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Quantitative Measure of Evaluative Labeling in News Reports:

Psychology of Communication Bias studied by Content Analysis and Semantic Differential

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Running head: QUANTITATIVE MEASURE OF EVALUATIVE LABELING IN NEWS REPORTS

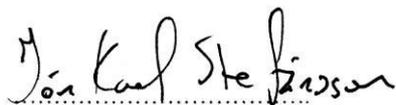
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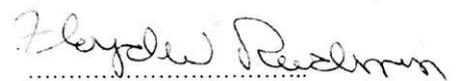
Preface

The original ideas for the current project were proposed by the author. The precise design of the study took shape in the course of very fruitful discussions with Professor Rudmin. He had before introduced me to the works of Charles Osgood in psychological semantics, whose methodology carry the main weight of the study design of the current project. I proposed the idea to use content analysis as means of providing the material for analysis and after scrutiny and good recommendations by Professor Rudmin, the the two studies took their final form. Throughout the project, Professor Rudmin has offered priceless advice and enormous help with getting the project done.

Tromsø, 30.05.2014


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(student)


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(supervisor)

Quantitative Measure of Evaluative Labeling in News Reports:

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Abstract

Two studies examined partisan word-connotations in news reports. They focused on what, if any, normative judgements were conveyed through the choice of referent terms of key agents and examined if the usage of terms differed systematically in emotional connotations according to which agents they were applied to. Study 1 used content analysis of every article posted on the Norwegian state news media's webpage in a one year period from 16th February 2011 to 16th February 2012 (N = 689) on the topic of Libya. Study 2 used semantic differential measures of the most frequently occurring referent terms accumulated from Norwegian subjects (N = 316). This made possible quantitative comparisons of the reference terms depending on the emotional connotations of these words and on what agent they were applied to. The research found evidence for considerable bias in word-connotations. It is suggested that biased word associations are used to convey normative judgement towards news report agents and that these associations can influence readers' attitudes towards these agents.

Keywords: Affective meaning, attitudinal impact, media-bias, persuasion, semantic differential, word associations, content analysis.

Sammendrag

To studier undersøkte partiske konnotasjoner i forhold ordbruk i nyhetsrapporter. Studiene undersøkte om ordene som ble brukt for å beskrive referentene i nyhetsdekningen av en spesifikk sak, Libyakrigen i 2011, avvek systematisk i forhold til emosjonelle konnotasjoner avhengig av referent. Studie 1 brukte innholdsanalyse av hver enkel nyhetsrapport fra nettsiden til NRK som handlet om krigen i Libya i et ettårs periode, fra 16. februar 2011 til 16. februar 2012 (N = 689). Ordene som ble funnet i innholdsanalysen ble undersøkt med semantisk differensial målinger fra norske deltakere (N = 316). Undersøkelsen fant bevis for skjevhet i ordbruk med hensyn til emosjonelle konnotasjoner. Avhandlingen konkluderer med at emosjonelle konnotasjoner til ord som er brukt som referanser til agenter kan videreføre subjektiv evaluering, og at dette kan påvirke lesernes holdninger til referentene.

Nøkkelord: Affektiv betydning, holdninger, skjevhet i media, overtalelse, semantisk differensial, ord- konnotasjoner, innholdsanalyse.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Floyd Webster Rudmin for his enormous contributions to this thesis. As a stroke of luck, I found a supervisor who was both extremely knowledgeable and benevolent. His approach of letting his students find what they themselves were interested in suited me perfectly. He has remained a source of inspiration, knowledge and feedback ever since.

I am very thankful to the staff at the department of Psychology in UiT Norway's Arctic University. As a foreign student, I was very impressed with the quality and overall positive feelings I got from the department. I especially thank John Vegard Bjørklund for his help in making this thesis possible.

My family has had to endure quite a bit in order for me to fulfil this thesis. I owe them greatly for their patience with me. My partner, herself a sea of knowledge, has given me enormous help in our evening talks. My greatest inspirations are of course her and my son, who was born on the exact day that my MA studies started. I cannot deny that I try much harder to do a good job now that he is around.

Without sounding like some celebrity at an award show, I must thank my mother, my brother and my dad for their help. Although they could not really afford to, they flew in and stayed in Tromsø for long periods of time in order to help us get through hard times. I could not be more blessed with friends and family.

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”Ord og bilder er mektige våpen. Misbruk dem ikke!”¹

From the ethical standards of the Norwegian Press Association²

Organizations such as the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) and the Norwegian Press Association (Norsk Presseforbund) make certain demands on professional journalists. Amongst these demands are accuracy, fairness and absence of bias. For example, one of ASNE’s articles in its statement of principles (1975, p. 1) reads: “Every effort must be made to assure that the news content is accurate, free from bias and in context, and that all sides are presented fairly”.

Unfortunately, there are countless ways in which news can deflect from fair and unbiased means of conveying information, and there are numerous ways in which producers of news, knowingly or unwittingly, shape the reality that is projected in news in ways that deflect from strict fairness in reporting. One of these is “loaded terminology” that “gives people an inaccurate impression of the issue, program or community” (FAIR, 2014). This refers to the tone, or affect, that is conveyed through the choice of terms used to describe issues, people or groups in news correspondence.

Bias in the tone of terminology can occur even with synonymous terms. For example, the term “regime” is sometimes used instead of synonymous words such as “government” in news reports, apparently depending on if the government is well liked or not. But if one looks for the definitions of these terms, one finds that they are in fact denotatively synonymous. Thus, the word “government” is defined as “1 the power to govern... 2 the method or system of governing... 3 ... the group of people governing a State” (“Government”, Oxford Student Dictionary of Current English, 1992, p. 278). The word “regime” is defined as “1 a method or system of government or administration ... 2 a set of rules for diet, exercise etc. for improving one’s health and physical well-being” (“Regime”, Oxford Student Dictionary of Current English, 1992, p. 522). Thus, the terms “government” and “regime” are, except when “regime” refers to exercise, denotatively synonymous. The same holds for the Norwegian

¹ Trans.: ”Words and pictures are powerful weapons. Do not misuse them!”.

² Norsk Presseforbund. (2013, 01.07). *Vær Varsom-plakaten: Etiske normer for pressen*. Retrieved from <http://presse.no/Etisk-regelverk/Vaer-Varsom-plakaten>

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counterparts for these words, which are “regime” and “regjering”. However, the term “regime” appears to be used only for governments that are for some reason disliked. To use the term “the Norwegian regime” or “the Stoltenberg regime” does feel different than “the Norwegian government” or “the Stoltenberg government”.

However, several questions arise. The first of these regards the definition, and ultimately operationalization, of the term “loaded terminology” in this context. These are not provided by the aforementioned ethical rules from respected media organizations. This makes it difficult to objectively determine if language use is in fact loaded. Also, it is not specified if “bias” is a dichotomous variable or is continuous, and thus if it can be evaluated in terms of strength or direction. This makes it difficult to provide standards to which a discourse can be measured for relative objectivity. Fortunately, studies in psychology, semantics, and corpus linguistics can provide means for such objectives.

Evaluative labels

One of the means of achieving subtle, yet potentially effective influences on the attitudes of message-recipients is through the choice of labels for the objects being described. According to Eiser (1975), language provides us with “the option of tagging on to our description of a person, object or event, an implicit evaluative component that may not be explicitly stated” (p. 236). This can be achieved by evaluative labeling, which refers to the choice of terms to refer to a focal- person or object on the basis on the affective impression they make (Osgood, 1971; Eiser, 1975). That is, the words we use to describe people and objects can convey how we feel about them, as well as how we wish other people to feel about them. Thus, it may not be necessary to use elaborate descriptions of acts committed, or frame the telling in a particular way, in order to achieve such implicit evaluation. Simple choice of words on the basis of the feelings they induce may suffice.

Euphemisms and dysphemism’s

A common example of the choice of labels on the basis of the impressions they make is “euphemism”, which been defined as the “use of other (mild, vague and indirect) words or phrases in place of what is required by truth or accuracy” (Hornby, 1980, p. 292) or “good or indirect term for bad or tabooed things” (Löbner, 2009, p. 36). An author uses euphemisms in order to depict the subject matter more favourably. According to Slovenko (2005), euphemisms are used to pacify the audience and increase the likelihood that they will accept

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uncomfortable facts or to make them support a persuaders' point of view. This is a frequent endeavour for military terms, where the word "kill" for the act of intentionally killing someone has been replaced by the term to "neutralize", the act of unintentionally killing or injuring people is referred to as "collateral damage" and what is commonly termed "assassination" has been replaced with the term "targeted killing" by the US administration (Boliger, 1980).

The opposite of euphemism is "dysphemism". Here, instead of using words that evoke neutral or positive affect in the minds of the audience, a speaker or an author uses words that bring about negative affect or connotations (Löbner, 2009). Swearing is an example of the usage of dysphemism's. Here, the communicator, intentionally or unintentionally, labels the focal object with a term that conveys negative emotion, or associates it with a negatively laden concept. For example, one might activate negative feelings of repulsion towards an adversary by associating him or her with a human excretion, or associating him or her with a person of a societally unpopular occupation. Similarly, "name calling" has been described as "giving an idea a bad label and therefore rejecting and condemning it without examining the evidence" (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999, p. 110). An example of the use of name callings as direct means of persuasion was found in the informational campaign directed against Saddam Hussein of Iraq who was "variously represented as arbitrary and unpredictable, as a maniac, terrorist, and brutal tyrant" by "good public relations agents, image managers, pollsters, and 'spin' advisors" during the campaign to sell the gulf war of 1991 in the United States and its allied countries (Toth, 1992, p. 10).

It is possible to view dysphemism's and euphemisms as a dichotomy of evaluative labeling, with a neutral point in between. Depending on what feelings or connotations the communicator wishes to convey, he or she has the choice of assigning a negative, positive or neutral label to a focal object.

Attitudes and persuasion

In estimating effects of linguistic phenomena such as evaluative labeling of focal objects on recipients, the variable of interest is attitudes. This variable has a long history in psychological research. Allport (1935), who declared that attitudes were the most indispensable concept in social psychology, defined attitudes as a "mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related" (Allport, 1935, p.

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810). In a more recent publication, attitudes were defined as “relatively enduring, affectively colored beliefs, preferences, and predispositions towards objects or persons, such as like, love, hate, or desire for a person or object” (Smith & Kosslyn, 2007, p. 329).

Evaluative labeling lies at the heart of the attitude construct. This is not least because attitudes can be defined on the basis of the affective evaluation of focal objects. Thus, many models of attitudes describe the attitude construct exclusively in terms of the evaluation made by an individual towards an object, person, or event. For example, Baumeister and Bushman (2011, p. 200) define attitudes as “global evaluations toward some object or issue”, Olson and Maio (2001, p. 209) defined attitudes as “tendencies to evaluate objects favorably or unfavorably”, and Verbeke (2007, p. 217) defined attitudes as “emotions reflecting affect or feelings for or against a stimulus, an object or a particular behaviour and, hence, refer to the degree to which a person has a favourable or unfavourable evaluation or appraisal” (See also, Wood, 2000; Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987; Perloff, 2003; and Pratkanis & Breckler, 1989).

Utilitarian functions of attitudes

It has been suggested that attitudes serve important functions for the individual. According to Fazio (1989), they help prepare the organism to make satisfactory observations, judgements and complex responses; they guide perception, cognition and behaviour by making certain features of what a person experiences salient, and ease decision making by automating judgements about experiences. According to Petty et al. (2004), an important feature of attitudes is postulated to be motivation to hold subjectively “correct” ones. These correct attitudes “are helpful because they often allow people to gain rewards and avoid punishments by approaching helpful objects and avoiding dangerous ones. Holding correct attitudes is important “if people want to act on their attitudes” (Petty et al., 2004, p. 68). The term ‘instrumental adjustment’ or ‘utilitarian function’ of attitudes refers to a functional paradigm of attitude acquisition. Here, the usefulness of holding a certain attitude is perceived to be crucial to its acquisition. In this approach, originally developed by Katz (1960), a key motivational factor to attitude evaluation is if holding a certain attitude is objectively beneficial or harmful to the receiver. For example, according to Dillard, (1994) individuals choose the action or behaviour that is most likely to lead to a reward or avoidance of a punishment.

Persuasion

Deliberate attempts to influence the attitudes, thoughts and behaviour of other people, using means such as strategic choice of evaluative labeling of focal objects are studied as attempts for persuasion. Reber and Reber (2001) define persuasion as “a process of inducing a person to adopt a particular set of values, beliefs or attitudes” (p. 529). Schmidt and Kess (1985) contend that “a composite of the most common meanings for the term would define persuasion as the process of inducing a voluntary change in someone’s attitudes, beliefs or behaviour, through the transmission of a message” (p. 287). Similarly, Perloff (2003), using an amalgamation of several earlier definitions, defines persuasion as “a symbolic process in which communicators try to convince other people to change their attitudes or behaviour regarding an issue through the transmission of a message, in an atmosphere of free choice” (p. 8), stressing the importance of non-coercion in the process of inducing change in attitudes, beliefs and behaviours in order to logically separate persuasion from more coercive forms of inductions. According to Perloff, persuasion does not equal coercion. That is, persuasion is a voluntary process from the behalf of both the message producent and the receiver. However, it may involve deceit and it is the persuader who is the benefiter of the process.

Evaluative labels and persuasion

It has been suggested that subtle differences in the sentiments that are awakened by the exposure to words can be, and are, manipulated for persuasion purposes (Boyett, 2009; Herman, 1999; Jowett and O’Donnel, 1999; Lee, 1945; Miller, 1945; Ogungbe, 2011; Whyte, 2004). Such manipulations have been given different names. Using the word *justice* as an example, Whyte (2004, p. 75) described a “hooray word” as follows: “Declare that you are in favor of it and everyone will cheer his agreement, even when he disagrees with you on every particular question of what is just”. The opposite of “hooray words”, Whyte contests, are “boo words”. In his description of word tricks used by propagandists, Herman (1999) described two types of word tricks, which he called “purr words” and “snarl words”. Purr words are, according to Herman, “those with positive and warming overtones that create an aura of decency and virtue”, while “snarl words” induce the opposite (Herman, 1999, p. 9). It has been suggested that these kinds of word manipulations are common. Wessen (1985) concluded that manipulating word associations was a “rhetorically treacherous” practice that recurred “through Western discourse especially in legal debate” and required careful analysis (Wessen, 1985, p 541).

Effects and implications of evaluative labels

The choice of labels with regards to the impression they convey has been found to be an indicator of the sources' own evaluation of their referents. For example, Eiser (1975) examined the relationship between a person's attitude and his or her use of evaluative labels. He found that a person's readiness to use certain terms rather than others when describing the focal object was predictable from his or her own attitude towards the object. Additionally, the choice of labels for focal objects on the basis of the positive or negative impressions they convey has been found to yield effects on the subjective impressions of the focal object. In a study conducted by Eiser and Mouw White (1975), respondents were exposed to persuasive messages that were either evaluatively congruent to their own reported attitudes towards the subject matter or incongruent. The participants were presented with two types of Likert-type scales. The scales were constructed so that they would be denotatively synonymous, but differed in terms of the tone of the words used. Specifically, the first type of scale was worded so the term on one side of the scale was evaluatively positive and the other end was evaluatively negative. An example of such a dichotomy was "risky-cautious". In one competing condition, the "cautious" end was presented in an evaluatively negative tone, and the dichotomy was "bold-timid". In another competing condition, the "risky" end was presented in an evaluatively negative tone and the "cautious" end in a positive tone; thus the dichotomy was "foolhardy-careful". The respondents' evaluation of the focal object was calculated as the difference between their ratings on the two scales. The study found that people tended to make more extreme judgements when the term used to label the end of scale was closest to their own position in evaluative terms, which indicates that people have a tendency to use more evaluatively negative words to describe objects they dislike, and more evaluatively positive words to describe objects they like. This tendency is independent of the factual information being considered.

Implicatures

Important examples of how context and un-stated information can be pertinent to communication are found in cases of "implicatures". Implicatures, or inferences, are attributes that are transferred from one term in a message to another while not being directly or explicitly communicated (Levinson, 1983). In effect, they refer to people's ability and tendency to infer both propositions that are logically implied in a message and additional information which their past experience on background knowledge suggest as probable interpretations.

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Implicatures have been classified as strong or weak, where a strong implicature refers to the most obvious meaning to be taken from the message while a weak implicature is less obvious and may not even have been intended by the source of the message (Forceville, 1996). The interpretations of implicatures have been found to be related to basic processes of the language comprehenders' information processing systems. They aid comprehension of connected discourse by allowing the cognitive system to store explicitly stated information as well as inferences that seem logically required for contextual integration of that information in memory (e.g., Thorndyke, 1976). Thus, when confronted with a sentence such as 'the novice skater tripped on the ice', subjects of experiments conducted by Harris and Monaco (1978) tended to imply the proposition 'the skater fell'. Moreover, even though this latter sentence is not logically part of the original statement, this additional proposition can be stored in memory as fact. People, therefore, do not only derive the information that is directly asserted in messages, but can use their prior knowledge to infer unstated propositions from them and seem to remember inferred information as if these were explicitly stated.

Implicatures and persuasion. Schmidt and Keiss (1985) found that people's automatic tendency to imply presupposed or implied information can be used manipulatively to enhance persuasion. Apparently, through implications the persuader can imply facts that would otherwise be easy to refute with counterargumentation. Additionally, automatic interpretations of implicatures can result in false assumptions that can be manipulated by persuaders. It has been suggested that manipulation of this sort is becoming more common. According to Phillips and McQuarrie (2002), messages contained in magazine advertisements are becoming increasingly indirect and implicit, supposedly because of the persuasive power of implied statements.

For example, the choice of verbs to describe events has been found to affect peoples' subjective understanding of them. Loftus and Palmer (1974) conducted an experiment in which subjects were shown a film of a car accident, followed by a questionnaire about the film. The experimenters found that subjects who received questions containing the verb "smashed" tended to estimate that the cars in the film travelled at higher speeds than those who received questions containing the words "bump" or "hit". A week later, the subjects received a follow-up questionnaire which revealed that the subjects who received the questionnaire containing the word "smashed" were more likely to report that they had observed broken glass on the scene of the accident, even though none was actually present.

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This demonstrates that implicit information contained in a single word affects language- and information processing, as well as the memories of the events being described.

Wording

Numerous experiments have demonstrated that how questions are worded can affect the answers to these questions. Harris (1973) told his subject that he was conducting a study in the accuracy of guessing measurements and they should make as intelligent a numerical estimate as possible. The subjects were thereafter asked questions that differed in very simple word cues. Thus, in one group, subjects were asked “how tall was the basketball player?” while another was asked “how short was the basketball player?” The answers varied considerably. The former group in average estimated that he was 79 inches, while the latter estimated that he was 69 inches. Similar results were found for questions such as “how long was the movie”, vs. “how short was the movie”, where estimates varied from 130 minutes in average (“how long was the movie”) to 100 minutes (“how short was the movies”) (Harris, 1973).

The effects of such simple word manipulations have been shown to go beyond immediate factual judgements. For example, these types of word manipulations have been shown to affect memory of described events. In a series of studies, Loftus and her associates (e.g., Loftus, 1975; Loftus and Zanni, 1975; Loftus, 2005) examined how memory and recall of events can be manipulated through the use of suggestive questioning and interviewing, using single-word manipulations. In an experiment conducted by Loftus and Zanni (1975) on the distortion of eyewitness memory by use of leading questions in interview procedures, people were presented with a film of a car accident and afterwards asked to answer a questionnaire about what they had witnessed. The viewers were randomly divided in two groups that received different versions of a questionnaire. The questionnaires were identical, with the exception of one single element. Thus, one group was asked if they had witnessed “a” broken headlight, while the other group was asked if they had witnessed “the” broken headlight. Although there was in fact no broken headlight shown in the film, about 7% of the participant in the first group said that they had witnessed “a broken headlight” while 17% percent of the latter group answered that they had witnessed “the broken headlight”. A subsequent experiment by Loftus (1975) on how wording of questions asked immediately after an event might influence responses to questions asked considerably later found similar results. The experiments suggest that the use of definitive or leading questions in an interview can lead to the creation of false memories by eyewitnesses (Loftus, 1975). In later

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experiments, Loftus focused on how different kinds of suggestive cues can alter the memory of eyewitnesses and found that false memories can be created with suggestive wording of questions (Loftus, 2005). In fact, even personal memories can be affected by means of suggestion. For example, with suggestive wording of questions, Loftus and her associates were able to convince about 25% of participants in their study that they had been lost in a shopping mall when they were young children by using suggestive questioning and misinformation in their interviews with them. In the aftermath of the interviews, these participants “remembered” detailed events and even the clothing of the people involved, even though the experimenters had apprehended evidence from the participants’ families that the event actually never took place (Loftus, 1997).

Social desirability and label choice

To possess qualities that lead one to become a socially attractive person, or the motivation to be perceived as possessing these, has been labelled social desirability. Social desirability has been found to exert influence on the choice of labels on focal objects. Eiser and Osmon (1978) specifically examined the usage of evaluative labels and found that subjects in their study tended to shift their own attitudes to the direction of what they thought were congruent with their peers’ attitudes. Several studies have demonstrated that people have a tendency to modify their message to suit the characteristics of their listeners (Flavell et al., 1968; Manis, Cornell, & Moore, 1974; Newtson & Scerlinsky, 1974). Apparently the usage of biased evaluative labels can signal to the receiver that the focal object has been condemned (where negatively laden words are used) or accepted (when positively laden words are used) by important others. These words then serve as a queue for what opinions toward the subject matter are generally accepted by these important others.

This modification can affect the communicator’s own evaluation towards the subject matter, as long as the evaluation is expressed publicly by the communicator. Osgood (1971) found that the evaluative language a person uses to describe events and objects can influence his or her own attitudes towards these events and objects. For example, authors who had learned to label a group as “terrorists” were more likely to adopt a negative attitude towards that group than those who had learned to label them as “freedom fighters” (Osgood, 1971). Hence, the sources’ usage of labels may affect his or her own attitudes towards the subject of discourse.

Informative influences and conformity

The difference between modifying one's message to better fit the opinions of others in order to be better liked, and actually internalizing the evaluations put forth in the message is a phenomenon of a well-known distinction in social psychology. Cialdini (2007) described such a process, where the receiver finds queues that signal which attitudes are predominant and which are in the minority and compares these to one's own, as one of the six main techniques of influence. Cialdini contends that when we are faced with signs that our views are in the minority, and incrementally so, there are two main reasons for why our attitudes should change. Firstly, we use that as evidence that our opinions are erroneous: "One means we use to determine what is correct is to find out what other people think is correct" (Cialdini, 2007, p. 88). This phenomenon, Cialdini labelled the principle of social proof. Additionally to being a source of information, perceived popularity of a particular evaluation might contribute to a social pressure to conform to a particular view. Conformity refers to the tendency to allow one's opinions, attitudes, actions and even perceptions to be affected by prevailing opinions, attitudes, actions and perceptions.

Similarly, according to Cialdini (1987; 2001), we are trained to obey authorities by caregivers, religious institutions, schools etc. In such settings, it has substantial utilitarian value for a person to obey authorities and internalize their values. The child recognizes that caregivers, teachers and other authorities have more knowledge, and it is a ready heuristic to assume that these authorities are usually right. But, even more importantly, these people have the power to control reward and punishment for the child's behaviours. Believing and obeying an authority becomes automatic and implicit after this training takes place. From this perspective, internalizing certain attitudes can be viewed as learned responses with the implicit purpose of avoiding negative consequences and receiving beneficiary ones.

There are at least three different subtypes of conformity. The first of these is behavioural conformity, which is the tendency to go along with the group or to attempt to act in ways consistent with the majority. The second is attitudinal conformity, or the tendency to change an attitude or belief in response to pressure. The third is conformity as a personality trait. This is the tendency for an underlying characteristic of an individual's personality to change under the influence of behavioural or attitudinal conformity.

One example of how social desirability and conformity pressures can influence attitudes is the bandwagon-effect, which is "a social phenomenon wherein people feel pressured to conform with a particular attitude or opinion when it is perceived as being held

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by a majority of persons in their group or society” (Reber & Reber, 2001, p. 78). A study by Nadeau and Cloutier (1993) tested the bandwagon effect, which they defined as “individuals rallying to the majority opinion” (p. 203), on the issues of abortion and the constitutional future of Quebec. In their study, respondents were divided into groups, one of which was introduced to a fictitious public poll on the subject matters, while other groups were not. The study found that “a band wagon effect of 5 to 7 percent existed on both issues” (Nadeau & Cloutier, 1993, p. 203). Similar results were found in a study by Mehrabian (1998) on the effects of poll reports on voter preferences.

Cultural norms

Another source for attitudinal conformity and its effects on language are cultural norms. According to Schneider (1999; 2004), cultural norms are the source of power in contemporary society. These refer to “[r]ules of behavior which reflect or embody a culture’s values, either prescribing a given type of behavior, or forbidding it” (Giddens, 2006, p. 1027). On the opposite, deviance is “non-conformity to a given set of norms that are accepted by a significant number of people in a community or society” (Giddens, 2006, p. 794). Norms can be expected to be supported, and deviance is restrained, by social sanctions, or “socially applied forces which reward or restrain behaviour” (Giddens, 2006, p. 460). Such sanctions vary, from informal disapproval to physical punishment or execution. In modern societies it is possible to distinguish between two types of social sanctions. The first of these involves a group of people who have been designated as having authority to actively punish those who deviate from rules put forth in institutions of formal governance. These can be actors of the modern state, local district authorities etc. In these circumstances, deviance is labelled as crime, and the rules are laws and regulations. The second type of social sanctions is informal sanctions. These are carried out by other members of society, not constituting a formal facet of designated authority. These can be peer groups, workmates, family members etc. Unlike formal sanctions, which are often rigidly filed and classified as laws and regulations, informal social sanctions are not easily definable, and it may take complex research to identify them. Peers can use various means to exert sanctions on those who deviate from accepted norms. A person might be ridiculed, thereby lowering his or her standing in the peer group. A person making an improper comment on a popular group might be met with criticisms and loss of friends.

Mechanisms for the effects of evaluative labeling

As to why and how evaluative labeling can affect the subjective, and objective, impressions formed toward the focal objects, several approaches have been suggested. These include conditioning, message framing, and more or less elaborate models for the role of affect in understanding of messages.

The affective components of attitudes can be influenced by conditioning. Repeated pairings of aversive stimuli with the presence of a focal object can bring about stable negative feelings towards that object, and pairings with pleasant stimuli, such as feelings of happiness, can lead to stable positive affect towards the object. Examples of the former sort of conditioning, where the objective is to establish negative feelings towards the focal object, would include the systematic pairings of negatively laden words or pictures to the name of a figure or group, such as posting a picture of a particular leader next to the headline “genocide” (Jowett & O’Donnel, 1999). Examples of the latter form of conditioning, where the objective is a positive affect towards the focal object, are rampant in television commercials that pair the sight of attractive people, or feelings of belonging to a desirable group, with certain products, thereby building positive affect towards these products (Olson & Maio, 2002).

Emotional conditioning refers to learned associations between a neutral event or stimulus and an emotional event or stimulus. Emotional conditioning can be expressed either as autonomic conditioning, relating to bodily responses, or as evaluative conditioning, where the emotional conditioning is expressed through preference or attitude (Smith & Kosslyn, 2007). Evaluative conditioning comes about through change in valence of the conditioned evaluative response after pairings with an emotionally potent stimulus. Here, valence is defined as “the subjective quality, positive or negative, of the emotional response to a specific object or event” (Smith & Kosslyn, 2007, p. 331). In other words, valence reflects the degree to which a person finds a stimulus pleasant or unpleasant. An example of evaluative conditioning might be a learned liking to a public person as a result of repeated co-occurrences of that person and an enjoyable event such as a holiday, during which that person tends to hold a speech. A negative evaluative conditioning could manifest in a learned dislike in a person after repeated co-occurrences of that person with pictures of repugnant events on television. Such evaluative conditioning can occur with or without awareness (Baeyens et al., 1990; Lieberman et al, 2001).

The pairing of people or groups to particular words has been found to suffice in bringing about evaluative conditioning effects. Staats and Staats (1958) found that by pairing

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the word “Dutch” systematically with positive words such as gift or vacation, while pairing the word “Swedish” with negative words such as failure and bitter led to a more positive evaluation towards Dutch people and more negative evaluations towards Swedish people. When the word-pairings were switched for other participants of their study, the evaluative preference also reversed. Similar findings for people (Griffitt, 1970) and products (e.g., Gresham & Shimp, 1985) have demonstrated that “when an initially neutral stimulus immediately precedes another stimulus that already has positive or negative associations, the neutral stimulus can come to be positively or negatively evaluated itself” (Petty, Wheeler & Tormala, 2003, p 362). It has been speculated that the effects of such conditioning can be extensive. For example, Jonas, Eagly and Stroebe (1995) hypothesized that prejudice towards social and ethnic groups could be brought about by this type of conditioning, that is, by repeatedly pairing negative information and words with certain groups in the mass media.

Similarly, just as stimuli presented immediately prior to exposure to the target object can influence the attitudes towards the target object, stimuli presented immediately after exposure to the target object has been found to yield attitudinal influences. This type of effect has been labelled as backward conditioning (Petty, Wheeler & Tormala, 2003). For example, by subliminally presenting pictures that conveyed either strong positive or feelings Krosnick, Betz, Jussim, and Lynn (1992) were able to influence their subjects’ subsequent evaluations of target individuals in terms of more or less favourability.

Framing

Framing, which is understood to be a process that involves selecting and packaging ongoing issues, has been found to have profound influence on how messages are understood and evaluated by message audiences (Bateson, 1972). For example, Tversky and Kahnemann (1982) compared two types of framing of a problem that had the exact same results and factual content. As an example of their study paradigm, they compared results from a “lives saved” frame, with “lives lost” frame, where respondents were presented with a scenario where an unusual Asian disease was expected to kill 600 people. In each type of framework, respondents were presented with two programs to combat the disease. In the “lives saved” frame, “program A” was framed in such a way that “200 people will be saved”, while “program B”, was framed in such a way that there was “1/3 probability that 600 people will be saved, and 2/3 probability that no people will be saved”. In the “lives lost” frame, respondents were presented with the following choices: “If Program A is adopted, 400 people will die”. If “program B” was adopted there would be “1/3 possibility that nobody will die,

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and 2/3 probability that 600 people will die” (Tversky & Kahnemann, 1982, p. 453).

Although the factual probabilities of how many people would lose their lives with the programs are exactly the same, 72 percent of those who were presented with the “lives saved” chose program A, while only 22 percent of those who were presented with the “lives lost” frame chose program A. Tversky and Kahnemann found similar results for numerous similar scenarios involving monetary rewards amongst other.

Other researchers have had similar findings. Krosnick and Alwind (1988) found that different wording of questions heavily influenced respondents answers of attitude surveys and public opinion polls and Rothman et al. (1993) found that message framing influenced people’s intentions to perform various health related behaviours. Wilson, Wallston and King (1990) were able to influence their respondent’s intentions and motivations to reduce smoking by framing their questions in a particular way.

Auxiliary descriptive terms

In addition to the labels used for the focal referents of a discourse, other terms in a discourse have been found to influence how the focal referents are conveyed and evaluated by the readers. These include modifiers, which are auxiliary terms that are used to describe a referent further. Modifiers include adjectives, adverbs, noun adjuncts (nouns that are used adjunct to other nouns in order to modify their meaning) and certain descriptive noun phrases. The manipulation of modifiers has been found to affect peoples’ evaluations and subjective understanding of messages (Fowler, 1985). They tend to be dichotomously scaled from negative to positive, and the negative or positive connotations of the modifiers themselves have been found to affect the nouns which they describe directly and can therefore be used to convey judgement on the proposition being presented (Lillian, 2008).

There are several different types of modifiers and these have been found to exert different types of effects. For example, the impression that is conveyed by evaluative subject modifiers, which are adverbs which evaluate the subject with respect to an action or state of affairs, can be used in persuasion because the modifier “seems to describe an integral property of the noun, giving the impression of classification as opposed to evaluation” (Schmidt & Kess, 1985, p 289). An example of an evaluative subject modifier is the word “wisely” in the sentence “the defendant wisely didn’t answer his question” and the word “foolishly” in the sentence “the bomb was foolishly placed under his own car” (Álvares, 1998, p. 23).

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Similarly, carefully placed attributive adjectives, which are adjectives that modify a noun without a linking verb, can convey a concealed proposition which is less likely to be challenged than if it were stated explicitly (Schmidt & Kess, 1985). Examples of this manipulation could be “unpopular leader” (when no evidence is offered for the actual popularity of the person) or “a criminal statement” (when no evidence is offered that the statement actually was criminal (Fowler, 1985, p. 73).

Adjectivalization involves constructing adjectives from other parts of speech. This can be done, for example, by employing –y, -ious, and –er suffixes. Adjectivalization has been discussed as a means by which a literally subjective description gives a statement the appearance of being stronger than it actually is (Schmidt & Kess, 1985). Examples could include phrases such as “Bob mistakenly killed a person” when no evidence is provided that the act was in fact a mistake but not intentional. As to positioning, it has been found that “adjectives placed in prenominal position give the appearance of classification to descriptions which may in fact be the speaker’s evaluation” (Schmidt & Kess, 1985, p. 303).

Nominalization, which involves choosing noun phrases over verbs, can be achieved by the addition of derivational affixes to verbs. It has been found to give receivers “the impression that the claims embedded in the nominalized verbs are already proven true”, even when this is not the case (Billig, 2008, p 788). Nominalization can, for example, imply personal attributes on the basis particular events. For example, if a person makes a remark regarding a dispute that signals a wish for a peaceful solution, a particular description of the event would be “he advocated for a peaceful solution” while a nominalization would generalize an attribute to the person, calling him a “pacifist”.

Passive transformation involves producing passive instead of active constructions for messages. An example of this could be the passive sentence “some casualties resulted in the army’s raid” versus the active sentence “the army killed several people in its raid”. According to Schmidt and Kess (1985, p. 290) this “tends to diminish the impression of a relationship between the agent and the action performed by focusing on the person or object acted upon”. A type of passive transformation is agent deletion, where the agent of an action is removed, thereby removing an agents’ role in the event. A newspaper article headline such as “civilians killed”, which omits who actually did the killing, is an example of agent deletion.

Overlexicalization refers to "the availability of many words for one concept, and it indicates the prominence of the concept in a community's beliefs and intellectual interests" (1991; 69). This refers to the use of a large number of synonymous terms for the same

referent. Constructing new terms or changing the meaning of existing ones for some areas of experience was described by Fowler et al. (1979) as a means to focus the receiver's attention on a given matter and to focus attention onto topics that the speaker deems as important.

Metaphors

A metaphor is “a linguistic phrase of the form ‘A is B’, such that a comparison is suggested between the two terms leading to a transfer of attributes associated with B to A” (Sopory & Dillard, 2002, p. 407). A metaphor thus consists of two parts, where the properties associated with one of them are transferred to the other by comparing these in a language act. An example of a metaphor could thus be, “Gaddafi is a bulldozer”. Here the attributes associated with bulldozer [B] are transferred to the focal object, Gaddafi [A]. Another form is a direct comparison, such as “Gaddafi laughed like a *monkey*”.

The usages of metaphor have been found to enhance the persuasive impact of messages (e.g. Reinsch, 1971). A large scale meta-analysis of empirical research on metaphor and persuasion concluded that messages that contained metaphor could result in a fairly greater attitude change than messages that did not (Sopory & Dillard, 2002). The authors of the meta-analysis hypothesized that the reasons for this effects were, firstly, that metaphor created greater interest in the message than did non-metaphorical language, that metaphors helped to structure and organize the arguments of a persuasive message, that the metaphors evoked a greater number of semantic associations than did non-metaphorical messages, and that the metaphor “highlighted” the arguments offered by the messages, making them more salient in the readers' mind (Sopory & Dillard, 2002).

Vagueness

One way to avoid the production of counter-arguments to persuasive messages and to manipulate the impression formed by the receivers of message about focal object is to use vague terms that the receivers can interpret themselves. Words can be laden with meaning and elicit strong emotional reactions, even though they are vague to the point that each reader can apply his or her own definitions of what they mean. This can apply both to words that convey positive feelings and negative ones.

A term that lacks a clear definition, has more than one meaning, or is of uncertain meaning, is defined as *vague* (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, 2012) or *ambiguous* (*Oxford Advanced Dictionary of Current English*, 1984). A term is vague when it can be interpreted in

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numerous ways, but no description or evidence is provided that can help the reader make a choice between these interpretations.

Vagueness can be construed for manipulative purposes. According to Schmidt and Kess (1985), the usage of vague language in statements or propositions can shield the message from being subject to empirical verification. With this the speaker can “make assertions or claims ... which sound good, but which are literally so weak as to have virtually no empirical consequences” (Schmidt & Kess, 1985, p. 302). Vague language can also “give the hearer latitude in interpretation of the referents used”, which implies that message recipients can make their own interpretations of what the word means, giving statements which are hard to dispute (Schmidt & Kess, 1985, p. 303). Thus, each reader is left to interpret them in their own way when no definition is provided to distinguish between different possible interpretations of the term. As an example, using the word “democracy”, Marlin (2002) commented that to “some people, it [democracy] may be treated as supportive of the status quo in a given society, while others may see it as requiring change, in the form, say, of reform of elections” (p. 1). In his essay “Politics and the English Language”, George Orwell (1946) commented that “in the case of a word like democracy, not only is there no agreed definition, but the attempt to make one is resisted from all sides. It is almost universally felt that when we call a country democratic we are praising it: consequently the defenders of every kind of regime claim that it is a democracy, and fear that they might have to stop using that word if it were tied down to any one meaning” (p. 102). Similarly, Whyte (2004) described *justice* as follows: “Declare that you are in favor of it and everyone will cheer his agreement, even when he disagrees with you on every particular question of what is just” (Whyte, 2004, p. 75).

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Table 1: *Types of auxiliary descriptive terms and their effects in persuasive communication*

Type	Definition	Persuasive effects	Examples
Evaluative subject modifiers	Adverbs which evaluate the subject with respect to an action or state of affairs.	Seems to describe an integral property of the noun, giving the impression of classification as opposed to evaluation.	"He <i>foolishly</i> placed the bomb under his own car."
Attributive adjectives	Adjectives that modify a noun without a linking verb.	Can convey a concealed proposition which is less likely to be challenged than if it were stated explicitly.	" <i>Hated</i> dictator".
Adjectivalization	Constructing adjectives from other parts of speech	Gives a subjective description the appearance of being stronger than it actually is.	"Bob <i>mistakenly</i> killed a person".
Nominalization	Choosing noun phrases over verbs	Can give receivers the impression that the claims embedded in the nominalized verbs are already proven true.	Pacifist, troublemaker.
Passive transformation	Producing passive instead of active constructions for messages	Tends to diminish the impression of a relationship between the agent and the action performed by him.	"Some casualties resulted in the army's raid"
Agent deletion	The agent of an action is removed	Removes an agents' role in the event.	"Civilians killed in fighting last night"
Overlexicalization	The use of a large number of synonymous terms for the same referent	A means to focus the receiver's attention on a given matter and to focus attention onto topics that the speaker deems as important.	Referring to an important national figure as "dictator", "tyrant", "leader", and many more terms.
Metaphors	A linguistic phrase in which a comparison is suggested between two terms leading to a transfer of attributes associated with one of them to the other.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creates greater interest in the message than non-metaphorical language - helps to structure and organize the arguments of a persuasive message, - evokes a greater number of semantic associations than non-metaphorical messages, - highlights the arguments offered by the messages, making them more salient in the readers' mind. 	"The mad dog in the middle east", "he screamed like a pig".
Vagueness	A term that lacks a clear definition, has more than one meaning, or is of uncertain meaning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - can shield the message from being subject to empirical verification - gives the hearer latitude in interpretation of the referents used 	Fight for <i>freedom</i> .

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The aforementioned models for human decision making and wording effects focus on cognitive weighing and evaluation of facts. Several theorists have criticized this focus on the overt, intentional and conscious cognition on the informative stimuli and suggest that the role of feelings, or affect, has been greatly undervalued.

The role of affects in decision making

All words differ in the sentiments they elicit. Thus, different words that convey similar or identical factual information can carry vastly different sentiments that also are filled with meaning. The term “affect” has been defined as a “general term used more or less interchangeably with various others, such as emotion, emotionality, feeling, mood etc.” (Reber & Reber, 2001, p. 20). Affect is generally regarded as occurring without cognitive appraisal, or objective interpretations of the objects’ significance (Smith & Kosslyn, 2007). There are models which hold that affect is the primary factor in decision making, due to the automatic and cognitively cheap process such judgements are compared to the more effortful cognitive processing, and some of these offer alternative explanation to phenomena such as those exposed by Tversky and Kahnemann (1982).

Zajonc (1980) argued that the very first reactions to stimuli were not cognitive in nature, but affective and that the cognitive aspects of judgements occurred afterwards. The cognitive reactions were therefore necessarily influenced by the affective reactions. Furthermore, there is always an affective element in perception. As Zajonc said, we do not just “see” a house”, we “see a *handsome* house, an *ugly* house, or a *pretentious* house” (Zajonc, 1980, p. 154). Furthermore, it seems that we have a tendency to believe that we have made a conscious judgement, weighing all pros and cons, while in reality we have made a quick affective judgement and later rationalized it. In other words, “quite often ‘I decided in favor of X’ is no more than ‘I liked X’” (Zajonc, 1980, p. 155).

An example of studies that focus on the affective element of meaning-deciphering and decision making is the affect heuristic. Affect heuristic refers to the assessment of a specific target attitude by substituting a more complex analysis, such as assessment of the quality of the logic implied or detailed analysis of the available facts with a related attribute that comes quickly to mind, such as the affects evoked immediately by exposure to the target object (Slovic, 2007, p. 16). Here, the concept affect may either be viewed as “a feeling or a state that people experience, such as happiness or sadness” or “a quality (e.g. goodness or badness) associated with a stimulus” (Finucane, Alhakami, Slovic & Johnson., 2000).

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The studies so far mentioned have focused on the effects of simple word manipulations on decision making and the attitudes of recipients, as well as on possible reasons for making certain choices of labeling for focal objects. However, although the focus on these studies have been on the evaluations they convey, they have generally not used quantitative means for estimating the valence of the words used for experimental manipulations. The words used for the studies have been chosen by the scholars who conducted the experiments based on their own expertise. In psychology, means to reach objective measures of the valence words convey have been developed and these have made analysis of word bias on the basis of quantitative variables possible.

Quantitative measures of word associations

The mediational theory of meaning. According to Burgess and Lund (2000), the most extensive effort to establish a unified theory of meaning in psychology is the mediational theory of meaning, developed by Charles Osgood and his associates (Osgood, Suci & Tennenbaum, 1957; Osgood et al., 1975). The mediational theory of meaning was designed with the purpose of revealing universal patterns of speaking and thinking and to obtain an objective, quantitative measure of the dimensions of meaning that people use to qualify their experiences (Osgood, Suci, & Tennenbaum, 1957).

The model differentiates between meaning as categorization of factual information on one hand and as sentiments and connotations on the other. More specifically, the model originally differentiated between denotative- and connotative meaning, but later abandoned the concept connotative meaning for affective meaning as a description of the models fundamental variable.

Denotative meaning is described as fact-based and resting on a persons' objective knowledge about what linguistic signs denote. Formally, that a word denotes something means that it serves as a linguistic represent for that thing. In other words, the denotation of an expression is "the part of reality the expression is linked to" and is defined of the category of all of potential referents of that word (Löbner, 2002, p. 2). Denotation has been described as the categorical meaning of an entity. Category, in this sense, means a set of entities of the same kind and the denotative meaning of a word includes all features that define the term. Thus, a word is logically defined by the features that denote it. For example, the category that contains the word "bicycle" may also include words such as "bike" as long as all the words share fundamental defining features. Referent labels are examples of denotations. These are

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the objects to which a word refers to, as in “that *fool* drove through the gate” [referring to Jon]. Referents of an agent include all words that are used to denote that agent.

Connotations are features that are associated with the word. These include subjective and evaluative aspects of it. Thus, a drawing of a red rose denotes a real red rose. The connotative meaning of that drawing might be that it is a symbol for passion and love. Connotations to words are often not a part of their descriptive meanings. Thus, the word “pig” may have connotations to the concept “dirty”, which is not a part of the descriptive meaning of the word pig, as a clean pig is as much a pig as a dirty one.

Affective meaning

The term affective meaning replaced connotative meaning early in the development of the model. This was because the term connotation does not fully apply in the model’s interpretation of the type of meaning which is under scrutiny. While connotations refer to other concepts which focal objects are subjectively linked to, affective meaning directly refers to the emotions, or affect, evoked in a person towards the object. The term affect is general in nature and includes emotions and preferences (Smith & Kosslyn, 2007). Thus, affective meaning refers to the emotional facet of meaning deciphering. This type of meaning processing occurs without cognitive appraisal, or objective interpretations of the objects’ significance. One may experience affect towards an object without it being directly connoted to other objects or concepts. In essence, affective meaning can be understood as the emotional, nuances people experience towards objects, and in the model all cognitions are assumed to evoke such affective associations (Osgood, Suci & Tennenbaum, 1957).

Osgood believed that the brain processes affective and denotative meaning in a fundamentally different way. The mechanism for processing affective meaning, he believed, was less conscious and intentional, and more automatic than the mechanism for denotative meaning and was used to qualify experiences quickly and effectively (Osgood et al., 1969). The model assumes that particular words and other signs are linked to each person’s life events, and the meaning of each of them is unique for each individual but, also, that the types of affective meanings that the brain can process are finite in number and that the laws governing them are universal, or common to all humans. Because of this, affective meaning could be factored down to an interlocking set of universal basic judgments, represented as vectors in a hypothetical semantic space spanned by an unknown, but discoverable number of dimensions (Heise & Smith-Lovin, 1981).

The semantic differential

In order to quantify the main premises of the mediational theory of meaning, Osgood and his associates developed the semantic differential technique. In the semantic differential, the affective meaning of a word or another object is represented by a semantic profile of ratings on a set of adjectives, distinguished by a set of semantic features and signified as a vector in an n-dimensional semantic space (Heise & Smith-Lovin, 1981; Osgood et al., 1975). In the tool building phase, as Osgood described it, the researchers asked subjects to specify the types of concepts that they regarded as similar or different in meaning, as well as the intensity of meaning given to particular concepts. These responses were thereafter plotted as a hypothetical psychological distance between a subject's connotations of words (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999).

Osgood and his associates performed numerous experiments in which subjects made judgements on Likert-type rating scales that differentiated attitudinal intensity on the basis of the subjects' subjective understanding of the meanings of words for several adjective scales for 620 words. The scales were composed of dichotomous adjectives such as "hot-cold", "strong-weak" and "big-small". Low ratings indicated that the word was better characterized by the adjective defining the low end of the scale. High ratings indicated that the word was better characterized by the adjective defining the high end of the scale. The middle conveyed a sense of neutrality (Osgood, Suci, & Tennenbaum, 1957; Landis, 1975).

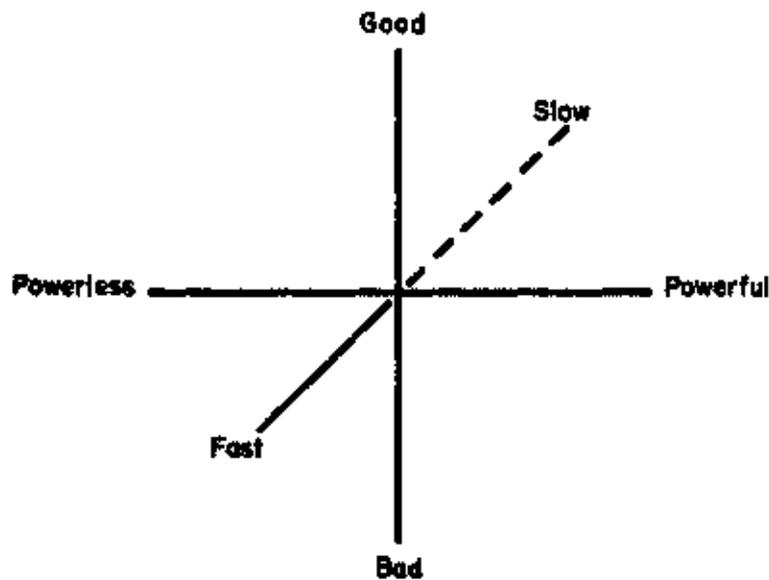
Dimensions of affective meaning. Factor analysis was used to extract an n-dimensional solution for the responses. Extensive research repeatedly revealed that most of the variance in response could be factored down to three basic factors, which Osgood labelled *Evaluation*, *Potency*, and *Activity* (Osgood et al., 1957, Jowett and O'Donnell, 1999).

The Evaluation factor of the semantic differential, which is exemplified by adjective polar opposites such as good-bad and kind-cruel, may be likened to certain definitions of attitudes, such as Verbeke's (2007, p. 217) "emotions reflecting affect or feelings for or against a stimulus, an object or a particular behaviour and, hence, refer to the degree to which a person has a favourable or unfavourable evaluation or appraisal" or Eagly & Chaikens (1998) "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998, p. 269). The second factor, Potency, which is exemplified by scales such as strong-weak and hard-soft, is related to feelings of strength and power. The third factor, Activity, is exemplified by scales such as fast-slow, young-old and

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active-passive. This third factor measures activity, with some relation to physical sharpness or abruptness as well. The three-dimensional model is depicted in Figure 1.

Figure 1: *Three dimensions of affective meaning (Heise, 1970, p. 240).*



Attitudinal valence. According to the Mediational Theory of Meaning, all cognitions evoke affective associations and attitudes can be thought of as affective response to the cognition of objects (Heise & Smith-Lovin, 1981). In studies using the semantic differential, attitudes are operationalized as affective responses to the cognition of objects (Heise & Smith-Lovin, 1981). In Osgood's paradigm, attitudinal valence refers to the strength and direction of a person's, as well as a group of people's, attitude towards an object as measured with the semantic differential. Thus, when a 7-point scale is utilized, the attitudinal valence of a term in any dimension can vary from a negative -3.00, to a positive + 3.00 score. Here, the direction of the attitude is signified by the binary operators, plus or minus, and the strength by the respected number.

Decision making and affect revisited.

Osgood suggested an evolutionary explanation for the prominence of these three dimensions. By deriving a meaning of an object from few easily manageable features that could be processed automatically, the organism was better able to make instant judgements in emergency situations. Osgood used our ancestors' problems with having to make quick evaluations on impending danger as an explanation onto why so few factors were sufficient for meaning. The most important questions might be if this object poses a danger. And if so, should one fight or flee? Thus, as Osgood described, when we see an object, the most important evaluations on hand are, is it good or bad (a friend or foe), weak or powerful (a squirrel or a tiger), and inactive or active (sleeping or prowling) (Osgood, 1969). This speculation, that the processing of the basic dimensions of affective meaning occurs instantly, automatically and unconsciously, closely resembles the well supported affective primacy hypothesis, which proposes that "emotional stimuli are processed relatively automatically, making fewer demands on limited cognitive resources than do other types of stimuli" (Smith & Kosslyn, 2007, p. 361). As is apparent, Osgood's explanation resembles that which was later proposed by Zajonc regarding the role of affect in decision making.

Empirical support. The model has been used very extensively since its emergence and research has provided it with considerable empirical support, both in terms of cross-cultural universality and neurological findings. Osgood, May and Miron (1975) found evidence for a cross-cultural universality of the EPA dimensions of effective response in a large cross cultural study that spanned 22 countries and several years of research. Meta-analyses conducted by Collins and Kemper (1990) on studies replicating Osgood's' model found strong support for Osgood's conclusions on the presence and universality of the three-dimensional structure of affective-meaning processing. Recent repetitions of his approach include Mehrabian and Russell's' (1980) three dimensional model of emotions, in which the third variable is dominance-submissiveness, and Lang's, Bradleys and Cuthbert's' model (2005) in which the third dimension is labelled dominance (see also Kehrein, 2002, and Grimm, Kroschel, and Narayanan, 2007). The semantic differential is now one of the most widely used methods of assessing attitudes (VandenBos, 2007).

Utility beyond words. The model is not limited to words. Methods for measuring meaning quantitatively have been utilized for various non-verbal signs such as music, paintings and colours (Osgood, Suci, & Tennenbaum, 1957). Concrete operational definitions of emotions and associated variables have made this approach highly applicable in studies

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ranging from automatic recognitions of emotions in speech (Grimm et al, 2007) to racism (Henry and Sears, 2002). Non-verbal instruments have been developed for the semantic differential where pictures and other non-verbal symbols are used (e.g. French, 1976). The model has also been used to describe cultural phenomena and social roles. Thus, Osgood uses the term ‘fundamental sentiments’ as culturally shared feelings evoked by the mental representation of a concept. These can be anything from social identities, behaviours and personality traits. Emotions are described as singular experimental episodes at discreet points in time while emotions evoked in certain situations are described as transient impressions (Osgood, Suci & Tannenboum, 1957).

Attitude change. The semantic differential gave rise to several models for attitudinal impact of word connotations, or more specifically, the effects of co-occurrences of symbols in the context of a message (Osgood et al, 1956; Osgood, 1959). These models all share a methodology which Osgood called the contingency method. According to Osgood himself, “if there is any content analysis technique, which has a definable psychological rationale, it is the contingency method” (Osgood, 1959, p. 109).

When certain words typically co-occur with either positively or negatively connoted words they can, as a result, become negatively or positively laden themselves (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001; Louw, 2000). For example, it has been found that the word “caused” is most often collocated with words that have negative connotations, as in “caused harm”, “caused depression” etc., but less often with positive words, as in “caused relief” or “caused happiness”. As a result, the word “caused” has become negatively laden in American English. In linguistics, this process is often referred to as semantic prosody. Specifically, semantic prosody refers to how specific words, phrases or structures in a text in particular contexts influence the meaning of the words themselves and other words that enter that context (Sinclair, 1987). Louw (1993) defined semantic prosody as “the consistent aura of meaning with which a lexical item is imbued by its collocates” (Louw, 1993, p. 156). The term originates from corpus linguistics, where large bulks of texts are analysed and restructured in order to achieve numerical data regarding their content.

Semantic prosody closely resembles effects found in studies derived from the meditational theory of meaning. The semantic differential places the concepts on which it is applied on profiles of affective meaning, that is, it places them on a point in the hypothetical semantic space. Thus, if a word receives a -2 for Evaluation, +2 in Potency, and +1 in activity, the profile is -2,+2,+1. Words that share this profile are thus similar, or even interchangeable.

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When two concepts with different EPA profiles are combined, the end result is calculated through the Euclidean distance between the positioning of each concept on the semantic space. Deflections refer to how different these expressions are from the feelings that are expected to be evoked (for example the affect normally experienced with for certain social roles) when two concepts co-occur. As a hypothetical example, the joint term “nice kitten” might have a low deflection while the joint term “nice murderer” should yield a large deflection. These deflections and the emotions experienced that result from them can be estimated by regression analyses that predict impressions by measuring the amalgamation of affect when two concepts are combined. It is assumed that repeated pairings of concepts alter their affective meanings. Therefore, when words that are neutrally evaluated are paired with words that are highly positively evaluated, or vice versa, this results in an alteration of the affective meaning of the original concepts. In linguistics, such pairings are referred to as collocations. These are words, phrases or structures that are typically used with other words, phrases and structures that have been found to be relevant to the hypotheses under analysis (Tognini-Bonello, 2001). There are several subtypes of collocation. For example, amongst common adjective-noun collocation is “excruciating” and “pain”, and among common verb-noun collocation is “committing” and “crime” (Tognini-Bonello, 2001).

Congruity and attitude change. Measuring the effects of word associations on the affective meaning of concepts has been a part of the semantic differential from its earliest use. An experiment by Howes and Osgood (1954, described in Osgood, Suci & Tennenbaum, 1957) demonstrated that the probabilities of various associative responses to a given stimulus word can be changed by varying the antecedent verbal context. A series of studies showed that the affective meaning an assign acquires can be estimated from the measured meanings of the signs with which it is associated. The development of assign meanings was found to be a function both of the frequency of association with signs and of the intensity of the signs with which they are associated. Dodge (1955; quoted in Osgood, Suci & Tennenbaum, 1957), conducted experiments in which nonsense words were associated with various adjectives. The prediction was that the new neutral words would acquire meanings from the adjective according to what he called the congruence principle. This principle can be explained as follows: Whenever two signs are related by an assertion, the mediating reaction characteristic of each sign shifts toward congruence with that characteristic of the other, the magnitude of the shift being inversely proportional to intensities of the interacting reactions. According to the congruence principle the polarization of the adjective should progressively decrease

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toward neutrality in the direction of the neutrally laden word. More intense symbols should produce greater change in the assigns associated with them. The results supported this prediction. Furthermore, it was found that the terminal degree of polarization of the assign on each dimension of the space was a negatively accelerated positive function of the frequency of association between sign and assign and a linear function of the initial degree of polarization of the sign (Osgood, Suci & Tennenbaum, 1957).

Problems

Thus, the choice labels on the basis of the evaluations they convey has been studied both in terms of effects, and the mechanisms by which they operate. Evaluative labels have been found to affect both subjective and objective impressions of the focal object. Additionally, both the message recipients and message producers have been found to be affected by the choice of labels on the basis of their affective meaning. The mechanisms for the observed effects of evaluative labeling have been described in terms of both explicit cognitive factors, as well as on implicit, affective factors.

However, the aforementioned studies are lacking in terms of external validity. For example, although it has been suggested that the manipulation of labels on the basis on the impressions they convey is a common endeavour in society (e.g. Wessen, 2002; and Whyte, 2004), these claims have generally not been supported by empirical evidence. We therefore do not know if such manipulations are used in the real world and, if they are, how common such manipulations might be.

Secondly, in measuring the effects of evaluative labeling, the terms which have been used in experimental manipulations have often been assumed a priori to express either negative or positive evaluations on the focal object. This poses an internal validity concern for the conclusions of these studies. If the results are to be generalized to a specific population, it does not suffice that they are based on the observation of only the experimenters themselves. Finally, in many of the aforementioned studies, the strength of the evaluative bias of labels is largely unknown. In other words, they lack a quantitative measure of just how positive or negative the labels are in terms of the impressions they convey.

Purpose

The present study aims to develop and use quantitative means of measuring word-associational bias in news prose. Specifically, the research aims to answer two main

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questions. Firstly, the study aims to examine if biased word associations are as common in modern news prose as has been suggested (e.g.; Boyett, 2009; Herman, 1999; Jowett and O'Donnel, 1999; Lee, 1945; Miller, 1945; Ogungbe, 2011; and Whyte, 2004). For this purpose, a detailed computer assisted content analysis of the entire news prose of Norway's largest news outlet that covered a specific news topic was conducted. This was done in part to increase the external validity of the research project. Instead of inventing word associations that might occur in real life settings, word associations that actually have appeared in news settings were identified and used for the experimental manipulations. Secondly, the study aims to answer the question, just how biased are such connotations? In order to answer this question, a quantitative measure must be utilized. The means by which this is to be achieved is by using a well-known means of quantifying emotional connotations of terms. Specifically, studies using the semantic differential (Osgood, May & Miron, 1975) will be performed in order to assess if the valence of the identified words and phrases differed depending on the agent being described and if these words and phrases conveyed normative judgment.

In summary, the study has three main objectives: Firstly, to find a means to analyse news content for bias in evaluative labeling in terms of prominence. Secondly, to use the results of the study to quantitatively measure if the news proeses regarding the news subject was biased in terms of evaluative labeling. Thirdly, the study will quantitatively assess the specific bias of evaluative labeling of the news coverage chosen for the analysis.

Study 1: Content Analysis

Purpose

In the first study, publicly available news articles were subjected to content analysis. The purposes of the analysis were threefold. Firstly, to identify which actors were represented most frequently in the news corpus. Secondly, to examine what words and phrases were used to describe and represent them. Thirdly, to provide experimental material for further studies identify and examine patterns in the associations of evaluative labels for the key agents in the news prose. Fourthly, the content analysis was in part performed in order to increase the external validity of the research project. Instead of inventing word associations that might occur in real life settings, word associations that actually have appeared in news settings were identified and used for the experimental manipulations.

Method

Content analysis. There are numerous definitions of content analysis that share common features. These include that content analysis is a “general term covering a variety of methods for analysing a discourse, message or document for varying themes, ideas, emotions, opinions etc.” (Reber & Reber, 2001, p. 152), a “systematic and replicable technique for compressing a text into fewer content categories via usage of explicit rules of coding” (Stemler, 2001), a technique that “attempts to characterize the meanings in a given body of discourse in a systematic and quantitative fashion” (Kaplan, 1943, p. 230), and a “process of reducing text material to manageable relevant bits of information coded into categories” (Light & Yasuhara, 2008, p. 22). Content analysis is “often an important precursor to research on exposure or effects” (Harris, 2009, p. 25) and can be used on unstructured material, such as answers to open-ended question, speech and news articles. Typically, the analysis of information in content analysis involves summarizing coded data, discovering patterns and relationships within the data, testing hypotheses about the observed patterns and relationships and relating the results to information obtained from other research methods or situations (Chelimsky, 1989).

Content analysis is a means of extracting insights from already existing data sources. Chelimsky (1989) claims that content analysis is therefore “potentially applicable to at least part of almost every project” (p. 25). It is a non-obtrusive research method that can be performed without the knowledge of the sender, as well as the receiver of the message. This eliminates important problems with many experimental methods, namely that the interaction between the experimenter and the respondents may influence the results. Since there is no

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interaction between the authors of the analysed text and the experimenter, this problem does not occur. Additionally, when content analysis is employed, it is not necessary to gain insight into the authors' motivations, intentions or cognitions for producing the text in order to make judgements about its features. Content analysis examines signs and symbols as the unit of analysis, instead of "the intent of the communicator or the actions of the interpreter" (Kassarjian, 1977, p. 10). Texts are treated as autonomous entities which may be studied without reference to their authors, and the analysis describes the attributes of messages without reference to either the intentions of the sender or the effect of the message upon those to whom it is directed. According to Arnold and Fischer (1994) "once authored or recorded, a text assumes a life of its own" (p. 61) and textual concretization may even lead to understanding that does not coincide with what the author meant and can generate insight that the author did not realize (Arnold & Fischer, 1994). This makes content analysis appropriate for the current study, which focuses on specific message factors and their likely attitudinal effects, but makes no attempt to study the sources' intents. Instead, biased language is measured in the valence conveyed through descriptive words used for identified agents. It may also be noted that the study did not focus on the actual events portrayed in the news stories, but merely on the Key agents appearing in news stories, their referents and descriptive terms associated with each key agent.

Computer-aided content analysis. In the late 1950s, computers started being applied to content analysis. The usage of computers to assist with content analysis has since then increased dramatically with the development of specialized computer programs and algorithms that were found to be as reliable as manual coding of textual information (Bengston, 2000). The interest in computerized content analysis is particularly high in database technology. For example, search engines (Google, AltaVista etc.) use algorithms that are derived from content analysis studies. According to Pennebaker and Chung (2009), computerized text analyses are increasingly efficient and reliable due to advancements in technology, computational linguistics and the psychology of language. Depending on how content analysis computer programs are used, they can be very helpful for various parts of the analysis. Procedures such as compiling accurate word-frequency lists, stop-word lists and concordances can be intensely labour costly when conducted manually. These can be automated with built in language-independent features that are a part of the computer program. Computerized analysis can have qualities beyond those of manual coding, not least in regards to tedious and labour intensive tasks and their implementation can virtually

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eliminate certain human-errors that are likely to occur in manual coding. Computers can handle very large volumes of data, which can increase the study's reliability. Importantly, computer aided content analysis has been found to minimize researcher bias and coding errors, diminishing the need for measures of inter-coder reliability (Bengston, 2000). Computer assisted content analysis has long been employed successfully with quantitative research, and recently successful models have been created for qualitative research, that do not have an a priori hypotheses. For example, Light and Yasuhara (2008) developed a methodology for using automated text analysis techniques and compared the results of these with a detailed qualitative analysis and found that their method yielded almost the same result while using only a third of the time for analysis.

Validity concerns in content analysis. In content analysis, validity concerns are of two types. These are "internal validity", which refers to the extent to which a causal conclusion based on a study is warranted in terms of minimal systematic bias, and "external validity", which refers to the extent to which an instrument measures what it is intended to measure. According to Krippendorff (1980), the three most important types of external validity that should be accounted for in content analyses are *stability*, *reproducibility*, and *accuracy*. "Stability" measures the extent to which a method of analysis yields identical results when applied to the same data at different points in time. This can be referred to as *intra-individual consistency*. "Reproducibility" refers to the extent of agreement between the results of different methods that follow the same principles of construction, for example when different coders use the same instructions for analysis. This may be referred to as *inter-coder agreement*. Stability and reproducibility contribute to the requirement of replicability of research. An important guideline in designing a content analysis is that "the inclusion and exclusion of communications content or analysis categories is done according to consistently applied rules" (Kaserjan 1977, p. 9). Finally, "accuracy" measures "the correspondence of the performance of a method with a given or known standard" (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 73). Accuracy is thus assessed by relating the research to other data that are known to be reasonably valid. In the present study, this was achieved by using the well-established Semantic Differential model (Osgood, Suci & Tennenbaum, 1957) as a means of quantifying the results of the content analysis.

Validity concerns in computerized content analysis. Using computers has been found to solve important reliability problems in content analysis. However, they incorporate certain validity problems themselves. A word may, for example, bear different meanings

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depending on the context in which it occurs and so far such ambiguities cannot be resolved with the computer program alone. Computers cannot be used for all facets of analysis, and they are not meant to do so. Computer programs aid the analysis, but without theoretical guidelines, hypothesis generation and testing, an analysis is not likely to be fruitful. A content analysis, whether it utilized computer software or not, is only meaningful to the extent that it is designed to secure data relevant to a scientific problem or hypotheses (Berelson, 1952).

An important validity concern, semantic validity, involves concepts which serve as referent terms as well as descriptive terms. Often, a descriptive term is placed directly adjunct to an agent's proper name, either prior to or after its appearance, as in word-phrases such as "lederen Muammar Gaddafi", or "NATO koalisjonen". In these instances, it is sufficient to perform an automatic concordance analysis for 1 word to each side of the term of interest in the AntConc computer software. This feature lists the words directly adjunct to a target word according to frequency. However, sometimes a descriptive term is used independently to the proper term used for a referent. For example, NATO was often referred to only as "alliansen" (the alliance), and Gaddafi was often referred to simply as "diktatoren" (the dictator) or "lederen" (the leader). It was also a concern that descriptive terms that were placed directly adjacent to a key agent might not always refer to that key agent, although instances of this were not found to be frequent. Therefore, the analysis could not rely solely on automatic procedures made by the computer. It appears impossible to leave out the role of the human coder in a content analysis, even when the matters of enquiry are single words or short word phrases. This problem is well known. According to database-semanticist Stamper (1988, p. 4) "[e]ven the most precise definitions, the most mechanical set of rules cannot be arrived at without an often difficult social process of negotiating agreement and arriving at a common view". What entity a descriptive term refers can be context dependent, the actual name of the agent can be placed anywhere in the sentence, or even the whole discourse, and as of yet, no computer program can automatically detect the agent to which a referent term applies to.

Additionally, the computer programs that were utilized for the study cannot distinguish important features of sentences. Among these are lexical ambiguities, of which there are always many examples. For example, the term "bat", can both refer to a flying mammal and a stick used to hit balls. Other examples include word-sense ambiguities, where a word such as "interest" can be understood objectively, as in "interest-rate", or subjectively, as in "take an interest in"; ambiguity in idiomatic versus non-idiomatic usages, as in the sentences "the comedian really bombed last night" versus "the troops bombed the building",

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and pragmatic ambiguities that involve jokes, irony, metaphor and the like (Wiebe, Wilson & Cardie, 2005, p. 167). Because of such semantic ambiguity of terms, manual analysis was used alongside the computer analysis. Thus, for example, the researcher manually read through each keyword-in-context clause in order to identify the referents and descriptive terms used for each key agent. Other tasks, such as grouping words in Key Agent categories also made use of manual analysis.

Reliability. Reliability refers to the extent to which a measuring procedure can produce the same results on repeated trials, and to the degree to which variations in the results of a study reflect true variations in data as opposed to extraneous variations stemming from the circumstances of the analysis (Krippendorff, 1980). In content analysis, examples of extraneous variations that might reduce the reliability of a method are “ambiguous recording instructions, observer’s fatigue, changes in scale, punching and computing errors” (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 72).

In order to ensure the reliability of a study that utilizes content analysis, several requirements have been suggested. The first of these has been labelled as the requirement of objectivity (Kassarjan, 1977). This requirement states that the categories of analysis should be defined so precisely that different analysts can apply them to the same body of content and reach the same results (Berelson, 1952). In order to achieve this goal, each step in the process was explicated in a coding book. The coding book was thereafter used in order to estimate what is generally regarded as the most important measure of reliability in content analysis, inter-coder reliability (Krippendorff, 1980). Inter-coder reliability is a measure of the agreement between two independent coders of the same material. This measure determines whether the categories are clearly specified, if the coding instructions are adequate, and if the coders or machines are suitable for the analysis.

Pilot study

Test for reliability. In order to test for the inter-coder reliability of the current study, a pre-test was performed. In this a small sample of the news corpus was analysed by two different coders using the same coding book. This reliability study was coordinated by a third party who found a sub-corpus to be independently analysed by the two coders. Responses of the coders were compared item by item and the numbers of agreement were determined.

The reliability of the research method used for the content analysis was established by comparing analysis made by the author with an external coder, using the same textual corpus

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and the same coding instructions as the author. The articles chosen for the validity-corpus were chosen by a third party, who used a random-numbers table to choose from the 689 articles of the main corpus. The external coder was a PhD-student from the department of linguistics of the University of Tromsø, who volunteered for the assignment in exchange to help for his own projects. A third party, a university professor chose the articles to be analysed by means of a random table. In all 10 articles were chosen for analysis.

Before commencing on the coding, the external coder was debriefed and trained in the methodology and explained how the analysis was performed by the author. A sample article was used for this purpose. The instructions given for the task are outlined in the coding-instruction manual found in Appendix 1. In essence, the coder was asked to identify participants in events described in the news articles, to write down the exact words or phrases used to denote these participants (agents), along with any descriptive terms that might accompany these reference terms. Main participants, or main agents, were thereafter to be grouped in a category. Thus, agents such as “Gaddafi”, “den libyske lederne” and “diktatoren” were grouped in a category – which represented that agent exclusively. The same was done to other participants that were described in the corpus. The categories were thereafter given a name, based on the most frequently occurring term found to depict them. Both coders completed the task manually, and independently.

Pilot study results. Overall, the two coders had 96.1 % agreement in the registration of referent terms. All registered referent terms were compared to each coder and instances in which both coders agreed were coded as 1 (agreement), while instances in which only one coder registered the referent term were coded as 0 (disagreement). Coder agreement was calculated with the “Chronbachs alpha (α)” reliability statistics. Level of agreement for observed and registered words was found to be $\alpha = .80$. According to Kline (1999), results ranging from .70 and .90 are considered good.

The difference in coding was found to be that the external coder registered appearances of pronouns such as “eg” og “dem” (“me” and “them”), whereas the main coder did not. Another difference was that the external coder clustered entities in a larger degree than the main coder. Thus, the word cluster “NATO og EU” was registered as “koalisjonen” by the external coder, but “NATO” and “EU” by the first coder. In other instances, the same referent terms were registered by the coders. These differences were noted and suggestions were made in order to improve the quality of the coding instructions for other studies that might be conducted using the same methodology.

Main Study

The main study measured the absolute frequency of mentions of key agents, and the words that were used to label them. The analysis was performed in five phases, in line with Krippendorffs (1977, 1980) methodological suggestions. These were 1) corpus and source selection, 2) transcription and transcription cleaning, 3) identification of the news articles' key agents, estimated by frequency of mention, 4) word association analysis, where words that were most commonly used to describe key agents were identified and 5) quantification of the extracted data.

Two computer programs were utilized to aid with the analysis, TextStat and AntConc. TextStat is an analysis-software, developed at the Free University of Berlin, that can generate word frequency- and concordance lists with percentage tables and concordances for large corpuses of ASCII based texts. AntConc is a Unicode compliant program for concordance analysis, developed in Waseda University, Japan. The program can generate stop-word list that cleans the analysis for irrelevant texts, as is defined by the user. It can also analyse word clusters, so called n-grams, collocates, word frequency lists and identify keywords. The output of analysis with results in can be saved in text formats and the program allows for important statistical analysis of the corpus.

Phase 1: Corpus and source selection

The criteria for corpus selection were fourfold: 1) that the news stories covered the same distinct subject 2) that the stories came from the same news outlet, 3) that they had received substantial coverage that made possible analysis that could render meaningful results and 4) that the news stories' topic had clearly identifiable and mutually exclusive actors.

The Norwegian state television network, NRK, was chosen as the sole source for news items for the study. In choosing a single source differences that are found between sources are eliminated, which reduces confounding of the results of the analysis that might be caused by differences between outlets. NRK was chosen for its availability large distribution in Norway. Each article produced by NRK is archived and freely and readily available. NRK is Norway's biggest media outlet (Fordal, 2009), all households in Norway that hold a television set are obliged to pay licence fees for NRK, and its evening news are viewed by more than 700 thousand people each day (NRK, 2011), giving the outlet a special status as a nationally important medium.

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Regarding topic selection, it was found that news stories about the Libyan crisis from 15th February 2011 and onwards suited well for the analysis. A number of elements made news reports on the Libyan crisis suitable for content analysis. The coverage of the conflict in Libya was extensive for NRK, with 689 articles published between 15th February 2011 and 17th February 2012 on the theme. All 689 articles were archived and analysed in the study. For the media viewer, the conflict had a relatively clear beginning and, to a lesser extent, end. The conflict can be said to have begun in 15th of February 2011 when a group of people, opposed to the Libyan political system and its official leader began actions in several cities simultaneously. The conflict culminated in the brutal murder of Libya's informal leader on 20th October the same year. Finally, the conflict, as it was described in the news stories, did have identifiable and mutually exclusive agents which included the Norwegian military and government that openly declared who were friends and who were enemies in the conflict. A list of analyzed articles is provided in Appendix 1.

Phase 2: Transcription and transcription cleaning.

The second phase involved finding and coding the data to be analysed in the right format and cleaning the text for all extraneous data that is irrelevant or damaging to the analysis. This includes removing advertisements, links, extraneous meta-data and other irrelevant data. Articles that had the Libyan conflict as their main topics were extracted using NRK's webpage. The full text of each article was copied to a text file and archived. All news articles were cleaned of extraneous content, such as links to other articles and advertisements. The cleaned articles were thereafter listed and organized according to date, with headlines and authors listed along the main text of the articles on an Excel spread sheet. The list of articles can be seen in Appendix A. The bodies of the news stories themselves were thereafter converted to a raw text document and fed to the computer programs used for the analysis.

Irrelevant terms were identified and classified. These included function words such as "i", "fra", "på" and the like, names of external news sources such as "Reuters" and "ap", certain geographical terms, such as the names of towns (Tripoli, Sirte etc.) and meta-data such as "Foto" and "Publisert". In this phase, the analysis also excluded generic nouns such as "fly" and "bil", as well as adjectives such as "noen". In linguistics, content analysis, and database computer science words that are very frequent but irrelevant to the search or study being conducted are referred to as "stop words". These have been defined as "high-frequency structural components of sentences, including adverbs, general nominatives, and common adjectives" (Berman, 2003, p. 682). According to Ho (1999), over half the words on a typical

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English page are among 150 words that are commonly designed as stop words for database searches. The exclusion of words that are deemed as irrelevant is standard practise in computerize content analysis. This process leaves the analysis with only the content words that are relevant for the study. According to Monroe, Colaresi and Quinn (2009) such data reduction is necessary to reduce the quantity of information that must be processed by the analyst. Additionally feature selection is useful in order to achieve a lower dimensional summary of the sample data. Secondly, the sampling variation in difference of proportions is greatest in high-frequency words and can therefore hide the importance of content words. As explained by Ho (1999), these are not partisan words, they are just common ones.

Phase 3: Key agent identification

The next phase of the analysis focused on identifying which agents were portrayed as playing major roles in the news corpus. In content analysis “recording units” (or “units of analysis) are the specific segments of the material under analysis that are placed in a category (Chelimsky, 1989). The recording units in the current study were the individuals, institutions and other groups which are mentioned most frequently in the corpus. In the current study, these are referred to as the “key agents” of the news corpus. The classes of key agents were aggregates of words, grouped into categories of words with similar meanings and connotations. Thus, key agents were listed in categories alongside the descriptive terms which were connoted to them. In content analysis such words are commonly referred to as “keywords” and are classified into referent terms according to semantic relatedness. According to Stemler (2001) referent terms “are useful when we are interested in making inferences about attitudes, values, or preferences” (p. 3). The resulting words were then grouped in categories according to manifest semantic similarities. These resulted in broad semantic classes of key agents along with the terms that were used to describe them.

In this early phase of the content analysis, a raw word frequency list was compiled with the Keyword function of AntConc. This produced a list of all words in the corpus, arranged by frequency. This is standard procedure in content analysis and frequency measures are the most common means of summarizing data in content analysis (Chelimsky, 1989). Out of that list, words that denoted specific individuals and institutions were identified and listed according to frequency.

Creating categories. The next step involved categorizing the observed agent-related content words into key-agent categories. This process followed guidelines suggested by Stemler (2001) and Krippendorff (2004). According to Stemler (2001), the most important

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requirements for creating categories are 1) that units in a category appear only in that category and no other (that is, that the units are *mutually exclusive*) and 2) that all units that should be in a category are included in that category (that is, that the category is *exhaustive*).

Specifically, the first requirement demands that no unit in a category falls between two data point and each unit is represented by only one data point. The second requirement means that all recording units of a category are included in that category (Stemler, 2001; see also Krippendorff, 2004).

Metonyms. The classification of referents requires significant evaluation of terms from coders. This includes cases of metonyms, where objects or agents are referred to by concepts that are closely associated with these object or agents. In the NRK news article corpus, for example, the governments or militaries of nations are frequently referred to as the names of the countries that they represent. Thus, the government of Norway is often referred to simply as “Norge”. In other words, the terms “norske regjeringen” (the Norwegian government) and “Norge” (Norway) are in such instances metonymic terms.

Synonyms. According to Hornby (1984, p. 877), a synonym is a “word with the same meaning as another in the same language but often with different implications and associations”. Thus, if words can be interchanged and the sentence in which they occur in holds the same meaning (denotatively), these are synonyms. Whether words are synonymous or not depends on the context in which they appear. Thus in the sentence “he is one of a kind”, the word “kind” is synonymous to the word “special”, while in the sentence “he was very kind”, and the word “kind” is synonymous to the word “benevolent”.

In order to determine if terms are synonymous the current study uses two criteria. The first criterion is that the concepts in question are defined as such in a synonym dictionary. The main external source of reference used in the study for identifying synonyms was Bernulfsens and Gundersens (2003) “Fremmedord og synonymer”, which is an authoritative synonym dictionary for the Norwegian language. The book is a reference book to both synonyms and foreign words which have become incorporated into the Norwegian language, often with spellings that fit more with the Norwegian language.

The second criterion used to determine if two concepts are synonymous is that these are used interchangeably in the corpus under analysis. Thus, when two different terms were used to denote the same exact entity in the corpus, these terms were essentially synonyms in the context of the news story corpus. Generally, in the current study, words are treated as synonyms if they are used to denote the same entity in different parts of the corpus. Thus, if

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an agent is referred to as “myndigheter” in one part of the text, and “regjeringen” in another, these are treated as synonyms. Thus, terms such as “soldater” and “styrker” are treated as synonyms in the current study since they are used interchangeably throughout the corpus to describe the exact same entities.

Category construction. In constructing categories for analysis, care was taken to include all synonyms and metonyms in each respective category. If two synonymous words are kept in separate categories, analysis would conclude that these words were non-related, or even negatively related: “Being semantic alternatives, the source tends to use one in one location and the other in another location” (Osgood, 1959, p. 114).

Referent terms, or labels, include all terms that refer to the agents mentioned in the text. When, for example, Norwegian Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg is referred to as “statsministeren” or “partilederen”, these are referents terms that belong in the same category. All descriptive words on this unit belong in the same category. Where appropriate, word clusters, which are two or more words that appear repeatedly in a corpus that identify recurrent formulaic expressions, were identified.

In certain instances, referent terms are immediately recognizable. Own names, such as Jalil, Gaddafi and Stoltenberg are among these, as are the own names of institutions such as FN, NATO and groups that have the definite article, such as “opprørerne”. In other instances, the process of establishing what agents are being referred involves careful analysis.

Words that were not automatically classifiable (words such as “regimet” and “styrkene”) but frequently used in the news corpus, were subjected to concordance analysis, which employed manual analysis of computer generated concordance lists, which list the words directly adjacent to the target word, in order to identify which agents they most often co-occurred with. This analysis was performed in order to assess if observed words were connoted to specific agents more frequently than other agents, which would give information on how these were depicted. Similarly, words such as “regimet”, “leder”, and “soldatene” were analysed in order to assess if they systematically applied to the same persons or institutions.

The names given to the conflict that was described in the news stories were also listed as important content words. These included “krigen” and “situasjonen”. The same applied to names given to the NATO bombing campaign, such as “operasjonen” and “oppdraget”.

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Words that could not be immediately classified were marked as "concordances". These were subjected to concordance analysis in order to reveal their referents, that is, what agent they referred to.

Wordstems. For each referent term, the word stem was isolated in order to avoid exclusion because of different forms of the same underlying word. A feature of the computer program TextStat can list all form of a word stem. This feature was utilized in order to be able to include all forms of the same word, which gives a more correct overview of the frequency of word occurrence. For example, by searching for word forms of the word "Lib", case insensitive, gives results such as "libyske", "libyere", "lybisk", "Libya" and more. The process resulted in categories denoted by their steams. This was achieved by utilizing the "collocation" function of AntConc, which is a Key Word in Context (KWIC) feature. Collocations are words, phrases or structures that are typically used with other words, phrases and structures that have been found to be relevant to the hypotheses under analysis (Tognini-Bonello, 2001). The generation of Keyword-in-context (KWIC) lists allows for the analysis of different uses of the same word in a corpus. The computer program AntConc automatically generates such a list, in which the keyword is shown in the middle of a text string, the length of which is defined by the user. The analysis employed the default string size of TextStat, which is 70 letters prior to-, and 70 letters after the appearance of the keyword.

The stem of each word in every key agent category were subjected to the KWIC procedure and the result for each word in their respective category were aggregated into a KWIC corpus. The number of KWIC corpora was therefore equal to the number of Key Agent categories. Separate referent analyses were thereafter conducted for each KWIC corpus. Each relevant word form was searched for and their collective frequency recorded.

Cut-off. A cut-off for determining which referents could be considered Key Agents was chosen in order to focus on the most frequently mentioned agents. In Light and Yasuhara's (2002) research, a cut-off of 0,5 word/word groups' occurrences per corpora-unit were decided to denote a high-frequency word/word group. In the current research, the corpora-unit is each of the 698 articles that collectively form the corpus. A word that would appear 698 times in the corpus would yield a score of 1.0 occurrence per unit. An alternative would be to use divide the number of occurrences of words or word groups to the total number of words in the corpus. These would yield much smaller numbers. Using Light and Yasuharas cut-off excludes words and word groups that appeared 348 times or fewer in the corpus. Thus, agents that were mentioned 347 times or less were not classified as main agents

and, therefore, not subjected to further analysis. The end result of the key agent identification process was a frequency list of agent-specific content words from the main-text corpus that denoted active agents in the news stories to be designated for the main categories.

Phase 4: Word association analysis

The focus of the word association analysis was on how the key agents, or their referential units, were represented. These representations are achieved via their referents, which are words and phrases that refer to the agents in the text, as well as the nouns, noun phrases, adjectives, adverbs, verbs and verb-phrases that are used to describe them. These referents and descriptive terms were listed according to frequency of mention.

This step involves concordance analysis, which is a key word in context (KWIC) feature that shows a specific number of characters before and/or after a key word. In this, the user defines the number of words or characters before and after the key word that should be examined. The key words are there after grouped into a category that best describes the use and intent of the word. In the current analysis, for example, words such as “Gaddafi-regimet”, “den libyske regjeringen” and “libyske myndigheter” were grouped together to form a category. A concordance analysis reveals patterns of similar pairings of meaning units. Thus concordances of two words or phrases mean that they repeatedly occur in proximity to each other in a corpus. The concordances of a particular steamed keyword are the words that appear in proximity to them. They denote the keywords’ associations with other words or structures. The content analysis software TextStat was used to assess concordances between the key agents and the descriptive terms that are associated with them. This software counted actual occurrences of the phrases and words used in conjuncture with the identified agents. A frequency list of phrases for each main actor was compiled from these lists and the most frequent descriptive words for each actor identified. Occurrences of the words and word groups denoting the key agents identified previously with respect to context and detail were aggregated and analysed using the concordance features in TextSTAT.

Word clusters. An additional aid to the content analysis is the identification of frequently occurring word clusters. Word clusters are recurring patterns of multi-word-units, or recurrent formulaic expressions. In essence these are instances when the same pattern more than one word appears repeatedly in the corpus. These word clusters give additional information on frequently applied word connotations in the corpus. A feature of the computer program AntConc automatically identifies word clusters connected to keywords. All words denoted in the KeyAgent categories were subjected to the process of identifying frequently

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occurring word clusters. When such clusters provided meaningful results, and when these occurred more than 36 times, these were noted and listed as important word connotations.

Analysis. In conformity with Osgood, Suci, and Tennenbaum's (1957) practice, the analysis is a descriptive tabulation of frequency counts of the appearance of specific words and categories of words in the corpus. Parametric statistical comparisons are not computed because there is no sampling of the corpus, but an analysis of the entire corpus. In other words, the analysis is a report of a single "case" and that "case" is the NRK corpus of news reports about Libya in the defined period.

Results and Discussion

Key Agents: The analysis identified 13 Key Agents, of which 3 referred to events. The 10 main agents were: "Gaddafi" (5231 mentions), "Saif al-Islam Gaddafi" (361 mentions), "the Libyan government" (1415 mentions), "the Libyan armed forces" (1511 mentions), "civilians" (1069 mentions), "the rebels – armed faction" (3185 mentions), "the rebels – political faction" (1325 mentions), "the coalition" (the multi-national force responsible for aerial bombardments on the Libyan government, 530 mentions), "NATO" (1398 mentions), "The United Nations" (1331 mentions), "Norway – government" (525 mentions), "Norway – military" (480 mentions) and "USA" (598 mentions). The three events mentioned more than 0,5 times in each article on average were "the international military attacks on Libya" (1115 mentions), "The Norwegian participation in the military attacks on Libya" (508 mentions), and "the Libyan conflict" (865 mentions). Table 2 lists each key agent alongside the labels used to refer to them, as well as the auxiliary descriptive terms used for them. Detailed findings of the content analysis are given in Appendix 2. Analysis of synonymous terms is provided in Appendix 3.

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Table 2: *Labels and descriptive terms for all Key Agents analysed in Study 1*

Agent	Labels	Mentions	Total appearances of term	Auxiliary descriptive terms
Gaddafi	[Own name]	4630	6466	"Libyas" (123), "den libyske" (61), "tidligere" (19), "styrtede" (18), "den forhatte" (14),
	Leder	297	861	"landets" (10), "avsatte" (9),
	Diktator	204	207	"omstridte" (7), "hersker" (7),
	Oberst	49	64	"sjef" [tidligere sjef (3), "min sjef" (2), "hennes sjef" (2)],
	Leiaren	14	23	"mannen med det rare håret" (4),
	Despoten	8	8	"gjennom 42 år" (4),
	Hersker	7	8	"revolusjonens" (3), "en leder av brødre" (in quotation marks) (3),
	Sjef	7	79	"den gale hunden" (3), "Libyas slakter" (3), "den fryktede" (3),
	Libyas sterke mann	6	6	"den falne" (3), "Krølltopp" (3). Unique lexical items: 19.
	Enehersker	6	6	
	Tyrann	3	3	
The Libyan government (Gaddafi-regimet)	Regime	674	772	"Gaddafis" (408/1698), "Libyas" (120/763), "i Tripoli" (107/1546),
	Regjering	410	807	"det gamle" (7/86), "arabiske folkedemokratiske republikk" (6/6), "terror-" (4/6), "42 år" (3/52), "det tidligere" (3/421).
	Libya	166	4073	Unique lexical items, 8.
	Myndigheter	94	180	
	Diktatur	23	23	
	Jamahiriya	20	20	
	Stat	14	34	
	Styresmakter	9	24	
Tyranni	5	5		
The Libyan military (Gaddafi-styrker)	Styrker	927	1868	"Gaddafi*" (952/6466), "lojale" (284/284), "regjering*" (139/807), "Libysk*" (40/1077),
	Soldater	435	985	"regimets" (21/772), "tro" (15/49), "forsvars" (3/606),
	Hæren	109	138	"brutale", (3/13). Unique lexical items, 8.
	Forsvaret	19	606	
	militæret	13	23	
	lojale	8	8	
Saif al-Islam	[Own name]	361	361	"Gaddafis sønn", (35/191), "hans sønn" (15/20), "sønnen" (11/58), "broren" (6/22), "en av Muammar Gaddafis sønner" (3/3). Unique lexical items: 5.
Civilians (sivile)	Sivile	744	755	"libyske" (67/1077), "Libyere" (22/163), "ofre" (4/28),
	Folket	224	575	"ubevæpnede" (3/4), "drepte" (3/87), "Libyas" (2/763),
	Folk	60	324	"Uskyldige" (2/5), "sterke" (1/39),
	Befolkning	41	57	"desperate" (1/6), "traumatiserte" (1/3), "vanlige" (15/15). Total descriptive terms: 123. Unique lexical items, 11.

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Rebels (opprørere)	Opprørere	2171	2175	"Libyske" (343/1077), "i Libya" (44/2266), "i landet" (18/423), "regimekritiske" (12/17), "nasjonale" (11/225), "feirende" (8/8), "væpna" (6/27), "fredelige" (4/8), "sivile" (3/755), "Jublende" (3/13). Unique lexical items, 10.
	Styrker	310	1868	
	Soldater	315	985	
	Demonstranter	120	131	
	Milits	89	89	
	Revolusjonssoldater	39	39	
	motstandare	35	35	
	Hæren	31	138	
	NTC-soldater	18	18	
	Aktivister	13	13	
	Revolusjonsstyrker	12	12	
	Regimekritikarne	11	11	
	NTC-styrker	8	8	
	Dissidenter	3	3	
	Revolusjonsforkjempere	3	3	
	Allianse	2	113	
	Opprørssiden	2	2	
Gaddafi-kritikere	2	2		
Folkeopprørerne	1	1		
Rebell government (overgangsrådet)	Overgangsrådet	724	724	"Legitim" (57/96), "nye" (44/271), "Libyske" (42/1077), "nasjonale" (40/225), "rettmessige" (25/26), "ny" (14/121), "opprørernes" (10/187), "midlertidige" (9/20), "regjerende" (3/3), "Libyas" (3/763), "lovlige" (3/16). Total descriptive terms, 255. Unique lexical items, 15.
	Opposisjonen	181	193	
	NTC	97	123	
	overgangsregjering	96	96	
	regjeringen	67	807	
	Opprørsbevegelsen	64	64	
	Myndighet	51	180	
	Makthaverne	19	19	
	Styresmakter	7	24	
	Revolusjonsrådet	5	5	
	Rørsla	3	3	
	Styre	2	50	
	Opprørsrådet	2	2	
	Frigjøringsbevegelsen	2	2	
	Representant	2	44	
	Opposisjonspartiet	1	1	
	Rettferdighetsbevegelsen	1	1	
Regime	1	772		
The Coalition (koalisjonen)	Koalisjonen	179	179	"internasjonale" (69/458), "vestlige" (23/200), "NATO-ledet" (3/3), "FN-ledet" (2/2), "Libya" (3/4073), "NATO [-alliansen/-allierte]" (4/4). Total number of descriptive terms: 109. Unique lexical items, 10.
	Alliansen	109	111	
	styrker	79	1868	
	Allierte	38	82	
	Vestlige	47	179	
	Forsvarsalliansen	18	18	
	Internasjonale samfunnet	17	43	
	Verdenssamfunnet	14	25	
	Vesten	13	57	
	Militæralliansen	7	7	
	Soldater	5	985	
	forsvarsstyrker	3	3	
Militærkoalisjonen	1	1		
NATO	NATO	1278	1351	"landene" (25/94), "alliansen" (8/111). Total number of descriptive terms: 33. Unique lexical items: 2.
	Styrker	118	1868	
	Soldater	2	985	

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The UN (FN)	FN	515	522	[No descriptive terms].
	FNs	292	292	
	Rådet (security council)	87	87	
	Generalsekretær	32	32	
	Resolusjonen	256	256	
	Mandat	100	106	
	Sanksjoner	49	98	
Norwegian government (Norge)	Norge	466	565	"Norske" (32/579). Total number of descriptive terms: 32. Unique lexical items: 1.
	Regjeringen	33	807	
	Myndigheter	24	180	
	Stat	2	20	
Norwegian military (Norske Forsvaret)	Forsvaret	287	354	[No descriptive terms].
	Styrkene	142	1868	
	Soldater	28	985	
	Mannskap	23	34	
US government (USA)	USA	523	526	"Amerikanske" (190/208), "amerikansk" (74/80). Total number of descriptive terms: 264. Unique lexical items: 2.
	Washington	42	42	
	Myndigheter	21	180	
	Regjering	9	807	
	Styresmakter	2	24	
	Lovgivere	1	1	
International military attack against Libya (Libya operasjonen)	Angrepene	480	610	"Libya" (148/2266), "NATO" (73/1351), "militære" (38/324), "internasjonale" (24/458), "FN" (7/522), "vellykket" (6/13), "vestlige" (5/200), "USA" (3/526), "allierte" (3/82). Unique lexical items, 9.
	Operasjonen	351	356	
	Militæroperasjon	71	83	
	Flyforbudssonen	59	139	
	Miltæraksjonen	29	29	
	Krig	25	121	
	Aksjonen	24	24	
	Luftangrepene	17	31	
	Libya-aksjonen	12	12	
	Intervensjonen	12	12	
	Inngripen	11	11	
	Innsatsen	8	38	
	NATO-aksjonen	7	7	
Krigføring	7	17		
Norways military attack against Libya (Libya Oppdraget)	Oppdrag	223	251	"Norge*" (99/565), "Libya" (12/2266), "militære" (9/324), "vår" (6/82), "kompliserte" (5/7), "skarpt" (4/10), "skarpe" (4/10), "krevende" (3/21), "omfattende" (3/31). Unique lexical items, 8.
	Bidrag	112	130	
	Bidra	67	86	
	Innsatsen	38	94	
	Bomber	38	186	
Deltakelse	30	39		
The war in Libya (Libya krigen)	Krigen	401	413	"I Libya" (128/2266), "libyske" (3/1077). Total number of descriptive terms, 150. Unique lexical items, 2.
	Opprøret	250	267	
	Konflikten	144	176	
	Revolusjonen	60	181	
	Geriljakrig	7	12	

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The content analysis conducted in Study 1 probed specific features of NRK's discourse on a chosen topic. Specifically, it examined every article produced on the Libyan crisis of 2011 by NRK in a one year period, which amounted to 689 articles in total. The analysis utilized computer programs in order to minimize human errors in coding the 361.879 words comprising the corpus, aided by manual analysis specified by clear limitations.

The content analysis set out with four purposes. The first of these was to identify which actors were represented most frequently in the news corpus, and as such, represented the key agents of the news topic. The criterion for an agent to constitute a key agent was that it was mentioned in at least every other article on average. The analysis identified 13 main agents in the corpus, which included people, groups, governments, fighting forces, and events.

The second objective was to examine which words were used to label and describe each key agent. This was achieved with means derived from Krippendorff's (1980) suggestions for systematic analysis of content. The study successfully identified which labels were used to denote each agent, as well as providing additional information regarding the usage of auxiliary descriptive terms for them.

The third objective was to provide material for further studies to examine patterns in the association of evaluative labeling of key agents. In other words, Study 1 largely provided the material for the analyses conducted in Study 2.

Finally the content analysis was conducted in order to maximize the external validity of the research project as a whole. Even though content analysis is a very time- and effort consuming endeavour, as is admitted in most textbooks on the subject matter (e.g., Krippendorff, 1980; Light & Yasuhara, 2008; Stemler, 2001), it can be recommended as means of "characterizing the meanings of discourse elements in a systematic and quantitative fashion" (Kaplan, 1943), as well as collecting the raw material for further studies on the psychology of communication. Content analysis offers important advantages in data collection for communication studies in psychology. Firstly, the units of measures are derived from material that has actually been produced, instead of being concocted as hypothetical realities for experimental manipulations. Secondly, it provides a replicable methodology that can be applied to a broad range of phenomena. Thirdly, there is no need to probe the thoughts or intents of the communicators. It is a non-obtrusive means of data collection, which means that the study will not suffer from such confounding variables as research demand bias.

Study 2 – Analysis of label valences

The purpose of Study 2 was to assess whether words that were used to label identified main actors in the news stories of study 1 differed in attitudinal valence. This was achieved by subjecting these to a semantic differential test.

In the literature of content analysis the valence and normative judgement conveyed through the identified terms that were of interest for the respected studies have been estimated by different means, some of which can be criticized for questionable construct validity, specifically with regards to the generalizability of results. For example, in Habel et al. (2009) and Cho et al. (2003) the valence of explored lexemes was estimated by the analysts themselves and validated through coder agreement. This is standard procedure in content analysis research that focuses on word senses and tone of discourse (Krippendorff, 2004). It is suggested here that studies in this field can be strengthened considerably by using more statistically valid estimates of label valence. This is because the studies in effect attempt to estimate how a specific population is likely to react when exposed to messages containing the elements under study. In other words, the aims of such studies are to estimate for the attitudes that the general population of the targeted culture group. In order to reach such an estimate, one needs responses from a significant sample of the target population to estimate their likely reactions to these words. In the aforementioned studies, this estimate is based on the agreement of only two or three subjects, which are also not independent on the researchers: The coders themselves. Simply put, even if these two or three coders agree on what attitudes the terms convey, there is little certainty in the assumption that the general population will understand the terms in the same way.

The current study has as an explicit objective to estimate with satisfactory confidence the attitudes that the identified terms evoke in the target audience. Since the current study focuses on wording bias in what is arguably the most important news media in Norway, and what impact such a bias might have, the targeted culture group is the general population of Norway.

The methodology used in the current study to reach these means rests on Osgood's et al's. (1957, 1975) mediational theory of meaning, and the semantic differential technique which was developed from it. The reasons for choosing this methodology are, firstly, by using the evaluations of a sufficient number of responses, the study can yield a statistically significant assessment of the valence of the concepts under study. Secondly, Osgood's methods are thoroughly tested and studied and have been applied in countless studies for

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more than 60 years. Not only does this make the semantic differential technique a theoretically sound choice for methodology, the long testing and application of the method has resulted in improvements of the methodology in general and spawned a huge variation in application which can be taken advantage of in creating a custom-made study (e.g., Henry & Sears, 2002; Grimm et al, 2007).

Pilot study

Purpose. A pilot study was conducted in order to identify possible problems with the methods used for the study. For this study, 18 of the terms found to be of most important in study 1 were listed on three separate scales, one for each of the three dimensions of the semantic differential.

Participants. Recruitment for the pilot study utilized the snowball sampling method. In this, a link to the survey was sent to acquaintances of the experimenter, who asked these to redirect this link to people they knew but asked to not answer the questionnaire themselves. In all, 18 people participated in the pilot study. The gender distribution was equal (9 for each), and the age of the participant ranged from 24 to 60 ($M = 35,3$).

Design. Participants rated the words most commonly used to describe the main actors identified in the content analysis of NRK's news articles on a semantic differential test. A 7-point labelled form of the test was implemented. In this each scale alternative is labelled with adjectives such as "very", "quite" and "neither/nor". According to Garland (1990) such labelled scales are favoured by participants to numerical scales, where scale items are labelled with a number and to unlabelled scales while yielding similar results as the alternatives. Each word was rated on 6 scales, with 2 scales representing each dimension on the theoretical semantic space (Evaluation, Potency, and Activity).

To guard against response biases such as the response set bias, where respondents answer a series of questions on a certain direction regardless of their content, a random numbers table was used to randomize the order of the bipolar adjectives, as well as the polarity direction for each scale.

The adjective scales were apprehended from the scales that had the highest factor loadings for the English language in Osgood's (1975) large cross-cultural study, according to Oliver et al. (1986). In English, these scales are represented by the bipolar adjectives good/bad, nice/awful, sweet/sour, strong/weak, big/little, powerful/powerless, active/passive, fast/slow, and noisy/quiet. The adjectives were translated into Norwegian (bokmål).

Findings. The pilot study found important problems with the methodology used for the study. Firstly, it was found that the inclusion of the Potency and Activity dimensions of the test were largely unrelated to the study and therefore redundant. Since the study focuses explicitly on the valence, which is equivalent to the Evaluation dimension of the semantic differential, of referent terms inclusion of these latter dimensions only serves as making the test more tedious for the respondents. This is congruent with standard norms. Thus, Osgood, Suci and Tennebaum (1959, p. 228) proposed that in measuring attitudes, just the Evaluation dimension of the Semantic differential need be considered, The pilot study also identified certain instructional errors which were pointed out by several respondents via e-mail.

Main study

Design. After making adjustments of the study format, the main study was conducted. In this the 72 words found to be used as referent terms for the Key agents were administered to students and staff at the University of Tromsø (N = 316) with a link to an on-line study. Subjects for the study were recruited via the email service for the psychology department of the University of Tromsø, Norway. No reward was offered for completing the survey. The subjects were asked to rate words according to the affect they associated with them, using only the Evaluation dimension of the semantic differential.

A survey of the 31 recently published studies that used the semantic differential technique as a method, published in the Ovid database gave an indication on the current norms of the acceptable number of participants for such studies. The studies, which were published between 2007 and 2011, ranged from 13 participants to 1905 (M = 292, Median = 131; see appendix 3). In all 10 studies made use of fewer than 100 participants. Using this information as a guideline, it was found that the number of participants recruited for the study was sufficient in order to keep with current norms. This survey is outlined in appendix 3.

Participants. In all, 316 subjects participated in the study. The age of the participants ranged from between 19 and 59 (mean age = 25.5, SD = 7.4). Of the participants, 227 participants were female (72%), while 89 were male. Answers from several respondents were removed from further analysis. These included uncompleted questionnaires, defined as those where two or more items were left unanswered (N = 18). The questionnaire included two means of detecting participants that might be answering in a random or non-serious fashion. The first of these was embedding the same word (“styre”) twice in the study. Respondents whose evaluation of this term differed with more than 2 points on the Evaluation scale were excluded in the study. Responses from 23 participants were removed for this reason.

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Additionally two words that were intuitively chosen to represent objects that should elicit either negative (“kreft” [cancer]) or positive (“mat” [food]) were included in the questionnaire. Cases where “kreft” was rated as positive and “mat” as negative were labelled as outliers and excluded from further analysis. However, the only participants who gave very unusual responses to these questions had already been removed from further analysis due to their differential responding to the same item. Thus in all responses from 41 participants were removed from further study, leaving 275 valid questionnaires for analysis.

Procedure. A 7-point, labelled form of the test was implemented. In this, each scale alternative is labelled with adjectives such as “very”, “quite” and “neither/nor”. To guard against response biases such as the response set bias, where respondents answer a series of questions on a certain direction regardless of their content, a random numbers table was used to randomize the order of the bipolar adjectives, as well as the polarity direction for each scale.

The questionnaire commenced with a page explaining the purpose of the study. The subjects were explained that they were participants in a study of the emotions related to certain political concepts and were asked to rate each word according to how they felt about them on a scale from good [god] to bad [ond]. They were asked not to think much about each word, but answer as fast as possible according to the emotions that were immediately evoked by the words. For demographic information, the participants were asked to state their age and sex. The third page simply explained that in the following page, they would be presented with 87 words that they were to rate on a scale ranging from “god” (good) to “ond” (bad).

Results and Discussion

In the study, a word’s evaluative affective meaning was calculated as its mean rating on the 7-point Semantic differential scale, with a maximum negative evaluation of -3.00 and a maximum positive evaluation of + 3.00. Thus, the word that has the most negative evaluative affective meaning used as a label in NRK’s corpus was “krigføring”, which had an average negative affective evaluation of - 2.61, followed by “tyrann”, which had an average negative affective evaluation of -2.60. The word that was most positively evaluated in terms of affective meaning was “frihet” (freedom), which had a mean positive evaluation of + 2.71. The mean evaluative affective meaning of each studied word, alongside number of appearances and standard deviation, is presented in Table 3. The words are listed on the basis of its mean score for evaluative affective meaning.

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Table 3: Words used as labels in NRKs Libya-corpus, alongside their average affective meaning as measured in Study 2, with Standard deviation and Standard error of the mean

Word	<u>Approbative</u>		Word	<u>Pejorative</u>	
	Mean_E	SD		Mean_E	SD
Frihet	2,71	,630	Krigføring	-2,61	,778
Feire	2,44	,794	Tyrann	-2,60	,828
Juble	2,43	,859	Bombe	-2,57	,844
Lojal	2,21	,900	Kreft	-2,40	,968
Beskytte	2,19	,956	Diktatur	-2,40	1,062
Humanitær	2,04	1,070	Geriljakrig	-2,18	1,118
Mat	2,04	1,155	Diktator	-2,17	1,425
Bidrag	1,67	1,029	Hevn	-2,16	1,053
Demokrati	1,67	1,495	Luftangrep	-2,15	1,021
Innsats	1,63	,964	Krigshandling	-2,14	1,028
Oss	1,58	1,311	Pest	-2,06	1,514
Folket	1,55	1,124	militært_angrep	-1,94	1,162
Sivile	1,50	1,098	Hersker	-1,70	1,057
Frigjøringskamp	1,36	1,163	militær_operasjon	-1,61	1,037
Deltakelse	1,35	1,086	Offer	-1,40	1,437
Råd	1,25	1,049	Konflikt	-1,35	,927
Befolkning	1,23	1,114	Hæren	-1,28	1,127
Internasjonal	1,08	1,132	militært_oppdrag	-1,22	,943
Mål	1,03	1,253	Statskupp	-1,20	1,084
Tro	,95	1,506	Regime	-1,17	1,043
Legitim	,91	1,044	Militæraksjon	-1,10	1,164
Allierte	,84	1,264	Milits	-1,08	1,169
Mannskap	,81	,996	Geriljasoldat	-1,06	1,731
Forsvar	,80	1,198	Makthaverne	-,97	1,014
Representant	,75	,890	Despot	-,88	1,204
Verdenssamfunnet	,75	1,207	Flyforbudssone	-,74	1,080
Allianse	,72	1,227	Opprør	-,68	1,172
Revolusjonsforkjemper	,68	1,152	Makten	-,60	1,007
Vestlig	,59	1,079	Sanksjoner	-,44	1,066
Regjering	,59	1,061	Motstandere	-,43	,978
Leder	,58	1,138	Opprørsbevegelse	-,42	1,151
Stat	,56	1,046	Soldater	-,41	1,318
Regimekritiker	,45	1,191	Styresmakter	-,32	1,048
Mandat	,42	,906	Militæret	-,14	1,342
Oppdrag	,40	,963	Dissident	-,12	,749
Pakt	,39	1,092	Demonstranter	-,12	1,073
Revolusjon	,37	1,251	Styrker	-,09	1,286
Sjef	,29	1,059	Oberst	-,08	1,095
Aktivist	,28	1,102	Opposisjon	-,02	1,052
Koalisjon	,25	,855			
Styre	,22	,983			
Myndigheter	,18	,997			
Intervensjon	,16	,952			
Overgangsråd	,12	,576			
Aksjon	,09	1,027			
Demonstrasjon	,07	1,112			
Operasjon	,04	1,051			
Opprører	,00	1,328			

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The semantic differential is a very sound methodology to measure the type of meaning addressed in the current thesis. Here, the focus is not on the word's denotative, or fact-based, meaning, but on the affect evoked by their presentation. Study 2 highlighted that the words used as labels for different agents in the news corpus differed extensively in terms of the affect they conveyed. This is apparent for the difference between the affective meanings of several terms that can be defined as synonymous in the corpus.

Limitations. Unfortunately, research has yet to be done for the Norwegian language on finding what adjectives best fit each dimension, as well as if the alleged cross-cultural universality of the three dimensional structure of the Semantic Differential holds for Norwegian subjects. However, even if the cross-cultural translatability of the scales between American English and Norwegian (bokmål) may be questionable, we are left with ratings for particular concepts that are interpretable in themselves. Additionally, the theoretical framework for the Semantic Differential is robust. As to the latter point, there is no reason to assume that the results of Osgood's (1975) cross-cultural study do not apply to Norway.

Combined results from study 1 and 2

Average attitudinal valence of labels. Further analysis was conducted to investigate how the evaluation score of the words most commonly used to describe the different actors in the news stories covering the Libyan conflict differed. The average attitudinal valence of referent terms for each Key Agent was calculated as follows:

$$E_{A1} = \frac{(E_{R1} * F_{R1}) + (E_{R2} * F_{R2}) + \dots + (E_{Rn} * F_{Rn})}{NR_{A1}}$$

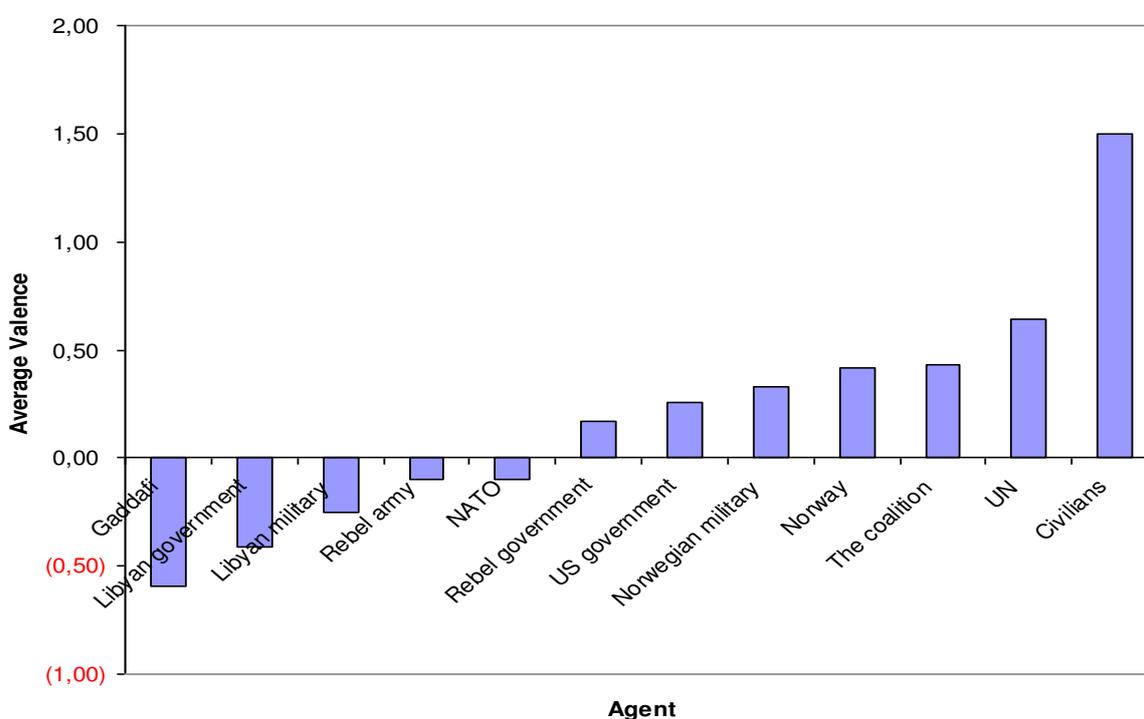
Here, F refers to the frequency of occurrence of the respected word in the corpus, E refers to the average Evaluation of that word, and A1 refers to key agent 1, A2 to key agent 2 etc. E_{R1} refers to the Evaluation score for reference term no. 1, E_{R2} to the Evaluation score for referent term no. 2, and so on through term no. n. NR_{A1} refers to the total number of terms that refer to Agent 1, NR_{A2} refers to the total number of terms that refer to Agent 2 etc. through Agent N.

The labels used to denote the key agents of NRKs news corpus, alongside frequency and the average attitudinal valence of the labels are listed in Appendix 6. Here, the term

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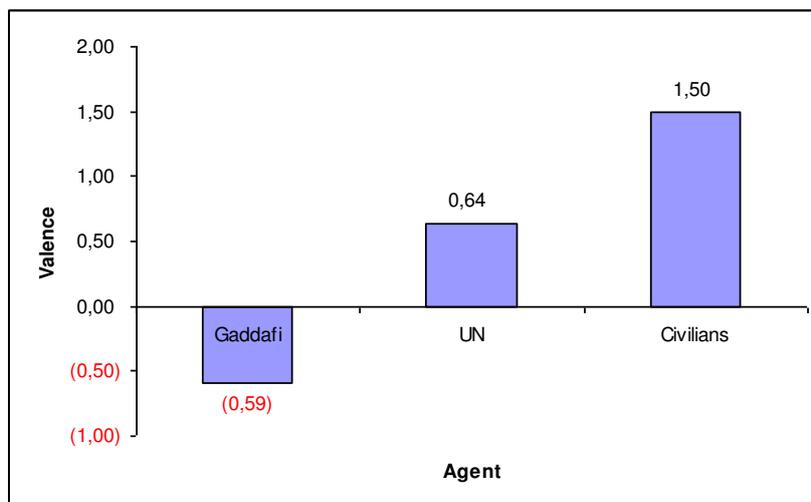
“mean valence of labels” refers to measured affective meaning of the label, as measured in Study 2. Own names are excluded in the calculation of evaluative affective meaning. Figure 2 lists the Key agents of the analysis according to the attitudinal valence, or average evaluative affective meaning.

Figure 2. *The mean evaluative affective meaning of the labels for each key agent of NRKs news corpus for the correspondence of the Libyan war of 2011, ordered from the most negatively evaluated Agent (Gaddafi), to the most positively evaluated one (Civilians)*



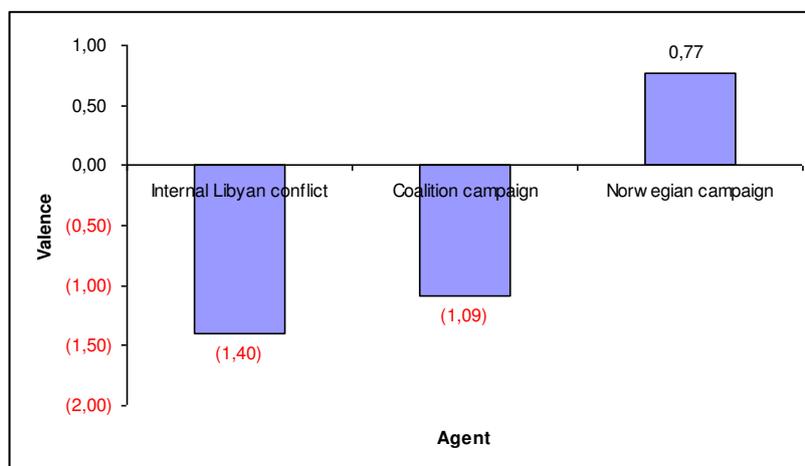
Persons and groups. The agent which was labelled with the most negatively laden terms, as well as having the largest numbers of labels of descriptive terms in general, was Muammar Gaddafi. The ten different terms which were used in the 5231 occasions in which he was mentioned in the corpus had a mean negative affective evaluation of $-.59$. The range of labels in terms of affective meaning for Gaddafi was from -2.60 (“tyrann”) to 0.58 (“leder”). The agent which was labelled with the most positively-laden terms was the group “civilians”. The average affective meaning of the terms used to label this agent was $+ 1.50$. The second most positively evaluated agent was “FN” (the UN). The terms used to label this agent had an average affective evaluation of $+ .064$.

Figure 3. Average attitudinal valence of labels used to denote key persons and groups.



Evaluative labeling of events: The study also examined coverage of the main events described in the news corpus. It was found that coverage of these events was also biased in terms of evaluative labeling. Comparable events used labels differently depending on the valence that they conveyed. For example, Norway's, NATO's and the "coalition's" participation in the Libyan conflict consisted of the same basic acts. However, Norway's participation was labelled with the term "oppdrag" [mission], "bidrag" [contribution], "innsats" [effort], "bombe" [bomb] and "deltakelse" [participation]. With the exception of "bombe", these words all have positive evaluative connotations (average affective evaluation, 0,77, which is a fairly positive evaluation), in stark contrast to what the words actually referred to. It is also in contrast to the words used to label the exact same acts committed by other nations. Here, the words used to label the bombing raids had average affective evaluations that amounted to -1,08, a moderately negative evaluation. This difference of the choice of labeling can not be based on any factual differences in what the labels describe. The mean attitudinal valence of the labels used to denote these comparable events is depicted in Figure 4.

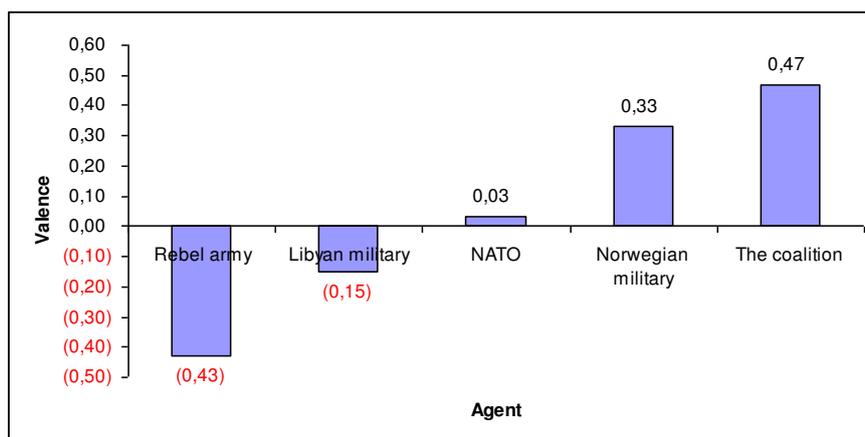
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Figure 4. *Mean attitudinal valence labels used to denote military campaigns.*

Evaluative labeling of armies. In the NRK news corpus, five armies were described more than 0,5 times in each article in average. These were the Libyan government army, the rebel army, NATO, the Norwegian army, and the “coalition” army. Being the same type of entity, these armies are comparable and the journalists had the choice of using the same labels for each of them. However, the choice of labels was biased in terms of evaluative affective meaning depending on the specific agent. Thus, the words used collectively to label the Libyan military had a mean evaluative affective meaning of -.15, the words used to label the rebel army had a mean evaluative affective meaning of -.43, the labels for NATO’s army had the neutral valu -0,03; the labels used for the Norwegian army had a mean evaluative affective meaning of +.33, and the “coalition” forces had a mean evaluative affective meaning of + .47. The same concepts were used for each of these agents, but in different frequency depending on the agent. Figure 5 lists the fighting forces described in NRK’s corpus according to mean attitudinal valence of labels.

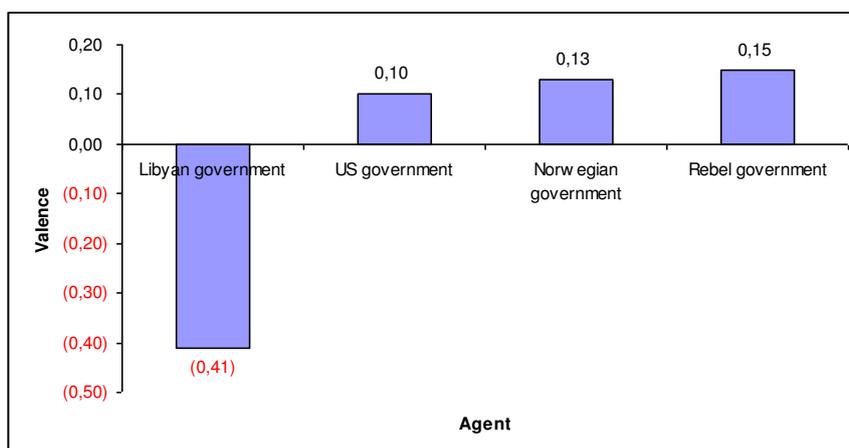
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Figure 5. Mean attitudinal valence of labels used to denote key fighting forces.



Evaluative labeling of governments: The choice of labels for the governments of different parties is not less interesting. The words used to label the government of Libya had the average affective meaning -0,41, while the labels used to describe the rebel government had the average affective meaning of +0,15. The US government was labelled with terms that had a positive evaluation of +0,10 and the Norwegian government with +0,13. The terms used to label all governments were regime, regjering, myndigheter, diktatur, stat, styresmakter, tyranny, makthavere and lovgivere. With the possible exceptions of “diktatur” and “tyranny”, these words are all synonyms, and can therefore be used interchangeably to describe the same entities. That the journalists of NRK chose to use negatively laden terms such as regime more often for the Libyan government than positively laden terms such as myndigheter, but vice versa for the rebel government, the US government and the Norwegian government is a clear example of bias in the usage of evaluative labeling. Figure 6 depicts the mean attitudinal valence of labels for governments, as they were found in NRK’s corpus.

Figure 6. Mean attitudinal valence of labels used to denote governments.



General discussion

The two studies described in the current thesis had three main objectives. The first of these was to find means to analyse news content for evaluative labeling. This objective was achieved by a content analysis of the entire news corpus of a single news outlet, regarding a specific subject. With this, information that had actually been produced and inseminated into society was analysed in terms of the usage of evaluative labeling. In the analysis, key agents of the news reports were identified, as well as the labels used to refer to them.

The second objective was to find means to measure bias in evaluative labeling quantitatively. This was achieved by subjecting the terms used most prominently as labels for the key agents found in the content analysis to a semantic differential test using a number of subjects that could, according to academic norms of such studies, yield a generalizable conclusion regarding the target population.

The third objective was to use the results of the study to quantitatively measure if the news prose regarding the analysed news story, in this case the Libyan war of 2011, was biased in terms of evaluative labeling. This objective was achieved by a combination of the results of Study 1 and Study 2. The results suggested that NRKs news coverage of the Libyan crisis was biased towards certain agents, and against others, in terms of evaluative labeling.

Implications of findings

Expected attitudinal effects. The data accumulated from the content analysis and subsequent studies makes it possible to make certain inferences about the expected reactions from the readers of these texts. As has been demonstrated by several theorists (e.g., Osgood, Suci, & Tennenbaum, 1957; Heise, 1980), the choice of labels for focal objects on the basis of the affects they convey can affect how people understand these. Thus, when a highly negatively-laden word is used to label a referent, the reader can be expected to evaluate that referent more negatively than if a more positively evaluated term is used, even when these terms are factually interchangeable. When a highly positively-laden term is used instead, the reader can be expected to evaluate that referent more positively. Thus, NRKs discourse on the Libyan crisis is likely to have contributed in creating negative affective evaluations towards certain agents, and positive towards others.

Among the mechanisms for such effects include evaluative conditioning. Here, repeated pairings of a focal object with an emotionally potent stimulus can result in a learned association that comes about through change in valence of evaluative responses towards that focal object (e.g., Staats & Staats, 1958; Griffitt, 1970; Gresham & Shimp, 1985). Thus,

“when an initially neutral stimulus immediately precedes another stimulus that already has positive or negative associations, the neutral stimulus can come to be positively or negatively evaluated itself” (Petty, Wheeler & Tormala, 2003, p 362).

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that evaluatively biased labels can serve as signals to the receiver that the focal object has been condemned or is highly valued. The labels can then serve as queues for what opinions towards the focal object are generally accepted, and thus which opinions are safe to communicate, which are correct, and which are safe to hold (e.g., Cialdini 2007).

Limitations and future research

There are several limitations to the current study that should be addressed in future studies. Firstly, the study does not take into account changes in public opinions over time, as measured in changes in individual opinions. This brings about the possible confounding variable which is effects of the Libyan conflict itself on the affective meaning of the concepts found in the news prose. For example, the term “flyforbudssone” (“No-fly zone”), was used extensively in the Libyan news prose. This is a rather unusual terms that had only been used for two other occasions in history (Iraq and Bosnia). In the study, it was found that the term had a fairly negative affective meaning (-0,74). However, we do not know what affective meaning the term had prior to the Libyan conflict. This, of course, applies to all words in the study, which was conducted more than a year after the last news stories used in the corpus were published.

Secondly, the study incorporates the problem of using mainly university students and staff as respondents in a study that attempts to generalize results to a larger population. Future studies should take this shortcoming into consideration as this can undermine the generalizability of its findings.

Thirdly, although this is beyond the scope of the current study, the markedly apparent personification found in the content analysis deserves pondering. The fact that the Libyan army was directly associated with Muammar Gaddafi in 67% of the armies’ appearances, and the government of Libya was associated with Gaddafi in 70% of its appearances was a finding that was not expected. In essence, the conflict as a whole was framed as a war against Gaddafi, personally. This heavy personification is a possible confounding variable in the study, since the affective meaning of the term Gaddafi is highly likely to influence the affective meaning of the terms associated with it. The project does not study the evaluative connotations of specific people or institutions and so this possible effect is not guarded

against. Furthermore, this means that the study measured sentiments towards concepts such as “loyal” but not “Gaddafi-loyal”.

In itself, this type of personification is relevant to persuasion. Rojo (1995, p. 49) contended that similar personification observed in the coverage of the Gulf war of 1991 to Saddam Hussein had the effect of “establishing an inclusive *us* and exclusive *them*, in this case *him*.” Furthermore,

This move therefore entails a personification of the conflict, which produces immediate feelings of identification or rejection, and simplifies how the war is understood. Both effects are reinforced by the second move of the exclusion procedure: ‘rejection’. Once the two camps are established an imaginary dimension, related to the ideology of consensus and ethnic prejudices, is evoked in order to create an image of Saddam Hussein in which he plays the stranger, the irrational being, the madman, the beast and, ultimately, the personification of evil. These are the villain's attributes in the fairy tale of the just war ... which is the script of the event activated by the newspaper for the conceptualization of the conflict and its protagonists. On the other hand, a positive image is created for a unique and ideological us, in which, as readers, we are included and absorbed. (Rojo, 1995, p. 49).

Finally, as to why NRKs journalists systematically associated positively laden terms with specific agents and negatively laden terms more often for other, there are many possibilities. One reason might be that the journalists were themselves affectively biased towards some agents and against others. As Eiser (1975) and Osgood (1971) have demonstrated, a person’s readiness to use certain terms rather than others when describing a focal object is predictable from his or her own attitude toward the subject. Thus, to systematically choose a negatively-laden label for an agent is an indicator that the author bears negative evaluations towards that object.

Another possibility is that NRK’s journalists intended to portray the different agents in these manners. However, neither the current studies, nor the literature review provide any theoretical basis to evaluate this possibility.

Yet another possible reason for the findings of the thesis is that NRK’s journalists suspected that their audience bore certain evaluations towards the key agents of the news corpus. As several theorists have suggested (e.g. Flavell et al., 1968; Manis, Cornell, &

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Moore, 1974; Newton & Scerlinsky, 1974; Osgood, 1971) people have a tendency to modify their message, including the labels they use, to suit the characteristics of their listeners. Thus, if an author suspects that the audience bears negative views towards a person, he or she might be inclined to modify his or her labels in regards to affective evaluations (see also Eiser & Osmond, 1978). In other words, NRK's journalists may have chosen these emotionally potent labels for certain agents, knowingly or unknowingly, in order to suit their audience better.

In order to establish if any of these, all of these, or none of these suggestions hold, direct studies should be conducted. All of the above speculations are testable hypotheses that can and should be studied in order to get a fuller picture of why such word usage as was found in the corpus occurred.

Conclusion

Regarding the specific topic examined in the current thesis, its two studies found that the choice of labels for the key agents of the news corpus was highly biased in terms of the attitudinal valence that the labels conveyed. Of the range of terms that the journalists who authored the corpus could have used to refer to each key agent, they systematically chose negatively laden terms more often for certain agents, and more positively laden terms for others. Since the affective nuances words carry can affect how people react to, and understand messages that they are embedded in, such choice of labels can be considered means to convey normative judgement towards the respected referents. In the current study, it is clear that NRK's reporting was neither fair nor balanced in terms of evaluative labeling.

More generally, and perhaps more importantly, the current thesis has offered means to operationalize and quantify one type of bias in reporting on the basis of solid paradigms developed in psychological semantics. With this, the question of how to evaluate if news coverage is fair and balanced, in terms of how its key agents are depicted, can be answered in terms of measureable variables. This hopefully makes judgements regarding ethically sound journalism more concrete, accurate, and more easily applicable. Although the current study examined one specific topic, the same methodology can be applied to any type of news coverage.

Words are indeed powerful weapons, and journalists have a responsibility to adhere to principles that safeguard the public against its abuse. As the reciprocal influences of the individual and society become ever more intricate, finding means that assist journalists and the public alike to detect breaches to these principles only grows in importance.

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Appendix 1: Analyzed news articles for Study 1

Article	Headline	Date	Journalist
1	Demonstranter slåss mot politi i Libya	16.02.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
2	Uroen sprer seg i Libya	17.02.2011	Kristine Hirsti
3	Protestar i stadig nye land	19.02.2011	Bent Tandstad
4	Snikskyttere skjøt mot sørgende i Libya	19.02.2011	Kristine Hirsti
5	Libya har skrudd av Internett	19.2.2011	Jørund Hessevick
6	Tyrkia flyr hundrevis ut av Libya	19.2.2011	Kristina Hirsti
7	Hæravdeling støtter opprøret	20.2.2011	Bent Tandstad
8	Uroen fortsetter i arabiske land	20.02.2011	Kristine Hirsti, Jørund He
9	Vurderer alle verkemiddel mot Libya	21.02.2011	Jørund Hessevick
10	Massakre på "Den grønne plassen"	21.02.2011	Jørund Hessevick
11	Vil kjempe til siste dråpe blod	22.2.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
12	Tryggingrådet fordømmer Libya-vald	23.2.2011	Bent Tandstad
13	Kan fly hjem i dag	24.2.2011	Christina Honningsvåg
14	Gaddafi: Libyerne elsker meg	25.2.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
15	Hevder flere tusen er drept i Libya	25.2.2011	David Krekling
16	Gaddafis folk fjerner likene	26.2.2011	Grete Ingebjørg Berge
17	Enige om sanksjoner mot Libya	26.2.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
18	Skutt ved første post i Libya	26.2.2011	Grete Ingebjørg Berge
19	40.000 på flukt fra Gaddafi	26.2.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
20	En humanitær krise som sprenger kapasiteten våres	27.02.2011	Grete Ingebjørg Berge
21	USA vil hjelpe Libyas opposisjon	27.02.2011	Kristian Aanesen
22	Libyske opprørere kjempet i to dager mot leiesoldater	27.02.2011	Kristian Aanesen
23	FN: 100.000 har flyktet fra Libya	27.02.2011	Hans Erik Weiby
24	Gaddafi - en falmet afrikansk helt	28.02.2011	Eva Stabell
25	Tar 30 milliarder fra Gaddafi	28.02.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
26	Folk frykter Gaddafi vil bombe	01.03.2011	Laila Ø. Bakken
27	Kaos på grensen mellom Libya og Tunisia	01.03.2011	Paal Wergeland
28	Presset Gaddafi truer med blodbad	02.03.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad, Sur Ç
29	Amerikanske marinefartøyer på vei til Libya	02.03.2011	N.N.
30	Gaddafi-styrkar bombar flere byar	02.03.2011	Jørund Hessevick
31	Dette har Muammar al-Gaddafi til å forvare sitt regime med	02.03.2011	Laila Ø. Bakken
32	Gaddafi truer med blodbad	02.03.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
33	Opprørere forsvarte oljeby i øst	02.03.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
34	Jeg anser det som et folkemord	05.03.2011	Liv-Kristin Rød Korssjøer
35	Mange drept i kamper om libysk by	05.03.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
36	Utfører luftangrep mot opprørere	06.03.2011	N.N.
37	Britiske soldater tatt i Libya	06.03.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
38	Har militære Libya-planer klare	07.03.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
39	Obama snakker som et barn	08.03.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
40	Boligblokk truffet i Ras Lanuf	08.03.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
41	Opprørere gir Gaddafi 72 timer	08.03.2011	Kristine Hirsti
42	Stridsvogner og luftangrep mot opprørere i Libya	08.03.2011	N.N.
43	Gaddafi tilbyr dusør for denne mannen	09.03.2011	Kristine Hirsti
44	Gaddafi-utsending har landa i Kairo	09.03.2011	Jørund Hessevick
45	Mist 40 drept i Zawiyah	09.03.2011	N.N.
46	Opprørere trekker seg tilbake ved Ras Lanuf	09.03.2011	Jørund Hessevick, Vilde H
47	Trugar med å angripe ved flyforbud	09.03.2011	Jørund Hessevick
48	Gaddafi-styrkane er inne i Zawiyah	09.03.2011	Jørund Hessevick
49	BBC-journalister arrestert og banket opp i Libya	10.03.2011	N.N.
50	Den arabiske liga støtter flyforbud	12.03.2011	Helge Carlsen
51	By reinska for libyske opprørarar	13.03.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
52	Al Quaida: Fortsett å slåss mot Gaddafi	13.03.2011	Kristine Hirsti
53	Gaddafi-soldater inntek ny by	14.03.2011	Bent Tandstad
54	Regjeringsstyrker angrep Ajdabiyah	15.03.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
55	Italia stansar skip frå Libya	15.03.2011	Jørund Hessevick
56	Det vil bli en massakre her	16.03.2011	Laila Ø. Bakken
57	Ti timar på å hindre folkemord	16.03.2011	Bent Tandstad
58	Gaddafis hevn blir ikke hyggelig	17.03.2011	Øyvind Grosvold, Øystein
59	Vil ta pause i angrepene	17.03.2011	Øyvind Grosvold

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60	FN kan vedta Libya-aksjon i kveld	17.03.2011	Bent Tandstad
61	Libya truar luft- og skipstrafikken	17.03.2011	Bent Tandstad
62	Eksplasjonar og skyting i Benghazi	17.03.2011	Bent Tandstad
63	FN kan vedta Libya aksjon i kveld	17.03.2011	Bent Tandstad
64	FN: Flyforbodsone over Libya	17.03.2011	Jørund Hessevick
65	Gaddafi vil "spare" Benghazi likevel	18.03.2011	Jørund Hessevick
66	Libya åpner for våpenhvile	18.03.2011	Kristine Hirsti
67	Norge skal delta i Libya-aksjon	18.03.2011	Kristine Hirsti
68	Gaddafis sønn: Vi er ikke redde	18.03.2011	Vilde Helljesen
69	Gaddafi angriper by vest i Libya	18.03.2011	Anders Brekke
70	Gaddafi vil prøve å bruke det til sin fordel	18.03.2011	Su Thet Mon
71	Enestående samarbeid	18.03.2011	Knut Erik Holm
72	USA: Gaddafi har brutt Sikkerhetsrådets resolusjon allerede	18.03.2011	Su Thet Mon, Øyvind Gro
73	Gaddafi: Helvete venter dere	18.03.2011	Anders Brekke
74	Erklærer våpenhvile i Libya	18.03.2011	Anders Brekke
75	Med livet som innsats i Libya	18.03.2011	Cornelia Bjørke-Hill
76	Kan bli satt inn i Libya	18.03.2011	Espen Sandmo
77	Jagerfly skutt ned i Benghazi	19.03.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm
78	Gadaffi sier våpenlagrene er åpne	19.03.2011	Hans Erik Weiby, Sun Ire
79	Obama, hva ville du gjort om Al Qaida kontrollerte byer i ditt land?	19.03.2011	Øyvind Bye Skille
80	Gaddafis soldater angriper Benghazi	19.03.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
81	Forsvaret har fått klarsignal til å dra	19.03.2011	Oddvin Aune, Elin Petters
82	Libya angripes med kryssraketter	19.03.2011	Oddvin Aune
83	Middelhavet er nå en slagmark	19.03.2011	Oddvin Aune
84	Jobber for å få norsk reporter løslatt i Libya	19.03.2011	Liv-Kristin Rød Korssjøer
85	Amerikansk fly slapp 40 bomber: Menneskelige skjold i Libya	20.03.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm
86	Nye angrep mot Libya i natt	20.03.2011	Oddvin Aune, Hans Erik \
87	En vellykket start på operasjonen	20.03.2011	Vilde Helljesen
88	Forberedt på tre måneder lang krig	20.03.2011	Susanne Lysvold
89	Gaddafi-styrker går inn i Misrata	20.03.2011	Vilde Helljesen
90	Kritiserer Vestens angrep på Libya	20.03.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
91	Araberlandene må inn i Libya	20.03.2011	N.N.
92	Libyas forsvar innfører våpenhvile	20.03.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
93	Gaddafi er ikke mål for bombene	20.03.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
94	Libysk TV viser frem bomberofre	20.03.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
95	Truer med å kaste ut Statoil av Libya	21.03.2011	N.N.
96	Angrepene fortsetter i Libya	21.03.2011	Helge Carlsen, Kristin Gr:
97	Bombet kommandosentral i Tripoli	21.03.2011	N.N.
98	Mener Libya-kritikken er politisk motivert	21.03.2011	Helge Carlsen, Marit Kolt
99	F-16 flyene omdirigert i lufta	21.03.2011	Susanne Lysvold, Adrian
100	Usunn Libya-enighet	21.03.2011	Kristian Bålsrød
101	Nekter å utelukke Gaddafi-angrep	21.03.2011	Grete Ingebjørg Berge
102	K-ordet som sitter så langt inne	21.03.2011	Laila Ø. Bakken
103	Skulle være et symbol på Gaddafis "usårbarhet"	21.03.2011	Åse Marit Befreng
104	Ordkrig mellom Putin og Medvedev	21.03.2011	Anders Brekke
105	Fire journalister sette fri i Libya	21.03.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
106	Folk er glade for angrepene	21.03.2011	Sidsel Wold, Mohammed
107	Nye angrep mot Libya i kveld	21.03.2011	N.N.
108	USA og Frankrike enig om Libya	22.03.2011	Helge Carlsen, Kristin Gr:
109	Norsk Libya-bidrag vil koste minst 70 millioner	22.03.2011	Johan B Sættem
110	Morsk styrke venter på fly-ordre	22.03.2011	Eirik Veum, Susanne Lys
111	Ren etnisk utrensning	22.03.2011	Siv Levy Vuolab, Mette B
112	Støre: Libya kan bli delt	22.03.2011	Bent Tandstad
113	Oljeproduksjonen i Libya hardt råka	22.03.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
114	Vil gi politisk råd bombemakt	22.03.2011	David Vojislav Krekling
115	Gaddafi lovar tilhengerne siger	22.03.2011	Bent Tandstad
116	Vil ha endring i eierskapsreglene	23.03.2011	N.N.
117	Under amerikansk kommando	23.03.2011	Susanne Lysvold
118	Vil la Nato overta ledelsen i Libya	23.03.2011	Paal Wergeland
119	Norsk bank fryser Gaddafi-penger	23.03.2011	Paal Wergeland

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120	Norske F-16 fly snart klare til kamp i Libya	23.03.2011	Reidar Kjørstad, Halldor
121	Fengsla nordmann slepp fri	23.03.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
122	Han skal dømmes på ordentlig vis	23.03.2011	Sidsel Wold, Laila Ø. Bak
123	NATO håndhever flyforbudssonen	24.03.2011	Vilde Helljesen, Paal Wer
124	Visste at de holdt på å bli slaktet	24.03.2011	Sidsel Wold, Kristin Gran
125	Norske F-16 fly på vei mot Libya	24.03.2011	Reidar Kjørstad, Erik Vei
126	NATOs kommandorolle tar form	24.03.2011	N.N.
127	Enighet mellom Tyrkia og NATO	24.03.2011	N.N.
128	Merkel får skylda for fransk egotripp	24.03.2011	Laila Ø. Bakken
129	EU ramma av alvorleg dataangrep	24.03.2011	Bent Tandstad
130	To norske fly på ny tokt over Libya	24.03.2011	Eirik Veum, Anders Brekl
131	Libyas helseminister hevder 114 er drept	25.03.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen, Kris
132	Jeg er veldig imponert over at F-16 flyene var klar på 48 timer	25.03.2011	Adrian Dahl Johansen
133	Krigen i Libya prega av hastverk	25.03.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
134	Gaddafis representanter møtte AU	25.03.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
135	Ingen sivile liv gikk tapte	25.03.2011	Halldor Asvall
136	Vurderer å væpne libyske opprørere	26.03.2011	N.N.
137	Ingen sivile drept av norske bomber	26.03.2011	N.N.
138	Tror Norge kan bli terrormål hvis Gaddafi ikke fjernes	26.03.2011	Anders Tvegård
139	Opprørere gjenerobret oljeby i Libya	26.03.2011	N.N.
140	Nå angriper de landsbyen Sabha	26.03.2011	Emrah Senel
141	Vi er ferd med å lykkes i Libya	26.03.2011	N.N.
142	Vestlige luftangrep tvang Gaddafi-styrkene vekk	26.03.2011	Sidsel Wold, Amund Aun
143	Bombet flyplass i Misrata	26.03.2011	N.N.
144	Meldte at budsjettkutt-demonstrasjonen i London var mot krigen mot Libya	26.03.2011	Sun Iren Bjørnås
145	Her slipper Norge bomber i Libya	26.03.2011	Halldor Asvall
146	Vart nekta å fortelje om overgrep	26.03.2011	Jørund Hessevik
147	Mange sivile drept da veistrekning ble bombet	27.03.2011	N.N.
148	USA avslører danskenes hemmelige operasjoner	27.03.2011	N.N.
149	Opprørere har tatt viktig oljeby	27.03.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
150	Libyske opprørere vil eksportere olje innen en uke	27.03.2011	N.N.
151	Nato tar over kommandoen i Libya	27.03.2011	Jørund Hessevik, Liv-Kris
152	Lybiske opprørere nærmer seg hovedstaden	27.03.2011	Liv-Kristin Rød Korssjøer
153	Flere drept i Gaddafi-styrkeres angrep	27.03.2011	N.N.
154	Lyktes ikke med å ta Gaddafis hjemby	28.03.2011	Sidsel Wold
155	Livstegn fra norsk journalist	28.03.2011	N.N.
156	Voldtatt kvinne løslatt	28.03.2011	N.N.
157	Viktig militærbase bombet	28.03.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
158	Obama: Massakre avverget i Libya	29.03.2011	Su Thet Mon
159	Amnesty frykter for bortførte libyere	29.03.2011	N.N.
160	Krever slutt på "barbariske angrep"	29.03.2011	Su Thet Mon
161	Obaidi sitter fortsatt fengslet	29.03.2011	Anders Brekke
162	Spekulasjoner om Libyas utenriksminister har hoppet av	29.03.2011	Kristine Hirsti
163	Norsk innsats har bidratt til å redde liv i Libya	29.03.2011	Hans Erik Weiby
164	Ventar på Sarkozy sine fly	29.03.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
165	Sverige vil delta i Libya	29.03.2011	N.N.
166	Støre ser flere løsninger i Libya	29.03.2011	Hans Erik Weiby
167	Har fått takkbrev fra libysk opposisjon	29.03.2011	Helge Carlsen
168	Faremo: Ikke aktuelt å væpne libyske opprørersoldatar	30.03.2011	Eirik Veum, Jørund Hess
169	Venstre vil avlaste asylstrøm til Italia	30.03.2011	N.N.
170	Obama utelukker ikke væpning av libyske opprørere	30.03.2011	N.N.
171	Vanskeligere å bombe Libya-styrker	30.03.2011	Eva Stabell
172	Granate slo ned 200 meter fra NRKs reportasjeteam	30.03.2011	Jan Espen Kruse, Helge
173	Libysk minister får ikke immunitet	30.03.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
174	Vestlig etterretning hjelper opprørere i Libya	31.03.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
175	Berlusconi kjøper feriehus for å hjelpe Lampedusa	31.03.2011	Hege Moe Eriksen
176	Flere byer tapt, venter på flystøtte	31.03.2011	Eva Stabell
177	Norsk journalist sett fri i Libya	31.03.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad, Jørur
178	Vil avhøre Musa Kusa om Lockerbie-bombingen	31.03.2011	Grete Ingebjørg Berge
179	390.000 har flyktet fra krigen i Libya	01.04.2011	David Vojslav Krekling

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180	USA med kald skulder til opprørerne	01.04.2011	N.N.
181	Gaddafi-representant har vært i London	01.04.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
182	Avviser forslag om våpenhvile	01.04.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
183	Norsk fotograf fengslet igjen	01.04.2011	Helge Carlsen
184	Opprørssoldater drept av NATO	02.04.2011	Bent Tandstad
185	500.000 underskrifter for Imam	02.04.2011	Bent Tandstad
186	Ber NATO om å fortsette angrepene	02.04.2011	N.N.
187	Er Tysklands alenegang farlig?	03.04.2011	Gro Holm
188	Opprørere får USA-oppløring	03.04.2011	Paal Wergeland
189	Libysk minister har reist til Hellas	03.04.2011	Emrah Senel
190	Frakter sårede libyere til Tyrkia	03.04.2011	N.N.
191	Tyrkisk skip evakuerer sårede fra Libya	04.04.2011	N.N.
192	Gaddafis sønner vil ha demokrati	04.04.2011	N.N.
193	Gaddafi må dra før forhandlinger	04.04.2011	Camilla Wernersen
194	Al-Qaida får våpen fra Libya	04.04.2011	N.N.
195	Libya vil forhandle med vesten	05.04.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
196	Hald hendene unna Afrika	05.04.2011	Bent Tandstad
197	Gaddafi planla å drepe sivile lenge før uroen startet i Libya	05.04.2011	Kristine Hirsti
198	Norsk lege med i libysk redningsoperasjon	05.04.2011	Kristine Hirsti
199	Libysk opposisjonsleder kritiserer NATO	05.04.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
200	Opprørerne starter oljeeksport	06.04.2011	Laila Ø. Bakken
201	Libya: Angelina Jolie kjøper flybilletter til flyktninger	06.04.2011	Su Thet Mon
202	Oljeproduksjon i Øst-Libya stanset etter angrep	06.04.2011	N.N.
203	JAS Gripen stanset av feil drivstoff	07.04.2011	N.N.
204	NATO feilbombet opprørere igjen	07.04.2011	N.N.
205	Du kan se hvem som jobber for Gaddafi på gullklokken	07.04.2011	Laila Ø. Bakken
206	Libya-samtaler: Vi jobber med detaljer i en fredsplan	07.04.2011	Øyvind Bye Skille
207	Clinton avviser appell fra Gaddafi	07.04.2011	N.N.
208	Vi visste ikke at dei hadde tanks	08.04.2011	Jørund Hessevik
209	Libya er det skarpeste oppdraget	08.04.2011	Andreas Budalen
210	Målar stridsvognene rosa i Libya	08.04.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
211	Håper på én, forbereder seg på to	09.04.2011	Laila Ø. Bakken
212	Gaddafi-styrker angriper Ajdabiyah	09.04.2011	N.N.
213	Opprørerne kan bli mål for norske jagerfly over Libya	09.04.2011	Olav Øvik, Øyvind Bye Skille
214	Nato stoppet jagerfly fra opprørerne	09.04.2011	Øyvind Bye Skille
215	To opprørshelikopter skotne ned	10.04.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
216	Gaddafi godtar fredsplan etter teltmøte med afrikanske presidenter	10.04.2011	N.N.
217	Libyas opprørere sier nei til våpenhvile	11.04.2011	N.N.
218	Fengslet fotograf ved godt mot	11.04.2011	N.N.
219	Over 250 døde i Libya	11.04.2011	Anders Brekke
220	Snakket om at Gaddafi skal forlate Libya er latterlig	12.04.2011	Øyvind Bye Skille
221	Kusa frykter libysk splittelse	12.04.2011	
222	Diktatorens usikre framtid	12.04.2011	Gro Holm
223	Gaddafis styrker har drept 10.000	12.04.2011	Øyvind Bye Skille
224	Tyskland utviser libyske diplomater	13.04.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
225	Ikke flere norske fly til Libya	13.04.2011	N.N.
226	Gaddafi å gå av og la folket bestemme	13.04.2011	Øyvind Bye Skille
227	1000 drept på seks uker i Misrata	18.04.2011	N.N.
228	Frykten sprer seg blant folk i Misrata	18.04.2011	Hans Erik Weiby
229	Tok Libya-avgjørelsen på mobilen	19.04.2011	N.N.
230	Hører Nato-fly mens byen ødelegges	19.04.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
231	DU har møtt libyske opprørere	19.04.2011	Kristine Hirsti
232	Norge bomber mest i Libya	20.04.2011	Paal Wergeland
233	To utenlandske fotografer drept i Misrata	20.04.2011	Hans Erik Weiby
234	Obama vil ikke gi bakkestyrker, men deler gjerne av varene de har liggende på lager	20.04.2011	Camilla Wernersen
235	Opprørere drev Gaddafi-styrker på flukt over grensa til Tunisia	21.04.2011	Gaute Zakariassen
236	Opprørere viser frem Misrata	21.04.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
237	USA går inn med droner i Libya	21.04.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
238	Trengte seg inn i Libyas ambassade i Stockholm	22.04.2011	Paal Wergeland
239	McCain mottatt med hyllest av opprørerne i Libya	22.04.2011	Øyvind Bye Skille

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240	Hæren i Libya har fått ordre om å forlate Misrata	23.04.2011	N.N.
241	Sykehusene fylles opp i Misrata	23.04.2011	Gaute Zakariassen
242	USA førerløse angrepsfly	23.04.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
243	Ingen bombestans i Misrata	24.04.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
244	Over 30 personer drept i Misrata	25.04.2011	N.N.
245	Norske F16 skal ha bombet Gaddafis hovedkvarter	26.04.2011	Su Thet Mon
246	Gaddafis styrker til nye angrep på Misrata	26.04.2011	N.N.
247	Putin kritiserer Libya-operasjonen	26.04.2011	N.N.
248	Diplomatisk offensiv fra Libya	26.04.2011	N.N.
249	Tidligere CIA-sjef roser Gaddafi og Assad	27.04.2011	N.N.
250	Gransker brudd på menneskerettighetene i Libya	27.04.2011	Anders Brekke
251	Gaddafi gir våpen til tenåringer	28.04.2011	Anders Brekke
252	NATO-fly feilbombet opprørere i Misrata	28.04.2011	N.N.
253	Norge tar imot flere flyktninger fra Nord-Afrika	28.04.2011	N.N.
254	Kamper på begge sider av grensa mellom tunisia og Libya	28.04.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
255	Gaddafi-soldater utstyres med Viagra	29.04.2011	N.N.
256	Gaddafi vil bruke sennepsgass	29.04.2011	Anders Brekke
257	Kraftige kamper mellom libyske og tunisiske styrker	29.04.2011	Hans Erik Weiby
258	Gaddafi kontrollerer misrata-havnen	29.04.2011	N.N.
259	SV-kritikk av Libya-bombing	30.04.2011	N.N.
260	Nekter å forhandle med Gaddafi	30.04.2011	David Vojislav Krekling
261	Både Nato og opprørerne avviser Gaddafis tilbud om fredssamtaler	30.04.2011	Øyvind Bye Skille
262	Gaddafis sønn drept i NATO-angrep	01.05.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
263	Held tett om norsk rolle i drapet på Gaddafi-son	01.05.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
264	FN trekker seg ut av Tripoli	01.05.2011	David Vojislav Krekling
265	Harde kamper om Misratas havn og flyplass	01.05.2011	Øyvind Bye Skille
266	Gaddafi hamrer løs på Misrata	02.05.2011	N.N.
267	Rop om hemn i Gaddafi-gravferd	02.05.2011	Bent Tandstad
268	Norske fly bombet Gaddafis hus	03.05.2011	Helge Carlsen
269	Gaddafis soldater har tatt på seg gassmaskene	04.05.2011	Anders Brekke
270	Misrata-flyktninger avvist av hjelpeskip	04.05.2011	Julie Haugen Egge
271	USA tar pengene til Gaddafi	05.05.2011	David Vojislav Krekling
272	Vil endre loven for å gi Gaddafis millioner til Libya	05.05.2011	Anders Brekke
273	PST bekrefter at Gaddafis sykepleier er i Norge	05.05.2011	N.N.
274	Norge tar imot 250 libyske flyktninger	06.05.2011	Hans Erik Weiby
275	Uakseptabelt å skyte mot sykehus	06.05.2011	Camilla Wernersen
276	SV vil ha bombe-flyene ut og meglerne inn i Libya	06.05.2011	N.N.
277	SV: Norge kan ha brutt folkeretten	07.05.2011	Kristian Aanesen
278	Høyre: DU må rydde opp etter Fiskaa	07.05.2011	N.N.
279	SV vil kalle hjem norske bombe-fly i juli	07.05.2011	N.N.
280	Norge trekker ut jagerflyene fra Libya	07.05.2011	Astrid Randen
281	Støre: Norges bidrag i Libya-krigen kan bli mindre	08.05.2011	Grete Ingebjørg Berge
282	Aner ingenting o verdenskrigene	08.05.2011	Camilla Wernersen
283	Gaddafi trapper opp i Misrata	08.05.2011	N.N.
284	Vil trappe ned Libya-aksjon	09.05.2011	N.N.
285	Frykter for beredskapen i nord	09.05.2011	N.N.
286	Faremo varsler mindre Libya-bidrag	09.05.2011	N.N.
287	Gaddafis hovedkvarter rammet av luftangrep	10.05.2011	Julie Haugen Egge
288	Norge sier aldri nei til Libya	10.05.2011	Grete Ingebjørg Berge
289	Norske fly deltok over Libya i natt	10.05.2011	Eva Stabell
290	Snart like farlig å flykte fra Libya som å bli igjen	11.05.2011	Eva Stabell
291	Gaddafi er ikke målet	11.05.2011	Kristin Granbo
292	Libysk tv sendte ideo av Gaddafi	12.05.2011	Helge Carlsen
293	Seks drept under angrep på Gaddafi-hovedkvarter	12.05.2011	Grete Ingebjørg Berge
294	Opprørerne åpner London-kontor	12.05.2011	Eva Stabell
295	Russland kritiserer NATO-bombing	13.05.2011	Julie Haugen Egge
296	Gaddafi er trolig såret	13.05.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
297	Opprørerne har overtaket i Libya	13.05.2011	Kristin Granbo
298	Haag vil pågripe Gaddafi	16.05.2011	Camilla Wernersen
299	Gaddafi kan bli mer desperat	16.05.2011	Kristine Hirsti

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300	Gaddafis kone og datter har flyktet til Tunisia	18.05.2011	Jørund Hessevik
301	NATO: Gaddafi vil falle	19.05.2011	David Vojislav Krekling
302	Libysk opprør og syrisk jerngrep	19.05.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
303	NATO-angrep mot havna i Tripoli	19.05.2011	Martin Herman Wiedswar
304	Fotograf drepen av Gaddafi-styrkar	20.05.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
305	Ingen lar seg presse av Obama	20.05.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
306	Her bomber NATO Ghaddafis krigsskip	21.05.2011	Sivert Moe Winther
307	Setter inn helikoptre i Libya	23.05.2011	Julie Haugen Egge
308	Kraftig flyangrep mot mål i Tripoli	24.05.2011	N.N.
309	Vil øke presset mot Gaddafi	25.05.2011	Oddvin Aune
310	19 drept i NATO-angrep	25.05.2011	N.N.
311	Lav presedekning om Libya-bombing	26.05.2011	Halldor Asvall
312	NATO er langt fra å knekke Gaddafi	26.05.2011	Hans Erik Weiby
313	Libyas EU-ambassadør går av	26.05.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
314	Danmark kaster ut Libyas konsul	27.05.2011	N.N.
315	Gaddafi-regimet stor Statoil-eier	27.05.2011	N.N.
316	Opprørere: Gaddafi kan være ute i løpet av uker	27.05.2011	Halldor Asvall
317	Pengedryss over nye demokratier	27.05.2011	Eva Stabell
318	Ren flaks at vi ikke ble truffet	27.05.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
319	Lukket norsk forsvar	27.05.2011	Peter Svaar
320	Libya avviser g8-initiativ	27.05.2011	N.N.
321	Stoltenberg reiser til Kreta	28.05.2011	Siri Gjørtz
322	Angrep mot Gaddafis hovedkvarter	28.05.2011	N.N.
323	Offentliggjør libyske bombemål	28.05.2011	Siri Gjørtz
324	Stoltenberg roste soldater på Kreta	28.05.2011	Siri Gjørtz
325	Zuma i Libya for Gaddafi-samtaler	30.05.2011	Martin Herman Wiedswar
326	Libya: 120 offiserer hoppet av	30.05.2011	Kristine Hirsti
327	Vestlige bakkesoldater i Libya	30.05.2011	Kristine Hirsti
328	Gaddafi viste seg offentlig igjen	30.05.2011	N.N.
329	Hevder 718 sivile er drept i Libya	31.05.2011	N.N.
330	Libya-operasjon til ut september	01.06.2011	Bent Tandstad
331	Libysk oljeminister skifter side	01.06.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
332	Eksplasjon ved hotell i Benghazi	01.06.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
333	FN: Krigsforbrytelser i Libya	01.06.2011	Kristine Hirsti
334	Overbevist om at det er riktig	03.06.2011	N.N.
335	Vil be Norge om Libya-soldater	03.06.2011	Halldor Asvall
336	Første helikopterangrep i Libya	04.06.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
337	Gaddafis feilslåtte PR-stunt	06.06.2011	Su Thet Mon
338	Eksplasjonar nær Gaddafi-bustad	07.06.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
339	Faremo: i bomber mindre enn før	07.06.2011	Kristine Hirsti
340	Vil likevel ikke mekle i Libya	07.06.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
341	Gaddafi: Vi vil knue fienden	07.06.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
342	Krisemøte i Nato om Libya	08.06.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
343	Sender spesialstyrkar til Libya	09.06.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
344	Gaddafi er eit legitimt NATO-mål	10.06.2011	Bent Tandstad
345	Norske fly blir værende til august	10.06.2011	Hans Erik Weiby
346	31 drept i nye angrep på Misrata	10.06.2011	Anders Brekke
347	Opprørere hevder å ha Gaddafi-plan	12.06.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
348	Harde kamper i flere libyske byer	12.06.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
349	Tyskland anerkjenner opprørsråd	13.06.2011	N.N.
350	Clinton ber Afrika presse Gaddafi	13.06.2011	Anders Brekke
351	Libya skyt raketter mot Tunisia	14.06.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
352	Gaddafis styrker ut av by i Libya	14.06.2011	N.N.
353	Gaddafi er klar til å forhandle	14.06.2011	N.N.
354	Gaddafi gjemmer våpen i UNESCO-ruiner	14.06.2011	Anders Brekke
355	Tolv drept i NATO-angrep i Libya	15.06.2011	N.N.
356	Solgte forsvarsmateriell til Libya	15.06.2011	Anders Brekke
357	USA: Libya-krig til fire milliarder	16.06.2011	N.N.
358	Bomber regjeringskvarter i Tripoli	16.06.2011	N.N.
359	Gaddafi bår med på observatør-valg	16.06.2011	Kristin Granbo

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360	Bygger raketter ut av Gaddafi-våpen	16.06.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
361	Gaddafi-kontakt med opprørere	17.06.2011	Kristin Granbo
362	Har omringet Gaddafis soldater	18.06.2011	Julie Haugen Egge
363	NATO-fly rammet opprørere	18.06.2011	N.N.
364	Bombet bolighus i Tripoli	19.06.2011	Julie Haugen Egge
365	Fire opprørere drept nær Misrata	19.06.2011	Helge Carlsen
366	Havet skal bli rødt av blod	19.06.2011	Julie Haugen Egge
367	Vil ikke kommentere om Tripoli-bombing	19.06.2011	N.N.
368	NATO innrømmer sivile tap i Tripoli	19.06.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
369	Barn drept i nytt NATO-angrep	20.06.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
370	SV vil ha svar om feilbombing	20.06.2011	Peter Svaar
371	Tok kontroll over oljeforsyning	20.06.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
372	Bak frontlingjen i Zintan	20.06.2011	Laila Ø. Bakken
373	Utfører 10 prosent av Libya-toktene	21.06.2011	Paal Wergeland
374	Forhandlinger må til Libya	21.06.2011	Eva Christine Hyge
375	Ber Norge anerkjenne opprørerne	22.06.2011	Laila Ø. Bakken
376	Fortsetter kampen mot korsfarere	23.06.2011	N.N.
377	Libya koster britene milliarder	23.06.2011	N.N.
378	Stolt av Libya-bombingen	23.06.2011	Ståle Yttrehus
379	Norge kan få storkontrakter i Libya	23.06.2011	Anders Børringbo, Peter :
380	Åpner for å la Gaddafi bli i Libya	24.06.2011	N.N.
381	Slik foregår bombetoktene i Libya	25.06.2011	Roger Sevrin Bruland
382	NATO avviser drap på sivile i Libya	25.06.2011	Bent Tandstad
383	Fotballspillere vraker Gaddafi	25.06.2011	Emrah Senel
384	Gaddafi lovar å halde seg unna	26.06.2011	Bent Tandstad
385	Arrestordre på Gaddafi	27.06.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
386	Norge velger seg Libya-flyktninger	28.06.2011	Tormod Strand
387	regimet bør arrestere Gaddafi	28.06.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
388	Drømmer om et nytt liv i Norge	30.06.2011	N.N.
389	Gaddafi truer europa med katastrofe	01.07.2011	N.N.
390	NATO trapper opp angrepene i Libya	02.07.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
391	Hadde flere Libya-møter i Oslo	03.07.2011	Kristian Aanesen
392	Gaddafi kan pensjonere seg	03.07.2011	N.N.
393	Møtte Christian, vil til Norge	03.07.2011	Kristian Aanesen
394	Norge dreper sivile i Libya	04.07.2011	Kristian Aanesen
395	elleve opprørere drept i Libya	05.07.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
396	Opprørerne nærmer seg Tripoli	06.07.2011	Helge Carlsen
397	Libyske opprørsledere møter NATO-rådet	06.07.2011	N.N.
398	Mint 14 opprørere drept i Libya	06.07.2011	N.N.
399	Opprørerne fortsetter offensiven	07.07.2011	N.N.
400	Vil sende martyrer til Europa	08.07.2011	Vilde Helljesen
401	Gaddafis sønn: Vi forhandler med Frankrike	11.07.2011	N.N.
402	Libyske innrømmer overgrep i Libya	13.07.2011	N.N.
403	Sjuåringar får våpentrening i Libya	13.07.2011	Anders Brekke
404	Frigjør Benghazi fra forræderne	14.07.2011	Camilla Wernersen
405	Bensinmangel trugar Gaddafi	15.07.2011	Jonas Sætre
406	USA og kontaktgruppen anerkjenner opprørerne i Libya	15.07.2011	Anders Brekke
407	Libya: regimeendring er målet	16.07.2011	Gro Holm
408	Gaddafi bruker kjemiske feller mot opprørere i Libya	16.07.2011	N.N.
409	Harde angrep på Tripoli i natt	17.07.2011	Bent Tandstad
410	USA har hatt møter med Gaddafi-utsendinger	19.07.2011	N.N.
411	1600 kvinner voldtatt i Libya	20.07.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
412	Steil Gaddafi nekter å forhandle	21.07.2011	Bent Tandstad
413	Den libyske opprørslederen er drept	28.07.2011	Jørund Hessevik
414	Libysk opprørsgenera drept av sine egne	29.07.2011	N.N.
415	Norske jagerfly hjem fra Libya	30.07.2011	N.N.
416	Fant 25 døde i båt mot Europa	01.08.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
417	Slår ned på militigrupper i Libya	01.08.2011	N.N.
418	25 døde flyktninger på Lampedusa	02.08.2011	N.N.
419	Gaddafi-soldater sår tilbake	02.08.2011	N.N.

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420	Norsk deltaking er eit steg tilbake	03.08.2011	Jonas Sætre
421	Velkommen hjem til endret Norge	03.08.2011	David Vojislav Krekling
422	Libya-veteran: Vi ble sjokkert	03.08.2011	David Vojislav Krekling
423	Vi tok liv i Libya. Det var tungt	04.08.2011	David Vojislav Krekling
424	Gaddafi slutter pakt med islamister	04.08.2011	N.N.
425	Nektar for at Gaddafi-son er drepen	05.08.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
426	Du er en hund, en rotte	11.08.2011	Su Thet Mon
427	Gaddafi ikke i stand til å innlede offensiv	11.08.2011	Amund Aune Nielsen
428	Vil isolere Gaddafi i Tripoli	13.08.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
429	Viktig seier for opprørerne i Libya	14.08.2011	N.N.
430	Gaddafi maner folket til kamp	15.08.2011	N.N.
431	gaddafi er isolert	15.08.2011	Emrah Senel
432	Gaddafi-styrker avfyrt scud-rakett	16.08.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
433	Risikerer solo-slag i Tripoli	16.08.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
434	Hævder Gaddafi forbereder flukt	19.08.2011	Vilde Helljesen
435	FN vil evakuere utlendinger fra Tripoli	19.08.2011	Martin Herman Wiedswar
436	Libyske opprørere erobret nye byer	19.08.2011	Julie Haugen Egge
437	Mot slutten for Gaddafi?	20.08.2011	Gro Holm
438	Opprørere har tatt kontroll over Brega	20.08.2011	Hans Erik Weiby
439	Snart slutt for Gaddafi?	20.08.2011	Julie Haugen Egge
440	Dette er det siste slaget mot Gaddafi	21.08.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
441	Kontrollerer store deler av Tripoli	21.08.2011	Kristian Aanesen
442	Håper Libya ikke ender som Irak	21.08.2011	Kristian Aanesen
443	Gaddafi tilbyr forhandlinger	21.08.2011	Julie Haugen Egge
444	Vesten ber Gaddafi overgi seg	22.08.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
445	Støre håper Libya kan gå videre nå	22.08.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
446	Gaddafi er fremdeles en trussel	22.08.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
447	Opprørerssoldatene hylles i utkantområdene utenfor Tripoli	22.08.2011	Su Thet Mon
448	Demokratiansiktet som snudde	22.08.2011	Laila Ø. Bakken
449	Disse overtar styringen i Libya	22.08.2011	Grete Ingebjerg Berge
450	Journalister "fanget" på hotell	22.08.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
451	Vestlige spesialstyrker i Libya	22.08.2011	Grete Ingebjerg Berge
452	Verdenssamfunnet vil hjelpe Libya	22.08.2011	N.N.
453	Opprørere har kontroll over statlig TV i Libya	22.08.2011	Emrah Senel
454	Uvisse om veien etter Gaddafi	22.08.2011	Jonas Sætre
455	Gaddafi som trussel er ikke over	22.08.2011	Julie Haugen Egge
456	Gaddafis sønn møtte opp i Tripoli	23.08.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
457	Nå må vi bygge landet på ny	23.08.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
458	Vil ha Lockerbie-bomben fengslet	23.08.2011	Grete Ingebjerg Berge
459	NATO: Siste kapittel for Gaddafi	23.08.2011	Grete Ingebjerg Berge
460	Ingen veit kvar Gaddafi er	23.08.2011	Jonas Sætre
461	Norge anerkjenner overgangsrådet	23.08.2011	N.N.
462	Hvender å ha tatt ovljebyen Ras Lanuf	23.08.2011	N.N.
463	Unge libyere rømmer landet	23.08.2011	Kristian Aanesen
464	Overgangsrådet har en tung jobb	23.08.2011	Martin Herman Wiedswar
465	Røsket til seg Gaddafis militærhatt	23.08.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
466	Onsdag: Følg situasjonen i Libya	24.08.2011	Paal Wergeland
467	Nicaragua tilbyr Gaddafi asyl	24.08.2011	N.N.
468	Jubler over Gaddafis fall	24.08.2011	Kristian Aanesen
469	Spørsmål og svar om Libya	24.08.2011	Laila Ø. Bakken
470	Journalister holdt fanget i Libya	24.08.2011	Kristian Elster
471	Slapp 600 bomber over Libya	24.08.2011	Susanne Lysvold
472	Vil gi midler til overgangsrådet	24.08.2011	Hans Erik Weiby
473	Prøvde Gaddafi å fly?	24.08.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
474	Vi vant over mannen med det rare håret	24.08.2011	N.N.
475	SV reagerer på Gaddafi-dusør	24.08.2011	Helge Carlsen
476	Harde kamper utenfor Tripoli	25.08.2011	Kristian Elster
477	Bortførte journalister frigitt	25.08.2011	N.N.
478	Den arabiske liga anerkjenner råd	25.08.2011	N.N.
479	Livredde for snikskyttere	25.08.2011	Kristian Aanesen

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480	Uventet suksess i Libya	25.08.2011	Gro Holm
481	Libya trenger penge nå	25.08.2011	N.N.
482	Vi har omkringet Gaddafi	25.08.2011	Bent Tandstad
483	Utlendinger reddet ut av Tripoli	25.08.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
484	NATO bomber gaddafis hjemby	25.08.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
485	Norge klar til å grigi Libya-penger	25.08.2011	N.N.
486	Høyr ein stridlynt Gaddafi i nytt lydopptak	25.08.2011	Gunne Evy Auestad
487	USA nektar for NATO-jakt på Gaddafi	25.08.2011	Jonas Sætre
488	Slik bodde familien Gaddafi	25.08.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
489	Opprørerne tok kontroll over nok et område i den libyske hovedtaden torsdag	25.08.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
490	Nesten helt tomme gater i Libya	26.08.2011	Kristian Aanesen
491	Kastet ut av Norge, kjemper i Libya	26.08.2011	Kristian Aanesen
492	Drept i Syria etter å ha hyllet utvilkilngen i Libya	26.08.2011	N.N.
493	Beskylder opprørerne for oergrep	26.08.2011	N.N.
494	Enten vinner vi eller så dør vi	26.08.2011	Kristian Aanesen
495	Her er hannah Gaddafis hemmelige kontor	26.08.2011	Kristian Aanesen
496	Libyske opprørere har kontroll over grensen til Tunisia	26.08.2011	N.N.
497	Spekulasjoner om Gaddafi kan ha reist til Algerie	27.08.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
498	Mangler mat, medisiner og strøm	27.08.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
499	Funn av forbrente lik i Tripoli tyder på omfattende massakre	27.08.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
500	Ørkenkongen fra Libya	28.08.2011	Tomm Kristiansen
501	NTC: Ingen samtaler hvis ikke Gaddafi overgir seg	28.08.2011	N.N.
502	50.000 fanger savnet i Libya	28.08.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
503	Sverger hevn på hvenen i Libya	28.08.2011	N.N.
504	Libyas overgangsrad vil ikke utlevere Lockerbie-bomberen	28.08.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
505	De helte kokende vann over hodet mitt	29.08.2011	N.N.
506	Et kvalmende lavmål av Gaddafi	29.08.2011	Oddin Aune
507	Gaddafis kone og barn i Algerie	29.08.2011	Eva Stabell
508	Tripoli feirer muslimsk høytid uten Gaddafi	29.08.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
509	Gaddafis barn - beundret og fryktet	29.08.2011	Eva Stabell
510	Hevder Libyas etterretningsjef er drept	29.08.2011	N.N.
511	Gaddafis barn slo ring om faren	30.08.2011	N.N.
512	Overgangsradet: 50.000 mennesker drept i Libya	30.08.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
513	Gaddafi-ofre kan få erstatning	31.08.2011	N.N.
514	Libya vil ikke ha FN-observatører	31.08.2011	Su Thet Mon
515	Gaddafi avviser ultimatum	31.08.2011	Kristian elster
516	Frykter hven mot millioner av svarte i Libya	31.08.2011	Kristian Elster
517	Paris-møte staker ut kursen i Libya	31.08.2011	N.N.
518	Drømmer om kontroll over sin egen skjebne	31.08.2011	Sigurd Falkenberg Mikkel
519	20.000 væpnede ungdommer venter på dere i Sirte	31.08.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
520	Mener de vet hvor Gaddafi er	01.09.2011	Kristian Aanesen
521	Myndighetene i Algerie lover å anerkjenne det libyke opprørsradet	01.09.2011	N.N.
522	EU opphever Libya-sanksjoner	01.09.2011	Kristian elster
523	Vil frigi to milliarder til Libya	01.09.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
524	Gaddafi: Vil aldri overgi meg	01.09.2011	Bent Tandstad
525	Libyske opprørarar får 85 mrd. Kr	01.09.2011	Bent Tandstad
526	Gaddafi: NATO vil okkupere Libya	01.09.2011	Bent Tandstad
527	Det er altfor mange Gaddafi-folk i Bani Walid	02.09.2011	Sigurd Falkenberg Mikkel
528	Ny president i Libya innen to år	02.09.2011	Camilla Wernersen
529	Gaddafi-son vil generobre Tripoli	02.09.2011	Bent Tandstad
530	Britisk og amerikansk etterretning samarbeidet med Gaddafi-regimet	03.09.2011	N.N.
531	Frykter Libya-penger vil gå til terroristar	03.09.2011	Kristian Aanesen
532	Libya gjenopptar oljeproduksjonen	03.09.2011	N.N.
533	Gir Gaddafi-støttespelarar ei veke	03.09.2011	Bent Tandstad
534	Libyske opprørere benekter Al Qaida-bånd	04.09.2011	N.N.
535	Gaddafi må stilles for retten i Libya	04.09.2011	N.N.
536	Overgangsradet vet hvor han er	04.09.2011	Emrah Senel
537	Mislukka samtalar om Bani Walid	04.09.2011	Bent Tandstad
538	Libysk opprørsleder krever unnskylldning fra USA	05.09.2011	N.N.
539	Frykter at 30.000 er savnet	05.09.2011	Oddin Aune

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540	Skal granske britisk Gaddafi-hjelp	05.09.2011	Vilde Helljesen
541	Libysk militærkolonne i Niger	06.09.2011	N.N.
542	Al Qaida har fått libyske våpen	06.09.2011	Kristian Elster
543	Avtale om Bani Walid i Libya	06.09.2011	N.N.
544	Gaddafi kan være på vei mot hovedstaden i Niger	06.09.2011	N.N.
545	Har omringa Gaddafi	07.09.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
546	Stjålne missiler kan true sivil luftfart	07.09.2011	Oddvin Aune
547	Slik har du nok ikke sett diktatoren før	08.09.2011	Camilla Wernersen
548	Gaddafi benekter å ha flyktet til Niger	08.09.2011	N.N.
549	Gaddafi solgte 20 prosent av Libyas gull	08.09.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
550	Dansk etterrettning samarbeidet med Gaddafi	08.09.2011	Kristian Elster
551	Interpol med arrestordre på Gaddafi	09.09.2011	Emrah Senel
552	Hevder Gaddafi-generaler flyktet til Burkina Faso	09.09.2011	N.N.
553	Nato bomber Bani-Walid	10.09.2011	Kathrine Hamerstad
554	gaddafis soldater klorer seg fast	11.09.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
555	Gaddafis sønn har ankommet Niger	11.09.2011	Helge Carlsen
556	Vil pågripe Saadi Gaddafi i Niger	12.09.2011	N.N.
557	Raketter slo ned like i nærheten av journalister	13.09.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
558	Libya: 12 drept i angrep på oljeanlegg	12.09.2011	Kathrine Hamerstad
559	Lovar moderat islamsk styre i Libya	13.09.2011	Bent Tandstad
560	Darfur-flyktninger er igjen fanget i sentrum av volden	13.09.2011	Linnea Helgesen
561	Hundrevis kommer hver dag for å ta bilder med oss	14.09.2011	Kristin Granbo
562	Sverige forlenger innsatsen i Libya	14.09.2011	N.N.
563	Al Qaida prøver å etablere seg i Libya	15.09.2011	N.N.
564	Cameron frigir over 5 milliarder Libya-midler	15.09.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
565	Harde kamper om Sirte	15.09.2011	Eva Stabell
566	Libyske opprørere møter hard motstand i Gaddafi-bastion	16.09.2011	Martin Herman Wiedswar
567	Retrett fra Bani Walid	16.09.2011	Eva Stabell
568	NTC-styrkene inn i Sirte i natt	17.09.2011	Paal Wergeland
569	Støre: Libya må selv ta ansvar	17.09.2011	Sjur Øverås Knudsen
570	Blair i hemmelige Gaddafi-møter	18.09.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
571	Libyske opprørere tar enda en by	20.09.2011	N.N.
572	NATO-angrepene i Libya	20.09.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
573	Obama i møte med Libya-leiarar	20.09.2011	Jonas Sætre
574	Irak: Europeiske spesialstyrker slåss i Libya	21.09.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
575	Utvidar Libya-operasjonen med 90 dagar	21.09.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
576	Raseriet regjerer på Lampedusa	21.09.2011	Bent Tandstad
577	Har funnet Gaddafis hemmelige sennepsgasslager	22.09.2011	Anders Brekke
578	Libyas eksstatsminister pågrepet	22.09.2011	N.N.
579	En bransje der man bruker de milighetene som finnes	24.09.2011	Martin Herman Wiedswar
580	NTC-soldater inn i gaddafis hjemby	24.09.2011	Gunn Evy Auestad
581	Overgangsrådet: Ny regjering i Libya neste uke	24.09.2011	N.N.
582	Massegrav i Tripoli	25.09.2011	Vilde Helljesen
583	Seierstegn på vei inn i Gaddafis hjemby	25.09.2011	Martin Herman Wiedswar
584	Flyktet fra Libya til nytt liv i Norge	26.09.2011	N.N.
585	Løslater Gaddafis statsminister	27.09.2011	N.N.
586	Saif al-Islam i nytt TV innslag	28.09.2011	N.N.
587	Trodde krigspill var ekte krigshandlinger	28.09.2011	Kristian Rostad
588	Libyas nye ledere kaller hjem Muammar al-Gaddafis tidligere statsminister	28.09.2011	N.N.
589	Interpol utsteder arrestordre på Gaddafis sønn	29.09.2011	Kristin Granbo
590	Gaddafi-talsmann tatt ved Sirte	29.09.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
591	Libyas fungerende statsminister vil ikke være med videre	29.09.2011	N.N.
592	Uklart om Gaddafi-talsmann er tatt	30.09.2011	N.N.
593	Innbyggere i kø for å forlate Sirte	02.10.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
594	Barn dør på operasjonsbordet	05.10.2011	Kathrine Hamerstad
595	To par sko og en massegrav	08.10.2011	Sigurd Falkenberg Mikkelsen
596	Et skritt nærmere kontroll over Gaddafis hjemby	08.10.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
597	Overgangstyrkene hevder Sirte snart vil falle	09.10.2011	N.N.
598	Utroilig bilde: Soldat tok med seg gitar i kampen om Sirte	11.10.2011	Paal Wergeland
599	Gaddafi-son pågripen i Sirte	12.10.2011	Bent Tandstad

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600	Nye kamper i Libyas hovedstad	14.10.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
601	Her river de Gaddafis hovedkvarter	16.10.2011	Anders Brekke
602	Overgangsrådets styrker har inntatt Bani Walid	16.10.2011	Anders Brekke
603	Sirte-beboere anklager opprørerne for plyndring	17.10.2011	N.N.
604	Har full kontroll over Bani Walid	17.10.2011	N.N.
605	Clinton på overraskende besøk i Libya	18.10.2011	Kristin Granbo
606	Denne skal knuse Sirtes forsvar	19.10.2011	Anders Brekke
607	Siste by skal være erobret i Libya	20.10.2011	Kristin Granbo
608	Gaddafis død markerer slutten	20.10.2011	Martin Herman Wiedswar
609	Svært viktig for Libya	20.10.2011	Laila Ø. Bakken
610	Han skulle blitt tatt levende	20.10.2011	Jørgen Pettersen
611	Sleper og trampar på Gaddafi-liket	20.10.2011	Gunn Evy Austad
612	Gaddafi-melding midt i intervjuet	20.10.2011	Bent Tandstad
613	Gaddafi viftet med forgyllt pistol	20.10.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
614	Støre: Eit historisk vendepunkt for Libya	20.10.2011	Bent Tandstad
615	Video viser Gaddafi i live	20.10.2011	Bent Tandstad
616	Libyere i Tunisia feirer også at Gaddafi er borte	20.10.2011	Laila Ø. Bakken
617	Glade mennesker fyller gatene	20.10.2011	Sigurd Falkenberg Mikkell
618	"Den gale hunden i Midtøsten" Muammar al-Gaddafi	21.10.2011	Laila Ø. Bakken
619	Gravferda for Gaddafi er utsett	21.10.2011	Jonas Sætre
620	Norske selskap i Libya	21.10.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
621	Vil granske drapet på Gaddafi	21.10.2011	Hans Erik Weiby
622	NATO er ferdige i Libya	21.10.2011	Hans Erik Weiby
623	Full forvirring om Gaddafis sønn	21.10.2011	Martin Herman Wiedswar
624	Frihetserklæring fra revolusjonens fødestad	21.10.2011	Kristin Granbo
625	Vanskeleg å vere Libya-optimist	21.10.2011	Sidsel Wold
626	NATO snart ferdig i Libya	21.10.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
627	Gaddafi førte ut 200 milliarder dollar fra Libya	22.10.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
628	Gaddafi vil aldri bli obdusert	22.10.2011	Gunn Evy Austad
629	Val i Libya innen åtte måneder	22.10.2011	Gunn Evy Austad
630	Jibril trekker seg som statsminister	22.10.2011	Gunn Evy Austad
631	Gaddafis gjenværende disipler	22.10.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
632	Gaddafis lik overleveres familien	22.10.2011	Kristin Granbo
633	Gaddafi døde av skot i hodet	23.10.2011	Gunn Evy Austad
634	Lik fyller gatene i Gaddafis fødeby	23.10.2011	N.N.
635	Hev hodet ditt høyt, du er en fri libyer	23.10.2011	Amund Aune Nilsen
636	Ikke alle Libyere vil feire Gaddafis død	23.10.2011	Sigurd Falkenberg Mikkell
637	Gaddafis rømte sønn vil fortsette kampen	23.10.2011	N.N.
638	Ny video av Gaddafis siste minutter	24.10.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
639	Krever at Libya gransker utenomrettslige henrettelser	24.10.2011	N.N.
640	I løpet av to uker vil Libya få en ny overgangsregjering	24.10.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
641	Fortsatt kører rundt Gaddafis lik	24.10.2011	Sigurd Falkenberg Mikkell
642	Gaddafi begravet tirsdag	24.10.2011	Øyvind Grosvold
643	Kø for å se den drepte Gaddafi i Misrata	25.10.2011	N.N.
644	Gaddafi begravet på hemmelig sted	25.10.2011	Eva Stabell
645	100 dret i eksplosjon i Gaddafis hjemby	25.10.2011	Anders Brekke
646	Hva skjedde med Gaddafis amasoner?	25.10.2011	Kristin Granbo
647	Hatet som kan splitte Libya	25.10.2011	Kristian Aanesen
648	Gaddafis død ikke noe å glede seg over	26.10.2011	N.N.
649	Libya ber NATO bli ut året Libya	26.10.2011	N.N.
650	På kirkegården Bani Hawal i Sirte ligger 45 lik i plastsekker	26.10.2011	Kristian Aanesen
651	Gaddafi-sønn vil overgi seg	26.10.2011	Martin Herman Wiedswar
652	Libya vil trafte Gaddafis drapsmenn	27.10.2011	Kirsti Haga Honningsøy
653	Saif al-Islam til Niger i går	27.10.2011	Bent Tandstad
654	Frykter mafia-tilstander i Tripoli	28.10.2011	Sigurd Fakkellberg Mikkell
655	ICC stadfester kontakt med Saif	28.10.2011	Bent Tandstad
656	Hjem til et Gaddafi-fritt Libya	30.10.2011	Tormod Strand
657	Har funne kjemiske våpen i Libya	31.10.2011	Gunn Evy Austad
658	NATO trekkjer seg ut av Libya	31.10.2011	Gunn Evy Austad
659	Ny leder for Libyas overgangsregjering	31.10.2011	Helge Carlsen

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660 DU godkjente eksport av norsk dataprogram til Gaddafis elitestyrker	01.11.2011	Gunn Evy Austad
661 Føler eg lurt av NATO	01.11.2011	Kristian Aanesen
662 Det er mye vi trenger å lære	05.11.2011	Sigurd Fakkkelberg Mikkell
663 Ser lyst på Libyas oljeframtid	11.11.2011	Jenny Kanestrøm Trøite
664 Gaddafis sønn arrestert sør i Libya	19.11.2011	Margrethe Miljeteig
665 Tok til gatene i glede i Tripoli	19.11.2011	Bent Tandstad
666 Gaddafi-sønn sier han har det bra	19.11.2011	Helge Carlsen
667 Saif var på flukt gjennom ørkenen	20.11.2011	NTB-Reuters
668 USA etterforsker funn av kjemiske våpen i Libya	21.11.2011	N.N.
669 Fanget Gaddafis sønn - blir forsvarsminister	22.11.2011	Kristian Elster
670 Rekordbruk av landminer	23.11.2011	N.N.
671 FN: 7000 i libyske militsfengsler	23.11.2011	N.N.
672 Aisha Gaddafi manar til libysk opprør	29.11.2011	Bent Tandstad
673 Saadi Gaddafi skulle smugles in i Mexico	07.12.2011	N.N.
674 Død revolusjonshelt får pris	14.12.2011	Laila Ø. Bakken
675 Gaddafi-drap kan være en krigsforbrytelse	16.12.2011	N.N.
676 NATO: Det virker som sivile kan ha blitt drept i Libya	20.12.2011	Gro Holm
677 Nesten utenkelig at en slik operasjon skjer uten sivile tap	20.12.2011	Martin Herman Wiedswar
678 Libya feiret uavhengighetsdag for første gang på 40 år	24.12.2011	Martin Herman Wiedswar
679 Amnesty frykter forverring i Midtøsten	10.01.2012	Kristine Hirsti
680 Angrep overgangsrådets kontor	21.01.2012	N.N.
681 Abdul Hafiz Ghoga går av	22.01.2012	Kirsti Haga Honningøy
682 ICC nekter for å ha godkjent at Saif al-Islam blir stilt for libysk domstol	23.01.2012	Helge Carlsen
683 Gaddafi-styrker inntok Bani Walid	23.01.2012	Amund Aune Nielsen
684 Fanger holdes på ukjent sted	26.01.2012	Laila Ø. Bakken
685 Dyp splittelse preger "nye" Libya	26.01.2012	N.N.
686 Leger uten grenser trekker seg etter fangetortur i Misrata	26.01.2012	Øyvind Grosvold
687 Første rettsak mot Gaddafi-tilhengere i Libya	05.02.2012	N.N.
688 Militigrupper torturerer libyere til døde	16.02.2012	Camilla Wernersen
689 Uro i Libya ett år etter starten på oppstanden	17.02.2012	Bent Tandstad

Appendix 2. Coding instructions for Study 1

The following study attempts to examine which words are used to refer to and describe main agents of news stories of a particular news subject. In other words, the study attempts to identify the labels used for the people and institutions that appear in the news stories. The means by which this is done is by listing all reference terms and classify them according to which person, group or institution they refer to. Analyse and carefully read through each article separately. Use a three column-wide worksheet for the coding. The data collection is performed in three phases.

Phase 1

In the first column, list the agents to which the reference terms refer to. These include key persons, institution, political entities and major events. Use the same phrases that are used in the article. You will revise these labels in phase two when coding is otherwise completed.

In the second column register, ad verbatim, all descriptive nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs that are used as labels, or referent terms, for the agent. In the third column, list all additional descriptive terms used for the agent. These may include evaluative adjectives, adverbs, verbal clauses etc. Although the information in this third column will not be directly tested further, it will give indications of other types of connotative bias in the news prose.

Phase 2

In the second phase, group labels into mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories. That a category is mutually exclusive means that no unit falls between two data points and each unit is represented by only one data point. That a category is exhaustive means that all recording units are included in a category. Even though different names are used for the category unit, it should represent the same agent. For example: The government of Norway could be referred to as “regjeringen”, “norske myndigheter”, “de rødgrønne” and so on. These can all be grouped in a category under the name “Norwegian authorities”. As a label for the main group, use the name or description that most often occurs in the analysed news articles.

Phase 3

After having established the categories, list the different words used to describe them in the news articles and count how many times each descriptive word is used in the text. Finally, list these descriptive words for each category according to their prominence (how many times they occur). Perform the same procedure for the additional descriptive information collected in column 3.

Appendix 3. Key agents, labels and descriptive terms identified through content analysis

Key agent 1. Gaddafi

With the exception of the word “Libya”, “Gaddafi” was the most frequently mentioned content word in the news corpus, and by far the most frequently mentioned agent. His name, or one of the terms used to identify him (including “diktatoren” og “den libyske lederen”) appeared 6466 times in the corpus, which amounts to 9,38 times on average in each article.

However, estimating the frequency of mention of “Gaddafi” as referent (the main agent “Gaddafi”) was somewhat complicated. The main reason for this was that the conflict was highly personified in the NRK news story corpus. The government of Libya was frequently referred to as “regimet til Muammar Gaddafi” or “Gaddafi-regimet”, “Muammar al-Gaddafis regime”; the army was frequently referred to as “Gaddafi-styrker / styrkene”, “Gaddafi soldatene” and “Gaddafis soldater” and civilians who opposed the rebels or the Nato-lead war coalition were usually described in terms of their loyalty to Gaddafi. Thus, the term “Gaddafi” both referred to the person, and these connoted agents.

In keeping in terms with the two main requirements for category creation, mutual exclusiveness and exhaustiveness, the word Gaddafi was only counted in the category “Gaddafi” when it directly referred to the person Gaddafi. The personification of the conflict was analyzed separately. Analysis revealed that in 1836 instances (Libyas armed forces (952), Government of Libya (408), his son Saif (361), other family members (63), civilians opposed to the rebels (36), international supporters (10), and anti-Gaddafi fighters (6)), the word Gaddafi was used as a part of word clauses that referred to other agents than the person Gaddafi. Thus, the word Gaddafi referred to the person, Gaddafi **4630** times, accompanied by “Muammar” 1234 times. When counted along with its metonyms, including “lederen” and “diktatoren”, the agent Gaddafi was mentioned **5231** times in total, or **7,59** times pr. article.

Metonyms:

Leder: The word “leder” (leader) appeared alone or as part of a compound word 861 times in total. Concordance analysis, using the computer program TextStat, revealed that the word “leder” was used to refer to Gaddafi **297** times. In 557 occasions the word referred to other agents or had another unrelated meaning, for example as a verb. Specifically, the word “leder” was used to denote Gaddafi through the following words and phrases:

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“Libyas leder” (123), “den libyske lederen” (46), “landets leder” (10), “Libya-leder” (9), “statsleder” (8), “Libyas tidligere leder” (6), “omstridte leder” (4), “Libyas avsatte leder” (4), “Libyas leder gjennom 42 år” (4), “revolusjonens leder” (in quotation marks) (3), “Libyas eks-leder”(3), “Libyas eks-leder” (3), “landets tidligere leder” (3), ”den styrtede lederen” (3), “en leder av brødre” (ironic) (2), “leder av revolusjonen” (2), “en av verdens mest grådige og bisarre ledere” (2), “den tidligere libyske lederen” (2), “Libyas styrtede leder” (2), “lederen Muammar al-Gaddafi” (2), “lederens barn” (2), “Libya og leder Muammar al-Gaddafi” (2), “Libya-lederen” (2), “Vår leder” (2), ”Gaddafi ikke har legitimitet som leder av Libya” (2), ”landets leder er sprøyte gal” (2), ”Libya og leder Muammar” (2), ”president” (2) [note: Gaddafi was not the president of Libya, nor had any official position], ”nåværende leder i den arabiske verden” (1), ”liker å fremstille seg som Libyas åndelige veileder” (1), ”en autoritær leder” (1), ”lederen” (4), ”leder i Libya” (1), ”leder Gaddafi selv” (1), ”den libyske statslederen som enda tviholder på makta” (1), ”den eksentriske statslederen” (1), ”den hardt pressede lederen” (1), ”ingen elsket leder” (1), ”mistet sin legitimitet som leder” (1), ”lederen deres” (1), ”Vår bror lederen” (1), “den eksentriske libyske lederen” (1), ”når lederen drar på tur” (1), “den mangeårige libyske lederen” (1), ”Lederen var også i huset” (1), “Gaddafi som leder” (1), “revolusjonære leder” (1), “Libyas mangeårige leder” (1), “omstridte leder[ne]” (1), “lederen av dette landet” (1), “Libyas hardt pressede leder” (1), “Libya-lederens” (1), “den tidligere så fryktede lederen” (1), “lederens innerste krets” (1), “Gaddafis dager som leder” (1), “Libya-lederens” (1), “Libyas enerådende leder gjennom 40 år” (1), “den nye lederens” (1), “Gaddafis ledertid” (1), “Libyas leder i 42 år” (1), “omstridte statsleder” (1), “den eksentriske statslederen” (1), “den flyktede libyske lederen” (1), “den døde undertrykte lederen” (1), ”den døde lederen” (1), ”den avsatte lederen” (1), ””lederen”” (in quotation marks) (1). In total, **297 mentions**.

Descriptive terms: The descriptive terms added to ”lederen” when that word referred to Gaddafi were: "Libyas" (123), "den libyske" (46), "landets" (10), "tidligere" (11), "omstridte" (5), "avsatte" (4), "gjennom 42 år" (4), "revolusjonens" (3), "styrtede" (5), "en leder av brødre" (in quotation marks) (3), "revolusjonens" (2), "en av verdens mest grådige og bisarre" (2), "vår" (2), "har ikke legitimitet" (2), "sprøyte gal" (2), "autoritær" (1), "den eksentriske" (3), "den hardt pressede" (1), "ingen elsket leder" (1), "mistet sin legitimitet", "deres" (1), "vår bror" (1), "mangeårige" (2), "revolusjonære" (1), "tidligere så fryktede" (1), "enerådende" (1), "den flyktede" (1), "den døde undertrykte" (1), "den døde" (1), "den avsatte" (1), "lederen" (in quotation marks) (1).

Diktator:

The word "diktator" was the second most common word used to denote Muammar al-Gaddafi. The word, in any of its form ("diktatoren", "dictator", "diktatorens", "eks-diktatoren", "eksdiktatoren", "eksdiktator", "Diktatoren" etc.) appeared 207 times in the corpus. In only three instances the word referred to another person than Muammar Gaddafi, in which it referred to Saddam Hussein of Iraq and Gaafar Nimeiry of Sudan. The word and word forms that included the term "diktator were: "diktatoren" (117), "diktator" (32 of 34), "diktatorens" (22), "eks-diktatoren" (22), "eksdiktatoren" (12), "eksdiktator" (5), "Diktatoren" (3), "diktatorsønnen" (2), "eks-diktator" (2), "eks-diktatorens" (2), "Eksdiktatoren" (2), "eksdiktatoren" (2), "diktator-bestefaren" (1), "Diktatorens" (1), "diktatorisk" (1), "diktatoriske" (1), "Diktatorobersten" (1), "diktators" (1), "diktatorsonen" (1), "Eks-diktatoren" (1), "Eks-diktatorens" (1), "Eksdiktatorens" (1), "Libya-diktatorens" (1), "en av verdens mest utskjelte diktatorer" (1). Total, **204**.

Descriptive term: The descriptive term added to the term "diktatoren" were: "den libyske" (14), "Den styrtede" (12), "den forhatte" (11), "den tidligere" (8), "den falne" (3), "den avdøde" (2), "den avsatte" (2), "den avlidne" (2), "den eksentriske" (1), "den omstridte" (1), "den hata" (1), "den døde" (1), "den drepne" (1) and "den styrtede" (1).

Oberst:

The term oberst appeared, in any form, 64 times in the corpus. The term was used to denote Gaddafi 49 times in the following forms: "oberst" (29 [of 40 appearances of the word in the corpus]), "Oberst" (9 [of 13 appearances of the word in the corpus]), "obersten" (10) and "Obersten" (1). Total **49**.

The descriptive terms added to the term "oberst", in any form, were: "den utskjelte" (1), "den 27 år gamle" (2), "som tok makten ved et militærkupp" (1) and "den libyske" (1).

Other: Other nouns and noun phrases associated with Gaddafi were: "Leiaren" (14 of 23), "despoten" (8), "hersker" (7), "Libyas sterke mann" (6), "enehersker" (4), "statsleder" (3), "sjef" (3), "Tyrann" (3), "eneherskeren" (1) and "einherskar" (1). Total **64**.

Descriptive terms

Collectively, the descriptive terms added to the referent terms were:

"Libyas" (123), "den libyske" (61), "tidligere" (19), "styrtede" (18), "den forhatte" (14), "landets" (10), "avsatte" (9), "omstridte" (7), "hersker" (7), "sjef" [tidligere sjef (3), "min sjef"

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(2), hennes sjef] (6). ”mannen med det rare håret” (4), ”gjennom 42 år” (4), ”revolusjonens” (3), ”en leder av brødre” (in quotation marks) (3), ”den gale hunden” (3), ”Libyas slakter” (3), ”den fryktede” (3), ”den falne” (3), ”Krølltopp” (3), ”en av verdens mest grådige og bisarre” (2), ”sprøyte gal” (2), ”den avdøde” (2), ”den avlidne” (2), ”som tok makten ved et militærkupp” (1), ”autoritær” (1), ”den eksentriske” (3), ”gris” (2), ”våpnenes mann”(1), ”den felles fienden” (2), ”den utskjelte” (2), ”den 27 år gamle” (2), ”mannen med det krøllete håret” (1) ”den hardt pressede” (1), ”ingen elsket leder” (1), ”vår bror” (1), ”mangeårige” (2), ”revolusjonære” (1), ”tidligere så fryktede” (1), ”enerådende” (1), ”den flyktede” (1), ”den døde undertrykte” (1), ”den døde” (1), ”den avsatte” (3), ”lederen” (in quotation marks) (1), ”den omstridte” (1), ”den hata” (1), and ”den drepne”.

Total mentions of Key Agent “Gaddafi”: **5231**.

Mentions pr. news-article: **7,59**.

Saif al-Islam Gaddafi

Gaddafis’ familymembers were frequently mentioned in the news corpus. Collectively these were referred to as “Gaddafi-familien” (23), “Gaddafi og hans familie” (12), “nærmeste familie” (8), “Gaddafi og familien” (5), ”den herskende familien” (4), ”Gaddafi og familien” (4), ”Gaddafi familien” (4) or ”Gaddafi klanen” (3). In total, the family was mentioned collectively **63** times.

The term ”Gaddafis sønn” appeared 191 times in total, sønnene (49), datter (32) and “Gaddafi sønnen” (30). The term “Gaddafis kone” appeared 11 times. Other family members that were mentioned were his children “Saif al-Islam” (361), “Saadi” (99), “Khamis” (88), “Aisha” (52), “Mutassim” (49), “Hannibal” (41), and “Sief al-Arab” (39). It may be mentioned that at least three of Gaddafis children were described as being killed.

Of individual family members, Gaddafis son, Saif al-Islam was mentioned, or **361** times in the corpus. He was therefore the only family member to be mentioned more than 0,5 times per article. The words and word phrases used to describe Saif al-Islam were:

”Gaddafis sønn” (35), ”hans sønn” (15), ”sønnen” (11), ”broren” (6), ”en av Muammar Gaddafis sønner” (4), ”bror” (3). ”diktatorsønnen” (2), ”engelsktalende” (2) and ”39 år gamle” (2).

However, because he was only referred to with his own name, and no other labels were used for him, no further analysis could be conducted on him as a Key agent.

Key agent 2: The Libyan government

The Libyan government was mentioned by one of its referent terms **1249** times in the corpus, or 1,81 times pr. article. As noted earlier, the government was often directly linked to Gaddafi, through descriptive terms such as “Gaddafi regjeringen”, “Gaddafi regimet” and “Gaddafis regime”. Eight words were used, either alone or in compound terms, to denote the government of Libya prior to its fall in august 2011. These were “regime”, “regjering”, “myndigheter”, “stat”, “Jamahiriyah”, “diktatur”, “styresmakter” og ”Tyranni”.

Labels

Regime: The word regime* appeared, either alone or in compound terms, 772 times in the news corpus. In 674 occasions, regime referred to the old government of Libya, in other instances it referred to the government of other nations (Syria, Egypt, Tunisia and Jordan), or as a part of the word "regiment", which is a military term. The word was only once associated with the government established by the rebels after 20th august 2011.

Word forms of the word “regime”:

Regimet: The term “regimet” (with the definite article), which appeared 227 times in total in the corpus, referred to the government of Libya, prior to its fall in august 2011, in all but 38 occasions. The descriptive terms in these instances included: "det nye" (9), "det syriske" (3), "regimet i Syria"(2), "al-Assad-regimet" (1), "regimet til president Hosni" (1), "regimet til Niger" (1), "regimet til Storbritannia" (1) and "regimet i Damaskus" (1). Thus, the word “regimet” applied to the Libyan government **189** times.

The descriptive terms added to the term “regimet” were:

"regimet til Muammar al-Gaddafi" (29), "det Libyske" (17), "regimet i Tripoli" (10), "det gamle" (7), "det tidligere" (3), "det avsatte Libyske" (2), "det styrtede" (2), "fremgangen mot" (2), "det fryktede" (1), "det 42 år lange, brutale" (1), "det forhatte" (1), "det styrende" (1), "det vaklande" (1), "det totalitære" (1) and "det voldelige" (1).

Gaddafi-regimet: The term Gaddafi-regimet appeared in the following forms: “Gaddafi-regimet” (146), “Gaddafi-regimets” (28), “Gadaffi-regimet” (2), and “Gadaffi-regimets” (2). In total **178** mentions. No descriptive terms were added to the referent terms related to “Gaddafi-regimet”.

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Regime: The term “regime” (without the definite article), appeared 194 times in the corpus. The word referred to the old Libyan government in 173 of these instances. Of these, it was directly associated with Gaddafi in 165 instances.

The descriptive terms juxtapositioned to the word “regime” were:

Gaddafi: "Gaddafis regime" (139), "sitt [Gaddafis] regime" (17), "hans [Gaddafis] regime" (4), "farens regime" (4), "sitt eget [Gaddafis] regime" (1). Total, **165**.

Other: "Libyas regime" (2), "brutalt regime" (1), "landets regime" (1), "vakkende regime" (1), "42 årige regime" (1), "det libyske regime" (1), "libyere som feirer slutten på et regime" (1). Total, **8**.

Compound terms: The government of Libya was referred to as “regime” in the following compound terms:

“regimekritiske” (17), “regimeskifte” (7), “regimeløjale” (6), “regimekritikarne” (5), “regimevennlige” (5), ”regimemotstanderne” (4), ”Regimets” (4), ”Regimekritikarne” (3), ”regimesoldater” (3), ”regimetilhengere” (3), ”Gaddafis terrorregime” (3), ”Regimeendring” (2), ”regimemotstandare” (2), ”regimemotstanderne” (2), ”regimemotstandarnes” (2), ”regimestyrker” (2), ”regimetro” (2), ”antiregimeprotester” (1), ”regima” (1), ”regimedemonstrantane” (1), ”regimefrontfigurer” (1), ”regimekontrollerte” (1), ”regimekritikarar” (1), ”regimekritikere” (1), ”regimekritikernes” (1), ”regimemotstandarar” (1), ”regimemål” (1), ”regimeomvisning” (1), ”regimeskiftet” (1), ”regimestyrkane” (1), ”regimetalsmann” (1), ”regimetopper” (1), ”Regimetro” (1), ”Terrorregime” (1). Total, **89** mentions.

In totalt, the word ”regime” in one or other form was used to denote the old Libyan government **629 times**.

Regjering:

The word "regjering" appeared 807 times in the corpus, either alone or in compound terms. Concordance analysis revealed that the word was associated with the old Libyan government in 410 occasions. In other instances it referred to the government of other nations, or the interim government of the rebels in Libya.

Compound terms: The most common usage for the term “regjering” when applied to the Libyan government was through compound terms such as “regjeringsstyrker” (64), “regjeringsstyrkene” (54), “regjeringssoldater” (31), “regjeringshæren” (22),

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"regjeringsstalsmann (22), "regjeringsstyrkane" (19), "Regjeringsstyrkene" (14),
 "regjeringssoldatene" (7), "regjeringskilder" (6), "regjeringssoldatar (6), "regjeringsstyrkar"
 (6), "Regjeringsstyrker" (6), "regjeringskvartalet" (5), "regjeringsstyrkenes" (5),
 "regjeringsstalsmannen" (5), "Regjeringssoldatene" (3), "Gaddafi-regjeringens" (2),
 "regjeringsapparatet" (2), "regjeringsbygninger" (2), "regjeringshær" (2), "Regjeringshæren"
 (2), "regjeringskvartal" (2), "regjeringsmakten" (2), "regjeringsmål" (2), "regjerings sjef" (2),
 "regjeringsstyrkane" (2), "Gaddafi-regjeringa", "Gaddafi-regjeringen" (1), "Regjeringa" (1),
 "regjeringsstyrkene" (1), "regjeringsbygget" (1), "Regjeringsbygningene" (1),
 "regjeringsfiendtlige" (1), "regjeringsguidet" (1), "regjeringshuset" (1), "regjeringshæren"
 (1), "regjeringsinstallasjoner" (1), "regjeringskilde" (1), "regjeringskildene" (1),
 "regjeringskontorene" (1), "regjeringskontrollerte" (1), "regjeringsmedlemmet" (1),
 "regjeringsmyndigheten" (1), "regjeringsorgan" (1), "regjeringssoldatane" (1),
 "regjerings soldatane" (1), "regjerings soldatanes" (1), "regjeringsstyrke" (1),
 "Regjeringsstyrkers" (1), "regjeringsstro" (1), "regjeringsstru" (1), "regjeringsvennlige" (1). In
 total **321**. As is apparent, these compound terms apply to other agents, mostly the Libyan
 defence force.

Regjering: The terms for "regjering", alonestanding and without the definite article, was
 connoted to the old Libyan government **41** times of the 111 times the word appeared in the
 corpus. In other occasions, the word referred to the interim government of the rebels, or to the
 government of other countries (Norway, United States, Germany and Great Britain).

When the word referred to the (old) government of Libya, the descriptive terms added were:
 "Gaddafis" (30), "Libyas" (6), "avsatte" (2), "hans [Gaddafis] egen" (2) and "den libyske"
 (1).

Regjeringen:

The word "regjeringen", with the definite article, referred to the (old) Libyan government **48**
 times of the 134 times the word appeared in the corpus. In other instances the word referred to
 the "interim-"government of the rebels, the new government of Libya, or the governments of
 other countries (Norway, United States, Germany, Britain, Russia and Turkey).

When the word applied to the (old) Libyan government, the descriptive terms directly
 adjacent to it were: "Libyske" (25) and "i Libya" (3).

In total, the word "regjering", including when the term was a part of compound terms,
 referred to the Libyan government **410** times.

Libya

It was common practice to use a country's name as a metonymy for its government. This was especially apparent in the cases of Norway, the United States and other “coalitions” countries. This practice was less common for the Libyan government. However, of 4073 appearances of the word “Libya”, it was found that in **166** occasions, the word was used as a metonym for the Libyan government in general. This occurred in examples such as “sanksjoner mot Libya” (sanctions against Libya) and “advarer Libya om at...” (warns Libya that..), when the term was not accompanied by words such as “regimet i” or “myndighetene i” [Libya].

Myndigheter:

The term “myndigheter” appeared 180 times in the corpus, and the term “myndigheters” appeared 4 times. A KWIC analysis revealed that the term “myndigheter” was used to denote the government of the rebels in 17 occasions. Other uses of the term included ”norske” (18), amerikanske (10), europeiske (6), britiske (6), Norge (5) Amerikanske (4), tunisiske (3), skotske (3), russiske (3), NATOs (3), NATO (3), algeriske (3), and Tunisiske (2). The term referred to the former government of Libya **94** times and to other agents 86 times.

Descriptive terms: The descriptive terms used with the term “myndigheter” when it applied to the old Libyan government were: “libyske” (82), “i Libya” (3) and “offisielle” (2).

Descriptive terms: No descriptive terms found.

Diktatur: The word “diktatur” exclusively referred to the old government of Libya in the news corpus; that is, in all appearances, the word referred to the (old) government of Libya. The word forms were “diktatur” (19), “diktaturet” (4); in total **23 mentions**.

Descriptive terms to the term ”diktatur” were: ”Gaddafis” (4), “42 år langt” (2), ”med vold og tortur” (2), ”det 40 år lange” (1).

Folk: Of the 324 appearances of the word “folk”, the word was used as a reference to the Libyan government **23** times. In all occasions, the term was also connoted to the term “Gaddafi”. This was typified through word-phrases such as “Gaddafi regimets folk” and “Gaddafi-folk”.

Jamahiriyah: The word Jamahiriyah is Libyan-arabic for the term “state of the masses” and is a term used by spokespersons of the government itself. It appeared **20 times** in the news corpus: “Jamahirya” (7), “Al-Jamahiriyah” (6), “Jamahiriyah” (4) and “jamahiriyah” (3).

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descriptive terms: "arabiske folkedemokratiske republikk Libya" (6), "styreform kalt" (3), "den store" (2), "det sosialistiske folks" (2).

Stat: The word "stat" appeared 36 times in the corpus, via the word forms "stat" (20), "staten" (7), "stats" (5) and "statens" (4). In **14** of these, the word referred to the government of Libya, prior to its overthrow.

Tyranni

The word "tyranni" applied to the Libyan government in all appearances. "Tyranni" (5).

In total, the government of Libya was mentioned **1415** times in the corpus, or 2,05 times pr. news article.

People that were mentioned as part of the government of Libya, other than Gaddafi were: Musa Kusa (71), [Libyas utenriksminister (52)], Khaled Kaim (36), [Viseutenriksminister], and Moussa Ibrahim (71), who was also referred to as Mussa Ibrahim (48), sjef (7).

The most frequent descriptive terms for the government were:

Gaddafis: "Gaddafi-regimet" (178), "Gaddafis" (173), "til Muammar al-Gaddafi" (29), "sitt [Gaddafis]" (17), "hans [Gaddafis]" (4), "hans [Gaddafis] egen" (2), "farens" (4), "sitt eget [Gaddafis]" (1). Total **408**.

Libyas: "libyske" (90), "det Libyske" (17), "det libyske" (1), "den libyske" (1), "Libyas" (2), "Libyas" (6), "i Libya" (3). Total, **120**.

Other: "i Tripoli" (10), "det gamle" (7), "arabiske folkedemokratiske republikk Libya" (6), "Terror-" (4), "den store" (2), "det sosialistiske folks" (2), "det tidligere" (3), "det avsatte Libyske" (2), "det styrte" (2), "avsatte" (2), "offisielle" (2), "med vold og tortur" (2), "det fryktede" (1), "brutale" (1), "brutalt" (1), "det forhatte" (1), "det styrende" (1), "det vaklande" (1), "vaklende" (1), "det totalitære" (1), "det voldelige" (1), "landets" (1), "42 årige" (1), "42 år langt" (2), "det 42 år lange" (1), "det 40 år lange" (1). Total, **59**.

Personification: Of 587 descriptive terms used for the government, 408 or 70% of the terms were direct connotations to Gaddafi. The government of Libya was therefore extremely personified to Gaddafi. The conflict in general was framed as a fight against Gaddafi personally.

Key agent 3: Government military

The Libyan military was mentioned 1498 times in the corpus, or 2,17 times pr. article. The military of the Libyan state were most frequently referred to as “styrker” [forces] or related terms (“styrkene”, “styrkers” etc.) (699), “soldater” [soldiers] (525) and “hæren” [the military] (105). As with the government of Libya, the defence forces were highly personificized with Gaddafi via the usage of the term “Gaddafi” as a descriptive term (“Gaddafi” (574), “Gaddafi-“ (36), “Gaddafi tro” (15), “al-Gaddafis” (3), “pro-Gaddafi” (1)). This occurred 629 times in the corpus, which is almost once pr. article. The word “lojale” [loyal] was also frequently associated with the defence force (284 times). In these instances, the inference was that these soldiers were “loyal” to Gaddafi. The third most frequently used descriptive term was “regjerings” (“regjerings” (64), “regjerings-“ (54), “Regjerings” (15) and “regjering” (2)), which amounted for 168 times. This was followed by “regime” (35). Other terms were used as descriptive terms 3 times or less. Noteably, the word “forsvaret” which appeared 606 times in the corpus only applied to the Libyan defence force 19 times in total in the corpus, or in 3% of the words appearances.

Three similar entities to the Libyan defence force were frequently mentioned in the news corpus. These were “leiesoldater”, which appeared in early news articles and referred to alleged mercenaries hired by the Libyan government, “snikskyttere” which were apparently civilians who fired against rebel soldiers, “elitestyrkene”, which were the Libyan special forces, and “politiet” or the police.

Styrker:

The word ”styrker” appeared 605 times in the corpus. In **558** occasions it referred to the Libyan military.

Descriptive terms:

The word “styrker” was accompanied by the following descriptive terms when it referred to the Libyan military:

a. **Gaddafis:** ”Gaddafis styrker” (346), ”Gaddafi-lojale styrker” (102), ”al-Gaddafis styrker” (15), ”sine styrker [Gaddafi]” (15), ”Gaddafi-tro styrker” (9), ”styrker lojale til Muammar” (6), ”styrker lojale overfor Muammar” (6), ”Gaddafi og hans styrker” (4), ”Gaddafis væpnede styrker” (3), ”Gaddafis militære styrker” (2), ”styrker lojale mot Muammar” (2), ”styrker lojale til president Muammar” (2), ”Ghadaffis styrker” (1), ”Gaddafis egne styrker” (1), ”Gaddafis tungt bevæpnede styrker” (1), ”Gaddafis velutrustede styrker” (1), ”Gaddafis

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forskansede styrker" (1), "Gaddafis langt bedre utstyrte styrker" (1), "styrker som er lojale til Libyas leder" (1), "styrker som er pro-Gaddafi" (1), "Gadaffi-regimets styrker" (1), "Gaddafilejale styrker" (1), "diktatorens styrker" (1), "styrker som støtter Gaddafi" (1), "Gaddafis private styrker" (1). Total, **525**.

b. **other**: "regimets styrker" (11), "Gaddafi-regimets styrker" (3), "regimets styrker" (8), "regimeløjale styrker" (3), "bedre utstyrte styrker" (2), "styrker fra Gaddafi-regimet" (1), "styrker fra Ajbaiya" (1), "styrker" (2) [without further description], "Libyas væpnede styrker" (1), "regjeringstro styrker" (1). Total, **33**.

Total: **558** (of 605 appearances of the word in the corpus).

Compound terms:

In compound terms, the word "styrker" referred to the Libyan defence forces in the following compound words:

"regjeringsstyrker" (64), "Gaddafi-styrker" (36), "Styrker" (17), "Regjeringsstyrker" (6), "Gaddafi-styrkers" (3), "forsvarsstyrker" (3), "al-Gaddafi-styrker" (3), "regerjingsstyrker (sic)" (2), "regimestyrker" (2), "myndighetsstyrker" (1), "militærstyrker" (1), "pro-Gaddafi-styrker" (1), "Pro-Gaddafi-styrker" (1), "Regjeringsstyrkers" (1). Total, **141**.

Grand total: "styrker" referred to the Libyan military **699** times in total, including through compound words.

Styrkene

The word "styrkene" (with a small s) appeared 189 times, and the word "Styrkene" (with a capital S) appeared 20 times (total 209 times). The word referred to the military forces of the Libyan government prior to its fall in August 2011 67 times. In 49 of these occasions, these forces were referred to as the property of Gaddafi himself. Interestingly the military was only once referred to as the military of Libya when it applied to the old government, and never as the government military. This is in contrast to the way the word "styrkene" was used when it referred to as the armies of NATO countries or the armies of the rebels. In these instances, the armies were never referred to as the property of any individuals. The most common usage of the term was "de internasjonale styrkene" (47) [the international forces].

Specifically, the word "styrkene" referred to the Libyan military in the following word clauses:

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Gaddafi: "Gaddafi-lojale styrkene" (17), "styrkene til Muammar" (9), "styrkene hans" [Gaddafi] (8), "styrkene sine" [Gaddafi] (3), "styrkene til Gaddafi" (3), "styrkene" [til Muammar] (2), "styrkene til Libyas leder Muammar" (1), "Gaddafitro styrkene" (1), "Gaddafi-tro militære styrkene" (1), "de væpnede styrkene til Muammar al-Gaddafi" (1), "styrkene som er lojale til Muammar" (1), "Styrkene om støtter Gaddafi" (1), "Styrkene til Gaddafi" (1). Total, **49**.

Other: "styrkene" [without further description] (12), "libyske styrkene" (1), "styrkene fra hæren" (1), "de invaderende" (1), "brutale" (1), "de lojale styrkene" (1), "disse styrkene" (1). Total, **18**.

Compound terms: When they applied to the military of Libya, the compound terms that included "styrkene" were: "regjeringsstyrkene" (54), "Gaddafi-styrkene" (40), "Sikkerhetsstyrkene" (18), "Gaddafi-styrkenes" (17), "Regjeringsstyrkene" (14), "spesialstyrke" (7), "regjeringsstyrkenes" (5), "regjeringstyrkene" (1), "regjeringsstyrke" (1). In total, **157** mentions.

In total, the word "styrkene", including its appearances in compound words, referred to the Libyan military **228** times.

In total, the word "styrk", with different articles and including appearances in compound words referred to the Libyan army **927** times. In total, the term appeared 1868 times in the corpus. Therefore, it applied to the Libyan military in **49,6%**, or about half of the times it appeared.

Hæren: Excluding its appearances in compound words, the word hæren appeared in the word forms "hæren", "Hæren", "hærens" and "Hærens" 87 times in total. When its appearances in compound words are also included, the word appeared 138 times in total in the corpus. In **109** of these the word referred to the Libyan army (prior to 20. august).

Militæret

The term "militær*" appeared 886 times in 106 word forms in the corpus. However, in only 23 of these appearances the word was used as a noun. In the other 863 appearances, the term was used as an adjective. As a noun, the word referred to the Libyan army **13** times. In other occasions the word referred to the militaries of other nations, such as Egypt.

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Single terms: “hæren” referred to the Libyan military in the following word-forms: “hæren” (50), “den libyske hæren” (22), “hæren til Gaddafi” (3), “hæren til Muammar Gaddafi” (2), “Hæren i Libya” (2), “den mannlige hæren” (1), “den libyiske hæren (sic)” (1). Total, **81**.

Compound terms: The term “hæren” referred to the Libyan military in the following compound terms: “regjeringshæren” (22), ”Gaddafi-hæren” (4), ”Regjeringshæren” (2). Total, **28**.

Total usage of “hæren” to refer to the Libyan military (including compound terms): **109**. The term appeared 138 times in total in the corpus. The term therefore applied to the Libyan army in **78,9%** of appearances.

Soldater:

In total, the term “soldat*” referred to members of the Libyan military **435** times. The term appeared, including in compound terms, 985 times in total. Therefore, the term applied to the Libyan military in 44% of the times it appeared.

Non-compound terms: The word ”soldater” referred to the forces of the Libyan military 221 of 274 times. The terms used to depict the soliers of the Libyan military were: ”Gaddafis soldater” (111), ”Gaddafi soldater” (79), “soldatar” (29), and ”Gaddafi-tro soldater” (2). In total **221** mentions.

Compound terms: The term ”soldater” appeared in the following compound terms when they referred to the Libyan military: "regjerings soldater" (31), "Gaddafi-soldater" (19), "regimesoldater" (3), "gaddafisoldater" (1), "pro-Gaddafi-soldater" (1). Total, **55** mentions.

Soldater (capital S). Total appearances: 15. Referents:

the Libyan military. Word clauses: “Soldater” [no further description] (5), “Soldater lojale overfor Muammar Gaddafi” (1), “Soldater som støtter Muammar Gaddafi” (1). Total, **7**.

Other forms.

The word “soldat” also appeared in the following forms:

Soldat: “soldat” (23) [referred to other agents 9 times], “soldatar” (17) [referred to other agents 7 times], “soldatane” (8) [referred to “opprørene” four times and Norwegian soldiers 2 times], ”soldaten” (0) [referred to rebels 7 times], ”Soldaten” (0) [referred to “opprører” 4 times], ”Soldatane” (3), ”soldatenes” (1) (referred to other agents 2 times), ”Soldat” (2),

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”Soldatar” (2), ”soldatgrupper” (1). In summary, in these occasions the word “soldat” referred to the Libyan official military in **41** of the 90 times in which it occurred.

Descriptive terms:

The descriptive terms associated with the aforementioned referent terms were, when they applied to the Libyan army:

”libysk” (3), ”Gaddafi-lojal” (3), “trent” (1), “Gaddafi sine” (2), ”Gaddafi lojale” (1), ”Gaddafi-trufaste” (1), ”fra Gaddafi-styrkane” (1), ”frå Gaddafi sine styrkar” (1), ”lojale til Gaddafi” (1), ”libyske” (1), ”Gaddafi-regimet sine” (1).

Compound words: ”Gaddafi-soldatar” (8), ”regjeringssoldatane” (7), ”Gaddafi-soldatene” (6), ”regjeringsoldatar” (6), ”Gaddafi-soldat” (3), ”Gaddafi-soldatane” (3), ”Regjeringssoldatene” (3), ”regjeringssoldat” (2), ”gaddafisoldater” (1), ”Gadhaffi-soldatar” (1), ”regjeringsoldatene” (1), “regjeringssoldatenes” (1), “regjerinssoldatar (sic)” (1), ”karrieresoldat” (1). In total **44** mentions.

Soldatene

The word soldatene, case insensitive, appeared 94 times, of which it referred to the Libyan military **67** times. In 27 occasions the word referred to other agents than the Libyan military.

Descriptive terms.

“soldatene sine [Gaddafi]” (1), “gaddafitro” (1), “bevæpnede” (1), ”som fortsatt er lojale overfor Muammar” (1), ”Gaddafi-lojale” (2),

Forsvaret:

The term “forsvaret”, including in compound terms such as “forsvarsminister”, “Luftforsvaret”, and “forsvarsalliansen”, appeared 606 times in the corpus.

The libyan army was referred to as “libyske forsvaret” 12 times in the corpus (including with the misspelling “llibiske forsvaret”). In other instances, the term was used to refer to the military of other nations, most notably Norway. The compound term “libyske luftforsvaret” appeared 6 times in the corpus, and “libyske luftforsvarets” once. Alone standing, the term referred to the Libyan army in one single occasion. The term “forsvarets” referred to the Libyan military two times and the term “sjøforsvaret” referred to the Libyan militaries’ naval division in one occasion. In total, the term “forsvaret” referred to the Libyan military **23** times,

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or in **3,8%** of the times the term appeared. It was not accompanied by any descriptive terms in any of the mentions to the Libyan military.

Summary:

In total, the Libyan army was mentioned **1511** times in the corpus. This amounts to 2,19 mentions of the agent in average in every article.

Descriptive terms: Summary

Of the descriptive terms added to referents for the Libyan military, the word “lojale” and “Gaddafi” stand out and need to be examined in detail.

Gaddafi-lojale: The term ”Gaddafi-lojale” (en. “Gaddafi faithfuls”) appeared 185 times in the corpus

The term behaved somewhat unusually in the corpus. In itself, the term “lojal” is an adjective that should accompany a noun. However, in the corpus, it both served as a common descriptive terms accompanying such words as “styrker” and “soldater”, and in some occasions as a referent terms in itself. The terms most often associated with “Gaddafi-lojale” were: “styrker” (98), “soldater” (20), “styrkene” (17), “styrkar” (5), “styrkers” (3), “soldatene” (3), “tv” (2), “soldatene” (2), “snikskyttene” (2), “tjenestemenn” (1), ”tettsteder” (1), ”styrkenes” (1), ”styrkane” (1), ”stammene” (1), ”stammefolk” (1), ”soldatar” (1), ”sniksskyttene” (1), ”regjeringsstyrker” (1), ”regjeringsstyrkene” (1), ”motstandere” (1), ”landsbyen” (1), ”klaner” (1), ”innbyggere” (1), distriktet” (1), ”byen” (1) and ”arbeiderne” (1). Of these, 156 appearances of the term refer to government soldiers who are described as being loyal to Gaddafi. In 13 occasions they refer to various civilians, institutions or communities that support Gaddafi and the governmental system of the country. This applies to the terms: ”tv” (2), ”tjenestemenn” (1), ”tettsteder” (1), ”stammene” (1), ”stammefolk” (1), ”motstandere” (1), ”landsbyen” (1), ”klaner” (1), ”innbyggere” (1), ”distriktet” (1), ”byen” (1), ”arbeiderne” (1). Total 13.

In 16 occasions the term was not accompanied by further description of the agent. In these occasions, the term in itself acted as a referent to different agents, depending on the context in which it occurred in. It referred to the agent “government soldiers” through sentences such as ”det er Gaddafi-lojale som er på offensiven” and “Rundt 32 Gaddafi-lojale er drept i eit luftåtak utført av NATO i natt”. This usage of the term appeared 8 times in the corpus.

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The term referred to civilians who supported the governance system of Libya in sentences such as “Dette er råd av Gaddafi-lojale som skal forsvare den såkalte revolusjonen fra 1969”, and “Det kan være fra en eventuell heksejakt som kan oppstå mot Gaddafi-lojale i landet”. This usage of the term appeared 8 times in the corpus.

Therefore, in 156 occasions, the term “Gaddafi-lojale” served as a descriptive term for the agent “government soldiers”. In 8 occasions the term was used as a referent term for the same agent. In 21 occasions the term applied to the agent “government supporters”, which refers to civilians, communities or institutions that supported the governmental system of Libya.

Lojale: When not linked with the term “Gaddafi” by a hyphen, the adjective “lojale” appeared 95 times. As to which agents it referred to, keyword-in-context analysis revealed that the term referred to the following agents: “styrker” (case insensitive: 38), “soldater” (case insensitive: 11), “forsvarsstyrker” (2), ”bataljon” (2), ”soldatar” (1), ”snikskyttere” (1), ”generaler” (1), ”folk” (1), ”menn” (1) “tilhengere” (1 – note, in this instance no agent was directly mentioned), “medier” (1), “støttespillere” (1), “talsmannen” (1), “talerør” (1), “styrkene” (1), “stammevennene” (1), “stammeledere” (1), “soldatene” (1), “regjeringsstyrker” (1), “regjeringsstyrkene” (1), “personer” (1), “milits” (1), “medarbeidere” (1), “lederen” (1), “gaddafisoldater” (1), “militæravdelinger” (1), “de absolutt mest lojale” (1), “stammen” (1), ”hans nærmeste” (1), ”befolkningen” (1), ”de som var lojale til ham [Gaddafi]” (1), ”lojale mot det nye regimet” (1), ”folk” (1), ”Warfalla-stammen” (1), ”libyske generaler” (1), ”gaddafisoldatar” (1), ”generaler” (1), ”byer” (1), ”De som er lojale” (1), ”libyske diplomatene” (1), “yrkesoffiser” (1), “spesialstyrker” (1), “Gaddafi-soldatene” (1), ”sønner” (1), ”stammevennene hans” (1) and ”Saif al-Islam” (1).

Thus, in **69** occasions, the term referred to government soldiers, and in 25 occasions the term referred to other agents. These other agents were “folk” (1), “tilhengere” (1), “medier” (1), “støttespillere” (1), “talsmannen” (1), “talerør” (1), “stammevennene” (1), “stammeledere” (1), “personer” (1), “medarbeidere” (1), “lederen” (1), “de absolutt mest lojale” (1), “stammen” (1), “hans nærmeste” (1), “befolkningen” (1), “de som var lojale til ham” (1), ”lojale mot det nyje regimet” (1), ”folk” (1), ”Warfalla-stammen” (1), ”byer” (1), ”De som er lojale” (1), ”Libyske diplomatene” (1), ”sønner” (1), ”stammevennene hans” (1), and ”Saif al-Islam” (1).

As to who these were loyal to, keyword-in-context analysis revealed that the agents these were loyal to were:

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Gaddafi: “Gaddafi” (36), “Muammar” (21), “Libyas leder Muammar” (8), “president Muammar” (2), “Gaddafis” (3), “Libyas avsatte leder” (1), ”den tidligere diktatoren” (1), ”sin fars [Gaddafi]” (1), ”[gaddafisoldatar]” (1), “hans [Gaddafis]” (2), “den styrtede lederen” (1), ”ham [Gaddafi]” (2), ”hans” (1), ”oberst Gaddafi” (1), ”Muammar al-Gaddafi” (1). Total, **82** occasions.

Other agents: “det gamle regimet” (1), “regjeringen” (1), “egen regjering” (1). Additionally, in one occasion, the term referred to supporters of the Syrian government. In total **4** mentions that did not refer to Gaddafi. In 9 occasions, the text made no mention to what the agents being described were loyal to.

The notable usage found for the use of the adjective “lojale”, and “Gaddafi-lojale” in the 25 times in which it did not mention what the agents referred to were loyal to, suggests that the term was so frequently associated with “Gaddafi”, and the conflict was so personified, that the journalists, unwittingly or knowingly, must have assumed that the readers would automatically assume that the term referred to being loyal to Gaddafi. It may be concluded that the term “lojal” was so frequently connoted to someone who was loyal to “Gaddafi” that readers should make the presupposition that a loyal person was loyal to him.

Such an assumption would not be peculiar. Of the 280 times that the term lojal appeared, in only one occasion the word clearly did not refer to Gaddafi, or the government which was described in highly personified fashion.

Gaddafi-tro: The term “Gaddafi-tro” appeared 15 times in the corpus, accompanied by ”styrker” (7), “regjerings- og sikkerhetsstyrker” (2), ”soldater” (2), ”styrkene” (2), “sikkerhetsstyrker” (1) and ”militære styrkene” (1).

Other descriptive terms:

Personification: Again, the term “Gaddafi” was the term that was most often associated with referent terms for the Libyan military. Specifically, “Gaddafi” was directly associated with the Libyan army **952** times in the corpus. This means that the Libyan military was directly associated with Gaddafi **65,6%** of the times in which the military was mentioned. 1171 descriptive terms were added to the agent, which means that **81%** of the descriptive terms were associated with Gaddafi. This means that the Libyan armed forces were even more personified to Gaddafi than was the government of Libya.

Regjerings: The term “regjering” was associated with the Libyan military **139** times.

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Libyske: The term “libysk*” was associated with the Libyan military **40** times.

Regime: The term “regime” was associated with the Libyan military **21** times.

Other terms: “forsvars” (3), “I Libya” (2), “bedre utstyrte” (2), “fryktede” (2), “brutale” (2), ”væpnede” (2), ”regjeringstro” (1), ”myndighets” (1), ”invaderende” (1), ”trent” (1), ”trufaste” (1) and ”bevæpnede” (1).

Related agents:

Five agents that appeared in the corpus were closely related to the agent identified as the Libyan military. What these agents shared with the military was that they were described as being opposed to the rebel army and NATO. These were, however, separate agents and the frequency of mention of these did not exceed the minimum 0,5 mentions pr. article and were therefore not included in further analyses.

Leiesoldater: ”leiesoldater” (54), ”leiesoldatene” (5), ”leigesoldatar” (4), ”leigesoldatane” (2), ”leiesoldat” (1), ”leiesoldaten” (1), ”Leigesoldatane” (1), ”Leigesoldaten” (1), ”Leigesoldater” (1). Total, **70** mentions.

Sikkerhetsstyrkene: ”sikkerhetsstyrker” (20), ”Sikkerhetsstyrkene” (18), ”sikkerhetstjenesten” (5), ”sikkerhetspolitiet” (4), ”sikkerhetstjeneste” (4) ”sikkerhetsfolk” (3). Total, **54** mentions.

snikskyttere: ”snikskyttere” (48), ”Snikskyttere” (5). Total **53** mentions.

Politiet: “politiet” (22) [refers to other agents 1 times], ”politi” (18) [referred to other agents in 5 occasions], “Politiet” (8), “sikkerhetspolitiet” (4). Total **52** mentions.

Elitestyrkene: ”elitesoldater” (5), ”elitestyrker” (4), ”elitebrigade” (3), ”elitesoldat” (1). Total, **13** mentions.

Key agent 4: Sivile [Civilians]

Civilians, or Libyan people that did not belong to any armed forces or identified institutions, constituted one of the most frequently mentioned groups in the corpus. This group was referred to as “Sivile” (744) [”sivile” (534), ”sivilbefolkningen” (125), “sivilt” (25), ”sivil” (18), ”Sivile” (17), ”sivilbefolkninga” (10), ”sivilie” (7), ”sivilbefolkning” (5) and ”sivilpersoner” (3)], folk (224) [”folket” (164), ”det libyske folk” (60)] and ”befolkninger” (41). In total **1039** mentions, or **1,5** mentions in average in each news story. The terms “flyktinger” (refugees) and “journalister” (journalists) were treated as related, but

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not synonymous terms. This group, “civilians”, was not entirely homogenous. In certain instances, the terms referred to people that were described as being supporters of the rebels, in others it referred to people that were supportive of the government or “Gaddafi”, and in yet other instances, no mention was given as to who these people were or who they supported.

Sivile (534 / 17)

The term “sivile” was rarely accompanied by descriptive terms. The term “libyske” appeared 6 times, “ubevæpnede” appeared 3 times, “Libyas” appeared 2 times, “uskyldige” appeared 1 time, “sterke” appeared 1 time, “Libyske” appeared once and “desperate” appeared once.

The term “sivile tap” appeared 37 times, “sivile liv” 35 times, “sivile Libyere” appeared 22 times, “sivile mål” appeared 20 times, “sivile befolkningen” appeared 3 times, “sivile ofre” appeared 2 times, “sivile demonstranter” appeared 2 times, “sivile tapa” once, “sivile tapi” once, “sivile skader” once, “sivile samfunn” once, “sivile samfunnet” once, “sivile ofrene” once, “sivile livet” once, “sivile flyktninger” once, “sivile demonstrantar” once, “sivile befolkning” once and “sivile ansatte” once.

Meaningful word-clusters:

An additional analysis on significant and meaningful word-clusters was performed. The word-clusters most often connoted to “sivile” were: “beskytte sivile” (58), “sivile tap” (37), “de sivile” (34), “sivile liv” (34), “mot sivile” (28), “sivile i Libya” (27), “sivile i Libya” (27), “sivile Libyere” (20), “sivile mål” (17), “angripe sivile” (10), “libyske sivile” (7), “sivile drepte” (5), “verne sivile i Libya” (4), “beskytte sivile i Libya” (3), “drepte sivile” (3), “mot sivile i Libya” (2), “sivile liv i Libya” (2), “Sivile Libyere” (2).

”Sivilbefolkningen” (125)

The term “sivilbefolkningen” appeared 125 times in the corpus. It was seldom accompanied with descriptive terms. The exceptions were “libyske” (3).

meaningful word clusters: “sivilbefolkningen i Libya” (24), “beskytte sivilbefolkningen i Libya” (19), “libyske sivilbefolkningen” (3), “angripe sivilbefolkningen” (2), “sivilbefolkninga” (1), “sivilbefolkningen feier” (1).

folket (164),

The term “folket” appeared 164 times in the corpus. The descriptive terms associated with the term were: “libyske” (56), “arabiske” (4), “tyrkiske” (1), “syriske” (1),

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“menneskerettighetsforkjempende” (1) and “libiske (sic)” (1). As is apparent, the term applied to people in other countries than Libya 6 times.

Befolkningen (41)

The term ”befolkningen” appeared 41 times in the corpus. In all but one cases it referred to Libyan civilians. The descriptive terms accompanying “befolkningen” (excluding function words, verbs and numerical terms) were: “sivile” (3), “libyske” (3), “yngre” (1), “libyiske” (1), “libanesiske” (1), “berbiske” (1) and “almenne”.

Summary:

The group “sivile” was referred to as “sivile”, “folket”, “befolkningen” and “sivilbefolkningen” and “Sivile” and was mentioned **1069** times in the corpus, or 1,6 times in each article.

The descriptive terms accompanying this agent were: “libyske”(67), “Libyere” (22), “ofre”(4), “ubevæpnede” (3), “svarte” (3), “voksne” (2), “Libyas” (2), “glade” (2), “uskyldige” (1), “sterke” (1), “Libyske”(1), “desperate” (1), “traumatiserte” (1), “vanlige” (1), “jubilende” (1), “menneskerettighetsforkjempende” (1), and “fortvilte” (1).

Related agents:

Two terms behaved similarly to words that belonged to the ”sivile” category. They were seldom directly described as being part of other groups or persons that were identified as main agents (such as the rebels, the Nato/Arabian League military alliance or the government) and were often described as victims. However, the descriptive terms that often accompanied these agents prevented them from being considered as belonging to the agent “sivile”. For the term “flyktninger”, these were often described as being either victims of racism and xenophobia. The agents that tormented these were, in the few instances in which they were described, members of the rebel groups. As for “journalister” (journalists), the words accompanying them were usually terms such as “vestlige”, “utenlandske” and so on, indicating that “journalister” referred mostly to western journalists in the country. These were from the same countries as the agent “NATO / alliansen”, and are therefore not in the same category as “sivile”, who were described as being Libyans, or foreign workers.

Flyktninger: flyktninger (103), flyktningene (36). Total, **139** mentions.

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Connoted terms: "libyske" (7), "flere" (5), "tusen" (6), "afrikanske" (3), "Tunisiske" (2), "nordafrikanske" (2), "Libya" (2), "Sudanske" (1), "sivile" (1), "Mange" (1), "Libyske" (1), "innvandrere" (1), "druknede" (1), "desperate" (1).

Journalister

journalister (108), journalistene (53), journalist (52). Total **213**.

Connoted terms: "utenlandske" (29), "vestlige" (10), "internasjonale" (8), "norske" (10), "italienske" (3), "franske" (1), "sveitsisk" (1).

It must be considered interesting that Libyan journalists are never mentioned in the corpus. This highlights the fact that the sources for the news stories were seldom, if ever, official Libyan sources or Libyan journalists.

Key agent 5: Opprørere [rebels]

In the news corpus, the opponents of the Libyan government were identifiable through different terms depending on at which time frame these appeared. In the earliest articles, opponents of the government were frequently referred to as "demonstranter", "aktivister" and "motstandere". These groups largely dissappeared from the corpus in early march 2011, when they were replaced by the term "opprørere". After august 20th 2011, the rebels had taken over the governance of Libya and were replaced by terms such as "regjeringen" and "myndigheter". At this time a new term began to appear frequently. These were "milits" (militias). This group appears to be composed of the same persons as the group "opprørere". However, as "milits" the group was now reported to be responsible for horrendous acts, such as torture and mass murder of prisoners and bystanders.

The change of word used to denote the rebels in time can be exemplified through the following concordance plots of the news corpus for the terms "demonstrant*", "opprører*", "overgangs*" and "milits*". In the illustrations, the earliest articles appear furthest to the left, as each article that the word appears in is marked by a thin black line.



Figure 1. Concordance plot for the term "demonstrant*"

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Figure 2. Concordance plot for the term “opprører*”.



figure 3. Concordance plot for the term “overgangs*”.

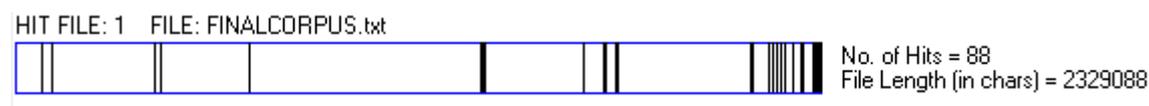


Figure 4. Concordance plot for the term “milit*”.

This trend must be understood in terms of the history of the conflict, according to the news corpus. It can be concluded that the conflict had four main time periods in the news corpus. The first period, from 16th february to 17th march spanned the time frame between the supposed start of the unrest in Libya to the start of NATOs bombing campaign against the government of the country. This period involved 64 articles. The second time span, from 18th march, when NATO forces started to aid in the political takeover of Libya by an armed group of rebels, to 21st august, when the rebels conquered the capital of the country. This period constituted of 376 articles (65 to 440). The third period was exemplified by a hunt for the country’s alleged leader, Muammar Gaddafi, which resulted in him being brutally killed in 20th october by revolutionaries after his convoy was hit by NATO airplanes. This period included 167 articles. The fourth, and final, period, can be viewed as a period of a new government in Libya and the situation in the country after the ousting and killing of its former political figures. This period lasted between 20th october to 17th february 2012 and included 82 articles. Notably, the term “opprører” was now replaced with the term “milit*”. Also, more acts of violence were attributed to the group “milit*” than “opprører”, although it appears that these groups are composed of the same individuals. In other words, analysis of this term suggest that these are roughly equivalent to the term “opprører”. In other words, the

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groups “demonstranter” (demonstrators), “opprørere” (rebels) and “milits” (militias) appear to be the same people. Otherwise, the opposition was divided into the political faction, most commonly referred to as “overgangsrådet” and the active faction, most commonly referred to as “opprørere”.

The group as a whole was subdivided in a similar fashion as the Libyan governmental apparatus. However, it must be noted that the divisions between political, military-, and civilian factions were not clear cut. Thus, the word “opprørere” and “overgangs-” were frequently used to refer to the same, or very similar, group-entity. The words “opprørsstyrker” and “overgangsstyrker” were used interchangeably through the corpus and careful reading did not find a distinction between the groups called “milits” and “opprørerne”. As these these words were used in the corpus, they seem to refer to the same agents, only the terms used to depict them changed over time. Thus, “demonstranter” became “opprørere”, and finally “militsene”.

For the rebels, the main agents were “opprørere” and “opprørersoldater”, 2. “overgangsrådet”, “den nye regjeringen”, 3. “demonstranter” and 4. ”militsene”. It must be noted that in the news corpus, these agents were frequently mixed through terms such as ”opprørsrådet” (for ”overgangsrådet”).

The usage of the terms “NTC”, “overgangs-“, “opprørs-“, “revolusjons-“ and “anti-Gaddafi” in compound terms suggest that these were treated as synonyms throughout the corpus. Thus compound terms such as “opprørsstyrker”, “NTC-styrker”, “overgangsstyrker” and “revolusjonsstyrker” referred to the same agents. For this reason, in analysing frequencies of mention for terms such as ”soldater” and ”styrker” treats these as equivalents.

1. Opprørere:

The terms “opprørere” and related constructs were used to depict armed opposition to the Libyan government. In certain instances, these groups were depicted with compound terms relating to “overgangsrådet”, the political faction of the rebellion.

”Opprørere”

“opprørerne” (959), “opprørere” (339), “Opprørerne” (297), “opprørernes” (185), ”Opprørere” (124), ”opprørane” (104), ”opprørarar” (26), ”opprørerne” (24), ”Opprørernes” (23), ”Opprørarane” (22), ”Opprører” (19), ”opprøreren” (8), ”opprøre” (7), ”opprørne” (5), ”opprørar” (4), ”opprørereens” (4), ”Opprørarar” (3), ”Opprørerne” (3), ”Libya-opprørernes” (2), ”opprørararne” (2), ”opprørernes” (2), ”Opprøreren” (2), ”opprøra” (1), ”Opprørar” (1),

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”opprøraren” (1), ”opprørrane” (1), ”opprørere” (1), ”opprørerne” (1), ”Opprørerne” (1).

Total, **2171** mentions.

Descriptive terms:

Collocation analysis for 1 word to the left of the search string “opprører*” revealed the following descriptive terms:

“libyske” (91), “Libyske” (89), “libyske” (17), “væpne” (5), “unge” (2), ”sivile” (2), ”Libyas” (1), ”Jublende” (1), ”Al-Quaida” (1), ”glade” (1), ”regimekritiske” (1).

Collocation analysis for 1 word to the left of the search string ”opprørs*” revealed the following descriptive terms:

“libyske” (50), “Libyske” (36), “Feirende” (8), “væpnede” (2), “svarte” (2), ”sivile” (2), ”militære” (2), ”væpna” (2), ”vestlige” (1), ”uorganisert” (1), ”terrorister” (1), ”nasjonale” (1), ”jublende” (1), ”islamistiske” (1), ”gråtende” (1), ”anerkjente” (1),

Other referents:**Styrker:**

”overgangsrådets styrker” (14), ”Ovegangsrådets styrker” (5), ”NTC styrker” (2), ”NTCs styrker” (1). Total, **22**.

Compound terms: ”opprørsstyrker” (54), ”Opprørsstyrker” (9), ”opprørsstyrke” (4), ”Anti-Gaddafi-styrker” (3), ”NTC-styrker” (2), ”opposisjonsstyrker” (2). Total, **74** mentions.

Demonstrant

The word ”demonstrant” appeared in the following word forms: ”demonstranter” (50), ”demonstrantene” (34), ”Demonstranter” (10), ”demonstrasjonar” (10), ”demonstrantar” (9), ”demonstrant” (6), ”demonstrantane” (6), ”Demonstrantene” (6), ”demonstrantenes” (2), ”demokrati-demonstranter” (1), ”Demonstrasjoner” (1), ”Demonstrant” (1), ”Demonstrantane” (1), ”Demonstrantar” (1), ”demonstranten” (1), ”Demonstranten” (1). Total, **140**.

Descriptive terms: The descriptive terms accompanying the search string “demonstrant*” were: “regimekritiske” (12), “fredelige” (4), “sivile” (3), “Væpnede” (1), “skadede” (1), “kvinnelig” (1), “jublende” (1) and “fredfulle” (1).

revolusjonssoldater:

The term “revolusjon” was associated with the rebels (opprørere) **57** of 62 times through the following compound terms:

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"revolusjonssoldater" (13), "revolusjonssoldatar" (10), "revolusjonssoldat" (6), "revolusjonssoldatane" (4), "Revolusjonssoldaten" (3), "revolusjonssoldatene" (3). Total, **39**.

Other

"revolusjonsstyrkene" (12), "revolusjonsforkjempere" (3), "revolusjonskomiteer" (3). Total **18**.

Descriptive terms: "Libyske" (10), "libyske" (5), "såkalte" (3), "opphissede" (1), "opphissa" (1), "Jublande" (1).

Styrken/e

"styrkene" [without further description] (11), "Styrkene til Det libyske overgangsrådet" (3), "libyske styrkene" [NTC] (2), "Styrkene til Libyas nasjonale overgangsråd" (1), "de militære styrkene" (1), "de ulike styrkene" (1), "styrkene til Det nasjonale overgangsrådet" (1), "styrkene som fredag fanget Gaddafi" (1), "Styrkene som kjemper mot Gaddafi" (1), "Styrkene til NTC" (1), "styrkene til overgangsregjeringen" (1). Total, **24** mentions.

Compound terms: "opprørsstyrkene" (114), "Opprørsstyrkene" (20), "opprørsstyrken" (19), "revolusjonsstyrkene" (12), "NTC-styrkene" (6), "opprørstyrkene" (3), "opprørstyrkenes" (3), "overgangsstyrkene" (2), "overgangsstyrken" (1), "Overgangsstyrkene" (1), "overgangsstyrkenes" (1), "opprørsstyrkenes" (2), "Opprørsstyrkenes" (2) "overgangstyrkene" (2), "revolusjonsstyrken" (2). Total mentions, **190**.

Summary: In total, the term "styrk" was connoted to "opprørene" 310 times.

Soldater (capital S). Total appearances: 15. It referred to the rebel army in the following word clauses: "soldater fra opprørshæren" (1), "Soldater fra det nasjonale overgangsrådet" (1), "Soldater fra Misrata" (1), "Soldater fra Libyas nye regime" (1), "Soldater, allerede veteraner fra et vunnet krig" (1), "Soldater tro mot Overgangsrådet" (1). Total, **6**.

[Referent, unspecific, 2 occations. Word clauses: "Soldater på begge sider" (1), "Soldater i Irak" (1).]

compound terms:

soldater (small s): "opprørssoldater" (60), "Opprørssoldater" (48), "revolusjonssoldater" (13), "militssoldater" (5), "NTC-soldater" (5), "opprørsolater" (2), "medsoldater" (1), "Misrata-soldater" (1), "opprørssoldater (sic)" (1), "Opprørssoldater" (1), "Revolusjonssoldater" (1). Total, **138** mentions.

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Soldat: "opprørssoldat" (39), "revolusjonssoldatar" (10), "opprørssoldatar" (8), "Opprørerssoldatene" (6), "Opprørssoldatar" (6), "opprørssoldaten" (6), "Opprørssoldatene" (6), "revolusjonssoldat" (6), "revolusjonssoldatane" (4), "militssoldatene" (3), "Opprørssoldat" (3), "opprørssoldatane" (3), "Revolusjonssoldaten" (3), "revolusjonssoldatene" (3), "militssoldat" (2), "militssoldatar" (2), "NTC-soldaten" (2), "opprørssoldat" (2), "Opprørssolat" (2), "overgangssolatane" (2), "overgangssoldatar" (2), "Revolusjonssoldatar" (2), "anti-Gaddafi-soldat" (1), "Benghazi-soldatene" (1), "geriljasoldatene" (1), "militssoldatene" (1), "Militssoldatene" (1), "NTC-soldat" (1), "NTC-soldatene" (1), "NTC-soldatar" (1), "NTC-soldatenes" (1), "Opposisjonssoldatene" (1), "oppørssoldatene" (1), "opprørsoldatene" (1), "opprørssoldat" (1), "Opprørssoldatane" (1), "Opprørssoldaten" (1), "Opprørssoldatane" (1), "overgangs-soldat" (1), "overgangssoldatene" (1), "revolusjonssoldaten" (1), "Revolusjonssoldater" (1), "Thuwwar-soldatane" (1), "medsoldat" (1), "medsoldater" (1). Total, **145** mentions.

Soldatar:

"Det libyske overgangsrådet sine soldatar" (2). Total, **2** mentions.

Soldatene:

"soldatene" (6), "soldatene i Overgangsrådets hær" (1), "soldatene alliert med de nye myndighetene" (1), soldatene til den libyske opprørsregjeringen" (1). In total **9** mentions.

Compound terms: "opprørssoldatene" (12), "overgangssoldatene" (2), "Overgangssoldatene" (1). In total **15** mentions.

Summary: the term "soldat" was associated with "opprørene" **315** times.

Militsene

The term "milit" was depicted through the following terms in the corpus:

"militsgupper" (18), "militsgroppene" (16), "militser" (6), "militsen" (5), "militssoldater" (5), "militrane" (3), "militsene" (3), "Militsgupper" (3), "militssoldatene" (3), "milit" (2), "Militsene" (2), "militsguppe" (2), "militsgruppen" (2), "militssoldat" (2), "militssoldatar" (2), "Berber-milit" (1), "borgervernmilit" (1), "militsens" (1), "militsfengslene" (1), "militsfengsler" (1), "Militmedlemmene" (1), "militmedlemmer" (1), "militssoldatane" (1), "Militssoldatene" (1), "Militssoldater" (1), "militsstyrkene" (1), "militsstyrker" (1) and "Walid-militsen" (1). In total, **87** mentions.

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Descriptive terms: ”ulike” (9), ”lokale” (5), ”væpnede” (4), ”selvstendige” (2), ”libyske” (2), ”ulydige” (2), ”opprørernes” (1), ”lokal” (1), ”Libyske” (1), ”libysk” (1), ”klanbaserte” (1), ”fryktede” (1) and ”bevæpnede” (1).

Other related terms: Other terms used to depict rebel groups were: motstandare” (35), ”aktivister” (8), ”aktivist” (5), ”dissidenter” (3). In total **51** mentions.

Bevegelse

Opprørsbevegelsen (64)

Hæren

The word “hæren” only referred to the rebels when they were included in compound terms.

compound terms:

“opprørshæren” (18), “opprørshærens” (5), “opprørshæren” (2), ”opposisjonshæren” (1), ”Opposisjonshæren” (1), ”opprørshæren” (1), ”Opprørshæren” (1), ”overgangshæren” (1), ”revolusjonshæren” (1). Total, **31**.

NTC-soldater

NTC-soldatene (7), “NTC-soldater” (5), “NTC-soldaten” (2), “NTC-soldat” (1), “NTC-soldatane” (1), “NTC-soldatar” (1) and “NTC-soldatenes” (1). Total, 18.

NTC-styrker

“NTC-styrkene” (6), “NTC-styrker” (2). Total, **8**.

Other compound terms: «Frigjøringsbevegelse» (2), ”opprørsalliansen” (2), ”februar-koalisjonen” (1), «Rettferdighetsbevegelsen» (1), «opposisjonsbevegelsen» (1), ”opprørsrørsla” (2), ”opprørssiden” (2), ”folkeopprørerne” (1), ”Libya-opprørere” (1), «opprørarsida” (1), ”opprørs-rørsla” (1). Total, **14** mentions.

Grand summary: In total, the agent “opprører” was mentioned **2926** times in the corpus, or 4,25 times pr. article.

Descriptive terms:

“libyske” (218), “Libyske” (125), ”i Libya” (44), “i landet” (18), “Feirende” (8), “væpne” (5), “væpnede” (2), “svarte” (2), ”sivile” (2), ”militære” (2), ”væpna” (2), “unge” (2), ”sivile” (2), ”Libyas” (1), ”Jublende” (1), ”Al-Quaida” (1), ”glade” (1), ”regimekritiske” (1), ”vestlige”

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(1), "uorganisert" (1), "terrorister" (1), "nasjonale" (1), "jublende" (1), "islamistiske" (1), "gråtende" (1), "anerkjente" (1), "våpenkyndige" (1).

2. Overgangsrådet:

The political faction of the opponent was referred to as "overgangsrådet", "opposisjonen" and "NTC". Search for the term "overgangs*" had 767 results, of which 724 referred to the "transitional council", and search for the string "NTC" had 123 results, of which 97 referred to the political faction of the rebels.

Specifically, the term "overgangsrådet" was depicted through the following terms:

Rådet: "overgangsrådet" (368), "Overgangsrådet" (150), "rådet" (69), "overgangsråd" (69), "overgangsrådets" (45), "Overgangsrådets" (21), "Overgangsråd" (2),

In total, **724** mentions.

opposisjon:

The term "opposisjon" appeared 193 times in the corpus in several word forms. The term referred to the Libyan rebels **181** times. In 12 occasions it applied to a political opposition in other countries.

Word forms: "opposisjonen" (110), "Opposisjonen" (15), "opposisjonelle" (14), "opposisjon" (8), "opposisjonens" (6), "opposisjonsledere" (5), "opposisjonell" (3), "Opposisjon" (2), "Opposisjonsleder" (2), "opposisjonslederen" (2), "opposisjonspartiet" (2), "opposisjonsstyrker" (2), "opposisjonstilhenger" (2), "Opposisjonelle" (1), "Opposisjonister" (1), "opposisjonsbevegelsen" (1), "opposisjonsbyen" (1), "opposisjonsgruppe" (1), "opposisjonsgrupper" (1), "opposisjonshæren" (1), "Opposisjonshæren" (1), "opposisjonskontrollerte" (1), "opposisjonskreftene" (1), "opposisjonsledelsen" (1), "opposisjonsleder" (1), "Opposisjonslederne" (1), "opposisjonsleiarane" (1), "opposisjonspolitikere" (1), "opposisjonsradio" (1), "opposisjonsrådet" (1), "Opposisjonssoldatene" (1), "opposisjonsstyrkene" (1), "opposisjonstv" (1). In total, **193** mentions.

The descriptive terms accompanying the term were: "libyske" (14), "Libysk" (4), "Libyas" (2), "Væpnede" (2), "politiske" (1), "politisk" (1) and "libysk" (1). These were identified through Keyword-in-context- / collocation- analysis for the search string "opposisjon*" using 2 words to the left of the content word.

NTC:

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The term “NTC” (which stands for National transitional Council), appeared 123 times in the corpus in any word form. The term was used to refer to the armed rebels 26 times, and 97 times to refer to the political faction.

Descriptive terms: The descriptive terms for “NTC” were “overgangsrådet” (39), “Libyas nasjonale overgangsråd” (3), “Overgangsrådet” (2), ”opprørsrådet” (2), ”opprørsrådets” (1) and ”opposisjonspartiet” (1). As is obvious, these terms are mere synonyms for the term NTC itself and used to specify what the term denotes.

Other

”revolusjonsråd” (5).

8. Overgangsegjering:

After the fall of the old government of Libya, the term “regjering” was used to depict the new rebel-government 39 times, the term ”regjeringen” was used to depict the opposition-government in 26 occasions, and the term “regjeringa” 2 times. In total, the term “regjering” was used **67** times to depict the rebel-government.

Compound terms: “overgangsregjering” (47), “overgangsregjeringen” (25), Interimsregjeringen (9), ”opprørsregjering” (3), ”interimsregjering” (2), ”opprørsregjeringen” (2), ”Overgangsregjeringen” (2), ”interimregjeringen” (1), ”interimsregjering” (1), ”opprørsregjeringa” (1), ”Overgangsregjeringa” (1), ”overgangsregjeringens” (1) and ”overgangsregjerings” (1). Total, **96**.

Taken together, the term ”regjering” was used to depict the rebel-government **163** times.

The descriptive terms used with the new government were: “nye regjeringen” (15), “ny regjering” (15), “rettmessige regjering” (14), ”ny libysk regjering” (13), ”midlertidige regjering” (7), ”midlertidig regjering” (2), ”lovlige regjering” (2), ”legitime” (2), ”overgangs regjering” (1), ”opprørernes” (1), ”Ny regjering” (1) and ”legitim regjering” (1).

Myndigheter:

Myndighet: The term ”myndighet” appeared 13 times in the corpus, and was used to denote the rebel-government of Libya in every occasion. The descriptive terms accompanying these were: “rettmessige regjerende” (2), “Libyas regjerende” (1), “legitime” (4), “legitim” (3), “offisielle” (1) and “slik” (1).

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Myndigheten: The term “myndigheten” appeared five times in the corpus, and was used as a referent to the rebel-government in all 5 times. In all occasions, the term was accompanied by the term “legitime”.

Myndighetene: The term “myndighetene” appeared 100 times in the corpus. It referred to the government of the rebels **16** times.

Descriptive terms: “nye” (7), “nåværende libyske” (1), ”nye libyske” (3), ”de libyske” (1), ”myndighetene” (3), ”de sentrale” (1). Total, 16.

Myndigheter:

The term ”myndigheter” appeared 180 times in the corpus. It applied to the new rebel-government of Libya 17 times.

Descriptive terms:

The descriptive terms added to the term ”myndigheter”, when the word applied to the rebel government were: ”libyske” (9), “Libyas nye” (3), “Libyas legitime” (1), “locale” (1), “landets offisielle” (1), and “Libyas rettmessige (1).

Makthavare

The term ”makthavare” appeared 9 times in the corpus and “makthaverene” once. It applied to “opprørsrådet” in all occasions. Additionally, the term “de nye makthaverne” appeared 9 times in the corpus. In all occasions, the term denoted the new rebel-government. Total, **19** mentions.

Descriptive terms: “nye” (16), “Libyas makthavere” (1), “Libyas rettmessige” (1).

Other terms:

“Libyas rettmessige styre” (2), “Landets eneste rettmessige representant” (1), “den rettmessige representanten” (1), ”rettmessige regjerende myndighet” (1), ”Libyas rettmessige regjering” (12), ”Libyas rettmessige myndigheter” (1), ”nye regime” (1).

Mustafa Abdel Jalil

Mustafa Abdul Jalil was described as the leader of the rebel army in Libya. He was mentioned 320 times in the corpus, using the following labels:

Jalil (242), [Mustafa (183),Abdel (111), Abdul (55)],

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“leder” (40), “justisminister” (22), “opprørsleder” (5), “opprørslederen” (3), ”statsminister” (2), ”Opprørsleder” (2), ”overgangsleder” (1), ”opprørsleiaren” (1), ”opposisjonslederen” (1), ”justisministeren” (1).

Other notable persons related to rebel groups:

Jibril (91), Mahmoud (50), Mahmud (10), Jebril (19),

[Guma El-] Gamaty (41), opprørernes talsmann (39),

Osama [al-Juwali] (7), Sjef (6).

Associated terms

Certain terms that appeared relatively frequently in the corpus were almost exclusively associated with actions and motives for the rebel groups. The most notable of these were “frihet” (218 mentions), “Feire” (143 mentions), “demokrati” (133), “legitime” (96), “Jubel” (79), “glede” (43 mentions), and “rettmessige” (25 association).

“legitim*”

The term “legitim” had eight word forms in the corpus. These were “legitime” (36), “legitimt” (19), “legitim” (18), “legitimitet” (16), ”legitimiteten” (4), ”Legitime” (4), ”Legitime” (1), ”Legitimitet” (1), and ”Legitimt” (1). In total, **96** appearances.

A KWIC analysis of the term ”legitime” revealed that the term was used to denote the interim-government of the rebels 31 times, and 8 times to denote what were described as legitimate targets for NATO (“legitime militære mål”).

A KWIC analysis of “legitimt” was used in all 19 appearances to describe “legitimate targets”. In 9 of these occasions, “Gaddafi” was described as such a “legitimate target”, that is, the act of killing him was therefore deemed as rightful.

Analysis for “legitim” revealed that in 16 of its 18 appearances the term was used to describe the rebel-council, or the rebel-government, as the legitimate authority of Libyans in general. In one occasion the term was used to describe an ICC indictment against Gaddafi and in one occasion the word was used to specify that Gaddafi was not recognized as having legitimacy by “the international community” (“det internasjonale samfunn”).

Analysis for the term “legitimitet”: The term was used 5 times to describe that “Gaddafi” did not have legitimacy as a leader in Libya, 1 time to describe that the old government did not have political legitimacy, once when a journalist pointed out that using euphemisms for the

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word “krig” (“war”) might result in perceived legitimacy of a war (as a critique to the avoidance of using the word), once to describe that the Libyan government did not recognize the legitimacy of the International Criminal Court, twice to describe how NATO attempted to get legitimacy for its bombing campaign on Libya, and seven times to describe that the rebels must achieve legitimacy from the Libyan people.

The term “legitimiteten” was used twice to describe that Gaddafi had lost his legitimacy as a leader, once as a thought on how legitimate the bombing campaign against Libya was, and once to describe that the rebels had to be careful not to lose their legitimacy as leaders.

Summary. The term “legitim*” was used **57** times to state that the rebels had legitimacy as leaders in Libya, **27** times to describe “legitimate targets” of NATO, **9** times to specify that Gaddafi did not have legitimacy as a leader, **8** times to state that the rebels must achieve more legitimacy, **3** times to specify that NATO was looking for ways to increase the legitimacy for their bombing campaign, once to state that the old government did not have legitimacy and once to state that the old government did not recognize the legitimacy of the ICC.

It may be noted that neither the old government, nor Gaddafi, were ever described as having legitimate authority in Libya. However, international law would conclude otherwise, strictly speaking. The usage of the term in the corpus is therefore noteworthy.

Rettmessige

The usage of the term “rettmessige” (rightful), was similar to the use of “legitim” in the corpus. The term “rettmessige” appeared 26 times in the corpus. In **25** of these the term was used to describe the rebels, or the rebel government, as being the rightful authority in Libya. In one occasion, the term referred to the president of the African Union (AU).

The war

The war in Libya was most frequently referred to as “krigen” (the war),

Krigen

The word «krig» appeared 413 times in the corpus. In 401 occasions the word referred to the Libyan war.

”krigen” (171), ”krig” (107), ”borgerkrigen” (44), ”borgerkrig” (21), ”Libya-krigen” (15), ”Krigen” (10), ”krigens” (4), ”borgarkrig” (3), ”Borgerkrig” (3), ”Borgerkrigen” (3), ”borgerkrigsliignende” (3), ”borgarkrigen” (2), ”Krig” (2), ”krigersk” (2), ”krigsfronten” (2), ”krigssituasjon” (2), ”Libyakrigen” (2), ”bakkekrigen” (1), ”borgarkrigsherja” (1),

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”borgarkrigstilstand” (1), ”borgerkrigens” (1), ”borgerkrigsrammede” (1), ”Krigens” (1), ”krigslignende” (1), ”krigsmål” (1), ”krigsofre” (1), ”krigsofrene” (1), ”krigsoppgjøret” (1), ”Krigssituasjon” (1), ”krigstilstand” (1), ”Libya-krig” (1), ”Opprørskrigene” (1), ”Opprørskrigere” (1), ”revolusjonskrigen” (1). Total, **413** mentions.

Opprøret

”opprøret” (188), ”Opprøret (50)”, ”folkeopprør*” (10), “opprør” (18), “Libya-opprøret” (1). Total **267** mentions.

Konflikten

”konflikten” (128), ”Libya-konflikten” (9), ”Konflikten” (6), ”konfliktens” (1). Total **144** mentions.

Revolusjonen

”revolusjonen” (54), ”Revolusjonen” (3), ”februar-revolusjonen” (1), ”Revolusjonens” (1), ”revolusjonskrigen” (1). Total **60** mentions.

Geriljakrig

Word forms: “geriljakrig” (5), “geriljakrigføring” (2). Total, **7** mentions.

Other: “revolt” (1), “rebellion” (1), ”frigjøringskampen” (1).

Agent 5. Koalisjonen

One of the most frequently mentioned agents in the corpus was most commonly referred to as “koalisjonen”, or the coalition. This agent was composed of smaller sub-groups such as “NATO”, “den arabiske ligaen”, and the government and armies of countries such as the USA, Great Britain (“Storbritannia”), Qatar (“Qatar”), Norway and France (“Frankrike”). This compound agent was responsible for military attacks on the Libyan government to support the rebel forces in Libya. The legal basis for the attacks was the UNs Security Council’s resolution nr 1973 which gave right to willing nation state armies to use “every necessary means” to uphold a “no-fly zone” over Libya. Some countries which were frequently mentioned as being a part of this coalition were sometimes used individually, without mention of this coalition, some international institutions such as “FN” (the United Nations), “den internasjonale straffedomstolen” (the international criminal court – ICR), and others were sometimes depicted as being a part of this coalition, although other mentions of these agents conflicted with this usage. For example, many countries in the United Nations

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(“FN”) were described as being opposed to the actions of the coalition. Among these countries were all countries of the African Union (AU), India, Russia, China, Germany and all mentioned South-American states. Obviously, these “exceptions” constitute the governments that represent the majority of the world’s population. This discrepancy in the usage of the agent was especially apparent in other terms that were sometimes used synonymously with this “koalisjon”, such as “det internasjonale samfunnet” (the international community).

The nation-states that participated in this campaign were members of NATO (excluding Germany), and of the “Arab league”, Bahrain(3/16), Kuwait (1/8), Qatar (26/56), Oman (1/3), Saudi Arabia (2/10) and the United Arab Emirates (29/32). The inclusion of these Arab states in the military coalition against Libya was not consistent and the coalition was sometimes treated as synonymous with the term “Vesten” (the West).

Koalisjon:

The term “koalisjon” appeared in the following word form:

”koalisjonen” (72), ”Koalisjonen” (22), ”koalisjonens” (19), ”koalisjonsstyrkene” (14), ”koalisjonsstyrken” (11), ”koalisjonsstyrkenes” (11), ”koalisjon” (9), ”Koalisjonens” (3), ”Koalisjonsstyrkene” (3), ”femlands-koalisjonen” (1), ”FN-koalisjonen” (1), ”Koalisjonenes” (1), ”koalisjons-operasjon” (1), ”koalisjonsoperasjon” (1), ”koalisjonspartnerne” (1), ”koalisjonspartnernes” (1), ”Koalisjonsstryken” (1), ”koalisjonsstyrkane” (1), ”Koalisjonsstyrken” (1), ”Koalisjonsstyrkenes” (1), ”koalisjonstyrkens” (1), ”Libya-koalisjonen” (1), ”militærkoalisjonen” (1). In total, **178** mentions.

descriptive terms:

“internasjonale” (17), “vestlige” (8), “FN” (3), «utenlandske» (2), «Libya» (3), «USA ledete» (4), «sikkerhetsråd» (1), «militære» (1), «femlands» (1), «atlantiske» (1).

Alliansen

The term “alliansen” (the alliance) was also used to depict this agent in the corpus. The word forms included: ”alliansen” (44), ”forsvarsalliansen” (14), ”allianse” (10), ”alliansens” (9), ”Alliansen” (8), ”militæralliansen” (5), ”forsvarsalliansens” (4), ”NATO-alliansens” (4), ”allianser” (3), ”Forsvarsalliansen” (2), ”Militæralliansen” (2), ”NATO-alliansen” (2), ”allianseforpliktelser” (1), ”alliansepartnerne” (1). In **107** of 111 mentions the word applied to the military coalition led by Nato. Note that the terms “*forsvarsalliansen*” and “*militæralliansen*” are used as synonyms throughout the corpus.

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Descriptive terms

“bred” (5), “vestlige” (2), “NATO” (8), “vestligdominert” (2), “militære” (1).

Allierte

The term “allierte” appeared 82 times in the corpus. In 44 occasions the word was used as an adjective describing a relationship between two or more parties. In the other **38** appearances, the word “allierte” was used as a proper noun, denoting an entity of its own. In these instances, the text does not explicitly explain who belong to this group. However, by examining what parties were connoted to the concept, it is possible to infer who belonged to this superagent. In essence, the group referred to as the Coalition, the NATO countries and Arab countries that participated in the aerial attacks on the old government of Libya and its supporters.

Direct referent: ”de allierte” (20), ”De allierte styrkene” (11), ”allierte land” (2), ”Allierte makter” (1), ”den allierte bombingene”(1) ”den allierte militære operasjonen” (1), ”alliert flyinnsats” (1), ”de allierte flyangrepene” (1). Total **38**.

Descriptive terms

«Nato» (2), «internasjonale» (1).

As an adjective (total 44).

Allied to the USA: “USA og dets allierte”, ”de og deres allierte”, ”sine allierte”, ”sine allierte”, ”sine allierte”, ”allierte”, ”allierte i regionen” [allierte med USA], ”sine allierte”, ”nærmeste allierte”, ”våre allierte”, ”våre allierte”. Total **11**. **Allied to Norway:** ”våre allierte” [Norway], ”våre allierte”, ”våre allierte”, ”sine allierte”, ”nære allierte”, ”allierte”, ”allierte”, ”våre allierte”, ”våre allierte”. Total **9**. **Allied to the rebels:** ”sine internasjonale allierte” [Jalil – opprørere], ”vi har alliert oss med vesten”, ”alt annet enn allierte” [opprørere], ”alliert med opprørerne”, ”alliert med de nye myndighetene”, ”Alliert med Al Quaida” (Belhadj). Total **6**. **Allied to Nato:** ”NATO-allierte”, ”de Nato-allierte landene”, ”NATO er nå alliert med ein islamisk opprørar”. Total **3**. **Allied to Great Britain:** ”Storbritannia og deres allierte”, ”vår allierte”. Total **2**. **Allied to France:** ”sine allierte” (France). Total **1**.

Conclusion: The word ”alliert” as an adjective was used for the ”coalition”, or its subgroups, **32** times. In these cases, it was not included as a referent term in the analysis.

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Allied to Gaddafi: ”noe få allierte” (Gaddafi), ”Gaddafis allierte”, ”Gaddafi-familien og deres allierte”, ”en av Gaddafis nærmeste allierte”, ”flere av hans allierte”, ”alliert av Gaddafi” (Chavez), ”lojal alliert av den Gaddafi” (Chavez), ”alliert i kampen mot terror”, ”alliert av Muammar al-Gaddafi” (Mugabe), ”alliert av Muammar Gaddafi”. Total **10**. **Allied to Libya:** ”alliert av Sovjetunionen” (Libya). Total **1**.

Conclusion: The term ”alliert” as an adjective was used for entities that were allied to Libya or Gaddafi **11** times.

Exception: **Allied Arab states:** ”allierte araberstater”. Total **1**.

Summary

The term “alliert” was used directly as a reference to the coalition **38** times, and 32 times as an adjective depicting a relationship among “coalition” countries.

Det internasjonale samfunnet [International Community]

The term ”verdenssamfunnet” or ”internasjonale samfunnet” (the world / international society) was used in a noteworthy manor throughout the corpus. In some instances, the word was used to refer to the UN, roughly. However, in several instances (14 of 25 appearances for the term “verdenssamfunnet” and 17 of 43 times for the term “internasjonale samfunnet”) this phenomena was described as committing actions that were in fact committed by the Coalition, such as supporting the rebels with arms and using “all necessary means” to militarily fight the Libyan government. In these instances this “world society” did not refer to all nations in the United Nations, as might be implied by the direct term. Instead, this term was used to denote specific nations. These nations were in essence the same nation-states as the “koalisjon” and “alliansen”, and can be treated as a synonym to these terms. This was obvious when considering that this world society was described as taking actions against the Libyan government, while most nations in the UN did not participate in, or directly opposed the actions of this world community. For example, the entire African Union, most South American and Asian countries, Russia, Germany etc. apparently did not belong to this group of world society, as they were not part of the coalition.

Styrker

The term «styrker» and related word constructs appeared 1868 times in the corpus. It referred to coalition forces in 79 of these occasions.

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styrker: «styrkene» (41), «styrken» (11), «styrkane» (8), «styrkenes» (5), «bakkestyrker» (5), «styrker» (4), «luftstyrkar» (2), «sikkerhetsstyrker» (1), «luftstyrker» (1), «luftstyrkene» (1).

Total, **79**.

Descriptive terms

«vestlige» (15), «internasjonale» (51).

soldater:

The term «soldater» in any word form appeared 985 times in the corpus. It was only used to depict coalition forces in 5 occasions.

«soldatene» (1), «bakkesoldater» (4). Total, **5**.

Vesten

The term “Vesten” appeared 57 times, “Vestens” 24 times and “vesten” 8 times in the corpus, or 89 times in total. The term, as it was used, was vague and it was not explained what was being referred to in the corpus in all but **13** instances where the term was directly used to refer to the coalition. In other instances the term was not explained to a degree that made classification to agent classes impossible.

Descriptive terms - summary

«internasjonale» (69), «vestlige» (23), «USA ledete» (4), “FN” (3), «Libya» (3), «Nato» (2), «utenlandske» (2), «sikkerhetsråd» (1), «militære» (1), «femlands» (1).

Summary

The agent, «koalisjonen» was mentioned 530 times in the corpus, or 0,79 times in each article. It was accompanied by descriptive terms 109 times in total.

Agent 11: Operasjon [the Nato lead military strike on Libya]

The military attacks on Libya, coordinated by the coalition were treated as a separate agent in the analysis. This was in concurrence with how that operation was depicted in the corpus. The words used to refer to this military operation were operasjonen, intervensjonen, aksjonen, innsatsen, luftangrepene, inngripen, krigføring, deltakelse, militæraksjonen, militæreoperasjonen and flyforbudssonen, as well as several compound terms. Frequent connotations to the terms “NATO” and “vesten” further underlined the exclusion of the Arab states in the coalition in the accounts of the conflict.

Operasjonen

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«Operasjonen» was the word most often used to refer to the coalition's bombing campaign against Libya. The term also referred to "operation Odyssey Dawn", which was the codename for the US role in the bombing campaign against Libya.

Word forms:

”operasjonen” (157)

The term «operasjonen» with the definite article referred to the coalitions bombing campaign against Libya in all 157 appearances.

Descriptive terms: “Libya” (67), “NATO” (25), “internasjonale” (11), “militære” (9), “FN” (5), “USA ledete” (2), “allierte” (2), «vestlige» (1), «USA» (1).

”operasjoner” (67),

The plural form of the term «operasjoner» referred in all but one appearances to the NATO lead bombing campaign against Libya. Total mentions, **66**.

Descriptive terms: “Libya” (20), “militære” (10), “NATO” (3).

”operasjon” (82),

The indefinite form of the word operasjon referred in all but 2 occasions to the coalition bombing campaign against Libya. Total, **80**.

Descriptive terms: “Libya” (34), “militær” (8), “NATOs” (7), “NATO” (7), “internasjonal” (4), “vestlige” (1), “Vellyket” (1), «koalisjons styrkenes» (1), «Natos» (1), «Gaddafi» (1), «Post-Gaddafi» (1).

”operasjonene” (40),

The plural, definite-article form of «operasjon», referred to the overall bombing campaign on Libya **37** times, and 2 times to specific bombing attacks on Libya. In one occasion it appeared in a reference from the Libyan government.

Descriptive terms: “Libya” (20), “militære” (10), “NATO” (3), “FN” (1).

Other forms: ”operasjonar” (4), ”libyaoperasjonen” (3), ”operasjonane” (2), ”operasjonens” (2). Total mentions, **11**.

descriptive terms: «militære» (1), «NATO sine» (1), “skarpe” (1).

Summary of descriptive terms:

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“Libya” (131), “NATO” (47), “NATO” (3), “NATOs” (7), “NATO” (7), «Natos» (1), “NATO” (3), «NATO sine» (1), “militære” (38), “internasjonale” (15), “FN” (6), “USA ledete” (2), “allierte” (2), “vestlige” (2), «Gaddafi» (2), «USAs» (1), “Vellyket” (1), «koalisjonsstyrkenes» (1), “skarpe” (1).

Total usages of «operasjon» for the coalition’s bombing campaign against Libya: **351** of 356.

Militæroperasjon

”militæroperasjonen” (29), ”militæroperasjonene” (15), ”militæroperasjon” (14), ”militæroperasjoner” (6), ”Militæroperasjonen” (4), ”militæroperasjonane” (1), ”Militæroperasjonene” (1), ”militæroperasjonens” (1).

Total mentions, **71**.

Descriptive terms: «Libya» (17), «NATO» (4), «internasjonale» (9), “vestlige” (3), “FN” (1). «over Libya» (1), «i landet» (1), «i Libya» (4), «FN-støttede» (1), «arabvestlig» (1), «væpnet» (1), «koalisjonsstyrkenes» (1), «dei internasjonale styrkane sin» (1).

Other forms: ”krigsoperasjonen” (2), ”koalisjonsoperasjon” (1).

flyforbudssonen

The term flyforbudssone appeared in the following forms: “flyforbudssone” (76), “flyforbudssonen” (40), “flyforbudssone” (11), “flyforbudssonen” (6), “Flyforbudssonen” (4), «Flyforbudssone» (1) and «Flyforbudssonen» (1). In total, **139** mentions. The term stems from the legal origins of the military attacks on Libya. The United Nations Security Council released a resolution (no. 1973-2011) which denied Libya the right to fly airplanes over the country, and simultaneously gave the UN the rights to use “any necessary means” to uphold this resolution.

It was accompanied by the term “håndheve” (håndheve flyforbudssonen) 32 times, and “innføre” 22 times. In these **54** instances, the compound terms referred to the “coalitions” bombing campaign against Libya.

The usage of the term in the corpus was not consistent. In some instances it was used in a manor consistent with what the word “zone” implies, in its geographical sense, as in the sentence “en flyforbudssone over landet”. However in the following **5** instances, the word was used differently. Here, the term “flyforbudssone” was used as a direct reference to the coalition’s bombing campaign against Libya: “Flyforbudssonen over Libya er på plass”,

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«[NATO] overtar flyforbudssonen», «dersom NATO mislykkes med flyforbudssonen i Libya, skal de inn med bakkestyrker», «den norske nølingen rundt flyforbudssonen», «Foruten en militær flyforbudssone lanseres det forslag om...». In the remaining 80 instances, the word referred to the UN Security Councils resolution in itself.

Krigføring**krig (108)**

The word «krig» was used directly to describe the coalitions bombing campaign against Libya **12** times. In 8 of these, the word was used as a quote to critics of the Norwegian participation in the bombing campaign. A long-standing discussion about what “krig” (war) is and if the Libyan bombing campaign could be described as such accounted for much of the appearances of the word. The remaining usage referred to the situation in Libya in general.

”krigføring” (17),

The word «krigføring» was used to describe the Libyan government’s (personified via Gaddafi) campaign against the rebels in 4 occasions, in 4 occasions it was used in technical terms for descriptions of laws and landmines world-wide. In one occasion the word was used as a negation regarding the coalitions operation, and in **7** occasions, the word was used to refer to the coalitions bombing campaign against Libya.

”krigshandlinger” (17),

The term «krigshandlinger» appeared 17 times in the corpus. In only **1** occasion, the word referred to the coalitions bombing campaign against Libya.

”krigføringen” (13),

In all 13 appearances, the word krigføringen referred to the coalitions bombing campaign.

Other compound terms: ”krigføringa” (3), ”Krigføringen” (1),

”krigshhandlingene” (11),

The word «krigshhandlingene» referred to the Libyan war in general 10 times, and **once** to the coalitions bombing campaign.

The term «krige» referred in all 4 mentions to the Libyan government.

Other referent terms: «militæraksjonen (29), aksjonen (24), luftangrepene (17),

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«Libya-aksjonen» (12), Intervensjonen (12), inngripen (11), «NATO aksjonen» (7), Innsatsen (8 of 38, 20 refer specifically to Norways «innsats»),

Descriptive terms: “Libya” (148), “NATO” (73), “militære” (38), “internasjonale” (24), “FN” (7), “vestlige” (5), “USA” (3), “allierte” (2), “Vellyket” (1), «koalisjonsstyrkenes» (2), “skarpe” (1), «over Libya» (1), «i landet» (1), «i Libya» (4), «FN-støttede» (1), «arabvestlig» (1), «væpnet» (1) «dei internasjonale styrkane sin» (1).

Subgroups**NATO**

The largest subgroup of the category “koalisjonen/alliansen” was NATO, The North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Referent terms

Nato: NATO (894), Nato (228), NATOs (192), Natos (37). Total, **1351** mentions.

descriptive terms: «alliansens» (4), «allierte» (2), «alliansen» (2),

Nato soldiers:

”bakkestyrker” (30), «styrkene» (22), ”NATO-styrkene” (17), ”styrkenes” (10), ”luftstyrker” (9), ”okkupasjonsstyrke” (9), ”Nato-styrkene” (5), «styrkane» (4), «styrker» (3), ”NATO-styrker” (3), ”Nato-styrkenes” (2), ”stabiliseringsstyrke” (2), "Nato-ledete styrkene" (1), «styrken» (1). Total, 118.

Soldater: «soldatene» (1), ”Nato-soldatene” (1).

Connoted terms:

verbs: Angrep (62) [«angrep» (52), «angrepet» (10)], **Operation (41)** [«operasjonen» (20), «operasjon» (6), «operasjoner» (1), «operasjonene» (1), «operasjonane» (1), «Militæroperasjonen» (2), «engasjement» (4), «åtak» (3), «oppdraget» (1), «offensiven» (1), «innsatsen» (1)], **Bombet (21)** [«bomber» (10), «bombet» (6), «bombing» (5)], ledet (1) [«ledete» (14), «ledet» (3), «leidde» (3)],

Connoted terms: landene (25) [«landene» (18), «landenes» (3), «landet» (2), «landa» (2)], «talsmann» (8), «talsmannen» (5), «sjef» (12), «flyene» (8), «rådet» (3), «mandat» (3),

Connoted agents: generalsekretær [NATO] (43), rådet [NATO] (5), Rasmussen (94), Fogh (73), sjef [NATO-sjef (*11), sjef Rasmussen (1), NATO's militære sjef (1), sjef for NATOs operasjoner (1), Natos Libya-sjef (1)] (15) .

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FN [United Nations]

FN (522), FNs (292), rådet [FNs sikkerhetsråd] (15), Sikkerhetsrådet (36), Tryggingrådet (36), generalsekretær [FN] (32),

Related nouns: **resolusjonen (256)** [resolusjonen (140), resolusjon (116)], **mandat (100)** [mandatet (59), mandat (41)], **sanksjoner (49)** [”sanksjoner” (40), ”FN-sanksjoner” (4), ”Sanksjoner” (2), ”FN-sanksjonerte” (1), ”Libya-sanksjoner” (1), ”sanksjonera” (1)], flyforbudssonen (40).

Other institutions:

Other institutions were not mentioned more than 0,5 times pr. article and were therefore not included in further analysis. Among these institutions were the following:

ICC (International Criminal Court): ICC (109), Straffedomstolen (102)

[«straffedomstolen» (82), «krigsforbryterdomstolen» (5), «strafferettsdomstolen» (3), «lover» (3), «domstolen» (3), «straffedomstol» (2), «straffedomstolen» (2), «straffedomstoolen [sic]» (1), «straffedomstolens» (1)]. Total mentions, **211**. [Connoted figure: Moreno-Ocampo (45),]. Total mentions.

Amnesty International

Amnesty International (62). Total mentions, **62**.

Leger uten grenser: ”Leger uten grenser” (31). Total mentions, **31**.

EU: ”EU” (116), ”Eus” (31). Total mentions, **147**.

Al Qaida

Al Qaida (86), Osama bin Laden (14). Total mentions, **100**.

Countries

In general, words that had the definite article were analyzed. These included “diktatoren”, “statsministeren”, “konflikten” and “regjeringen». In certain instances, the names of countries were listed as agents. This was due to the fact that in these instances, the names of countries were used as a term to convey the decisions, actions and comments of these countries political, economic or military institutions. Thus the word “Norge” was often used as a term for the Norwegian military, government or comments from public figures. Examples these metonymic usages were:

“Han seier USA no ber om oppklaring” (he says that USA now asks for an explanation)

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”Norge avventende i Libya-saken” (Norway is resistant in the Libya-case)

”Norge må stille opp” (Norway must attend)

In these examples, the names of countries are treated as actual persons that can perform actions, make statements and so on. In short, it was common practice to use the country name as a metonymy for the government or army of that country.

Norge [Norway]

Not surprisingly, Norway was frequently mentioned in the corpus. Of course, the usage of the referent terms for Norway differed in terms of if they referred to Norway in a geographical sense, or as a political entity.

Referent terms: “Norge” (489), “Norges” (68), “norge” (1). Total, **558** mentions.

Norwegian government.

”Regjeringen” (21), ”norske myndigheter” (24), ”norske regjeringen” (12). Total, **57** mentions.

Descriptive terms:

Norske [«myndigheter» (24), «regjeringen» (5), «stat» (2), «regjering» (1)], Total, 32.

Norwegian armed forces:

Forsvaret (287)

The word ”forsvaret” appeared 373 times in the corpus. It referred to Libyas army 19 times. All of these mentioned occurred early in the conflict. The latest of the articles that referred to the Libyan army as “forsvaret” was article no. 60. The word referred to the Norwegian military **287** times and 67 times to the armies of other nations.

Styrkene ["norske"]

"norske styrkene" (37), ”norske styrken” (27), ”styrker” (18), ”norske soldatene” (10), ”soldatene” (3), "styrkene" [without further description] (3), ”styrkens” (3), (Compound terms [referent: Norwegian army]): ”bordingstyrken” (3), ”F-16 styrken” (2), ”flystyrken” (2), ”Libya-styrken” (2), ”Libya-styrker” (2). Total, **142**.

Soldater: «soldater» (18), «soldatene» (10). Total, 28.

Mannskap: «Mannskap» (8), «mannskapene» (7), «mannskaper» (5), «mannskapet» (3).

Total, 23.

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Weaponry: norske jagerfly (34), jagerflyene (22), kampfly (12),

Descriptive terms:

Norske: «styrkene» (35), «styrken» (21), «styrker» (18), «soldater» (18), «forsvaret» (15) «soldatene» (10), «mannskap» (2), «styrkenes» (1), «styrkar» (1). Total, **131**.

våre: «soldater» (3/5), «styrker» (1/7), «våre militære» (2/2). Total, **6**.

Connoted figures: Støre (180), [Jonas (106), utenriksminister (32)] Stoltenberg (127), Jens (77), Statsminister (46 [of 140 mentions]); Faremo (122), forsvarsminister (31), Forsvarsminister (30), [Espen Barth] Eide (71), Morten Haga Lunde (60), [Bård Vegard] Solheim (37), sjef [for de norske styrkene] (12), Oberstløytnant, Hovtun (17), SV (54).

Bidraget [Norways military campaign against Libya]**Bidrag**

The term “bidrag” (contribution) was frequently used to denote the Norwegian aerial bombardment campaign against Libya. The term appeared in the following word forms in the corpus.

Word forms: ”bidrag” (47), ”bidraget” (37), ”bidragsytere” (11), ”kampflybidraget” (5), ”militærbidraget” (5), ”Libya-bidraget” (4), ”hovedbidrag” (3), ”kampflybidrag” (3), ”bidragsyter” (2), ”bidragsyter” (2), ”jagerflybidraget” (2), ”Libya-bidrag” (2), ”Bidraget” (1), ”bidragsyterne” (1), ”F-16-bidrag” (1), ”FN-bidrag” (1), ”Nato-bidraget” (1), ”styrkebidrag” (1), ”Styrkebidraget” (1). Total, **130**.

In all but 18 instances, in which the term referred to the «contribution» of other nations or institutions, the word referred to the Norwegian «contribution» to the bombing campaign against Libya.

Descriptive terms: “norske” (26), “Norges” (18), “militære” (4), «omfattende» (3), «kontroversielle» (1), «humanitære» (1).

Bidra

The word “bidra” (contribute) appeared 86 times in the corpus. Of these, it referred to the Norwegian “contribution” to the bombing of Libya in 67 occasions.

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bidra [til operasjonen / til aksjonen / med jagerfly / militært / til denne operasjonen / med luftressurser / med medisiner / med seks F-16 fly / med et Orion maritimt overvåkningsfly / til å sikre sivilbefolkningen / til å håndheve Sikkerhetsrådets resolusjon / til overgangen fra diktatur til demokrati / med ekspertise) (67 / 86),

Descriptive terms: «militært» (3).

Innsats

The word “innsatsen” appeared 94 times in the corpus. Of these, it referred to the Norwegian “efforts” in the bombing of Libya 38 times.

descriptive terms: “norske” (11), “Norges” (3), “norsk” (3), «treffsikker» (1), «humanitære» (1), «betydelig» (1).

Actions

The actions of the Norwegian military were described by the words “oppdrag” (often accompanied by the term “skarp oppdrag”) and “operasjon”.

Oppdrag

”oppdrag” (140), ”oppdraget” (58), ”Libya-oppdraget” (7), ”Oppdraget” (6), ”bombeoppdrag” (2), ”bombeoppdrag” (2), ”bombeoppdragene” (2), ”Libya-oppdrag” (2), ”luftoppdraget” (2), ”oppdragets” (2). Total, **223**.

Descriptive terms:

«Libya» (10), «skarpe» (13), «kompliserte» (5), «krevende» (3), «vår*» (4), «militære» (2).

Deltakelse

The word «deltakelse» took the following forms: ”deltakelse” (26), ”deltakelsen” (9), ”Deltakelsen” (2), ”krigsdeltakelse” (1), ”Libya-deltakelsen” (1). Total mentions, **39**.

Of these, the word referred to Norway’s «participation» in the bombing campaign against Libya in 30 occasions.

Descriptive terms: “Norges” (9), “norsk” (5), “norske” (3), «vår» (2), «Libya» (2).

Bomber

The word “*bombe*” appeared 186 times. Of these, it referred to the Norwegian participation in the bombing of Libya in the following instances:

bomber (21), bombet (17). Total **38**.

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Descriptive terms: “norske” (21).

Summary of descriptive terms:

“norske” (99), «skarpe» (13), «Libya» (12), “militære” (9), «vår» (6), «kompliserte» (5), «krevende» (3), «omfattende» (3), «humanitære» (2), «treffsikker» (1), «kontroversielle» (1), «betydelig» (1).

USA

The United states were mentioned, either with the direct referent term (USA), by the term “amerikansk”, by the proper names of its capital (Washington) or headquarters of its military apparatus (Pentagon) **601** times, excluding mentions of connoted figures (such as its president). Noticeably, this exceeds mentions of Norway. The term USA was used as a metonymy for the government of the United States of America. Synonymous terms included “Amerikanske myndigheter”, “regjeringen” and “Washington”

As an adjective: ”amerikanske” (190), ”amerikansk” (74), ”Amerikanske” (18), ”Amerikansk” (6). Total, **288**.

The US government

USA: USA (384), USAs (142). Total, **526**.

Washington: “Washington” (39), “Washingtons” (3). Total, **42**.

Myndigheter: «myndigheter» (11), «myndigheters» (1), «myndighetene» (1), (amerikanske) myndigheter (8). Total, **21**.

Regjering: «regjeringen» (3), (amerikanske) ”regjeringen” (3), ”regjeringen” (3). Total, **9**.

Other: ”styresmakter” (2), «lovgivere» (1), ”Amerika” (1). Total, **4**.

Total mentions of US government: **601**.

Other American agents:

Media: «avisen» (4), «avisa» (2), «journalisten» (2), «medier» (2), «media» (1), «TV» (1). Total, **12**.

Money: «dollar» (4), «banker» (2),

Other: «ledere» (1), «Senatet» (2), «senatorer» (1), «senatorene» (1), «kongressrepresentanten» (1), «utenriksdepartementet» (5), «ambassadøren» (3), «ambassaden» (3), «diplomater» (2), «CIA» (2), «spesialister» (1), «velgerne» (1),

Connoted figures

Obama (173), [Barack (92)], (USAs) ”president” (44), (USA) ”president” (46), «presidenten» (8).

Clinton (82), Hillary (48), utenriksminister (29), «utenriksministeren» (3), (amerikanske) ”utenriksministeren” (3),

Robert Gates (41), forsvarsminister (13), (USAs) ”forsvarssjef” (11), (USAs) ”viseutenriksminister” (2), ”viseforsvarssjef” (1).

Other noticeable nations:

Other nations were not mentioned more than 0,5 times pr. article (344 times or more). They were therefore not analyzed further as main agents of the news corpus. The most noticeable of these otherwise not analyzed nations and institutions were the following:

Frankrike

Frankrike (224), Frankrikes (76). Total mentions, **300**.

Connoted figures: Sarkozy (87), Juppe (53), utenriksminister (32),

Storbritanna

Storbritannia (184), Storbritannias (47). Total mentions: **231**.

Connoted figures: Cameron (83) [Statsminister (11)], William Hague (43),

”britiske soldatene” (1), ”soldatene fra den britiske SAS-styrken” (1),

Italy

Italia (125),

[Franco] Frattini (31), [Italias utenriksminister (19)]

Sweden

Sweden was mentioned **21** times in the corpus. It was described as being part of the coalition 9 times.

Qatar

The nation state Qatar was mentioned **56** times in the corpus. In 26 occasions, the state was mentioned as being part of the “coalition”.

The United Arab Emirates

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The United Arab Emirates (forente arabiske emirater) were mentioned, 32 times in the corpus. In 29 occasions the state was mentioned as being part of the “coalition”.

Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia was mentioned 10 times in the corpus. In only two occasions, the nation was mentioned as a member of the “coalition”.

Bahrain

Bahrain was mentioned 16 times in the corpus. In three instances, the country was mentioned as being part of the coalition. In only one occasion the country was mentioned as being part of the “coalition”.

Kuwait

Kuwait was mentioned 8 times in the corpus. In one occasion, the country was mentioned as being part of the “coalition”.

Oman

Oman was mentioned three times in the corpus. It was described once as being part of the “coalition”.

2. The Arabian League

den arabiske liga (84),

Amr Moussa (14), generalsekretær (2),

Other

”svenske” (1), ”spesialtrente” (1), ”soldatar med grunnleggjande solatutdanning” (1),

”flysoldat” (1), ”spesialsoldat” (1), ”spesialsoldatene” (1),

Countries and Multi-national institutions that were not a part of the “coalition”

Russland

“Russland” (94), “russiske” (27), “Russlands” (18), “russisk” (14), ”russerne” (2), ”Russisk” (1), ”Russiske” (1). Total mentions, **157**.

Kina

”Kina” (44), ”kinesiske” (5), ”Kinas” (4), ”kinesisk” (3), ”kinesere” (1). Total mentions, **57**.

Tyskland

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”Tyskland” (90), ”tyske” (30), ”Tysklands” (18), ”Tysk” (10), ”tyskerne” (4), ”Tyske” (2), ”Tyskerne” (2), ”Tysk” (1), ”tyskeren” (1), ”tyskernes” (1). Total mentions, **159**.

India

”India” (16), ”Indias” (1). Total mentions, **17**.

AU

Den afrikanske union (82), AU (72),

Supporters of Gaddafi

Descriptions of Libyans who supported the government, or generally opposed the revolt in Libya were, like those of the government, personalized and directly associated with Gaddafi. These supporters of Gaddafi and the Libyan government were, however, not frequently mentioned. In total, these appeared 261 times, which is 0,37 times pr. article. This excludes the group from being included as a “main agent”, as the criteria for being included as such is a mention of 0,5 times pr. article or more.

This is peculiar seen in the light that, according to the news corpus itself, very large pro-government demonstrations were frequently held in every major city in Libya throughout the war. In one of these demonstrations, at least a million of the capitals 2,2 million inhabitants, participated.

Tilhengere: “Gaddafi tilhengere” (82), “Gaddafi tilhengere” [without -], (46), “Gaddafi-tilhengjarene” (4). Total, **132** mentions.

Støttespillere: “støttespillere” (36), “Gaddafi støttespillere” (5). Total, 41 mentions.

Other: “Gaddafi-tro” (15), Gaddafis folk (11), “Gaddafi-vennlige” (6), “Gaddafi-lojalister (5), “Gaddafi-støttespelarar” (4), “Gaddafi-tru” (4), “Gaddafi-folk” (4), and “Gaddafi-supportere” (2 mentions), ”disipler” (2), støttespillere (37), støttespelarar (14), Gaddafi-støttespillere (7), Gaddafi-støttespelarar (4), Gaddafi-sympatisører (3). Total, 88 mentions.

Total mentions of Agent ”Gaddafi tilhengere”: **261**.

Mentions pr. article: 0,38 times pr. article.

Appendix 4. Noteworthy synonyms in NRK's reporting on the Libyan crisis

The analysis identified 9 categories for synonymous terms in NRKs coverage of the Libyan crisis. These are terms that are used interchangeably to refer to the exact same entities in the examined corpus, which implies that NRK's journalists could have exchanged each concept within each category without affecting the denotative meaning of the sentences in which they appeared in. It must be stressed that the term "synonym" is context dependent. Thus, although these concepts might not be synonymous in other contexts, they are so in the context of the analysed corpus. For example, although one might object that terms such as "regjering" and "diktatur" are synonyms in other contexts, no definition is provided in the corpus to the terms "diktatur" or "regjering", or what the difference between these concepts are.

Nine categories for synonyms were identified in the content analysis of NRKs news reports on the Libyan crisis. The first category contains the words "leder", "leiar", "sjef", "hersker", "enehersker", "dictator" and "tyrann". These are words that are used to denote Gaddafi, and also other leading persons. These include Mahmoud Jibril, the political figure most often described as the leader of the rebels, as well as leaders of several other nations, such as Syria, South Africa, Russia and more. However, of these only Gaddafi was mentioned often enough in the corpus to be considered a Key agent.

The second category contains the words "regime", "regjering", "myndigheter", "styresmakter", "makthavere", "styre", "lovgivere", "diktatur", "tyranni" and "stat". These words are used to denote the Libyan government, the rebel government which replaced it, the Norwegian government, the government of the USA, as well as the government of several nations which were not mentioned often enough to be considered Key agents.

The third category includes the words "styrker", "soldater", "hæren", "forsvaret", "militæret" and "mannskap". These words describe the fighting forces of different factions in the Libyan conflict. These include the Libyan forces, the rebel forces, the "Coalition" forces, NATO forces, and the Norwegian forces.

The fourth category includes the words "angrep", "[militær-] operasjon", "[militært] oppdrag", "[militær-] aksjon", "intervensjon", "inngripen", "[militær-] innsats", "krigføring", "krigshandling", "[militært-] bidrag", "[militær-] innsats" and "[militær-] deltakelse". These words are used interchangeably to describe acts of war committed in the Libyan crisis. The agents which are ascribed these acts include the rebels, the "Coalition" and the Norwegian fighting forces, as well as the Libyan army.

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The fifth category includes the words "sivile", "folket", "folk", and "befolkning". These words are used to describe non-combatant Libyan civilians.

The sixth category includes the terms "opprørere", "motstandere", "revolusjonsforkjempere", "frigjøringsbevegelse", "opposisjonspartiet", "rettferdighetsbevegelse" and "folkeopprørere". These are terms used to denote the rebels in the Libyan crisis. Related terms include "activist", "kritiker", and "dissident".

The seventh category includes the terms "overgangsråd", "opprørsbevegelse", "opposisjon", "revolusjonsråd", "rørsla", and "opprørsråd". These words denote the political faction of the Libyan rebels.

The eighth category includes the terms "alliance", "koalisjon", "internasjonale samfunnet", "verdenssamfunnet", and "allierte". These terms, which resemble the terms used for the dichotomy used in WW2, are used to denote the fighting forces of the nations that participated in the "No-fly zone", which would eventually commence in an all-out aerial bombardment of Libya. The usage of the terms "verdenssamfunnet" and "internasjonale samfunnet" are noteworthy, as they were used to refer to the nations that participated in the attacks on Libya, thus excluding nations that did not. But, again, because they were used as such in the corpus, they are in its context synonymous.

The ninth category includes the terms "opprør", "revolusjon", "revolt", "rebellion", "geriljakrig", and "frigjøringskamp". These words were used to denote the rebel campaign in the Libyan crisis. Related concepts include "krig" and "konflikt".

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Table 6. *Categories of synonyms*

<u>Category</u>	<u>Synonyms</u>	<u>Referents</u>
Person in power	leder, leiar, sjef, hersker, enehersker, diktator, tyrann.	Gaddafi, Jibril.
Government	regime, regjering, myndigheter, styresmakter, makthavere, styre, lovgivere, diktatur, tyranni, stat.	Libya, Norway, USA
Armed forces	styrker, soldater, hæren, forsvaret, militæret, mannskap.	Libyan army, Norwegian army, US army, NATO army, "coalition" army
Military attack	angrep, [militær-] operasjon, [militært] oppdrag, [militær-] aksjon, intervensjon, inngripen, [militær-] innsatsen, krigføring, krigshandling, [militært-] bidrag, [militær-] innsats, [militær-] deltakelse.	Military attacks conducted by Libyan government, rebels, "Coalition", Norway or NATO.
Civilians	sivile, folket, folk, befolkning	Non-combatant Libyans, who do not support the government or Gaddafi.
Libyan rebels	opprørere, motstandere, revolusjonsforkjempere, frigjøringsbevegelse, opposisjonspartiet, rettferdighetsbevegelse and folkeopprørere.	Militant opponents of government.
Political opposition	overgangsråd, opprørsbevegelse, NTC, opposisjon, revolusjonsråd, rørsle, opprørsråd, frigjøringsbevegelse, opposisjonspartiet, rettferdighetsbevegelse.	Political or religious opponent of government.
Military coalition	allianse, koalisjon, verdenssamfunnet, allierte.	The joined armed forces of NATO, Qatar and Saudi Arabia.
Rebel war	"opprør", "revolusjon", "revolt", "rebellion", "geriljakrig", and "frigjøringskamp"	Locals who participated in the war against the Libyan government.

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Appendix 5: Recent studies making use of the semantic differential technique, ordered by number of subjects (Ns) used.

Study	total number of subjects	groups
(Dauenhauer et al., 2011)	13	1
(Raab, 2008)	13	1
(Knutson et al., 2007)	20	2 (13, 7)
(Sato & Yoshida, 2009)	25	1
(Kamei et al., 2011)	29	3 (7, 14, 18)
(Chase, 2011)	43	2 (23, 20)
(Mattson et al., 2007)	43	1
(Mowat, 2011)	69	1
(Leone, 2009)	84	1
(Evans, 2011)	91	1
(Festini et al., 2009)	112	1
(Beatty, 2011)	114	1
(Alea & Bluck, 2007)	129	2
(Narayanan, 2011)	131	1
(Rassinelli, 2008)	131	1
(Monteith, & Pettit, 2011)	135	1
(Dick, 2007)	149	2 (110, 39)
(Al-Otaiba, 2011)	162	2 (130, 32)
(Russo, 2008)	168	1
(Anchor & Kourilova, 2009)	200	2 (100, 100)
(Bartos, 2009)	276	1
(Gluth, et al., 2011)	294	2 (151, 143)
(Gonzales et al., 2011)	328	3 (112, 96, 120)
(Geake & Gross, 2008)	337	1
(Rhodes et al., 2011)	412	1
(Lasticova & Bianchi, 2008)	463	1
(Hamilton, 2007)	695	1
(Vairo, 2010)	779	1
(Yik, 2009)	966	3 (395, 269, 302)
(Knigge & Bettine, 2011)	1317	2 (39, 1278)
(Schroder, 2011)	1905	1

Appendix 6. Tables for the calculation of mean attitudinal valence of key agent labelsTable 7. *Key agents and the labels used to denote them; the evaluative affective meaning of the labels, with their frequency and standard deviation*

Agent	Labels	Frequency of occurrences	Mean valence of label	SD
Gaddafi	Gaddafi	4630	[own name]	
	Leder	297	0,58	1,14
	Diktator	204	-2,40	1,43
	Oberst	49	-0,08	1,10
	Leiaren	14	0,58	1,14
	Despoten	8	-0,88	1,20
	Hersker	7	-1,70	1,06
	Sjef	7	0,29	1,06
	Enehersker	6	-1,70	1,06
	Tyrann	3	-2,60	0,83
Average attitudinal valence of labels:			-0,59	
Agent	Labels	Frequency of occurrences	Mean valence of label	SD
The Libyan Government	Regime	674	-1,03	1,09
	Regjering	410	0,59	1,06
	Libya	166	[Own name]	0,00
	Myndigheter	94	0,18	1,00
	Diktatur	23	-2,40	1,06
	Jamahiriya	20	[Own name]	0,00
	Stat	14	0,56	1,05
	Styresmakter	9	-0,32	1,05
	Tyranni	5	-2,60	0,83
Average attitudinal valence of labels:			-0,41	
Agent	Labels	Frequency of occurrences	Mean valence of label	SD
Libyan military	Styrker	927	-0,09	1,29
	Soldater	435	-0,41	1,32
	Hæren	109	-1,28	1,13
	Forsvaret	19	0,80	1,20
	Lojale	8	2,21	0,90
	Militæret	13	-0,14	1,34

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		Average attitudinal valence of labels:	-0,25		
Agent	Labels	Frequency of occurrences	Mean valence of label	SD	
Civilians	Sivile	744	1,50	1,10	
	Folket	224	1,55	1,12	
	Folk	60	1,55	1,12	
	Befolkning	41	1,23	1,11	
		Average attitudinal valence of labels:	1,50		
Agent	Labels	Frequency of occurrences	Mean valence of label	SD	
Rebels	Opprørere	2171	0,00	1,33	
	Styrker	310	-0,09	1,29	
	Soldater	315	-0,41	1,32	
	Demonstranter	120	-0,12	1,07	
	Milits	89	-1,08	1,17	
	Revolusjonssoldater	39	-0,41	1,32	
	Motstandare	35	-0,43	0,98	
	Hæren	31	-1,28	1,13	
	NTC-soldater	18	-0,41	1,32	
	Aktivister	13	0,28	1,10	
	Revolusjonsstyrker	12	0,68	1,15	
	Regimekritikarne	11	0,45	1,19	
	NTC-styrker	8	-0,09	1,29	
	Dissidenter	3	-0,12	0,75	
	Revolusjonsforkjempere	3	0,68	1,15	
	Allianse	2	0,72	1,23	
	Opprørssiden	2	-0,42	1,33	
	Gaddafi-kritikere	2	0,45	1,19	
Folkeopprørerne	1	0,00	1,33		
		Average attitudinal valence of labels:	-0,10		
Agent	Labels	Frequency of occurrences	Mean valence of label	SD	
Overgangs-rådet	Overgangsrådet	724	0,12	0,58	
	Opposisjonen	181	-0,02	1,05	
	NTC	97	[own name]		
	Overgangsregjering	96	0,59	1,06	
	Regjeringen	67	0,59	1,06	
	Opprørsbevegelsen	64	0,42	1,15	

QUANTITATIVE MEASURE OF EVALUATIVE LABELING IN NEWS REPORTS

Myndighet	51	0,18	1,00
Makthaverne	19	-0,97	1,01
Styresmakter	7	-0,32	1,05
Revolusjonsrådet	5	1,25	1,05
Rørsla	3	-0,42	1,15
Styre	2	0,22	0,98
Opprørsrådet	2	1,25	1,05
Frigjøringsbevegelsen	2	1,36	1,16
Representant	2	0,75	0,89
Opposisjonspartiet	1	-0,02	1,05
Rettferdighetsbevegelsen	1	[ND]	[ND]
Regime	1	-1,03	1,09

Average attitudinal valence of labels: 0,17

Agent	Labels	Frequency of occurrences	Mean valence of label	SD
Koalisjonen	Koalisjonen	179	0,25	0,86
	Alliansen	109	0,72	1,23
	Styrker	79	-0,09	1,29
	Allierte	38	0,84	1,26
	Vestlige	47	0,59	1,08
	Forsvarsalliansen	18	0,80	1,20
	Internasjonale samfunnet	17	1,08	1,13
	Verdenssamfunnet	14	0,75	1,21
	Vesten	13	0,59	1,08
	Militæralliansen	7	-0,14	1,34
	Soldater	5	-0,41	1,32
	Forsvarsstyrker	3	0,80	1,20
	Militærkoalisjonen	1	0,33	1,28

Average attitudinal valence of labels: 0,43

Agent	Labels	Frequency of occurrences	Mean valence of label	SD
NATO	NATO	1278	[Own Name]	[ND]
	Styrker	118	-0,09	1,29
	Soldater	2	-0,41	1,32

Average attitudinal valence of labels: -0,10

QUANTITATIVE MEASURE OF EVALUATIVE LABELING IN NEWS REPORTS

Agent	Labels	Frequency of occurrences	Mean valence of label	SD
The UN and related institutions	FN	515	[Own name]	0,00
	FNs	292	[Own name]	0,00
	rådet (security council)	87	1,25	1,05
	Generalsekretær	32	[Not available]	
	resolusjonen	256	[Not available]	
	Mandate	100	0,42	0,91
	Sanksjoner	49	-0,44	1,07
Average attitudinal valence of labels:			0,64	

Agent	Labels	Frequency of occurrences	Mean valence of label	SD
Norway	Norge	466	[Own name]	
	Regjeringen	33	0,59	1,061
	Myndigheter	24	0,18	0,997
	Stat	2	0,56	1,046
Average attitudinal valence of labels:			0,42	

Agent	Labels	Frequency of occurrences	Mean valence of label	SD
Norwegian military	Forsvaret	287	0,17	1,198
	Styrkene	142	0,04	1,286
	Soldater	28	-0,40	1,318
	Mannskap	23	0,90	0,996
Average attitudinal valence of labels:			0,33	

Agent	Labels	Frequency of occurrences	Mean valence of label	SD
USA	USA	523	[Own name]	
	Washington	42	[Own name]	
	Myndigheter	21	0,18	0,997
	Regjering	9	0,59	1,061
	Styresmakter	2	-0,32	1,048
	Lovgivere	1	[NA]	
Average attitudinal valence of labels:			0,26	

QUANTITATIVE MEASURE OF EVALUATIVE LABELING IN NEWS REPORTS

Agent	Labels	Frequency of occurrences	Mean valence of label	SD
The international military attack on Libya	Angrepene	480	-1,94	1,162
	Operasjonen	351	0,04	1,051
	Militæroperasjon	71	-1,61	1,037
	Flyforbudssonen	59	-0,74	1,080
	Miltæraaksjonen	29	-1,10	1,164
	Krig	25	-2,61	0,778
	Aksjonen	24	0,09	1,027
	Luftangrepene	17	-2,15	1,021
	Libya-aksjonen	12	0,09	1,030
	Intervensjonen	12	0,16	0,952
	Inngripen	11	0,16	0,950
	Innsatsen	8	1,63	0,964
	NATO-aksjonen	7	0,09	1,027
	Krigføring	7	-2,61	0,778
Krigshandling	2	-2,14	1,028	
Average attitudinal valence of labels:			-1,09	

Agent	Labels	Frequency of occurrences	Mean valence of label	SD
Norwegian participation in military attacks	Oppdrag	223	0,40	0,963
	Bidrag	112	1,67	1,029
	Bidra	67	1,67	1,030
	Innsatsen	38	1,63	0,964
	Bomber	38	-2,57	0,844
	Deltakelse	30	1,35	1,086
Average attitudinal valence of labels:			0,77	

Agent	Labels	Frequency of occurrences	Mean valence of label	SD
The internal conflict in Libya	<i>Krigen</i>	401	-2,14	1,028
	Opprøret	250	-0,68	1,172
	Konflikten	144	-1,35	0,927
	Revolusjonen	60	0,37	1,251
	Geriljakrig	7	-2,18	1,118
	<i>Revolt</i>	1	0,37	1,250
	<i>Rebellion</i>	1	0,37	1,251
	Frigjøringskampen	1	1,26	1,163
Average attitudinal valence of labels:			-1,40	

