. Words of Unions (53) and the Papers (46) were very often mentioned in The Times whereas
words of EETPU (17) and Murdoch (11) had the lowest rate of occurrence. The Financial Times, however, tended to have a wide range of words such as Murdoch (14), Police (15), Court (12), EETPU (31) and Papers (30). Words Wapping (51) and Unions (55) had the highest percentage of occurrence.

In addition to these results, some assumptions can be drawn for a qualitative approach. Thus, in The Sun, the words Wapping, Murdoch and EETPU were used very few times compared with other words. Was it a form of restriction and censorship or another tactic to direct the coverage on particular words and areas?. The word Unions was of high occurrence: Was it an important word or an intentional manner to focus on it as it was at the basis of this strike?. In fact, throughout the issue, this paper emphasized in its coverage the necessity of moving to the new plant, regardless of the social impact on the workers, who are blamed for the scenes of violence.

The Mail mentioned the EETPU (9) as an example of moderation. This newspaper praised its action of signing a single union deal. The Mirror cited few times the EETPU and Police, but Unions remain the key word (42). It seems the prominence of the word Unions was related to the social and economic implications of this strike.

In The Times, the words Murdoch and EETPU seem to disappear from its vocabulary. Here again, was it a form of manipulation of the news to present and interpret them in their 'appropriate context'? This paper had in fact praised the benefits of new technology and its efficiency, but at the
same time, blamed the workers and legitimised the police intervention. In contrast, The Guardian highlighted the single union deal between electricians and Murdoch and its repercussions on the courses of events. Words Court, Papers and Police were frequently cited. The inter-union rivalry also was very often discussed item. In The Financial Times, the words Police and Murdoch were less frequent. However, most of its focus was on words relating to Unions, the new plant of Wapping, the action of the EETPU and Papers.

It is important to mention that these words are only significant within their appropriate context. In other words, each key word has to be analysed within its sentence and meaning in the context. For instance, the two papers involved in the dispute (The Times and The Sun) focused on the illegal action of the print workers by referring very often to the police and the courts. The rest of the papers tend to widen the list of words in relation to their perception and vision of the dispute.

In short, each paper seems to favour some key words over others to cover and portray the events according to their interests and policy. This division was apparent between the popular press and the quality. The first category stressed the sensational and violent side of the issue, whereas the second category tended to be more extensive and looked at a wide range of aspects. However, these results are not relevant unless they are considered and combined with other techniques. Hence, the use of the Textpack package allowed us
to define accurately the length of articles, time and the frequencies of occurrence of some key words.

It is also necessary to remind ourselves that the analysis of items on the Wapping case requires a combination of techniques and approaches. The section on the distribution of words has to be perceived and analysed in terms of types (characters), the position of articles in the newspapers (front page, middle or back page) and the nature of photographs (size and content).

An objective and complete analysis of articles on the Wapping issue, as already mentioned is based on the comparison of the results obtained from the distribution of words, analysis of headlines and photographs etc...

3.2) Analysis of Headlines:

The wording in the headlines indicates in some respects the nature of the editors' and reporters' attitudes towards the dispute and specifically towards the workers and Murdoch in terms of favourable, neutral or unfavourable. A set of criteria was set up to define and classify headlines according to facts and personal opinions and views, style and use of language. The categorisation of headlines also depends on the political orientation of each newspaper. It is also appropriate to analyse these headlines with respect to the texts, wording, style and the photographic discourse. Thus, after recording the headlines, the next step consists of classifying them accordingly.

94
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Headlines</th>
<th>Attitudes towards workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent-a yob blamed for picked violence</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whopping blow for Brenda</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arsenal of the hordes</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arsenal of terror</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War at Wapping</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sky filled with missiles</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Print thugs slash Times man</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Print Union's 17 million pounds seized</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riot mob tried to burn police horse alive</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Print union in new threat to black The Sun</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapons of mob and hate</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hero Sun drivers keep on trucking. They ignore union boss's orders</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hate campaign hits Hammond</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The wording in these headlines expressed a negative attitude towards the print unions and workers. This was sustained by some strong and offensive words such as: Arsenal of the Hordes Weapons of Mob and Hate and Riot Mob Tried to Burn Police Horse Alive. The last headline, for instance was relevant to encourage hate and anger from the British public, known for its love and care for animals. The purpose behind this
headline was to distract some readers' attention from the main issue of the strike. In most headlines (9), the attitudes and opinions expressed were against the workers and their representatives, stressed the violence but nothing else on the other aspects of the dispute. 7 headlines were published in a large type to attract more attention and located either in the front pages or the second one (see appendix). The dramatic picture drawn by The Sun of the events through the series of photographs gave the impression that the workers were engaged in war against the police and Murdoch. In the end, the plant of Wapping became a battlefield.

Figure 3.5: Categorisation of Headlines in The Daily Mail

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Headlines</th>
<th>Attitudes towards workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union risks 17 million pounds 'clout'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murdoch claims print 'victory'</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potted plant and computer that say hello</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The arsenal of hatred</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fanatics behind battle of Wapping</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rampage of terror</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this paper, the same characteristics found in The Sun apply here (offensive and exaggerated language, written in a large character and located in front and second pages). Some of the headlines (figure 3.5) expressed attitudes of disapproval and hate at the workers by using an emotional and extreme wording.
The causes of the strike were hardly mentioned in these headlines, which imply that the new plant became the theatre of violence and riots.

Figure 3.6: Categorisation of Headlines in The Daily Mirror

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Headlines</th>
<th>Attitudes towards workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Now Murdoch puts 1,000 rail jobs on line</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wapping massacre</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickets in new siege of Wapping</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unions put cash on Labour</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murdoch bid goes to vote</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turmoil in Fleet Street</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not such a Wapping offer</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The weapons of Wapping</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printers in court</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whopping trouble</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At least in this paper, there was a quite fair and balanced wording in the headlines. For instance, the headline of 'Now Murdoch Puts 1,000 Rail Jobs on Line', illustrated the wide range of views and aspects of the strike and its impact on the workers' social and economic life. It also showed some kind of sympathy and understanding towards the strikers. However, the headline of 'Pickets in New Siege of Wapping', which seems to be anti-worker, was in fact categorised as a pro-worker one as the pickets lines were officially allowed, though held under siege from the police forces. In some respects, this
paper looked at a variety of dimensions surrounding the dispute. It was the least unfavourable paper compared with The Sun and The Mail, which unilaterally opposed employees and unions.

Figure 3.7: Categorisation of Headlines in The Times

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Headlines</th>
<th>Attitudes towards workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murdoch set print union a new problem</td>
<td>Pro -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard lessons for Wapping</td>
<td>Neutral -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A very dangerous error</td>
<td>Con +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One year at Wapping</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fleet Street: Now the truth can be told</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using the law</td>
<td>Pro -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Wapping with principles still intact</td>
<td>Neutral -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though the wording in these headlines (figure 3.7) was not as bad as in The Sun and The Mail, nevertheless they expressed an incomplete picture of the actual events which occurred during the strike. It is useful to recall that The Times was implicated in the row and the editorial staff was committed to defending Murdoch's move. Thus, little concern was shown for the workers' hardships and two headlines, 'One Year at Wapping', 'A Very Dangerous Error' appeared to favour Murdoch and blame the workers for what happened.
### Figure 3.8: Categorisation of Headlines in The Financial Times

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Headlines</th>
<th>Pro</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Con</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High stakes in the battle of Wapping</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wapping row union finds it pays to be polite with the law</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wapping may lead to tighter union law</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crunch near as Murdoch and union brace for war</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times gives ultimatum to 12 rebel journalists</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murdoch wins first round in the battle over Wapping</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printers make concessions</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard times for the Wapping journalists</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murdoch vows never to use print union at Wapping</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the headlines (figure 3.8), there was a variety of ideas and aspects. Both employer and employees seem to be mentioned very often, though the focus of this paper was on some facts. By looking at a wide range of points, The Financial Times offered in some respects an objective image of the events, state the positions of both parties such as, 'Printers Make Concessions', 'Murdoch Wins First Round in the Battle of Wapping', 'Crunch Near as Murdoch and Union Brace for War'. Further, the newspaper of the city mentioned in the headlines (see Appendix) the impact of the move to Wapping on the future
of the British press industry and industrial relations.

Figure 3.9: Categorisation of Headlines in The Guardian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Headlines</th>
<th>Pro</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Con</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The final throes of Wapping</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two sides of trouble</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven days of hard thinking</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The law after Wapping</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another hot night in the East End</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The hard sell at Wapping</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wapping: The issues fall into place</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wapping: The point of no return</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This paper tended to be less critical towards the printers. As it claims itself independent, The Guardian seemed to be more concerned with civil rights and the social and economic difficulties of the workers. With regard to the headlines (figure 3.9), the wording was balanced and less controversial, both sides were responsible for acts of violence. Thus, negotiations and common sense have to prevail in relation to the force of the law.

In sum, in this section of headlines, three newspapers were critical of the print workers, namely The Sun, The Daily Mail and The Times, which supported Murdoch’s move. The rest of the papers shared attitudes of approval and disapproval for

100
both sides in this dispute, blaming them for the riots.

3.3) Analysis of Photographs:

In addition to the press and broadcasting, the photograph is a medium of communication. Conventional wisdom tell us that a good picture is worth a thousand words. Sometimes, it can be worthless or misleading (Wagner, 1979). The picture research is in itself another subject of study, nevertheless a brief analysis of the pictures in the Wapping case is proposed to enable us to have an objective interpretation of the events.

Thus, Besides the analysis of the text and frequency of occurrence of words, the content of images published in the papers defines messages in terms of bias, error and validity. The pictures are a photographic discourse and reflect some aspects of the context. Considered as an omnipresence in our everyday social life, the pictures contribute to the production and dissemination of meanings which are inevitably subject to cultural definition in a society.

The aims in this section is neither to scrutinize the meanings of the images nor to apply the theory of photography. It is important, however, to mention that the content of photographs checks the reliability of what one is intended to say with the images which generate information.

Thus, the picture research obeys the same frameworks as the texts in the media and press. The semiotic is the appropriate frame to define and interpret pictures. In this
context, neither the wording of the text nor the language of photographs are free from the determination of the language itself (Wagner, 1979).

In the titles sampled, there were differences of style, vocabulary and pictures among the papers. For example, the quality papers tend to insert less photographs, whereas in the popular press, the pictures are legion. It is clear that the absence of a great number of words in the popular press is supplemented by an abundance of photographs. They offer 'a visual imagery' of the events. Regarding the Wapping issue, for instance, in The Sun three pictures displayed scenes of violence and riots. They presented the weapons, stones and missiles used by the strikers to attract the readers on one particular aspect of the issue and highlighted their illegal and violent action.

Though a verbal description of the photographs appears to be inadequate, nevertheless some assumptions can be made from the series of pictures published in each newspaper (see the appendix) and compare different images and backgrounds. The results were that the pictures present the 'appropriate window' of the dispute for each newspaper, which were selected in line with the written messages. The example of The Sun as already cited, is relevant to the manipulation of photographs. The pictures of violence shown in this paper overshadowed the social and economic repercussions on the workers, by focussing on the side of violence and riots. The readers ended up with a picture of a battlefield where police and thugs were involved.
However, one may ask whether the photographs are more convincing, attractive and relevant than pages of words and literature. It seems that pictures are significant and accurate to show one personal dimension of the events. In this context and besides the written messages which have supported Murdoch's move to Wapping, the pictures contributed in some respects to justifying and legitimising the move to the new plant by discrediting the workers and their unions through the display of images of violence. In the end, photographs become a core meaning and essential part of messages in the tabloid press, the vacuum and the way of reporting the events.

As already found in headlines and prominence of items, the pictures did not show all aspects of the dispute. Three titles (popular papers) presented the images of riots and attacks. The pictures of weapons and missiles were greatly zoomed and little was displayed of the workers' hardships. By this is meant, that these papers concentrated on negative aspects of demonstrations between police and protesters. Evidently, the words and images carefully chosen, were combined to send the 'objective picture' of the dispute to the readers.

In contrast, the quality press displayed less pictures and few photographs on the scenes of riots. Shields, batons and police against bricks, bottles and poles were shown. There were pictures of key figures in this dispute such as, the general secretary of NGA, TUC, Sogat and NUJ etc... In fact, the quality papers devoted a great amount of articles (words)
Instead of pictures as it was the case for the popular newspaper in their coverage of the issue.

In the end, one may wonder which technique or rather view is efficient and effective?. Which method is accurate as far as the impact on the readers are concerned?. Do the readers prefer long articles to the pictures or both?. Again these questions required further analysis to assess the effectiveness of pictures or texts (words) on the readers's opinions and attitudes.

After all, the photographs can contribute to both understanding of the world as well the art of communication. There is no neutral photograph, each picture is defined in some respects by the ideological and cultural organisation in the society (Wagner).

In brief, the framework of analysis of pictures is vital to examine their validity and reliability. In the case of Wapping, the pictures sustained the messages and came to terms with the line drawn by newspapers in reporting in their 'appropriate way' this industrial action. Texts and images were complementary and led to presenting the 'proper imagery' of the dispute. The pictorial message seemed to be carefully chosen in relation to the social and economic context.

3.4) Summary:

In the previous section, the quantitative analysis has defined the length of items, the frequency of occurrence of words and
the vocabulary. It has enabled us to make some statistical inferences. The quality papers emerged as the more serious and factual papers than the popular ones. The prominence of events was also higher in these papers, though the interpretation and emphasis was not identical. This was subject to the perception by each paper and the way of reporting this issue.

The Times misrepresented some important aspects of the dispute and supported the move to the new plant unequivocally. The Financial Times, on the other hand, reported a range of sides of the problem, including economic, technological and social dimension. The Guardian, however, questioned the parties involved to express more comprehension to reach agreement, which can satisfy both sides.

The anatomy of the popular newspapers in comparison, displayed that these papers devoted less space to the issue, but supplemented this by a large number of photographs. Furthermore, the style, wording and vocabulary were sensational. Little concern for the reasons of this strike and its impact on the workforce was shown, which is evident for the popular press, though The Mirror gave different views of the events.

Thus, it can be implied from the previous analysis that within the same category of papers, there were some differences of attitudes and prominence of events. The wording and the style were also different within the quality papers as well as the popular ones. Thus, the tabloid press has the reputation of dishonesty and bad taste (Jenkins,
1986). However, supporters of this category of papers argue that these aspects are all desired by readers, who would otherwise stop buying them. In practice it is perfectly possible for a newspaper to be popular, honest, inquiring and informative.

The popular press has the notorious character of using inappropriate language. The Royal commission on the press in its report found that, though The Sun is the most widely read paper, it is seen as short on news, sensational in its coverage of issues and inclined to bias and inaccuracy. In the same way, Jenkins admitted five of the six tabloids in this country, are unmistakably conservative, three are almost carbon copies of each other.

In spite of this, most readers prefer the popular paper and particularly The Sun, though admitting that they would not miss it much if it was not there. But they still bought it because it was 'enjoyable'. What is the enigma of the 'success' of The Sun? Is it because of the gossip stories, page three girl or the bingo? Yet, the bingo war has left the popular press mimicking each other's ideas, stealing each other's staff and avoiding any material that risked being boring or seriously engaging their audiences (Jenkins).

4) Categorisation:

4.1) Scheme of Categories:

The set of category deals with the analysis of texts in each newspaper with regard to the style, vocabulary and the
prominence of items reported within the appropriate context. Because the strike broke out on technological grounds, it is appropriate to set up categories for this aspect and the social and economic implications for the workers. The strike went through the process of negotiations and talks then failure and confrontation, followed by legal action. These different steps of the dispute are defined as a category, the other aspect concerns the press coverage itself in terms of facts and personal opinions.

Hence, this is the scheme of categories proposed in this research and more categories can suggested for further analysis. As the more the number of categories is higher, the more likely, the scheme of categories is relevant to the study.

The next scheme of categories was obtained from the process of categorisation, which required coding, counting, classifying then analysing accordingly:

  a) Negotiations
  b) Disagreement and confrontation
  c) Social dimension
  d) Economic, finances and technology
  e) Legal action
  f) Personal opinions

1) The category of 'negotiation' created from words, which denote deal, agreement, conciliation and talks etc... These words emerged from articles in papers, by looking at the entire list of words in the text for each paper then counted and classified.
2) The category of 'disagreement and confrontation': The same process applies and the words of failure, confrontation, rupture, deadlock, disagreement and impasse were counted and classified accordingly.

3) The 'social dimension' category deals with aspects which cover social implications for the print workers such as; unemployment misery and hardship etc...

4) In the 'economic, financial and technological category' the words relating to efficiency, profitability, new techniques and rationality were classified.

5) For the category of 'legal action' concerns decision of the court to sequestrate the unions' assets and words of injunction, judgment etc...

6) Finally, the last category 'personal views' covers ideas and opinions about the dispute. The words expressing personal judgment or not related to the facts of the strike fall in this category.

On the basis of this scheme, the process of coding the texts took place and the following results were obtained. In fact, each category is rated with respect to the number of words related to it in the total number of articles and editorials selected for each newspaper (figure 4).

4.2) Results and Interpretation:

The figure 4 shows the percentage of occurrence of categories and their prominence in the items selected in each newspaper.
a) The Sun:

In the proportion of space devoted to the dispute, the category of disagreement and confrontation had the highest score (27%). This tendency demonstrated how this newspaper stressed the sensational and violence dimension of the issue. Instead of looking at the possibilities of reaching a deal, The Sun fuelled a worsening situation. The style applied was personal (26%) and expressed more personal opinions rather than facts. Besides, some strong words were used to describe an official strike. For instance, words such as mob, thugs, fanatics, extremists and trotskyists were used in the actual context of the dispute.

It can be asked whether this description was accurate and reflected the actual situation. Are items of industrial actions occurring in Britain or elsewhere, equally treated by this paper? It can be implied that The Sun, for instance, is
keen to interpret troubles and disputes in Poland and Rumania as violation of human rights. In Britain, however, industrial troubles are the instigation of 'the loony left' or militants, whose aims is to usurp and undermine the democratic society as this paper put it. The Sun is well known for its fantasy as his chairman likes to admit, 'After all we are in the business of leisure and entertainment'.

Although, some intruders (not concerned by the strike) were involved in these riots, it is not an excuse for using such a degrading language. These words reflected sentiments of cynicism and disdain towards the workers.

Further, The Sun stressed the legal action against the workers, playing at the same time the role of judge and jury. Subsequently, this has overshadowed the social impact of this issue on the workforce and its future. Indeed, it seems that the social and economic implications for the workers was an item of less concern (7%). A large number of items were concerned with the negative aspect of the dispute (disagreement and confrontation). The language of conciliation and negotiation disappears with only 8% and was replaced by a cynical and offensive wording to describe the strikers.

The Sun had already confirmed the trend of partiality, revealed in the previous results. Through its way of reporting and treating the events, it was singled out as the most biased and controversial paper. The negative aspects of the issue were applied to run its campaign of smears.
allegation and intimidation against the workers.

b) The Daily Mail:
The Daily Mail closely followed The Sun in its way of reporting the events. It highlighted aspects of disagreement and failure of talks (27%), presented in a sensational manner. This paper focussed on the move to Wapping and introduction of new technology in the press with particular reference to the case of Wapping (18%). Although, this aspect was equally shared by other papers, it seems The Daily Mail ignored the social repercussions of such a move on the workers (7%), dismissed by Murdoch. Thus, the prominence of items of violence overshadowed social and economic consequences of this issue, the conciliatory option was not a main concern and relegated to a secondary position (7%). The Mail had in some respects the same perception or view taken by The Sun. It is not surprising that the coverage ought to convey the partiality and unfairness of these papers, as already proved.

c) The Daily Mirror:
Basically, the findings reveal a more balanced presentation of the aspects of this strike. Though, the legal action had the lowest score (8%). The other categories were almost equally reported. This paper mentioned the items of confrontation and violence (23%). The process of negotiations and talks to reach a deal was in fact an item of concern (19%). The technological dimension of the issue and the necessity to modernise the British press in general and Murdoch’s titles were also reported (19%). At the same time, their concern
for the fate of the workers was similarly treated (16%).

Thus, the coverage tended to look at all aspects of this industrial action, in a less sensational manner. The personal style was less prominent (18%) compared with The Sun and The Mail. The coverage of the events was balanced in some respects and gave the varied aspects related to the dispute.

d) The Times:
Evidently, the economic, financial and technological aspects were fully supported (25%) by this paper. Since, the editorial staff had agreed to carry on working in the new plant, they had committed themselves to supporting Murdoch's action. Thus, the prominence of this dimension was based on the journalists' attitudes to back down the print workers. A great amount of items were characterized by personal views and opinions (20%). Disagreement and rupture of talks were also embodied in their opinions (20%). The social aspect (11%) and the legal action (5%), however, seemed to be of less concern. The trends showed that economic and financial aspects were highly rated (24%), with disregard for the social implications for the workers.

This paper displayed a lack of impartiality and the focus on fewer aspects over others led them to present a partial view of the dispute. The flavour of the British press appears to be in decline and Evans (1983) admitted that since Murdoch had owned this paper, its quality standards and integrity were no longer his chief concern. Indeed, the coverage of Wapping appeared to be a vivid example of this tendency, pursued at the expense of journalistic qualities.
e) The Financial Times:
Understandably, business matters are the central items of this paper. It focussed on economic and technological issues (24%). Other aspects of the strike were also reported with a fair coverage. For instance, the process of talks (20%) and its failure (17%) were reported, followed by scenes of violence and disruption. The effects on the workers were not disregarded (15%). The move to Wapping and the introduction of new technology were other areas of interest.

However, the legal action of the court to sequestrate unions' assets was not of great importance (5%). Apparently this aspect was not crucial as were the future of industrial relations and unions. Overall and throughout the year of the dispute, this paper preserved and maintained some objectivity and completeness in its coverage.

f) The Guardian:
This newspaper reported the dispute in almost the same terms and way as did The Financial Times. The main aspects were in some respect thoroughly treated and commented upon. Thus, the category relating to negotiations had the highest score (21%). This explains how this paper stressed the possible ways of reaching a deal, without causing industrial disruption. Though, economic and technological aspects were forcefully advocated (20%), the social dimension of the strike was not ignored (15%).
The Guardian blamed both employees and Murdoch for their intransigence. Although it argued that the action of Murdoch to modernise his titles was inevitable, this process had to be bilaterally negotiated and not at the expense of one side. This was the way this paper perceived the issue and presented it, which was to some extent a fair picture of the events. It also drew the public attention to civil rights and difficulties of the workers.

In brief, it is seldom that such a view is advocated, as The Sun, The Mail, The Times and The Financial Times emphasized the technological option. Moreover, the scenes of violence and confrontation which for some time characterised the strike were prominently reported by some papers without discussing the facts and causes of it.

4.3) Synthesis:

The figure (4.1) illustrates the prominence of categories, in terms of the average of percentage for each category in the papers. For instance, the rate of occurrence for the categories relating to disagreement (22%), economic, finances and technology (21%), personal style and opinions (20%) had the highest score. The press focussed on these aspects, which were considered as prominent and ignored. The tendency showed also that items relating to efficiency, profitability and technology were highly reported. By contrast, the social and human aspect seemed to be of less importance (11%).
Figure 4.1: Average Frequency of Categories in All Newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Percent for all papers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Negotiations</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Disagreement</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Social dimension</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Economic, technological aspect</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Legal action</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Personal opinions</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the under-representation of this aspect was a pertinent example of distortion and bias, creating an incomplete and erroneous interpretation of events. In the same way, the press defended the present economic policy through its way of covering the Wapping dispute.

It can be assumed that editorials and articles in the quality press were longer, detailed and sometimes factual. In contrast, the popular press highlighted the events without further development or analysis. Moreover, in this category of papers, the vocabulary and style were sensational and the commentaries were hardly made.

5) Conclusion:

5.1) Trends:

The combination of the results of both approaches displays a tendency of partiality in reporting Wapping. It was implied that some newspapers covered and reported this item in a
manner to convenience the present system.

Both parties were not equally treated, notably the workers, who regarded as troublemakers. The focus of the papers was on negative aspects at the expense of some positive actions such as the possibilities of negotiations and talks to reach agreement, the social conditions of the workers etc... This style of coverage created a certain climate of mistrust and indignation. The readers reacted differently to the workers as they received an incomplete version of events.

Neither the causes nor the effects were properly reported, and the way it was presented sustained an offensive wording in the popular newspapers, which reflects its downmarket editorial. In fact, the popular papers have more fundamental journalistic implications and undermine the will of proprietors to own more newspapers (Jenkins).

In effects, some headlines as already stated expressed an attitude of hate and disregard to the strikers. Even some of the wordings were carefully selected to illustrate the 'appropriate perception of the events'. Some key words were used to maintain and direct the way of presenting the issue. The content of editorials emphasized particular aspects. Moreover, it has emerged in the analysis, that three papers (The Sun, The Mail and The Times) reported the issue in a way to discredit the workers and their unions.

The focus was to legitimise the move to Wapping, regardless of the social and human repercussions. This way of
perceiving the events was put into effect through a selective wording and vocabulary to support such action. The negative attitude of the editors and reporters towards the strike helped to maintain an image of distortion and bias. Even the pictures were chosen to describe scenes of violence and riots. It was hardly possible to display positive aspects of the issue.

In the end, it appears that some newspapers covered this item in accordance with their interests and policy, which match with the present political system. Although, the strike itself concerned one aspect of the future of the British press each paper ought to define and take the appropriate decision for its future. This new move was the result of the present economic policy which stresses more competitiveness and challenge.

The present findings confirm previous studies which revealed the lack of objectivity and impartiality of the press in reporting items on industrial relations issues. Thus, their interpretation have to be considered within the present political, economic and social context. The system had implicitly or explicitly helped this press to perpetuate an apathetic attitude towards the workers. The arsenal of legislation on industrial relations was put into effect through a campaign of smear and disinformation against the labour movement. It looks as if the system and the press were colluding to wipe out the 'British disease'. Similarly in the Wapping dispute, the government did not bother to intervene at all. Instead, its passive attitude had exonerated Murdoch to
carry on his move to the new plant. Apparently, the economic and political system had 'swallowed' such a shift without objection.

Though Murdoch's action was a breach of agreement with the unions, little opposition and concern were displayed by the majority of the papers. In reality, they approved implicitly or explicitly the transfer to the new plant.

5.2) Findings in The Popular and Quality Press:

The content analysis method has enabled us to achieve some results regarding the objectivity of the press in reporting items of Wapping. It can be concluded that three papers (already mentioned in the previous section) covered and presented this issue in such a way as to distort the reality and discredit the workers and their representatives. This picture was highly noticeable in some articles, editorials and images about the dispute in The Sun, The Mail and The Times.

In the first instance, the tabloid press excelled in its reports of the negative version of the events. In fact, throughout the coverage of the strike, this press had maintained a level of unpopularity and disagreement towards the workers. The quality press, on the other hand, though less cynical, contributed to building up sentiments of anger and hate towards the strikers. Other positive aspects of the issue were only mentioned by a few papers, which had a small circulation. Thus, their impact is very little compared with
the whole number of papers supporting Murdoch.

In the light of these findings, it is quite clear that the media and namely the press has in its way of covering the issue, translated the present economic and political policy. Through the coverage of Wapping, the papers expressed their allegiance and support for the present system. The readers, on the other hand, found themselves having little choice, but to perceive the events through the few media available. The only version they have is that offered by the newspapers they read. Though they may not believe in what is written, it was the only image or dimension of the situation reported by the press.

Above all, the question is whether the papers are free to express different views from the government, or is it a form of policy to allow few papers to criticize it to preserve a kind of democracy and freedom of the press?. The answer lies in the complex relationship between the political and economic system and the press, the internal structure and organisation of the press industry.

Nowadays, the preservation of the papers depend on the circulation, revenue and profitability of commercial concern. The advertisement is the main source of profits and it is remembered that threats were wielded against The Guardian to withdraw advertisement from its pages, in reaction to its disapproval of the British intervention in the Suez crisis (1956). This is one part of the answer, which shows the dependency of the papers. Caution and restraint are therefore
necessary for these papers, if they are to overcome the pressures of the establishment and survive from challenging industry. In the end, what happened in Wapping, seems to fall in this perspective of analysis.

5.3) Levels and Dimensions of Analysis:

The dispute is examined through two levels of analysis. The macro level which concerns the political and economic context of the issue and the micro level which refers to the timing and the status of the dispute.

At the first level, the political system ought to preserve somehow its interests by 'suggesting' the way of presenting the events. The press as Boyce (1986) put it is an extension of the political system not a check or balance on parliament or the executive. Although, the press is proprietally independent, it has integrated itself into the political establishment rather than stood against it.

In the second instance, the analysis refers to the events and their interpretation regarding the status and time of their occurrence. Throughout the year 1986-1987, several strikes took place, which had more social and economic impact in the society. Other stories overshadowed the prominence of Wapping in the media print. For instance, Challenger disaster, the overthrow of Marcos in The Philippines, the Westland affair, the assassination of the Swedish Prime Minister and the American raid against Libya were important events which happened, while the Wapping dispute was in progress.
In effects, these stories had occupied for some time front pages and headlines of the papers, reducing therefore the impact of the dispute and its intensity. Indeed, once the readers are informed of the dispute, they tend to switch off to new stories by showing little interest in previous stories. Hence, the editor has to investigate for a more attractive scoop, even though the Wapping strike is in progress but relegated to a minor event. Thus, the timing of occurrence of the dispute is an indicator to measure its impact and prominence of coverage.

The dispute has to be rated and considered with respect to its status. In other words, the series of industrial actions, which occurred at the same time as the Wapping one (British Telecom, Teachers' strike, Nurses, Customs etc...), are also factors of consideration. The press coverage of the printers' strike can be presented regarding to its importance in the industry and place in society. In reality, these elements determine its weight of influence and impact on the society.

Considering these factors, the Wapping issue was of less urgency and delicacy than the nurses' or British Telecom strikes. Subsequently, the public tends to be less concerned, as it did not affect them directly. In the end, the strike was confined to a specific social group (though there was a great publicity by different unions and their sympathisers). In fact, it lessened the effect on the public opinion tired of
industrial actions. Indeed, the coverage of the strike itself had become insignificant and boring, although the dispute was in progress.

However, it is vital to define a strategy of analysis of the papers content and their interpretation. As already stated, the present study is concerned with the internal and external dimensions of the dispute. Thus, on the one hand, the internal dimension remains, confined strictly to the way the papers reported and covered the issue, in terms of style, vocabulary and prominence of items. On the other hand, the external aspect reflects the political and economic system, in which the dispute takes place. This factor influences and defines in some respects the way the issue is presented and also how it will be resolved.

It will be worth analysing the coverage of several items with the same ground to understand the difference in coverage and reporting. For instance, how an issue of social interest is presented, with comparison to moral, political or foreign items?. Do the papers report the same issue, with identical approaches or are there differences of style and concern?. These are proposed areas for future studies.

The timing and status of the dispute are the other important dimension to define whether the issue will have a fair and prominent treatment or not?. Previous examples have confirmed that issues on industrial relations are more likely to be partially reported as the majority of the newspapers in this country shows little sympathy to the labour movement. In
the end, the industrial relations issues remain controversial and sometimes crucial because they can determine the fate and survival of the political and economic system.

H) Readers' Attitudes and Perception Towards Press Coverage

1) Prelude:

The second aspect of the empirical approach is the social survey which seeks to analyse the readers' attitudes, opinions and perception towards the press coverage of the Wapping case. The findings show that the year of studies, the nature of the courses students are taking, and the social background can affect their perceptions and attitudes towards the media and in particular the press.

Though in certain cases, the findings were not very significant, nevertheless the general trends fall in the same direction as confirmed in recent studies. Thus, it can be assumed that students seem to be generally hostile to the government. Their social origin tends to be in this particular case relevant. Furthermore, students from arts and science faculties were more critical to the establishment than those in faculty of technology regardless of their social class.

The survey confirms the correlation between different variables tested throughout this exercise. In spite of the unrepresentative quality of the sample, the results highlight the correlation between year, nature of studies and the social
background on one hand, and students' attitudes towards the media and the press on the other. Each variable within its weight and influence can contribute to building up one's personal opinions and views.

However, it is important to mention that the findings have to be understood regarding the approaches discussed in the literature review.

Thus, the use and gratification approach appears to apply in this context. In certain circumstances, the students use the media and press in relation to their own interest or preferences. What they get as gratifications are implied accordingly. Further, the interpretation of these findings have to perceived within the present social, political and cultural context. In fact, the Thatcher era has certainly shaped the social and economic life of this country. Attempts to understand and interpret the findings require a reference to Thatcherite policies.

Specifically, the next sections illustrate techniques and methods applied with regard to the sample design, its characteristics, the questionnaire and interview. A series of tables and figures are presented to display the correlation between different variables tested. Though, the correlation is not as significant and positive as it should be because of the sample size. The tendency shows that the results fall in the same direction as those obtained in recent studies.
2) The Social Survey:

The purpose of this survey is to find out how far the year, courses attended and social origin affect students' attitudes to the media and in particular the press. Thus, regarding the press coverage of Wapping, do these variables have influence on students' perception of it?. Further, do they select and understand this item with respect to their interest and experience, or are they much more likely influenced by the media treatment of that issue?.

2.1) The Sample Design:

The present sample concerns male students at the University of Surrey. Evidently, it is not an ideal and representative group compared with the whole population, nevertheless the students are considered as an important social category as they are future members of the elite. Then, probably their values and opinions will influence somehow the economic, political institutions in this country. Overall, this sample represents the attitudes and perception of the students at the University of Surrey.

In spite of the unrepresentative quality of the sample it is appropriate to recall that the student sample was the only kind realistically available because of the lack of time and resources. As a foreign student, a sample extended to other social groups of society is more likely to be impossible
Thus, the sample was chosen from the official list of British undergraduate students registered for the academic year 1986-1987 and grouped in first, third and final year. In fact, the 'year of studies variable' is considered to assess its effects (if any) on students' attitudes towards the press and implies their age. Thus, the age of students in first year ranges from 18 to 19, whereas those who are third and final year, are aged 22 and above. The two variables can be confounded.

Then, the sample was stratified by faculty, and year of studies. This is carried out firstly by grouping the sample frame into faculty and secondly within each faculty group students into year of studies and within each year of level into age accordingly. In order to have a homogeneous group, the sample concerns all male and full-time students. Hence, the sampling frame has been grouped, then the normal systematic sample is used to select the appropriate proportion of students within each stratum.

The aim of a stratified random sampling is to increase precision by taking advantage of prior information about the population concerned. As already stated, the population is divided into stratum. Afterwards, each stratum is sampled independently. In the end, the sample group emerged with regard to the variables and reduction in standard error.

Initially, 72 students were chosen. But for a variety
of reasons, some students did not fill in the questionnaire. Others were uncontactable (in industrial placement). However, the problem was tackled by a follow up at different times. In the end, 58 students (20% of non-response) accepted the offer to complete the questionnaire and were interviewed.

Table 5: Characteristics of The Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Studies</th>
<th>First Year</th>
<th>Third and Final Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the sample was too small, nevertheless the comprehension and understanding of the students contributed to a high and satisfactory rate of responses. Indeed, the easy access to students enabled us to collect relevant and valuable information regarding this piece of research. Throughout the period of conducting this survey, informal discussions were held and a kind of friendship and confidence was established with some students. This friendly atmosphere facilitated the personal contacts and permitted to carry out this survey without difficulties.

The survey was conducted during the period of March to July 1987 (five months) at the University of Surrey. The first
interview took place exactly one month after the Wapping issue and lasted for five months. Obviously, the interval from the first to last interviews provides opportunities for changes.

Though such changes have not been measured, prominent coverage of Wapping by the media notably television, (which displayed scenes of violence and riots) may have kept some viewers aware of this issue for a long time. Indeed some of them still remember series of street violence in Wapping even though a long time had elapsed. One of them spoke of 'Saturday Night Fever': An image shown on the small screen and represented riots every saturday night.

Concerning the relationship between the questionnaire and interview, each respondent filled in and sent back the questionnaire either to his department or through the internal mail to my office. The next step consisted of fixing a date for the interview. Aware already of the purpose of my research, the interviewee responded in his own words to some questions put to him. In the end, the responses were gathered and categorized. But, prior to that, answers in the interview and questionnaire for each respondent were examined to have a clear picture of his perception and attitudes towards the topic. This approach helped to categorize the variety of answers and analyse them according to the hypotheses.

As far as the dispute is concerned, it will recalled that it had lasted from January 1986 to the beginning of February 1987. The end of the strike was the appropriate
occasion to conduct the survey as all aspects of it appear to be delimited and no major new developments were expected.

Besides, the period of one month was chosen to see how within this short period of time, the dispute had echoed. Do students still remember the dispute and how did they react?

2.2) The Questionnaire Design:

A set of preliminary informal interviews had taken place with fifteen students. The discussion was very open ended and a large amount of opinions and suggestions were collected. This was followed by a pilot questionnaire of 18 students. It was the opportunity to remove the ambiguities and inaccuracies in the questions, their wording and meanings etc... On the basis of the results a self-completion questionnaire used for a proper survey was built up and distributed (a copy is in the appendix).

As mentioned in the introduction, the questions in the social survey cover areas of year of studies, social status, education, cultural activities and students' attitudes towards the media and particularly the press. How will these variables influence their opinions and ideas towards the media and the press coverage of Wapping?

1) How the factor year of studies can affect their responses. These variables will be operationalized through a comparison of the two groups of students, those who are in their first year and third, final year. Does the year of studies make differences in their perception of the media and
the press in particular?.

2) Does the social origin which is defined through different parameters such as, parents' occupation, types of accommodation and lifestyle, dictate students' attitudes towards the media and press report of the Wapping Dispute?. In fact the social dimension enabled us to assess how this aspect can be a factor of identification for students as far as their opinions towards the present item were concerned.

3) Do the education and nature of studies contribute to forming students opinions towards the media and the press?. How these variables affect their perception, understanding and interest of the press coverage of Wapping?. In other words, are students in arts and sciences more interested in using the media and the press than those who are in technology faculty?.

In addition to these variables, the social, political and cultural activities of the students were then examined to understand about their personal involvement at the University. Their degree of satisfaction from the place they live and study was also explored. How great is their confidence in some British institutions were other questions put to them. In the same way, a set of questions was asked to find out about students' attitudes towards the media (radio, television and press).

The emphasis in this piece of research is on the press. An extensive series of questions was asked with
respect to the students' frequency of reading, the set of papers they read and different items within the paper they prefer and so forth. The aim of the questions was to examine whether the selection of items -i.e. current affairs, business, sports, arts, etc... is associated with students' present studies. Is it more likely that students from faculty of human studies read more papers and topics?. Do they prefer items and articles within their immediate area of study compared with students from the faculties of science and technology?.

At the same time, the questions were intended to obtain some information as to whether students' opinions about the dispute are made by the media or not. Their perception of the press coverage may vary from one to another?. Some of them can be deeply involved, others are not (lack of interest or time?). Further, is there a systematic association between social class and attitudes towards the press coverage of industrial relations issues?. In sum, the questions were intended to locate the social and cultural environment of the students and how it affects their opinions towards institutions, media and press.

2.3) The Characteristics of The Sample:

The characteristics show that nearly sixty percent of the sample of students were in their first year and forty percent in third and final year of studies (table 5). In fact it had been a difficult task to obtain a representative number of
students from the third and final year, as some students were not available owing to their industrial placement. Hence, the sample certainly lacks some representativeness as far as this aspect is concerned.

Just over half the students were from the middle class and nearly one third were of skilled manual origin. This reflects the figures obtained by Wicks (1986), which show that 70% of students accepted in British Universities are from the middle and upper class. It appears that this tendency is still maintained and prevailed in this sample. The social origin seems to privilege one specific category in society, and offers few opportunities to students from the working class to get access to universities. In spite of this, the relative numbers of students selected reflect to some degree the proportions in the University of Surrey as far as the social origin variable is concerned.

Indeed, the social origin in Britain filters, selects and defines the type of education to be obtained. The diversity of schools offers more opportunities for some parents to choose between private, comprehensive, grammar and technical school for their children. In the present sample, sixty percent of students previously attended comprehensive school. Here it will be practical and homogeneous to have a fair proportion of respondents from different schools. But this seemed unlikely as most of them had taken courses in the comprehensive school.
Similarly, half the students report that their parents support the Conservative Party. The rest of them are split between other major political parties (Labour, Alliance). In the same way, the geo-political situation of the University of Surrey can be a parameter to define its political orientation. Situated in the 'healthy and wealthy' South East region, the town of Guildford is a Conservative area and its support for the Conservative government appears to be taken for granted with respect to recent elections. This tendency has somehow shaped and formed the cultural and political climate at the University.

However, the number of students who come from this area has not been worked out to understand their political allegiance and and compare them with those who come from other regions. It is however, more likely that the students' social and cultural activities remain, confined to the activities available within the frame of the university. The results show that more than 42 students are involved at least in one social, cultural and political activity. This explains the degree of commitment and participation at university.

2.4) Preliminary Results:

The questionnaire covered areas of social status, education and political, social and cultural activities of the students. In sum, around 32 questions were included in the questionnaire and the following trends were discovered:

a) Students' Confidence in British Institutions:
To the question whether the students have confidence in some British institutions, the table summarizes the results:

Table 5.1: Percentage of Students' Confidence in British Institutions [N = 58]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Council</td>
<td>67% (39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>62% (36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Trades Union</td>
<td>57% (34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>53% (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>52% (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Police</td>
<td>50% (29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>48% (28)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that the degree of confidence in council and university is higher than the court, the police and central government. The trade unions and parliament also appear to have a high percentage of confidence.

In fact, the purpose of this table is not to apply the significance test to assess the results obtained for different institutions. As in the exploratory analysis (which this is) significance tests are inappropriate, but that the small sample size should be borne in mind in interpreting the findings. Hence, the difference of percentage saying they had confidence in various institutions has to be analysed with caution. Inference or generalisation of the results are only problematic because of some statistical issues (Henkel and Morrison, 1970) such as, the sampling, population, level and
However, when it comes to compare for instance the students' confidence in trade unions with the central government, the results display some difference of perception (10%). Indeed the government has the lowest rate of confidence, which may reflect students' anti-establishment feelings and lack of enthusiasm for the present government.

Though their feelings are not very strong as generally known, nevertheless their attitudes towards some institutions of the establishment are less sympathetic with respect to the other bodies. Above all, these figures offer general views and feelings towards some institutions. Any further analysis requires a review of the sampling issue, the nature, analysis of the hypotheses and their degree of significance etc...

It would be practical to compare the present results with other studies. For example, the trade unions seem to be more popular than the government. These findings tend to fall in the same direction as those carried out in a survey by The Listener (December 1987). To the question whether the trade unions are a good thing for the country? 71% of those asked agreed and an overwhelming majority (88%) saw them as essential to protect the workers.

Clearly the difference of responses in this survey and the Listener' survey is great (about 14% of difference). Is it perhaps because of the wording of the question?. Thus, in the Listener, the question was whether the trade unions were a
good or bad thing, whereas in the present survey, it is more about students' confidence on this institution. Above all, the students' perception of the trade unions is relatively favourable and share the same perception as those expressed in the Listener.

In the end, is the popularity of the trade unions, the result of the present economic and social policy of the government?. Has the series of labour legislation to wipe out the 'British disease' strengthened and boosted the unions?.

In general, students' anti-establishment attitudes are not a secret. Though the bodies relating to the establishment are less popular, nevertheless further research is necessary to analyse students' political tendencies within the climate at University. It might also be helpful to find out whether the political, social and cultural context of the region -i.e: Surrey, affect students' attitudes towards the establishment.

In the same way, it would be appropriate to compare the present students' responses with the answers of students from other universities (where for instance, the Labour Party has some of its strongest support in the North of the country and Scotland. The Independent newspaper (February 5 1988) suggests that voters in the North and West are more likely to support the Labour Party than those in the South or East). Can we distinguish between the differences of perception and confidence in these institutions with regard to the respective environment?.
b) Students' Attitudes Towards The Media:

The next question concerns the students' attitudes towards the media (television, press and radio). How important are they in their personal and social life? For instance, with regard to their studies, half of them find that the media are not very important. In spite of this, 95% said they listen to the radio, 93% watch television at least once a day and 57% read more than 4 papers a week. This illustrates how prominent are the media in the students' life in general. The radio and television are the most preferred media. In the same context to the question: Among the main mass media, which ones are you the most inclined to believe? The table (5.2) highlights which medium is prominent source of news and most credible one.

Table 5.2 : Prominence and Credibility of the Media

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Source of news</th>
<th>most credible medium</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>66% (38)</td>
<td>68% (39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press</td>
<td>62% (36)</td>
<td>19% (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>47% (27)</td>
<td>38% (22)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though the press remains the second source of information and news, ironically it is the least credible one. One may ask whether this ambiguity is due to the tabloid papers contents, with different stories and gossips or the more students read
the newspapers, the less they trust them?. With regard to the table, the television is the most powerful medium in terms of credibility and popularity. The advent of electronic media (video-recorder, television etc...) has increased its role and consequently reduced the newspaper readership and trust.

Indeed the present results seem to confirm that tendency, besides the survey conducted by Bogart (1981), which discovered the same trends. He revealed that the television channels have gained more in popularity (40%) whereas paper' readership and credibility has declined from 40% to 28%.

In Britain, the television plays a central role regarding the time spent in watching (about 27 hours per week, Official Handbook Britain 1986). It is quite clear that the small screen has attracted more attention and become the first source of news, reference and relaxation. The students seem to conform with this view with respect to the number of those who watch television (93%).

However, it worth considering whether pictures on the television have played a key role in boosting its credibility. The press, notably the popular papers have done considerable damage to the public. For instance, in 1987 there was an increase of complaints to the Press Council of 12% compared with previous years (World In Action: February 22 1988). The popular newspapers, permanent source of complaints from the readers, are not considered serious and reliable, though they are the most widely read ones.
The radio, on the other hand, remains unchanged in its popularity and credibility (38%). But the television seems to take over other media with respect to the present results.

c) Students' Frequency of Watching Television:
The following figure displays the frequency of watching the small screen by students during their term and vacation time.

Table 5.3: Frequency of Watching Television

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Term Frequency watch &gt; 3 times a week</th>
<th>Vacation</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current affairs</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentaries</td>
<td>07%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Films</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In both contexts, the exposure of students to the small screen remains considerable. Thus, in term time, most students are busy, they spent less time watching television. In vacation periods, they tend to spent almost twice the time when they are studying. In the end, television appears the prominent source of documentation, information and relaxation.

The multiplicity of channels, the proliferation of different forms of entertainment on television, have created a multitude of various possibilities for the viewers. In this context, though the press has never been very important for
entertainment, it is facing a fierce challenge from the new electronic media.

d) Students' Reading Newspapers:

In the present research, the emphasis is on the press coverage of the 'Wapping dispute' and how the students perceived it. Prior to the analysis of these results and to the question, which newspapers do you read? 78% (45 respondents) said they read the popular press and 35% (20 respondents) read the quality newspapers. The next table illustrates the type of newspapers they read and the frequency.

Table 5.4 : Frequency of Reading Popular and Quality Papers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of papers</th>
<th>Frequency (very often)</th>
<th>Number of readers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Popular Press</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Today</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>(34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Mirror</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The D.Mail</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Sun</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>(08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The D.Express</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>(07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Star</td>
<td>09%</td>
<td>(04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality Press</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Guardian</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Times</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The D.Telegraph</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Independent</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The F.Times</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>(09)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figure shows the frequency of readership for both sets of papers. Thus, the popular press has a higher rate of reading than the quality one. Over 78% of students prefer reading the tabloid press and almost a third of them (35%) read quality newspapers (in which The Guardian is the most read paper 90%).
which represent 18 respondents for the total number of 20 who said they read quality newspapers). In certain cases, students read more than one newspaper, they may read two popular papers or either one popular and one quality newspaper. They read these newspapers for different reasons such as; the content of the popular papers (sport, gossip), or the structure of them (small items and great deal of pictures) and the format of the page.

It is necessary to remember, however, that the popular press has the highest national percentage of circulation and readership. For example, during the period from July to December 1986, the average total of Daily popular newspapers was almost 13 millions copies a day, whereas the quality was only two million and half copies (Audit Bureau of Circulation 1987).

In this context, the students are keen on reading it, as already stated in the section of students' reading papers and the table 5.4, either for hobbies or academic interests. The paper 'Today' is the most read one in its category (76%), whereas in the quality press, The Guardian has the highest rate of readership (90%) in its category. Despite the growing competition from The Independent, The Guardian remains the most widely read quality newspaper.

Thus, to the question (see in the interview). Which newspaper do you think give most information about industrial relations, disputes?. In their responses, the students believe
that The Guardian gives the most news about this item (33%).

e) Selection of Items from Newspapers:
After having found out the most widely read newspaper in both sets of paper, the table (5.5) focusses on the frequency of reading each item within the newspaper.

Table 5.5: Frequency of Reading Items in Newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Frequency (very often)</th>
<th>Number of Readers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current Affairs</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>(42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport, Leisure</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>(39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Issues</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>(24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finances, Business</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>(20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts, Theatre</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Unions</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>(06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>07%</td>
<td>(04)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is important also to recall that the respondents may read more than one item, therefore they can offer more than one answer. The item of current affairs tends to be the most selected one. Do the students prefer to be aware and informed of what is occurring in the world? Items on sports are also of great interest. Is it because of their age as a young and active person or are they personally involved in different activities?

Although the questions relating to the reasons for reading these items were not put, nevertheless the tendency
displays that articles on current affairs, sports, social issues and financial matters are the most widely read.

f) Students' Faculty and Selection of Items:
The figure (6) highlights the relationship between students' faculty and the articles and items they prefer reading.

Table 6: Relationship (Frequency of Reading Items/ Faculty)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty</th>
<th>Arts</th>
<th>Sciences</th>
<th>Technology</th>
<th>ϕ</th>
<th>X²</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unions</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that students from Arts faculty tend to read more about arts, social issues, trade unions matters and business than those from sciences and technology faculties. Others prefer items on sports, leisure perhaps for pastime and regardless of the nature of their courses. The frequency of reading seems to be defined by some dimensions such as: personal interest or students' courses etc...  

g) Readership and Faculty:

In the same context as the previous figure, the next table shows the correlation between the frequency of reading newspapers and the nature of studies (table 6.1).
Table 6.1: Relationship (Frequency of Reading Papers/Faculty)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of reading a week</th>
<th>Faculty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arts/Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read &lt; 3 papers</td>
<td>28% (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read &gt; 3 papers</td>
<td>72% (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50% (29)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \phi = 0.29; \quad \chi^2 = 4.49; \quad P < 0.01 \]

The same conclusion for the previous table seems to apply for this one as well. Students from Arts and Sciences faculties appear to read more newspapers than those in Technology. Hence it can be assumed that the first group of students read the papers because they are perhaps relevant to their studies. The second group, however, may read them for entertainment, pastime or other personal reasons.

2.5) Main Results and Analysis:

The early conclusions drawn from the questionnaire confirm the correlation between different variables of year of studies, education and social origin. The main questions concern whether the social class, the education and year of studies affect students' attitudes towards the media and in particular the press. Regarding the press coverage of Wapping, how they had perceived and understood it?. Prior to this, the next table shows the relationship between social class and education.
a) Social Class and Education

For instance, to the question whether the social background has an instrumental orientation on students' choice of their courses. The table (6.2) confirms to some extent the tendency of association:

Table 6.2 : Relationship (Faculty and Social Class)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Background</th>
<th>Upper/Middle</th>
<th>Working</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arts/Sciences</td>
<td>57% (18)</td>
<td>37% (10)</td>
<td>47% (28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>43% (13)</td>
<td>63% (17)</td>
<td>53% (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60% (31)</td>
<td>40% (27)</td>
<td>100% (58)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

φ=0.30; \( \chi^2 = 2.30; \) \( p < 0.15 \)

In spite of the consistency of the results with regard to the correlation between social class and education, they have in fact failed to reach a conventional level of significance, therefore they should be treated with caution.

As already stated, recent studies have confirmed that social class determines in some respects the type of education and academic orientation. It is probable that students from the working class, if they succeed in getting access to university tend to opt for technological courses owing to the social or financial promotion. The second group from the middle class may select their courses with regard to their
parents' occupation, economic reasons or personal interest. Although, the relationship between social class and education is not very significant, nevertheless its direction shows a tendency of association and correlation.

The results display that social class may also affect one's personal attitudes towards the media. They show the social origin degree of influence on one's personal opinions and how the nature of studies can do so.

Thus, to the question: Do you think the studies, the person attends has an effects on his attitudes towards the media?. The results display that only 14% think so, but when it comes to the question relating to a person's social origin, does it determine his attitudes towards the media?. 69% of the respondents agreed.

In further analysis, the variations of the responses depended on students' social class and faculties in which they are studying now.

1) To those who think the social origin affect one's personal attitudes towards the media. For those who agreed, their responses actually varied according to their present courses: Students in Engineering agreed with 69% (18 respondents), but those in Human Studies approved with only 19% (4 respondents) and those in Sciences did so with 46% (6 respondents).

The results show that students from the Engineering faculty have the highest percentage and believe that social origin has an influence on personal opinions towards the
media. For the same question, the results also vary according to the social class. Thus, of those who agreed that social class affected one's personal attitudes towards the media, 69% were upper and middle class and 74% from working class.

2) To the question whether the nature of studies has effects on one's personal attitudes towards the media. Again the answers varied according to students' social class and faculty. The trends show that students in the faculty of Science do not think so, neither do the two other groups. Among the whole number of students (14% which represent 8 respondents) agreed that the nature of studies has effects on one's personal attitudes towards the media (4 students in Human Studies, 3 are from Engineering and only 1 student from Science faculty). In the same context and with respect to their class, students from the upper and middle class approved the effects of the nature of studies with 20% and only 5% from the working class did so.

In sum, the social dimension appears to affect one's personal attitudes towards the media (source of information and documentation) and in particular the television which is the most credible and popular medium.

In the same context, to the question how important are the media for your studies? Students from the faculties of Science and Human Studies find the media more important in comparison with students from Engineering faculty. The table (6.3) illustrates the trends:
Table 6.3: Relationship (Importance of the Media by Faculty)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media</th>
<th>Arts/Sciences</th>
<th>Technology</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irrelevant</td>
<td>59% (17)</td>
<td>86% (25)</td>
<td>72.5% (42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>41% (12)</td>
<td>14% (4)</td>
<td>27.5% (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50% (29)</td>
<td>50% (29)</td>
<td>100% (58)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ϕ=0.29; $X^2=4.22$; P< 0.01

Here, the conventional level of significance is achieved and it appears the correlation between the two variables is positive. It can be assumed that students from Arts and Science rely more on the media than those from the faculty of Technology. Perhaps the series of programmes on television and articles in the press provide the necessary material for their present courses. By contrast, in the Technology faculty, the importance of the media is irrelevant. Is it because of lack of interesting articles and programmes or is it because the courses are more practical and implemented in the laboratory?

b) Year of Studies and Frequency of Reading:
The variable 'year of studies' can be a factor in the reasons for reading the newspapers. The table (6.4) offers an image of this relationship. The year of studies variable appears to be an aspect for increasing the frequency of reading papers. Indeed this dimension has already been confirmed by Bogart and
Jackson (1981) in their research. The results were obtained from the question put about how many days a week on average do you read a newspaper?

Table 6.4: Relationship (Frequency of Reading/Year of Studies)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Year of Studies</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>first year</td>
<td>Third, final year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read &lt; 3 papers</td>
<td>47% (16)</td>
<td>38% (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read &gt; 3 papers</td>
<td>53% (18)</td>
<td>62% (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>59% (34)</td>
<td>41% (24)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

φ = 0.09; \( \chi^2 = 0.52; \) \( P < 0.46 \)

As confirmed by Bogart (1981), the old and highly educated person tends to read more papers than a young one with a low level of education. Though the relationship between the age and year of studies has not been examined in terms of impact, one may question how students' year of studies can interact in forming and shaping opinions?. With regards to the table, the age (which is implies from year of studies) means perhaps more consciousness and maturation whereas the year of studies can increase knowledge. In the end, both variables appear to increase the frequency of reading the press.

In the same way, social class is the other dimension of defining the readership (figure 6.5). It can be assumed that students from the upper and middle class read more papers than those from a working class background. Here again, this tendency confirms Bogart's findings about social class as a dimension of readership. Therefore social status offers more
opportunities not only for reading the press but for other satisfactions as well.

Table 6.5: Relationship (Frequency of Reading/Social Class)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of Reading</th>
<th>Social Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upper/Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read &lt; 3 papers</td>
<td>42% (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read &gt; 3 papers</td>
<td>58% (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65% (35)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Number of Observation Missing = 4

In brief, the social background, the year and nature of studies contribute and determine students' attitudes towards the media and the press in particular. However, it will useful to collect more data and conduct further analysis to measure the impact and influence of each variable on shaping students' attitudes and opinions towards the media.

c) Attitudes Towards Press Coverage of the Wapping Dispute. The variables tested in this research have enabled us to see how they can contribute to forming students' opinions about the press coverage of the dispute. Indeed most students said, they had known or heard of this issue compared with other strikes, which occurred at the same time (Teacher strikes, Nurses, British Telecom). Undoubtedly, this issue had an extensive media coverage but it was not necessarily an objective one (see previous chapter). The television
frequently showed scenes of violence and its impact was probably greater compared with the press and radio. The viewers still remember these pictures of conflicts between police and protesters and events of 'Saturday Night Fever' still remain in the memory.

However, it can be implied that television may have shaped students' opinions and attitudes towards the dispute. Some students acknowledged that their views on the issue were made on the basis of what they saw on the small screen which has became virtually a universal feature of people's lives. It looks as if the students' perception of the dispute was in some respects prejudiced by what they already watched. In this context, the relation between the press and television is not an easy one and the interaction or rather the interdependence on each other requires further research.

As the study concerns the press, the results of the interview revealed that students believe that the majority of the British press is pro-Conservative. Hence the coverage of social issues and particularly Wapping is inevitably one-sided and partial towards the government. In their responses to the question: How would you describe the coverage of the Wapping Dispute by the media and in particular the press?. The figure (6.6) sustains the previous statement about the orientation of the British press. At this level, results were ranged according to students' faculties. The table (6.6) displays the correlation between the two variables of nature of studies and coverage. The association between students' faculty and
their personal judgment on the press coverage existed.

Table 6.6: Relationship (Coverage of the Dispute by Faculty)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of coverage</th>
<th>Faculty</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arts/Sciences</td>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfair, biased</td>
<td>72% (21)</td>
<td>49% (13)</td>
<td>62% (34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair, unbiased</td>
<td>28% (08)</td>
<td>51% (16)</td>
<td>38% (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50% (29)</td>
<td>50% (29)</td>
<td>100% (58)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\varnothing = 0.26; \quad X^2 = 4.54; \quad P < 0.03\)

Basically, students from the faculties of Arts and Science tend to be critical than those from technology. Is it because of the content and nature of their courses, which somehow shapes their opinions, or other factors?

For instance, social background can be a factor of identification and may affect one's personal opinions about the coverage. Thus, in general a person the from working class shows more critical attitudes towards the coverage than the one from the middle or upper class (Hartmann, 1979). However, in the present case it seems the results show a small difference between the two groups. Though, 61% of students from both social classes found that the coverage of the Wapping issue was unfair and biased against the workers. 63% of the respondents (which represent 12 students are from the working class) said that the press was partial, whereas 60% (21 respondents are from upper upper and middle class) did
so. Here again, the difference in percentage between the two groups raises the question of the test significance which has already been discussed about table 5.1 in: Students' Confidence in British Institutions. Hence, the results have to be interpreted cautiously.

The table (6.7) shows that social class defines and determines in some respects the students' attitudes towards the press coverage of the Wapping case. By contrast, some newspapers (see previous section) stressed that the employer (Murdoch) and the police were the real victims in this industrial action.

Table 6.7 : Relationship (Coverage of the Issue/Social Class)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of coverage</th>
<th>Social Background</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upper/Middle (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biased, unfair</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unbiased, fair</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \phi = 0.03; \quad \chi^2 = 0.05; \quad P < 0.82 \)

*Missing Observations= 4

Indeed, the findings appear to confirm those obtained by Paul Hartmann, which revealed that middle class respondents tend to accept the media images of the unions and workers more readily than the working class. In the present survey, as already noted, the results remain representative of the students' at University of Surrey, therefore they should be treated in
relation to the appropriate context. Above all, 61% of them found that the press report of Wapping was unfair and partially supportive of the employers.

Indeed, throughout the interviews, the majority of the respondents emphasized the partial and biased character of the media and the popular press in its coverage of Wapping. Allegiance of the British press to the Conservative party was very often stated. Some students thought that the probabilities of having an objective coverage on social issues were slim. The Wapping issue fell in the category of issues where the coverage was subject to distortions, bias and misrepresentation of events.

I) Conclusion:

Industrial relations are shaped by the political and economic system in which they operate. In capitalist societies like Britain, they work under the conflicting relationship between employers and employees. Their context is determined by the state of the industry and the present economic policy of the Thatcher government. Hence, industrial relations issues are controversial and the media coverage of them is partial and unfair. Recent studies have highlighted this tendency and the Wapping case has merely confirmed it.

Throughout the year of the dispute, the media stressed scenes of violence between workers and police. The television which has become a powerful and credible medium, emphasized this aspect with disregard to the social and economic
implications of the dispute. In reality, it is not surprising that they should not do so, as the media are considered part of the establishment or sympathetic to it. By playing the watchdog, they tend to perpetuate their hegemony within the capitalist system. Regarding the Wapping Dispute, the press maintained a high level of unfavourability and unpopularity against the print workers. Distortions and bias were common in its coverage of that issue.

In fact, it is an open secret that the majority of the British press is known for its allegiance for the Tory party, therefore little sympathy is displayed to the Labour party, because of its support for the trade union movement. It is also rare to have a fair treatment of industrial relations so long as the media are concentrated in few hands (whose main objectives and motivations are the maximisation of the profit) and industrial relations are determined by market forces and employers' interests.

Despite the diversity of the media and the 'free press', the political system and economic pressures compelled the media to cover and portray industrial disputes in such a way as to support employers' positions by discrediting the workers and their unions. In this context, the 'British Disease' is no more than a fabric of the media to curb unions' activities and disapprove industrial action. This picture of the unions and industrial relations is inflicted on the public representation which has little choice but to accept what is offered by the media. Though in the present survey, students
have criticised the press coverage of Wapping.

The technological dimension appears to be the only alternative for the future of the press industry. This option wins approval and support from most newspapers in forecasting their own changes. Above all, the press is forced to compete in a challenging industry and fierce opposition from the electronic media.
Appendices and Bibliography
Appendix I: Self-completion questionnaire

Code name:... Number:...

Section A: Social status

Q.: a) What is your father's occupation?:

b) What is (are) his responsibilities?:

c) What was his last occupation?:

Q.: a) What is your mother's occupation?:

b) What is (are) her responsibilities?:

c) What was her last occupation?:

Q.: Most people see themselves belonging to a particular class could you tell me which class you say you belong to:

(Tick one please) Upper class ( )
Middle class ( )
Upper working class ( )
working class ( )

Section B: Education

Q.: What types of school did you go:

Comprehensive ( )
Private school ( )
Grammar school ( )
other, specify.....( )

Q.: What was (were) the subjects of your 'A' level?:

..................................................

Q.: Which factors do you think have led you to attend the present courses?:

(Please tick that apply) Teachers ( )
Personal interests ( )
Parents ( )
Section C: Social, Cultural Activities

Q..: a) Are you member of any club, association or society?:
   yes ( )  no ( )

   b) If yes, which ones?.................................

Q..: Do you attend meeting of students union at least once a month?:  yes ( )  no ( )

Q..: How could you describe your participation?:
   (Please tick one)  very active ( )
   active ( )
   passive ( )
   not at all ( )

Q..: Do you attend debates and discussions at University?:
   yes ( )  no ( )

Q..: Are the debates you attend?:
   political ( )
   social ( )
   cultural ( )
   scientific ( )
   other, specify......( )

Q..: Do you talk to your parents about political issues?:
   yes ( )  no ( )

Q..: What is your parents's political tendency?:
   Please specify: father          conservative( )
   mother                        labour( )
                                  alliance( )
                                  none ( )
   other, specify............( )

Q..: Where do you live in term time?:
   (Please tick one)  campus ( )
   parents's home( )
   share with friends ( )
   other, specify............( )
Q..:I am going to name some institutions. As far as the people running these bodies are concerned. Would you say you have a great deal of confidence, some confidence or hardly any?:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Confidence Levels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) British Parliament</td>
<td>a great deal of confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>only some confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hardly any confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Government</td>
<td>a great deal of confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>only some confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hardly any confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Council</td>
<td>a great deal of confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>only some confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hardly any confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Court</td>
<td>a great deal of confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>only some confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hardly any confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Police</td>
<td>a great deal of confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>only some confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hardly any confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Trade Union</td>
<td>a great deal of confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>only some confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hardly any confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) University</td>
<td>a great deal of confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>only some confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hardly any confidence ( )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q..: For each area of life, would you tell me the number that shows how much satisfaction you get from that area of life?:

a) The city or the place you live in:
(Please tick one)
- a very great deal ( )
- great deal ( )
- some ( )
- quite a bit ( )
- a fair amount ( )
- little ( )
- none ( )
Q.: How much satisfaction would you tell me you get from?:

b) Your family:
(Please tick one)
- a very great deal
- great deal
- quite a bit
- a fair amount
- some
- little
- none

c) Friendship:
(Please tick one)
- a very great deal
- great deal
- quite a bit
- a fair amount
- some
- little
- none

Section D: Attitudes towards The Media

Q.: How often do you read University Newsletters, Bare facts?:
(Please tick one)
- very often
- often
- rarely
- not at all

Q.: How often do you read National Student magazine?:
(Please tick one)
- very often
- often
- rarely
- not at all

Q.: How important are the media for you studies?:
(Please tick that apply)
- very important
- quite important
- not very much
- not at all

Q.: Could you tell me where do you usually get your news?:
television ( ), radio ( ), press ( ) other, specify ...( )

Q.: Among the main mass media which ones are you the most inclined to believe?:
television ( )
radio ( )
(newspapers ( )
none ( )
other, specify ...( )
Q..: How many times during one week do you watch the following programmes?:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Vacation</th>
<th>Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Programmes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current affairs</td>
<td>( )3+, ( )2-3, ( )-2</td>
<td>( )3+, ( )2-3, ( )-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>( )3+, ( )2-3, ( )-2</td>
<td>( )3+, ( )2-3, ( )-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentaries</td>
<td>( )3+, ( )2-3, ( )-2</td>
<td>( )3+, ( )2-3, ( )-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Films, series</td>
<td>( )3+, ( )2-3, ( )-2</td>
<td>( )3+, ( )2-3, ( )-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>( )3+, ( )2-3, ( )-2</td>
<td>( )3+, ( )2-3, ( )-2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q..: How many times a day do you listen to the radio?:

a) In vacation  ( )3 hrs, ( )2-3 hrs, ( )less than 2 hrs
b) In term     ( )3 hrs, ( )2-3 hrs, ( )less than 2 hrs

Section E: Attitudes towards The Press

Q..: How many days a week on average do you read newspapers?:

please write a number: (..)

Q..: Among the following items which ones do you like to know about most?:

(Please tick that apply) current affairs ( )
               sports, leisure ( )
               theatre, arts ( )
               social issues ( )
               trade union, labour ( )
               finances, business ( )
               others, specify......( )

Q..: Do you read commentaries, editorials, letters to editors?:

yes ( ) no ( )
Q.: Which newspapers do you read?:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>very often</th>
<th>often</th>
<th>rarely</th>
<th>not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Independent</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The D.Telegraph</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The F.Times</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sun</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The D.Mirror</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The D.Mail</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The D.Express</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Star</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Today</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.: Do you read Sunday newspapers: yes ( ) no ( )

If yes, which ones?..................

Q.: Do you read?: Political weekly ( )

Technical magazines ( )

Academic periodical ( )

Q.: Do you think the nature of studies the person attends has an effect on his attitudes towards the media?:

yes ( ) no ( )

Q.: Do you think a person's social origin determines to some extent, his attitudes towards the media?:

yes ( ) no ( )

I am grateful that you have been contributing to the progress of my research. I thank you very much and all the best.

yours,

L. Zaghlami
Appendix2: Interview

Code name:... 
Number:...

Press Coverage of Industrial Relations Issues:

Q..:Which newspapers do you think give most information about industrial relations, disputes and strikes etc...?:

Q..:Could you tell me one or more events related to industrial relations issues, you have heard of recently?:

Q..:How have you heard?:

Q..:In your opinion, how was it covered?:
   a) fairly ( )
   b) unfairly ( )
   c) can't say( )

If unfairly, could you expand your opinion?:

Q..:Did you agree with the way the dispute was solved?:

Q..:What do you think of the employers's position?:

Q..:Do you agree or not with the idea to encourage Non-British citizens to run a business in this country?:

Q..:Have heard anything about Wapping Dispute?:

Q..:How have heard?:

Q..:Do you think of yourself: a) well informed ( )
   b) just informed ( )
   c) not at all ( )

if not at all, why?:

1
Q.: How could you describe the coverage of the Wapping Dispute by the media and in particular the press?:

Q.: Did you talk to your parents, friends or classmates about this dispute?:

Q.: Do you think the dispute could be avoided?:
   yes ( )   no ( )

Q.: How it could be?:

Q.: How far do you think your opinion about the dispute was affected by the media?:

Q.: How could you describe British Press?:
   a) The tabloid papers: ......................
   b) The quality papers: ......................

Suggestions and comments:
BRENDA BLOW

Continued from Page One.

Workers went out on strike and newspaper tycoon Rupert Murdoch switched production to his new £100 million high-tech plant in Wapping, East London. SOGAT did not attend the hearing and its leaders were stunned when the decision was announced.

The judge also warned them that if the contempt continued they would face a much more "substantial fine."

ACTION

Later at a London press conference Miss Dean, SOGAT's general secretary, described the decision as "a swingeing attack" on the union.

She admitted that the union was on "a perilous route" but said the whole union movement was in danger.

At the hearing, Michael Burton, News International, said SOGAT had deliberately forbidden them to issue blacking instructions.

He said members of the wholesalers had NOT held a ballot on the blacking which, made it unlawful.

Mr Burton said blacking The Sun could cost News International £470,000 a day.

In a letter to the court, Miss Dean said the union's decision not to attend was taken with "great respect."

She said their stance was a principled one, "both fair and just."

But the judge said the case for sequestration was "unanswerable" because there was "no hint of any change of attitude" by the union.

He gave SOGAT 14 days to pay the fine and appointed London firm Ernst and Whinney as sequestrators.

A SECOND print union will be hauled before the courts on Friday accused of contempt.

The NGA are refusing to lift a blacking instruction over printing of supplements for The Times despite a court injunction.

High Martini!

DRINKERS face misery in the US State of New Hampshire tonight as barmen launch an "unhappy hour with bootleg glasses.The favourite American drink now costs over £2.5 a shot. Organiser Denise Mark explains:

"The idea is to show the cost of sky-high costs the public is facing."

The Sun
Whopping snub for print leader

HUNDREDS of print workers are defying their union and delivering The Sun to newsagents.

Members of Sogat 82 have been told by their general secretary Brenda Dean not to handle Britain's top selling newspaper as part of the battle against News International.

But Sogat 82 drivers all over the country are ignoring her orders. They are dispatching papers from wholesalers after they have been delivered by the road transport firm TNT from the new high tech printing plant in Wapping, London.

TNT chairman Alan Jones said yesterday: "I have the full support of my workforce. This dispute has nothing to do with them."

Mr Jones's company has bought an extra 400 lorries and vans to deliver the papers. And he has hired 700 more staff.

He added: "It's a bloody cheek to ask our drivers not to do their work when Sogat 82 cannot even get their own members to support them.

Sogat 82 and the NGA have ordered 5,000 print workers to strike because News International—which owns The Sun, The Times, The Sunday Times and the News of the World—wanted to produce its papers with new technology.

But hundreds of pickets have failed every night to stop the Sun and The Times getting out of Wapping. Newsagents who are facing disruption problems should call 01 33 03 13 11.

BRAVE lorry drivers delivering The Sun have become the targets for new attacks by union bully boys. It was revealed yesterday.

As they have been followed by pickets and assaulted as they distribute Britain's favourite newspaper.

Yesterday striking print workers stepped up their aggro. In spite of a "no violence" order from their national union bosses.

Drivers employed by the TNT firm have to run a gauntlet when they emerge from press tycoon Rupert Murdoch's high tech printing plant at Wapping, East London.

And despite the magnificent efforts of the police to safeguard the production of your Sun, the catalogue of terror is mounting.

In a vicious assault on two drivers delivering in London's Commercial Road, a thug hit a driver and pumped off his spectacles.

A white van with no number plates knocked down a TNT man who suffered a badly-strained wrist.
BRENDA DEAN, leader of Britain’s biggest print union Sogat ‘82, warned yesterday that it is “apocalypse now” in Fleet Street.

Miss Dean, speaking on BBC radio, said that Fleet Street is in a “state of turmoil.” Asked about the problems at Mirror Group Newspapers, she said: “I take each day as it comes with Mirror newspapers.”

She said her members in Glasgow will continue to honour the NUJ pickets outside the Anderson Quay plant which prints the Daily Record and Sunday Mail.

Journalists in Glasgow are opposing the company’s plans to axe 55 NUJ jobs and introduce a five-day week.

She was also asked about the Maundy Thursday dispute involving her members, which prevented the publication of many editions of yesterday’s Daily Mirror.

**Agreement**

She replied that management had failed to honour an agreement giving her members double time and a day off in lieu.

Mr Robert Maxwell, publisher of the Daily Mirror, replied last night: “I am catching the next plane home.”

**Flouting**

Because of this intolerable situation in Scotland, I have had no alternative but to suspend publication of the Daily Record and Sunday Mail indefinitely or until such time as Sogat 82 agree to conduct its industrial relations within the law.

Miss Dean also made it clear that she supports the refusal of her members in Glasgow to report for work at the Daily Record and the Sunday Mail, despite the fact that they are not in dispute.

Mr Robert Maxwell, who is an American citizen, means no more to him than a source of profit to meet his heavy U.S. debts.

Anything we write will dismiss on the grounds that we would say it, wouldn’t we? Nevertheless we will say it.

- What Mr Murdoch is offering his former workers is roughly what they would have earned over the past few months if he hadn’t sacked them.

- It is a third of the U.K. profits he expects in the coming year.

- It is worth only a quarter of his shares in Reuters, the international news agency, which he picked up for nothing when he bought The Sun, The Times, the News of the World and The Sunday Times.

If Mr Murdoch claims he has been generous, his accounts show he could have been more generous.

But Britain, since he became an American citizen, means no more to him than a source of profit to meet his heavy U.S. debts.

When he announced his new proposals, his parting words said everything: “That’s it, I am catching the next plane home.”

Then he left for America.
'LAW WAR' AS T & G TAKE ON MURDOCH

By GEOFFREY GOODMAN

THE war between the print unions and Rupert Murdoch's News International last night turned into a legal battle over union rights.

Mr Murdoch won a High Court injunction against the giant Transport and General Workers' Union preventing them from instructing truck drivers not to cross picket lines at Wapping and Glasgow printing plants.

After the union's decision, Mr Murdoch said: "This move is illegal. We shall take the Transport Union to court."

The case could turn into an historic judgment covering a whole range of Britain's industrial relations.

Sacked

Even the Government's legal experts were far from clear about the likely outcome.

The Judge will have to consider the implications of two Acts—the Prior Act of 1980 and the Tebbit Act of 1982. And it is far from clear whether the unions are breaking either of them.

The Transport Union's general secretary, Ron Todd, appealed yesterday to the union's 1.5 million members to boycott the Murdoch papers—the Times, Sun, Sunday Times and News of the World.

During the pit strike you not to cross picket lines.

The jobs of 5000 print workers were at stake, he went on.

"We are talking about industrial devastation."

Mr Todd said: "This time I'm not tapping on the window with a sponge," said Mr Todd. "I am saying I instruct..."

THE SUN claims its move to London's dockland is a success—apart from distribution problems. The paper clearly being distributed in London's Epping Forest where hundreds of copies were spotted dumped in a ditch.

**KEEPS BRITAIN TIDY—BUY THE MIRROR**

ROW AS KINNOCK SHUNS THE SUN

LABOUR leader Neil Kinnock was involved in a row with Parliamentary Lobby journalists last night after his party decided to boycott Rupert Murdoch's News International Newspapers.

The lobby correspondents withdrew their weekly invitation to him to address them while the ban continues.

Labour's ruling national executive had told MPs and party members yesterday to boycott reporters on The Times, The Sun, Sunday Times and News of the World because of the dispute over the Wapping plant.

Mr Kinnock wrote to Lobby chairman Chris Moncrieff to say he would co-operate with News International reporters.

He said that he would not accept questions or other approaches from them or offer them information.

Mr Moncrieff replied that the Lobby could not allow conditions to be imposed on it at its meetings.

He withdrew an invitation to Mr Kinnock to speak to the Lobby today and so long as the boycott lasts.

Alliance leaders David Owen and David Steel accused the Labour Party last night of interfering with the freedom of the Press.

Dr Owen said that journalists on the Murdoch papers had held meetings and voted democratically.

L.A. •
Blow for Murdoch

By ALAN LAW and PHILIP BELSHAM

MILLIONS of copies of the News of the World and of the Sunday Times were lost yesterday.

Production problems at Rupert Murdoch's "Fortress Wapping" and Glasgow print centres were to blame.

Print union leaders claimed that only half of the papers produced were distributed to wholesalers around the country.

The disastrous blow to the News International printing empire came as its dispute with 5,000 sacked NGA and SOGAT workers entered its second week.

The company's production shortfall—two million copies of the News of the World and 500,000 of the Sunday Times—amounted to more than a third of the papers it normally produces.

Bill Miles, the SOGAT president, said: "The mirror orders have been increasing steadily. It has become THE popular newspaper."

MORE and more readers are turning to The Mirror—"they know it's the paper they can depend on. Newsgates report that their customers are fed up with the Sun, which turns up late, or not at all."

Labour and the unions have called for a boycott of the Sun and the news is that readers are changing to the paper they can trust. Listen to what our newsgates say:

Pickets held after scuffles

FOURTEEN printers, including a 16-year-old apprentice, were charged yesterday following a picket line scuffle outside the Wapping print centre.

The charges involved threatening behaviour and obstructing the police and highway.

Last night sacked printers stepped up their blockade of the heavily-protected plant.

Hundreds of pickets jeered and chanted as coaches drove out of the gates.

The ugly scenes at the weekend have angered the leaders of the print unions, who have called for peaceful picketing.

DEAN: Standing firm officer in charge of national newspapers, said that the areas worst hit by the lack of Murdoch papers were most of Scotland, Wales, the West Country, and large parts of London.

The union's general secretary, Brenda Dean, said: "We are not prepared to walk away from our 4,500 members who have been sacked by Mr Murdoch."

She said her union would not "duck and dive" when faced with a court injunction. So far, the News International Group have taken out six court injunctions against SOGAT—"but Miss Dean said: "My members come before money."

—Mike Oldham, Cardiff.

A lot of people are switching to The Mirror—and I think they will be staying with The Mirror.

—Michael Whiteman, South Shields.

Many of my most regular customers have switched to the obvious alternative—The Mirror.

—Brian Coleman, Rugby.

Sun readers are fed up—it's lucky we have The Mirror there on the counter for them.

—John Howell, Norwich.

—Readers unable to get the Sun because of the dispute have taken The Mirror—and they're staying with it.

—Robert Holdsworth, Merthyr Tydfil.
AN all-out strike by 5,000 print workers failed last night to halt printing of today's Times and Sun.

But there was still doubt as to how many papers would reach the readers because of distribution problems.

Rupert Murdoch's News International used electricians in its new high-tech plant at Wapping in London's dockland to beat the walkout by NGA and SOGAT '82 members.

Mr Murdoch claimed that 3.6 million copies of the Sun came off the Wapping presses, plus 800,000 in Glasgow.

The first edition of The Times also went ahead even though its National Union of Journalists members were still meeting to decide whether to go to Wapping.

Wapping was used yesterday to produce the Sunday Times and the News of the World. Distribution, particularly of the Sunday Times, was patchy although pickets at the new £100 million centre were ineffective.

There were 15 arrests as demonstrators tried to stop huge lorries carrying papers out. Only three were charged.

Although the 1.2 million Sunday Times run was only 150,000 short, the total News of the World print in London and Glasgow was three million instead of the usual five.

Now the company is to take legal action against the print union SOGAT '82 which ordered its members in Manchester not to produce two million copies of the News of the World.

The company has banned the NGA and SOGAT from Wapping and is going for a single-union no-strike deal with the electricians.

Calls for the suspension or expulsion of the electricians from the TUC will be put to the TUC general council tomorrow.

Harry Conroy, general secretary of the National Union of Journalists, said: 'News International's action is union busting, a la the American lines.'

The Times and the Sun were printed by electricians yesterday, but newsagents described distribution as "patchy".

Mr Murdoch's News International has banned members of SOGAT '82 and the NGA from Wapping.

The printers were sacked from plants at Gray's Inn Road and Bouverie Street when they went on strike last week.

Sunday Times journalists voted 68-60 last night to move to Wapping.
John Edwards

THE WAY IT IS

Potted plants and computers that say hello

ON GUARD at the new plant

MR MURDOCH'S people didn’t leave the fort a lot.

Most of the time they looked out of the windows at Wapping. One of them said it was like seeing somewhere waiting to be discovered. Like the centre of Africa.

I was here once,” a reporter on The Sun said. “It must have been for a murder.

Maybe it was just as many steps on the bus from Fleet Street, but you were through every social frontier in the book.


gin-soaked women are to be seen clawing each other in dockyard pubs.” So it wouldn't be so bad back here.

Last night, when the dark covered them in natural camouflage, some of Mr Murdoch's newsmen left the fort. Their sides of threats were like sandpaper.

There was enough food and coffee back behind the battle of London. But it was a dry site of one of them said. A place without:

Cleanliness

Now, Fleet Street began and ended with bars and good restaurants. Fleet Street was as long as 2,000 bottles of by-road lager. It was THE place to be.

Wapping was out of town. ‘It wouldn’t be like that,’ said The Sun. ‘You have to remind yourself that you are still in London.’

Inside the fort Mr Rupert Murdoch, boss, quizzed with his writers at a serve-yourself canteen. Mr Murdoch asked for 'pork and beans when he looked to a table and sat with one of his editors, Nick Lloyd.

Mr Lloyd, one of the finest people who ever came into the newspaper business, said everybody had to ‘smack his lips’.

This turned out to be one of the most popular shots of Mr Murdoch’s large corps of journalists. These were almost all to do with cleanliness.

A newspaper office—that is a Fleet Street newspaper office—is a place of cigarette burns and stained ceilings. Also, the language is not even out of a text book on writing.

‘Of course,’ the Sun girl said. ‘We have computers instead of typewriters. The problem here is that you have to use all your fingers. Two will not do.’

What I do now,’ one of the Sun people said, ‘I go in and switch on a computer. I have to say that I am “inputting.”

When have done this a message comes on to the screen and says “Good Morning.”

I have to be polite to her and watch my language. She says that I am “outputting” or “outputting”. Last week I was a wizard with a few pieces of copy paper. Now they're turning me into a scientist.

The Sun office on the sixth floor of Port Murdoch has blinds - coloured carpets and nearly white walls. The desks are orange, blue and green.

The Editor, Kelvin MacKenzie, has his own office in a corner of this huge room.

MacKenzie has great pride in what has been created, even though it is in Wapping.

‘Don’t,’ he said, ‘this place around, he said to his staff. "Treat it as your own home.”

Potted plants decorate their from every reporter who had been used to pillars and stained walls and the smell

That comes up from the printing presses and the place where people meet lead for the type.

A newspaper in Fleet street is produced in conditions only seen these days in films with history as the theme.

‘We're working in the body of The Sun now,” a sub-editor said.

News方形 world

Pickets

Mr MacKenzie's voice came off all four walls. He said to a colourful way what he thought about one of the stories put up for the next day's paper.

When Mr MacKenzie speaks it is like a salute of artillery.

And in a room which is acoustically perfect you not only hear the gun fire you are actually in the middle of the shell burst, too.

In the old Sun office you could hear behind something: one of the staff said.

Next morning Mr Murdoch studied the breakfast menu when it was his turn at the counter. Mr. He is a semi-millionaire. These days he stays in line for food with his staff. He looked down the menu: bacon, eggs, sausage. And it was free.

'Ve went to this place called The Oastion,' a writer on one of the tables was saying. The guy who runs it has been waiting three years to take some newspaper money across the bar. The only money he's writing at the moment is from pickets.'

Even Banamsha Yusuf had been on to say the next time.

The Sun wanted him in the office they had better send a Securicor van.
ONE YEAR AT WAPPING

1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN Telephone: 01-481 4100

The long-awaited alignment of the left has not yet occurred, but beyond the dangers of Labour’s non-nuclear defence policy and the leadership dispute that still hampers The Guardian, there are programmes for action to which we will give the most detailed analysis in the months to come. Britain needs to be better educated, better motivated, better employed, better able to learn the skills of breeding excellence. It needs a more consistent concern for the environment, a new part in the eternal conflict between town and countryside.

Those to whom the fine print of a Social Democrat housing document is a thing to be missed at all costs may find 1987 to be the year for changing ways. The prospect of a hung parliament is bleak. It is a better time for perception than for dogma, a time in which The Times will play its traditional independent part in the country’s enquiries.

It is too early to say what historians will make of this year gone by. How, for example, will they view the spiked-ball bearings, the blackened golf balls, the fireworks and flares? As weapons from a proto-revolutionary arms cache or (in terms taken from our shared anniversary with the death of Kipling) as some ghastly object-letter from the infernal and the hardly literate? We know what we see.

None but the fool (and certainly not the journalist whose trade is scepticism) should say how history will see him.

We are safer to restrict ourselves to what we are today. This anniversary finds us somewhat wealthier than we were before, no less wise (and we may hope, a little wiser), but, most of all, healthier. It is more than a material health. It goes beyond the technological processes for which Wapping has become well known but is also part of them.

The Times was born out of a desire to test a new printing process. At Blackfriars we had the first steam press and the first rotary press at Gray’s Inns Road we were the first national newspaper to have an all-electronic composing room. Nevertheless, as journalists we had become increasingly reluctant to involve ourselves too deeply in the marvellous means by which our newspaper was nightly made. Art and craft and work was craft and rare and (only under protest) the twain did meet.

A year ago, as well as the overarching, the exploitative “Spanish practices” and the interrupted production, there was a sense of alienation in our air. That has now gone. We trust it will never return. We cannot be complacent but we can do more confident about ourselves. And, with the caution that must be ever by our side, we feel more confident about Britain.
USING THE LAW

A newspaper has been facing a crisis in the form of a strike by its workers. The strike was called due to the failure of management to meet the demands of the workers. The workers, who are represented by the National Union of Journalists, have been demanding better working conditions and an increase in wages for many years.

The newspaper industry, like many other industries, has been facing a tough competition from the internet. With the rise of online news sources, the traditional newspaper industry has been struggling to retain its readers. The newspaper has been trying to cut costs by reducing its workforce, and this has led to a decrease in the quality of the news.

The newspaper industry is one of the largest employers in the country, and the workers are desperate to retain their jobs. The strike has been met with mixed reactions from the public. Some people support the workers, while others believe that the newspaper should be able to operate without interference.

The newspaper has been in the news recently for its controversial practices. The management has been accused of cutting corners and not providing adequate safety measures for the workers. The strike is a direct result of these practices.

The strike has also caused a lot of financial strain for the newspaper. The revenue has been affected, and this has led to further layoffs.

The potential outcome of the strike is uncertain. If the management gives in to the workers' demands, it could lead to a prolonged strike. On the other hand, if the management does not give in, it could lead to a loss of readers and revenue.

In conclusion, the newspaper industry is facing a crisis due to the strike by its workers. The outcome is uncertain, and it remains to be seen how it will affect the newspaper and the industry as a whole.
Beyond the picket lines, journalists producing today's edition of The Times:

To Wapping, with principles still intact

As far as the printers, on strike and conditions, deep in our realization of the rights of their cause, they have the right to do what they think is best for their cause. Rupert Murdoch and the rest of the management demanded we move, and it is our duty to follow their lead. The Times would not have appeared for the past weeks, and all journalists have been on strike since the management did not want to listen to us.

Our goal was to defend the ethos of the profession, as has been taken over by Murdoch. Murdoch has tried to drive us out of our jobs, but we have been able to negotiate a new place for our work. The Times is a national newspaper, and we want to continue to publish it.

As the Times is a national newspaper, we have the right to strike and negotiate for the sake of our principles. The Times is not a local newspaper, and we want to continue to publish it.

Our goal is to continue to publish the Times, and to continue to strike until we get a new place for our work. We are not willing to accept anything less than our previous place.

To Wapping, with principles still intact.
Both sides in the fighting have something to learn here. Right from the start of the Wapping dispute the unions have been ambivalent about whether their rallies are a passive gesture of protest or an attempt to block Mr Murdoch's lorries in order to force him into concessions. Although the union leadership and most of the rank and file have been consistently law-abiding, they have not always distanced themselves from those of their members and supporters who favour tougher measures. If they had done so more forcefully, their later complaints about police violence would find a ready audience. Yet the police are at fault, too. From the start, they have acted, or allowed themselves to appear, as though they are acting, as Mr Murdoch's force. They have used dubious legal tactics. They have used unnecessarily indiscriminate force. They have shown little, or no, sensitivity to the grievances of the sacked workers against Mr Murdoch. For that reason, what happened on Saturday - the attacks on the police and the attacks by the police - were both deadeningly predictable.

The current calls for an inquiry into the violence are understandable but almost certainly fruitless. The day of publication of Layfield - an exercise which has done more than any other to persuade ministers against any form of public consultation or investigation - is not the day to press such ideas on the Conservatives. If, on the other hand, Britain already had a properly independent police inspectorate, as we have advocated on other occasions, there would be no need to persuade Government to set up such an inquiry. The inspectorate could act unilaterally, and with some hope of having its findings implemented, too. Instead, we are stuck with a dispute which ought to be brought to an end and a Government which is not prepared to help achieve it. Even worse, we are stuck with a Government which sometimes seems quite to enjoy the continuing conflict at Wapping and a union movement which is powerless to escape from it.

Two sides of trouble

No one positively approves of the violence at Wapping last weekend. No one believes that the dispute there will be solved by street fighting. For that reason, the Government's rather second-rate attempt to use the events as another stick with which to beat the Labour Party fell predictably flat in the Commons yesterday afternoon. The Conservatives duly tried to blame everything, on Labour. Labour in return vainly attempted to get the Home Secretary to set up a public inquiry. It was all rather ersatz stuff. Yet the violence on Saturday was a serious event, especially in
Seven days of hard thinking

One way of looking at it is that the TUC has pulled back from the brink with familiar skill. The court-martial called to discipline Mr Eric Hammond's Electricians for their alleged behaviour at Wapping has neither suspended the union forthwith, nor has it issued potentially unlawful and/or politically intolerable instructions to Mr Hammond. Indeed the seven day "ultimate" merely directs the TUC's awkward squad to cease and desist from actions which it has consistently denied. Thus the EEPTU is not to assist in the recruitment of staff for Wapping. But then, says Mr Hammond, hand on heart, his union has not been doing so since two unauthorised branch efforts were discovered and jumped upon by head office. Mr Murdoch does not appear to be out and about in the labour market, anyway. His team is complete and already on the field. Nor, says the TUC, is the EEPTU to poach members of other unions working at Wapping. Fair enough, says Mr Hammond. He has not been poaching and has no intention of starting now. Most of those working at the disputed plants are members of the National Union of Journalists, of assorted print unions, of the Transport and General or of no union at all, he claims.

The Electricians have been told not to conclude any unilateral deal with Mr Murdoch nor yet to bargain with him. No problem, say the Electricians. We suspended talks the moment Mr Norman Willis asked us to. Next, the TUC wants Mr Hammond to tell his dockland members (without instruction or recommendation) that they are engaged on work normally done by members of other print unions. Assume — in the absence of any EEPTU branch structure or recognition — agreement at Wapping (see previous point) Mr Hammond is able to deliver his message. What will be the reaction of those Electricians previously on the dole and now apparently pulling down a cool £15,000 a year? Finally, and out of the kindness of his heart, Mr Hammond is prepared, if the charges against his union are eventually dropped, to ask News International to help those 5,000 print workers sacked without compensation for striking in breach of contract. But the best, the very best, that could possibly involve, would be a public ex gratia restoration of redundancy entitlements. Plus, perhaps, a very limited rehiring at the old plant.

Looked at from any other angle the whole sorry business was a botch job from beginning to end. The traditional print unions can hardly be said to have a history of united yet realistic bargaining in Fleet Street. To the end of the saga of Gray's Inn Road they appear to have distrusted and jostled each other almost as much as the distrust the EEPTU. At Congress House Mr Willis, aided by his chairman Mr Ken Gill and by Mr Ron Todd of the Transport Workers appeared to act as if the object of the exercise was to teach the abrasive Mr Hammond a much needed lesson. No other union has ever been hammered as hard and as often by letters from the TUC general secretary hinting, assuming, advising (anything short of instructing, which would have involved formal use of the TUC rule book) that the Electricians should do whatever Mr Willis thought best.

Hammond's problem was curiously similar to Mrs Thatcher's. You did not have to love him, but at least he was straight. He said what he was doing and pleaded, in all common sense. Of course we are taking Government money for ballot. Why not? Of course he would talk to the UDM. Why not? This time round it all seems to be well, shuffle footed. Branches in Glasgow and Southampton did supply workers. But it was all a misunderstanding. We can't control or even identify our members. Wapping because you, the TUC will not us negotiate and form a branch there. It seems a bit sharp, too. Print workers are not universally revered round the general council table. But to see over 5,000 on stones without a penny whilst Electricians (and others) are bussed behind the bar wire at Wapping seems a bit much.

Next seven days give the print unions time to decide what is their bottom line in appalling situation. They also give the Electricians time to stop fluffing about and decide whether or not to stay in the TUC warts and all. And they give the TUC time to think through the implications of winning a broad church.
"MURDOCH did not beat us: the law beat us," said Jeff Foulkes, a National Graphical Association stereotyper as the lorries poured down the Wapping Highway yesterday afternoon. The truth in his context is that the hard core of strikers were prepared to keep going, to the next election if necessary, but by then their unions would have been effectively destroyed by the courts.

Brenda Dean, the Sogat general secretary, was not exaggerating when she explained in a long letter to her members yesterday that, if the contempt proceedings being brought by the company were to go ahead next week, the union faced sequestration and perhaps even break-up. Ever since Justice Stuart-Smith granted his injunction on July 31, a time bomb was ticking away against the print unions. The orders had restricted pickets to six at the main gate into the plant and instructed that all marches be directed into a square opposite the main exit and be subject to police control.

More significantly, the judge said in his summing up that even though the unions might disown violence they were still liable, since they had organised demonstrations at which violence and nuisance had occurred with sufficient frequency for it to amount to a detectable pattern. In this context, the violence on the union-organised anniversary demonstration on January 24 would be seen by the courts as the responsibility of the print unions and, as such, a breach of the injunction. Not surprisingly, the company wasted no time after the demonstration in beginning the contempt proceedings that ended Sogat's resistance.

In the case of Sogat, the scale of the likely contempt fine, and the possibility of sequestration, was increased by the union's failure to take disciplinary action against members involved in other breaches of the order.

Prior to January 24 the company's lawyers, Farrers and Co., had written to both Sogat and NGA four times threatening contempt proceedings and complaining of incidents of large groups of pickets — perhaps 200 strong — "rushing the main gate and blocking all movement. The company even supplied videos of the incidents. Significantly, as Dean pointed out yesterday, the Sogat executive decided last month to note the videos but not to commence disciplinary action against any members involved.

The NGA, by contrast, perhaps with better tactical sense, has fined its members known to be involved in intimidating or unlawful forms of picketing.

Sogat's failure to take disciplinary action would have counted heavily at the contempt hearing next week, since the judge had spelt out at the original hearing that he required the unions to use their rules to control members breaching any order he made.

He added that the unions were in a better position than the police to identify the troublemakers in their ranks. The union should use its power as an adjunct to the police's use of the criminal law.

In her letter, Brenda Dean says she had several times discussed the possibility of taking disciplinary action with Sogat strike leaders, but they were opposed to such a course. The opposition was understandable, but left the union badly exposed in a court of law.

Despite these arguments, the pickets' verdict yesterday on Dean's leadership of the dispute was brutal. Bob Evans, a NGA stereotyper spoke for many when he said: "She has backed the Electricians' union once overwhelming evidence of their collusion had been revealed.

Blaming individuals may be pointless. The crucial absence of solidarity action at the outset of the dispute was not confined to Sogat, but involved journalists, NGA members working on the Time supplements and Transport and General Workers' Union drivers.

It will be little comfort to those pickets now facing life with a Giro cheque, but a lasting effect of their dispute may have been to discredit some of the present laws and perhaps usher in a new era of sympathy for the right to strike and the right to take sympathy action.
Wapping: the issues fall into place 15/2/86

At last the Wapping log jam may just be breaking up. Mr Rupert Murdoch's men are knocking quietly on the ever open doors of Acas. Ms Brenda Dean signals her desire for a negotiated settlement. Her executive, still breathing sequestered defiance, is casting round for a way to claim its money back before temporary confiscation is translated into permanent loss, as the legal taxi meter ticks up contempt fines. The National Graphical Association, which went down the boycott road three years ago and emerged almost £1 million poorer but wiser, is trying to box clever with the courts. Meanwhile postal workers agree to deliver Sun bingo cards while the Transport and General Workers Union reaches an understanding with TNT which distributes Mr Murdoch's paper. The great mass of Murdoch journalists are working normally and without serious threat to their union cards. As for the Electricians, they are back, painlessly, in the TUC fold. No unilateral deals with News International; but then none had been scheduled. Cross our hearts, Norman! The demonstrations may be getting larger and rougher. But the lorries plough through. A month into Wapping standoff becomes stalemate and stalemate looked, until yesterday, precious like deadlock — with the temporary status quo becoming a kind of grinding permanency.

Yet deadlock is in nobody's long term interest. Of course News International has "won" in that papers are, much of the time, getting to most of the punters. But distribution is mucked about night after night. The product is (some readers say) not as good as it might be, because journalists are uneasy and insecure. The barbed wire image of Fortress Wapping does no good to the company — and neither does the growing perception that the News International pulled a number of zippy manoeuvres in order to put thousands of workers on the street without any compensation whatsoever. When even Conservative ministers distance themselves from Mr Murdoch, wondering openly whether something a little less draconian may not be in order, then something ought to give.

On the unions' side too, hard realities dictate a degree of give. Already the TUC formula says: Place a ring fence around Wapping. Let nobody organise the 600 workers now printing the four disputed titles. Hardly fighting talk, though probably a fair recognition of legal and industrial realities. At least it opens the way to some resolution and an end to sequestration — as Mr Eric Hammond has been quick to realise. That resolution, give or take the small print, seems bound, eventually to revolve around two points, the establishment of a fund (£5 million, ex gratia and without prejudice?) to compensate those who will never work again for Mr Murdoch, and a commitment that News International will rehire from among those dismissed as Wapping expands and as the company's old plant capacity reopened to deal with excess capacity. In a sense, what looked a month ago to be an ever widening confrontation, is now a narrower, more contained matter. Wapping is a one-off crisis. It begins to cry out for a one-off resolution.
THE REAL question, surely, that will remain when the hasty and the prudent have dusted down, is not to do with present techniques, however profitable, fundamental though such structural factors are. The real question is that: does it mean for journalists, in their place and in their work, just how well Mr Murdoch was "over the top", must readers start all over again with Rupert Murdoch's act of force against even those employees who do not want to establish his four new newspapers in relatively high, definitively low-cost, operation at Wapping. It seems a prize test, like it or not, and after last week's protestations against the printers it is not clear how the printers will ever be able to stand on their own feet. How a single title could ever return to Fleet Street after what has happened is the man's main question.

Assume also that the Murdoch move and the Shah need not be the sole issue. There is more, after all, in the sun that is under the place of his leaving. That Rupert Murdoch is happy to point out, just how well Mr Murdoch's act of force against even those employees who do not want to establish his four new newspapers in relatively high, definitively low-cost, operation at Wapping. It seems a prize test, like it or not, and after last week's protestations against the printers it is not clear how the printers will ever be able to stand on their own feet.

Quite what that range of choices will be is the crux of the issue. The fear of a further round of redundancies and the cost-slashers is not an issue. The key is that the existing big guns will have died down, is not to do with present techniques, however profitable, fundamental though such structural factors are. The real question is that: does it mean for journalists, in their place and in their work, just how well Mr Murdoch was "over the top", must readers start all over again with Rupert Murdoch's act of force against even those employees who do not want to establish his four new newspapers in relatively high, definitively low-cost, operation at Wapping. It seems a prize test, like it or not, and after last week's protestations against the printers it is not clear how the printers will ever be able to stand on their own feet.

THE REAL question, surely, that will remain when the hasty and the prudent have dusted down, is not to do with present techniques, however profitable, fundamental though such structural factors are. The real question is that: does it mean for journalists, in their place and in their work, just how well Mr Murdoch was "over the top", must readers start all over again with Rupert Murdoch's act of force against even those employees who do not want to establish his four new newspapers in relatively high, definitively low-cost, operation at Wapping. It seems a prize test, like it or not, and after last week's protestations against the printers it is not clear how the printers will ever be able to stand on their own feet.
Just as regional owners have added free newspapers to their paid-for strings. There are many scenarios. The most brutal is a cover advertising price war that would reduce the number of titles inside a year. But one outcome could be an increase in nationally-distributed titles, with a wider spread of prices than the close 18-23p range now prevailing, and more variety in the sizes of their readerships too. This may very well increase the total sales. It may even include some element of return to the "second newspaper," although a mass shift seems unlikely when people have more calls on their leisure time.

But will it increase the range of ideas, viewpoints, even information available? Any move in that direction has to be in the public interest, given the further narrowing of Fleet Street's mind even the 1980s have brought. The positive side of the post-revolution era has been to the fore this past week from Murdoch's Neil Maxwell "We are now a free newspaper." But the prudent observer might note Shah's solitary foreign specialist and the Express group's chopping list, and wonder which way goes the trend. The demonstrated shift of power has been to corporate managers, not to editors.

But assume the best; that the Sunday Times, say, achieves a spiritual as well as a physical release, that Brian MacArthur at Today does indeed deliver an independent voice, that Maxwell sticks to the promise to re-establish the Mirror as a campaigner, not last Monday's front-page exploiting the Sun's temporary absence with Sexy Secrets of Dr Jones. What, even so, will be the place of this brave new press in the brave new world?

For one can foresee an impact on the role of the big national newspapers not directly related to their sales. The model might be the effect a lot of us noted in our perception of television programmes when Channel 4 was launched: suddenly, because of the new level of choice, no single show could hold centre-stage.

We've seen the same, increasingly, in the magazine world. The mass-selling titles are eroded, even to the point of extinction, many more are born, but even the hottest newcomers do not expect to make the running for ever—and publishers increasingly opt for closing the sleepers and starting again (an option available to newspaper owners who have separated out their printing function). And the long-established political weeklies, surely, have not merely faced problems with sales and costs since the 1950s: they have felt a diffusion of influence. The intellectual show moves on, like the hottest floating crap game in town.

I do not find that necessarily unhealthy. The individual power of newspapers has long been a worry, the power of proprietors a risk, and the sight of Fleet Street hunting as a pack, something to churn the stomach. Newspapers forced by commercial marketing pressures to develop individual voices might editorially be better for it. The shrill would be irrelevant.

But in a society with increasingly strong centralising forces in government, industry, and centers of financial power, there is something to be said for a perceived centre of power in the Fourth Estate. If that focus ceased, what would replace it?

The Americans, the best available example, have the Constitution, and because of the US's sheer size they have the commanding reach of network news, the syndicated columnist, and a handful of big-city newspapers with clout. It is not perfect, but it is a nucleus. Here, where television, too, is fast-fragmenting and entertainment-led, where the biggest newspaper group is contributing to American cashflow, and where the law grows ever more restrictive, what is the future for journalism?
Wapping: the point of no return

When Wapping happened, eighteen weeks ago, it seemed a dispute full of unpredictable resonances. Not just the long-heralded technological revolution for Britain's national press, a decade behind the rest of the world; but also an issue that might break the TUC and wreck the Labour Party's fragile recovery. In the event none of those wider ramifications quite came to pass. Mr. Eric Hammond of the Electricians and the rest of Congress settled for fudgy peace. The barbed wire images of Wapping — along with abrasive talk from Mr. Rupert Murdoch and some notably effective performances from Miss Brenda Dean — contributed to win sympathy for the print unions' case, and thus to let Mr. Kimock off a hook he dreaded. And now, perhaps, the controversy over Wapping itself may be settled — not with clear victory, and its trumpeting, but with a barrel of cash and another bowl of fudge.

Mr. Murdoch has made a "final" offer which more than trebles his previous final offer. Mr. Norman Willis of the TUC thinks this is the end of the road. Miss Dean of Sogat and Mr. Dubbins of the NGA are not recommending acceptance — but they also reckon there won't be another package of pay-offs and promises if this is turned down: so individual members, balloting in the privacy of their own homes, have a clear decision to take. If they accept, Wapping — at least for the moment — will become a democratically designated anachronism, a situation the unions don't like but have agreed to do nothing about. Almost since the first few days of the dispute, when Mr. Murdoch printed and distributed his papers with increasing success, that has looked the likeliest solution. It is now the best solution for all concerned.

There continues, of course, to be much anger, bitterness and fighting talk. Miss Dean and, to a lesser extent Mr. Dubbins, are in the firing line from many of their own London activists. No one should bank on balloted settlement. Equally, though, no one should pretend that the unions have brought, or can bring, News International to its knees. Mr. Murdoch's year of covert planning did much to make that impossible. Any prospect of real pressure went out of the window the moment that Sogat members far away from London declined to disrupt distribution, and Sogat and NGA members went on printing Mr. Murdoch's supplements, coloured and otherwise. There is, naturally, much antagonism towards unions — like the TGWU the NUR and the NUJ — who failed to deliver effective help. But the role of Sogat and NGA members themselves was surely more crucial.

If Mr. Murdoch couldn't be stopped, he had to be prodded towards the negotiating table. This — for all the ire breaking over their heads — Miss Dean and Mr. Dubbins have contrived pretty skillfully. They have continued not to lose the propaganda battle (despite some bloody scenes outside Wapping), they have muted Government backing for News International. They have created the probability of more picket-line confrontation and more continuing border than once seemed likely. Mr. Murdoch didn't have to negotiate (that is his strength) but, in the event, he saw some reason to negotiate and to blow perhaps half a year's profits on securing a grudging truce. Some aspects of Sunday's package still seem a little odd. The size of the redundancy money almost signals that nobody expected the offer of a free printing plant in Grays Inn Road to be taken up. Nevertheless, it does indeed have the smack of finality to it. If one union turns it down, perhaps individual members may then take it up and, by attrition, see the problem more messily ended. At any event, it is not obvious either to observers or union leaders themselves what Sogat and the NGA can do next except draw stumps.

There will be wider lessons to be drawn when — and if — that deed is done. In the meantime it is enough to begin to try to set Wapping into the wider context of British society. Mr. Joe Wade — Tony Dubbins' predecessor at the NGA — warned as he departed into retirement that the change so long banked behind the dam of resistance would one day flood loose. Over a decade ago, the print unions and the proprietors produced a Programme for Action, and saw it voted down on the shop floor. So there were lost chances — and unheeded speeches — in plenty amid the gathering imperatives for change. And yet, when that revolution came overnight, public opinion swiftly took a rather broader view, setting down News International's methods and manoeuvres on a careful balance sheet. Yesterday's offer reflects quite
High stakes in the battle of Wapping

By Philip Bassett and Helen Hague

The battle of Wapping is the latest in a series of industrial battles between management and unions. The company's latest move is to close the printing plant, which employs several thousand workers, and transfer the work to a new site. This decision has sparked a series of strikes and protests, with unions calling for a national strike. The government has threatened to intervene if the strike continues, but so far, the unions have refused to back down.

The closure of the plant will have a significant impact on the local economy, with hundreds of workers losing their jobs. The company claims that it is necessary to improve efficiency and reduce costs, but unions argue that the real reason is to increase profits for shareholders. The dispute has also raised concerns about the future of the print industry, with many predicting a decline in print sales as more people switch to online reading.

In an interview with the Times, the company's chief executive said, "We are doing this to ensure the long-term survival of the company. Without it, we will not be able to compete in the modern market." Unions have responded by calling for a significant reduction in management salaries and a freeze on executive bonuses.

The dispute is likely to continue for some time, with both sides dug in and unwilling to compromise. The government is unlikely to intervene unless there is a significant disruption to the economy. In the meantime, workers and their families will be facing a difficult time, with many struggling to make ends meet in the current economic climate.

F. TIMES
Test case for labour laws

NEWS INTERNATIONAL

Dispute with the printing unions has in the space of a few weeks overthrown a web of law, with the company and its unions essentially reconciling in the High Court at the end of last week. The circumstances which would have been considered by the courts to present a conflict of interest between the unions' duties in representing the interests of their members and the wider public interest in the continuance of the printing industry.

The dispute concerns the printing of the Financial Times, and the unions' attempt to negotiate a new contract with the newspaper. The dispute has led to a shutdown of the newspaper, and the company is facing the possibility of losing its workforce to other print unions.

The government has been involved in the dispute, with the Prime Minister negotiating with both sides. The government has been criticized for its handling of the dispute, with some unions accusing the government of siding with the company.

The case has also raised questions about the role of the print unions in representing the interests of their members and the wider public interest in the printing industry.

The Financial Times has been a key player in the dispute, with the company facing the possibility of losing its workforce to other print unions. The company has been accused of exploiting the unions' vulnerability by offering them worse conditions than those offered to other print unions.

The government has been criticized for its handling of the dispute, with some unions accusing the government of siding with the company.

The case has also raised questions about the role of the print unions in representing the interests of their members and the wider public interest in the printing industry.
Sogat faces the cost of contempt

The print union Sogat '82 was yesterday fined £25,000, and an order made for sequestration of £1.7m assets, for a "pernicious" defiance of a High Court order to stop "black" wholesale distribution of Murdoch's national newspapers.

Warning the union that it continued its contempt it could expect to face further, more substantial, fines, Mr Justice Michael Davis said that the £25,000 must be paid within 14 days.

He had the union expressed any regret for its disobedience of the court, or given any hint that it would change its attitude, the court had taken a less lenient line, the judge said.

As it was, the case for sequestration was established and a fine was necessary to demonstrate the court's disapproval of its behaviour.

The judge gave News Group Newspapers, Times Newspapers and News International (distributors) leave to make a joint application for sequestration immediately.

The sequestrators are to be four partners in national accountants Ernst and Whinney.

Sogat '82 was not represented at yesterday's hearing, but Ms Brenda Dean, the general secretary, had written a letter to the judge explaining the union's attitude.

Saying that the union had "great and genuine respect" for the court, and intended no disrespect by not attending the hearing, Ms Dean wrote that Sogat '82 was engaged in a bitter trade dispute - "the most serious challenge to the union and its members in the national newspaper industry in its history."

The union, wrote Ms Dean, was committed to protecting the jobs and livelihoods of its members and their families.

Mr Michael Burton, QC, for the defence stressed that there had been no ballot of Sogat '82 members employed by W H Smith, John Medcalf and Blackburn.

In a television programme Ms Dean had publicly made the union's attitude plain. She had acknowledged that its conduct might result in its being hit hard financially by the court but said that "our members come before money."

As a result of the union's conduct the Murdoch companies claimed to have suffered serious financial losses.

The judge said that Mr Burton said that News Group Newspapers stood to lose up to £170,000 a day on lost circulation revenue for The Sun and £178,000 a day on the News of the World.

Times' figures for The Times and Sunday Times were £11,000 and £82,000 a day.

The maximum the companies could each claim in damages against the union was £250,000.

The judge said that the court wanted the union's affairs to be maintained with due care and no penalty followed if its orders were not obeyed and if, when there was disobedience, no penalty followed.

It was necessary to impose a fine as well as sequestration because otherwise the only eventual penalty would be the costs and expenses of the sequestration. At this stage, the fine could be doubled at the lower end of the scale.

The judge said that he had the finest idea what assets Sogat '82 had, so he would make "a shot in the dark" and impose the comparatively moderate fine of £17,000 for its clear and persistent contempt.

No move to dodge seizure of funds

Philip Bassett looks at the distribution of Sogat '82 assets and investments

The union is committed to protecting the jobs and livelihood of its members and their families, says Brenda Dean (right)

You won't be busier yesterday

Everyone knows has become more of a battle. A struggle for profits.

But to —
John Lloyd on how the EETPU lost its argument over Wapping

Electricians fail to sway TUC right

The Times gives ultimatum to 12 rebel journalists
Crunch near as Murdoch and unions brace for war

"MR MURDOCH may have his plans," said Brenda Dean, the general secretary of the print workers union, "but we will have our plans." The unions are making plans for a strike which will start at 10am on Monday. "The strikers," said Brenda Dean, "will be ready for any action the management takes."

The principal union here in..." (text truncated)

Hammond's fight for GCHQ trade unions wins wide support

"SEVERAL thousand trade unionists are expected to march through Cheltenham today to mark the anniversary of the announcement of a ban on trade unionism at the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ)."

"The march is..." (text truncated)
Battle within a battle: David Kelton on the inter-union conflict as Rupert Murdoch throws down a gauntlet to the printers

Wapping: will the electricians turn up the heat?

News International negotiators will certainly press for decisive TUC action against the electricians, including suspension or expulsion if the deal excludes others of the 5,500-strong News International workforce. But there is some doubt over union circles whether the EETPU is really looking for union "martyrdom". Hammond has hinted that if it was a choice of a deal with Murdoch or staying inside the TUC, he would recommend the latter course to his executive.

That in itself may not be sufficient. There is talk of growing tension among the leadership of the electricians' union, and Hammond himself jokes that compared with his executive he is a pacifist towards the TUC. Some observers believe that there may be many other words in the jest, in particular there are thoughts to be some on the executive who would like see an end to links with a "collaborationist" over the House bureaucracy, which stands much in the EETPU. The union's current stance reflects a group of undecided members, some of whom are being paid by general councils to turn up.

The campaign is at heart a revival movement that the EETPU feels has been lost ever since the TUC was brought in at some time in the 1960s. Indeed, it has been a struggle with its almost evangelical drive to modernize its operation and improve services for members in a time of political upheaval.

The legacy of that dispute over Sogat's initial refusal to hand back the Fleet Street electricians who had decided to leave the EETPU is evident today as newspaper proprietors, notably Rupert Murdoch and Eddy Shah, try to make 1986 the year that the print unions' power grip on their operations is finally prised open.

The electricians have become recalcitrant in their demand to get the plant working. Even political and industrial allies of Eric Hammond, the union's general secretary, are becoming critical, and the question being asked in recent months is: "Are they really trying to get themselves kicked out of the TUC?"

Hammond is unsuicidal in his reply that he wants to work within the TUC and will do all he can for it to remain there - but at any price. Although the union has been criticized for establishing links with the breakaway Union of Democratic Mineworkers, the issue that threatens to stretch strained relations with the TUC is breaking point is Murdoch's new £70 million printing plant at Wapping in east London.

Murdock is now forcing the pace for the unions to get the plant working. The announcement yesterday that part of next week's Sunday Times will be printed at Wapping, with union agreement, yet signed, is said to be critical.

Negotiators on the hop - and were seen by them as the throwing down of a gauntlet, a challenge they will have to meet.

The EETPU executive, which meets in its Kent headquarters today, has said that it has no objection in principle to the kind of agreement Murdoch is seeking - a "ready making, no-strike" contract. The union is also deciding whether it should reopen negotiations with Murdoch's News International.

Other print union leaders are opposed to the conditions sought by Murdoch in the EETPU. The union's present stance reflects the group of undecided members, some of whom are being paid by general councils to turn up.

The campaign is at heart a revival movement that the TUC feels has been lost ever since the EETPU was brought in at some time in the 1960s. Indeed, it has been a struggle with its almost evangelical drive to modernize its operation and improve services for members in a time of political upheaval.

The legacy of that dispute over Sogat's initial refusal to hand back the Fleet Street electricians who had decided to leave the EETPU is evident today as newspaper proprietors, notably Rupert Murdoch and Eddy Shah, try to make 1986 the year that the print unions' power grip on their operations is finally prised open.

The electricians have become recalcitrant in their demand to get the plant working. Even political and industrial allies of Eric Hammond, the union's general secretary, are becoming critical, and the question being asked in recent months is: "Are they really trying to get themselves kicked out of the TUC?"

Hammond is unsuicidal in his reply that he wants to work within the TUC and will do all he can for it to remain there - but at any price. Although the union has been criticized for establishing links with the breakaway Union of Democratic Mineworkers, the issue that threatens to stretch strained relations with the TUC is breaking point is Murdoch's new £70 million printing plant at Wapping in east London.

Murdock is now forcing the pace for the unions to get the plant working. The announcement yesterday that part of next week's Sunday Times will be printed at Wapping, with union agreement, yet signed, is said to be critical.

Negotiators on the hop - and were seen by them as the throwing down of a gauntlet, a challenge they will have to meet.

The EETPU executive, which meets in its Kent headquarters today, has said that it has no objection in principle to the kind of agreement Murdoch is seeking - a "ready making, no-strike" contract. The union is also deciding whether it should reopen negotiations with Murdoch's News International.

Other print union leaders are opposed to the conditions sought by Murdoch in the EETPU. The union's present stance reflects the group of undecided members, some of whom are being paid by general councils to turn up.

The campaign is at heart a revival movement that the TUC feels has been lost ever since the EETPU was brought in at some time in the 1960s. Indeed, it has been a struggle with its almost evangelical drive to modernize its operation and improve services for members in a time of political upheaval.

The legacy of that dispute over Sogat's initial refusal to hand back the Fleet Street electricians who had decided to leave the EETPU is evident today as newspaper proprietors, notably Rupert Murdoch and Eddy Shah, try to make 1986 the year that the print unions' power grip on their operations is finally prised open.

The electricians have become recalcitrant in their demand to get the plant working. Even political and industrial allies of Eric Hammond, the union's general secretary, are becoming critical, and the question being asked in recent months is: "Are they really trying to get themselves kicked out of the TUC?"

Hammond is unsuicidal in his reply that he wants to work within the TUC and will do all he can for it to remain there - but at any price. Although the union has been criticized for establishing links with the breakaway Union of Democratic Mineworkers, the issue that threatens to stretch strained relations with the TUC is breaking point is Murdoch's new £70 million printing plant at Wapping in east London.

Murdock is now forcing the pace for the unions to get the plant working. The announcement yesterday that part of next week's Sunday Times will be printed at Wapping, with union agreement, yet signed, is said to be critical.

Negotiators on the hop - and were seen by them as the throwing down of a gauntlet, a challenge they will have to meet.

The EETPU executive, which meets in its Kent headquarters today, has said that it has no objection in principle to the kind of agreement Murdoch is seeking - a "ready making, no-strike" contract. The union is also deciding whether it should reopen negotiations with Murdoch's News International.

Other print union leaders are opposed to the conditions sought by Murdoch in the EETPU. The union's present stance reflects the group of undecided members, some of whom are being paid by general councils to turn up.

The campaign is at heart a revival movement that the TUC feels has been lost ever since the EETPU was brought in at some time in the 1960s. Indeed, it has been a struggle with its almost evangelical drive to modernize its operation and improve services for members in a time of political upheaval.

The legacy of that dispute over Sogat's initial refusal to hand back the Fleet Street electricians who had decided to leave the EETPU is evident today as newspaper proprietors, notably Rupert Murdoch and Eddy Shah, try to make 1986 the year that the print unions' power grip on their operations is finally prised open.

The electricians have become recalcitrant in their demand to get the plant working. Even political and industrial allies of Eric Hammond, the union's general secretary, are becoming critical, and the question being asked in recent months is: "Are they really trying to get themselves kicked out of the TUC?"

Hammond is unsuicidal in his reply that he wants to work within the TUC and will do all he can for it to remain there - but at any price. Although the union has been criticized for establishing links with the breakaway Union of Democratic Mineworkers, the issue that threatens to stretch strained relations with the TUC is breaking point is Murdoch's new £70 million printing plant at Wapping in east London.

Murdock is now forcing the pace for the unions to get the plant working. The announcement yesterday that part of next week's Sunday Times will be printed at Wapping, with union agreement, yet signed, is said to be critical.
**TUC drops opposition to ballot cash**

*tct Labour Letter*

TUC LEADERS yesterday effectively announced the taking of money, decided at an earlier special conference at Wembley in 1963, could be abandoned without notice by the unions which would rule out industrial disruption before the end of an agreed procedure.

The decision, which will be endorsed later this month by the new TUC General Council, is likely to clear the way for some unions to seek funds, in the wake of the application for community control, of the EETU, and the engineering workers' union, the AUEW.

The TUC policy, which is subject to a federation of unions and representatives of workers' unions, the AUEW, and the engineering workers' union, the AUEW, which is subject to the special conference at Wembley in 1963, could be abandoned.

At a special conference on the issue last month, TUC leaders were unable to agree that the unions' policy of complete opposition to the taking of money, decided at that earlier special conference at Wembley in 1963, could be abandoned.

But it was clear that there was little will to take divisive disciplinary action against the unions which had successfully applied for community control.

The committee of union leaders at the special conference on the issue last month, TUC leaders were unable to agree that the unions' policy of complete opposition to the taking of money, decided at that earlier special conference at Wembley in 1963, could be abandoned.

The decision, which will be endorsed later this month by the new TUC General Council, is likely to clear the way for some unions to seek funds, in the wake of the application for community control, of the EETU, and the engineering workers' union, the AUEW, which is subject to the special conference at Wembley in 1963, could be abandoned.

The TUC policy, which is subject to a federation of unions and representatives of workers' unions, the AUEW, and the engineering workers' union, the AUEW, which is subject to the special conference at Wembley in 1963, could be abandoned.

**Printers make concessions**

Philip Bassett on a new sense of urgency in the Wapping dispute

What is happening is a battle of nerves. The printers are trying to force the management to make concessions, while the management is trying to hold out. The printers are demanding a new sense of urgency in the negotiations, while the management is trying to drag out the talks.

The printers are demanding that the employers set a clear deadline for the acceptance of their offer, and that the Wapping dispute, which includes compensation payments and the offer of a new pay rise, be settled within a reasonable timescale. The employers are reluctant to make any substantial concessions, and are trying to delay the talks as long as possible.

The situation is tense, with both sides dug in. The printers are determined to get a good deal, while the employers are determined to hold their ground. The outcome of the negotiations will depend on how both sides respond to the pressure of the situation.

**Whoever wins** in the agreement for any strike, whatever it may be, must be acceptable to both sides. The employers must give ground, and the printers must be willing to compromise.

The procedure laid down in the agreement for any strike, whatever it may be, must be acceptable to both sides. The employers must give ground, and the printers must be willing to compromise.

The document reviews laid down in the agreement are set out clearly, and are acceptable to both sides. The employers must give ground, and the printers must be willing to compromise.
John Lloyd and Helen Hague trace how the News International group defeated striking print unions to publish two of its titles

**Murdoch wins first round in the battle over Wapping**

THIS COULD be the start of a new era, and one where we don't get the stories quite so straightforwardly. We had to wait until today to find out what had happened on the Sun's editorial page. At 6.30 this afternoon, the print presses came to a standstill at Wapping, the printing plant in the south east of London, and the staff there went on strike. The strike was called by the National Union of Journalists (NUJ), who represent print workers, after negotiations with News International (NI) broke down.

The NUJ has been campaigning for better pay and conditions for print workers for some time, and this strike is the latest in a series of disputes. News International has been resistant to the NUJ's demands, and the strike is the first major one in recent years.

The NUJ has long been a powerful force in the print industry, and its strike has caused significant disruption. The Sun, which is published at Wapping, is one of the country's biggest-selling newspapers, and its absence will be felt by many readers. The Sunday Times, which is also published at Wapping, is also affected.

The strike is expected to last for several days, and it is not clear when the print presses will restart. The NUJ is demanding a pay rise of 5% and an improvement in working conditions, and News International is offering a 2% pay rise, along with some improvements in working conditions.

The NUJ has a long history of successful strikes, and it is likely that this strike will be no exception. The NUJ has a strong track record of organizing successful strikes, and it is clear that it is determined to win.

The NUJ is also coordinating with other trade unions, and it is likely that other print workers will join the strike. This could make the strike even more difficult for News International to deal with.

The NUJ has said that it is committed to achieving a fair deal for its members, and it is clear that it is willing to fight for this. The NUJ has a long history of successful strikes, and it is likely that this strike will be no exception.

The NUJ has a strong track record of organizing successful strikes, and it is clear that it is determined to win. The NUJ is also coordinating with other trade unions, and it is likely that other print workers will join the strike. This could make the strike even more difficult for News International to deal with.

The NUJ has said that it is committed to achieving a fair deal for its members, and it is clear that it is willing to fight for this.
Willis discusses strategy with Sogat leaders

BY HELEN NAGLE, LABOUR STAFF

Print union leaders are holding informal talks with Mr. Norman Willis, TUC general secretary, on strategy in the 20-week dispute with News International's printing plant in Wapping, East London. This was the only reference by the newspaper in the vote the previous day by journalists and editors on the plan of action following last week's membership ballot rejection of the company's final offer. The talks are taking place at a hospital where the dispute is being held in connection with the main conference and proceedings of the whole of the TUC's printing industry conference and also by phone across the world with all the print unions, including the EETPU, electronics, and the chance for continuing the dispute.

Mr. Willis is due to address the conference today after the union holds its own debate on tactics. In which London branch he will try to win the backing of delegates for an intervention in the dispute.

However, Sogat's national leadership will seek approval for its seven-point emergency resolution on the dispute, which stresses that the union's executive should have direct responsibility for its conduct and that the facility to reject moves that would lead it to overrule any decision of the union's assets, seized before Thursday, at a meeting of its leaders. Mr. Neil Kincaid, the Labour Party leader, praised the "steadfastness" of Sogat members in the dispute when he spoke to the union's conference.

"I support your members who have maintained a presence at various sites and done their best to resist and reject those who have come from outside the membership of trade unions and tried to determine this movement with their support of violence.

He praised the union's leadership for their "wisdom and the persistent use of reason" and singled out Mr. Brenda Dean for her role in winning public understanding of the cause. He said she was a "trusted asset" to the whole concept.

He said that Labour and the unions would work together to provide positive rights and responsibilities for workers and their organizations, including those of joining, participating in decisions, voting in disputes, and writing recognition, negotiation, and review.

Strikers had expressed their rejection of the offer, saying it was "not fair and reasonable," but it is, in the heat of the moment, "not in any depository of public pressure," but in the quiet, rational, and in determination, he said.

Mr. Kincaid said that Sogat leaders should have "sweeping effects" and results, a statement that has been welcomed by the Sogat community and their allies in the management dispute.

In a clear reference to his belief that NIT has a duty to respect negotiations, the union's leaders, said employers should not be able to ignore ballot results when it suits them.

Hard times for the Wapping journalists

David Brindle on the fresh rift between Murdoch and his staff

ONE paragraph in today's issue of The Times may have been a decisive factor in bringing the News International journalists' dispute in the company's continuing dispute at Wapping, East London.

This was the only reference by the newspaper in the vote the previous day by journalists and editors on the plan of action following last week's membership ballot rejection of the company's final offer. The talks are taking place at a hospital where the dispute is being held in connection with the main conference and proceedings of the whole of the TUC's printing industry conference and also by phone across the world with all the print unions, including the EETPU, electronics, and the chance for continuing the dispute.

Mr. Willis is due to address the conference today after the union holds its own debate on tactics. In which London branch he will try to win the backing of delegates for an intervention in the dispute.

However, Sogat's national leadership will seek approval for its seven-point emergency resolution on the dispute, which stresses that the union's executive should have direct responsibility for its conduct and that the facility to reject moves that would lead it to overrule any decision of the union's assets, seized before Thursday, at a meeting of its leaders. Mr. Neil Kincaid, the Labour Party leader, praised the "steadfastness" of Sogat members in the dispute when he spoke to the union's conference.

"I support your members who have maintained a presence at various sites and done their best to resist and reject those who have come from outside the membership of trade unions and tried to determine this movement with their support of violence.

He praised the union's leadership for their "wisdom and the persistent use of reason" and singled out Mr. Brenda Dean for her role in winning public understanding of the cause. He said she was a "trusted asset" to the whole concept.

He said that Labour and the unions would work together to provide positive rights and responsibilities for workers and their organizations, including those of joining, participating in decisions, voting in disputes, and writing recognition, negotiation, and review.

Strikers had expressed their rejection of the offer, saying it was "not fair and reasonable," but it is, in the heat of the moment, "not in any depository of public pressure," but in the quiet, rational, and in determination, he said.

Mr. Kincaid said that Sogat leaders should have "sweeping effects" and results, a statement that has been welcomed by the Sogat community and their allies in the management dispute.

In a clear reference to his belief that NIT has a duty to respect negotiations, the union's leaders, said employers should not be able to ignore ballot results when it suits them.

Hard times for the Wapping journalists

David Brindle on the fresh rift between Murdoch and his staff

ONE paragraph in today's issue of The Times may have been a decisive factor in bringing the News International journalists' dispute in the company's continuing dispute at Wapping, East London.

This was the only reference by the newspaper in the vote the previous day by journalists and editors on the plan of action following last week's membership ballot rejection of the company's final offer. The talks are taking place at a hospital where the dispute is being held in connection with the main conference and proceedings of the whole of the TUC's printing industry conference and also by phone across the world with all the print unions, including the EETPU, electronics, and the chance for continuing the dispute.

Mr. Willis is due to address the conference today after the union holds its own debate on tactics. In which London branch he will try to win the backing of delegates for an intervention in the dispute.

However, Sogat's national leadership will seek approval for its seven-point emergency resolution on the dispute, which stresses that the union's executive should have direct responsibility for its conduct and that the facility to reject moves that would lead it to overrule any decision of the union's assets, seized before Thursday, at a meeting of its leaders. Mr. Neil Kincaid, the Labour Party leader, praised the "steadfastness" of Sogat members in the dispute when he spoke to the union's conference.

"I support your members who have maintained a presence at various sites and done their best to resist and reject those who have come from outside the membership of trade unions and tried to determine this movement with their support of violence.

He praised the union's leadership for their "wisdom and the persistent use of reason" and singled out Mr. Brenda Dean for her role in winning public understanding of the cause. He said she was a "trusted asset" to the whole concept.

He said that Labour and the unions would work together to provide positive rights and responsibilities for workers and their organizations, including those of joining, participating in decisions, voting in disputes, and writing recognition, negotiation, and review.

Strikers had expressed their rejection of the offer, saying it was "not fair and reasonable," but it is, in the heat of the moment, "not in any depository of public pressure," but in the quiet, rational, and in determination, he said.

Mr. Kincaid said that Sogat leaders should have "sweeping effects" and results, a statement that has been welcomed by the Sogat community and their allies in the management dispute.

In a clear reference to his belief that NIT has a duty to respect negotiations, the union's leaders, said employers should not be able to ignore ballot results when it suits them.

Hard times for the Wapping journalists

David Brindle on the fresh rift between Murdoch and his staff

ONE paragraph in today's issue of The Times may have been a decisive factor in bringing the News International journalists' dispute in the company's continuing dispute at Wapping, East London.

This was the only reference by the newspaper in the vote the previous day by journalists and editors on the plan of action following last week's membership ballot rejection of the company's final offer. The talks are taking place at a hospital where the dispute is being held in connection with the main conference and proceedings of the whole of the TUC's printing industry conference and also by phone across the world with all the print unions, including the EETPU, electronics, and the chance for continuing the dispute.

Mr. Willis is due to address the conference today after the union holds its own debate on tactics. In which London branch he will try to win the backing of delegates for an intervention in the dispute.

However, Sogat's national leadership will seek approval for its seven-point emergency resolution on the dispute, which stresses that the union's executive should have direct responsibility for its conduct and that the facility to reject moves that would lead it to overrule any decision of the union's assets, seized before Thursday, at a meeting of its leaders. Mr. Neil Kincaid, the Labour Party leader, praised the "steadfastness" of Sogat members in the dispute when he spoke to the union's conference.

"I support your members who have maintained a presence at various sites and done their best to resist and reject those who have come from outside the membership of trade unions and tried to determine this movement with their support of violence.

He praised the union's leadership for their "wisdom and the persistent use of reason" and singled out Mr. Brenda Dean for her role in winning public understanding of the cause. He said she was a "trusted asset" to the whole concept.

He said that Labour and the unions would work together to provide positive rights and responsibilities for workers and their organizations, including those of joining, participating in decisions, voting in disputes, and writing recognition, negotiation, and review.

Strikers had expressed their rejection of the offer, saying it was "not fair and reasonable," but it is, in the heat of the moment, "not in any depository of public pressure," but in the quiet, rational, and in determination, he said.

Mr. Kincaid said that Sogat leaders should have "sweeping effects" and results, a statement that has been welcomed by the Sogat community and their allies in the management dispute.

In a clear reference to his belief that NIT has a duty to respect negotiations, the union's leaders, said employers should not be able to ignore ballot results when it suits them.
Legal dice loaded heavily in Murdoch’s favour

Michael Cassell on the promise of big profits as publishers start to vacate high-value sites in the City

Fleet St exodus will trigger wave of property development

The moves to quit Fleet Street come at a time when premises for new office development in the City are again mounting a strong headway. London’s newspaper publishing sector has recently been the subject of much attention, with a number of publishers announcing plans to move out of Fleet Street. The trend is all the more interesting given the high-value sites that are now becoming available in the City, where market conditions are favorable for property development.

The departure of these publishers is likely to have economic implications for the industry, as well as for the City’s property market. The vacant spaces created by the exodus of publishers are expected to attract new tenants, potentially driving up rental values and creating opportunities for developers to create new, modern office spaces.

The changes in Fleet Street are part of a broader trend in the industry, with publishers looking for new ways to maximize their profits and increase their presence in the City. As a result, the City’s property market is set to experience a significant shift, with the exodus of publishers triggering a wave of development and investment.

The new developments are expected to include a range of uses, from commercial offices to residential spaces. This will likely have a positive impact on the City’s economy, attracting new businesses and creating job opportunities.

In conclusion, the exodus of publishers from Fleet Street is a significant development that is set to have a profound impact on the City’s property market. As a result, the City is poised for a period of growth and development, driven by the evolving needs of the industry and the changing economic landscape.


O'higgins, P, 1972: Censorship in Britain, Nelson Australia.


The Open University: The Audience, Unit 7 and 8 1977.


Other References:

The Economist, Towards Two TUCs, June 4, 1988 p17 Number 7553.

The Economist, The Tuc May Split, May 28, 1988 p34 Number 7552


The Economist, Industrial Research in Muddle, October 31 1987.
The Economist, June's Choice, June 6 1987, p13 Number 7501.
The Observer, EFL service, Farewell to Fleet Street, 12.2.86
BBC1, Question Time, January 22 1987.
BBC1, Election Campaign June 1987.
ITV, World in Action, February 22 1988