

The End of *News of the World* As We Know It

British Newspaper Responses to *News of the World*'s Cessation of Publication

BA Thesis English Language and Culture, Utrecht University

Suzanne Korteweg

3468305

Supervisor: Simon Cook

June 2012

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1. Introduction

10 July 2011. “THANK YOU & GOODBYE” said the cover of *News of the World*'s final issue: “After 168 years, we finally say a sad but very proud farewell to our 7.5m loyal readers.” Only three days before, it was announced that the British Sunday paper would cease to exist after accusations of phone hacking and payments to police officers by staff members.

The scandals surrounding the paper owned by Rupert Murdoch's News International left behind millions of readers and an uncertain number of phone hacking victims, varying from crime victims to politicians and celebrities. *News of the World* had been a major player in the newspaper field for many years and its competitors did not just report the events surrounding the Sunday paper's closing down, but responded to it as well in their editorials.

This paper will research the immediate responses of unsigned opinionated articles in British national newspapers using the perspectives of ownership, the PCC, politics, press ethics, and the editorial kick to distinguish between elite, mid-market, and red top newspapers and between News International and other titles. For this study editorials were used, because an editorial reflects a newspaper's voice. The used data comes from seven daily papers and seven Sunday papers owned by six different publishers. The material was published from 8 July 2011, a day after the announcement that the next issue of *News of the World* would be the last, to 10 July 2011, the day the final issue was released.

2. Theoretical Framework

This section examines the end of *News of the World* and shows different perspectives of media discourse analysis before introducing the editorial as analysis tool. The departure of *News of the World* relates to several topics in the British newspaper landscape: ownership, the Press Complaints Commission, press ethics, and the relationship between politics and the press.

Case: The End of *News of the World*

On 1 October 1943, a new British newspaper was launched and founder John Browne Bell wrote in it: “Our motto is TRUTH. Our practice is THE FEARLESS ADVOCACY OF TRUTH” (qtd. in Bainbridge and Stockdill 17). With these words, *News of the World* introduced itself to the audience. More than 168 years later, the time came to advocate the paper’s own mistruths. On 10 July 2011, the Sunday paper headlined with “THANK YOU & GOODBYE,” closing down after accusations of phone hacking (*NoW Says*). Around the same time was revealed that *News of the World* had made inappropriate payments to Metropolitan police officers between 2003 and 2007 (Siddique). In its final issue the paper stated: “Quite simply, we lost our way” (*NoW Says*).

News of the World has a history of 168 years and billions of printed words. An examination of past events is therefore complicated, but the sensationalism of the 1960s, created in order to attract readers, seems a plausible starting point for a narrative leading to accusations of phone hacking and police bribes. This does not indicate that alleged phone hacking and bribing police officers logically follow sensationalism; the 1960s simply seem to mark the beginning of an era in which

shocking, exclusive headlines and the investigative journalism that accompanied them became more and more important to *News of the World* to attract readers, according to Bainbridge and Stockfield's biography of the paper, *The News of the World Story* (194-195).

Sensationalism was just one of the decade's changes; Australian media magnate Rupert Murdoch became the owner of *News of the World* in 1969 ("1969") and he would hold that position for 42 years, until the final issue. He became owner of the *Sun*, *Times*, and *Sunday Times* as well ("Profile") and the papers became part of News International, the UK branch of News Corp. Major names in the media field such as *Wall Street Journal* and Twentieth Century Fox are part of America-based News Corp too. The Murdoch family owns 40 percent of News Corp's B shares "which have voting rights and own the company" (Adegoke), whereas they hold a number of A shares as well. A shares do not give voting rights to their stakeholders (Adegoke). In short, Rupert Murdoch and his relatives created huge power over an international company owning major media titles, such as Britain's widely-read red top *News of the World*.

In the 1970s, the *News of the World* changed its content and started focussing on investigative journalism. This branch of journalism is characterised by elaborate cover stories and tape recorders (236-237). As Rupert Murdoch stated in 1973: "When things go wrong it is in the interest of those in power to conceal and it is in the interest of the press to reveal. The muck-raking tradition in popular journalism is an honourable one" (qtd. in Bainbridge and Stockdill 237). The so-called "unique Sunday formula, with sex scandals, the love lives of the stars and sport being major ingredients, was still irresistible to millions of readers" (Bainbridge and Stockdill 268)

and persisted for several decades, offering exclusive revelations and big pictures (313).

In their wish to bring breaking news, the *News of the World* staff explored the ethical boundaries of journalism. In 2007, employees Clive Goodman and Glenn Mulcaire were imprisoned for phone hacking (“Leveson Inquiry”). On 7 July 2011 the BBC reported that News International Chairman James Murdoch, son of Rupert, had declared that the Sunday paper would cease to exist “after days of increasingly damaging allegations . . . of hacking into the mobile phones of crime victims, celebrities and politicians” (“News of the World”). The Metropolitan Police had found 4,000 possibly hacked targets (“News of the World”). The history of *News of the World* stops 10 July 2011. The aftermath, however, extends far beyond that date as different investigations proceed and they do not concern phone hacking alone:

- Leveson Inquiry: “judicial probe into press standards, investigating the extent of unlawful or improper conduct at News International and other newspaper groups. It will also examine the original police probe into phone hacking” (“Rupert Murdoch”);
- Operation Weeting: “police investigation into alleged phone-hacking at *News of the World*” (“Rupert Murdoch”);
- Operation Elveden: “police investigation into inappropriate payments to officers” (“Rupert Murdoch”);
- Operation Tuleta: “police investigation into allegations of computer hacking” (“Rupert Murdoch”).

Media Discourse Analysis

Discourse as a linguistic concept refers to spoken and written language. Foucault uses the concept for “a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment . . . Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language” (Hall 72). To Foucault, discourse is language and practice at the same time; discourse is responsible for both the definition and production of people’s knowledge (Hall 72).

What newspapers say is part of media discourse. Different scholars have zoomed in on this specific topic and revealed the definition and production of knowledge in media discourse, thereby constituting its power as a phenomenon. For instance, Pang and Wu reveal the ideological layer of American newspaper language in their critical discourse analysis; and Gerbner, using different dimensions in a message system analysis, stresses the power of discourse in mass media by outlining it as “[m]ass-produced and/or distributed media discourse” serving as both a behavioural instrument and record (17).

Bednarek discusses linguistic expression of opinion, or evaluation, in British newspaper discourse, drawing a comparison between tabloids and broadsheets. She argues evaluation ought to be studied because it “is a significant element of our lives: as a device for interpreting the world and offering this evaluation for others, it pervades human behaviour” (4). However, little research has been done on the topic in either linguistics and media studies (4-5).

Bednarek defines a set of core evaluative parameters: COMPREHENSIBILITY, EMOTIVITY, EXPECTEDNESS, IMPORTANCE, POSSIBILITY/NECESSITY, and RELIABILITY (42). She applies these parameters to 100 news stories concerning topics

ranging from Lady Di to Iraq (5-6), which is one reason why the parameters have to be rather generally applicable.

Bednarek's corpus mostly consists of hard news stories: ostensibly factual stories. A genre that highlights a newspaper's opinion is the editorial. Editorials or leading articles provide unsigned commentary on current affairs, whereas a column is a signed opinion piece (Harrower 134). Harrower considers "publications need editorials and columns to provide the personality and passions that news reporting doesn't allow" (134).

An example of editorial analysis is Galindo's research concerning the debate over bilingual education in the US. Galindo uses a typology proposed by Dijk which orders the textual structure of editorials into functional categories. The typology comprises the categories of "defining the situation", "explanation and/or evaluation," and "conclusion or moral": the concluding statements can vary from recommendations and advice to moral lessons (Galindo 235-6). This resembles what Stewart et al. call the "'kick or the *conclusion* . . . where the writer drives home the point of his argument and delivers the kick. This sums up the editorial" (415). It is thus the final message to provide the reader with.

The Editorial: Voice of the Newspaper

Editorials provide readers with the newspaper's voice: "The most precise barometer of a newspaper's position on political and social questions is assumed to reside on the editorial page – the heart, soul, and conscience of the newspaper" (Santo qtd. in Wahl-Jorgensen 70). The editorial page and op-ed (opposite-editorial) page provide room for editorials that show the newspaper's position, columns that reflect columnists' opinions, and letters to the editor by readers. Through opinion journalism

“newspapers can contribute to shaping and articulating public opinion” (Wahl-Jorgensen 70). By paying attention to subject X, a newspaper makes X public debate; and conversely, if X is a huge feature of current public debate, a newspaper will probably pay attention to X. Shaping and articulating public opinion are heavily interdependent.

The articulation of opinion draws the attention to the distinction between opinion and information. Some authors view this distinction as the essence of professional journalism (Wahl-Jorgensen 71), whereas red-top newspapers tend to challenge the opinion and information differentiation. Opinions may thus appear on every single page and not just on the editorial and op-ed pages (74).

British Newspapers: Owning a Mass Medium

In the British press system, ownership is a key concept which gained relevance when newspapers became a mass medium. The urbanisation of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century created communities where literacy became important as it facilitated more efficient labour in industrial environments. Growing literacy stimulated the British press to become a mass medium (McNair 87).

A century later, after numerous shifts in the market, three Peers of the Realm owned 67 percent of the British national daily press “establishing a trend of ownership that has persisted in the British newspaper industry ever since” (McNair 87), except for a short period of state-intervention during and after World War II (87). The power of free market and private ownership still returned, and Rupert Murdoch became the most powerful newspaper owner of the second half of the twentieth century.

Australian Murdoch set foot in Britain in the late sixties and bought *News of the World* and the *Sun*. Murdoch has a reputation for “his ruthlessness, energy, and astonishing willingness to take risks” but he has been criticised as “a vulgarian and a cynic who had degraded standards of journalism by pandering to a sensation-seeking public” (“Profile”).

After gaining financial success and the ownership of *Times* and *Sunday Times*, Murdoch moved his four papers away from historical newspaper centre Fleet Street into Fortress Wapping in 1986, and discharged 5,000 workers whilst doing so (“Profile”). Efficiency was the aim, using modern printing technologies that required less labourers, but Murdoch did more. He demanded the unions to “accept flexible working, agree to a no-strike clause, adopt new technology and abandon their closed shop . . . Just over a year later, the strikers were exhausted and demoralised, and the unions were facing bankruptcy and court action” (Henley). Murdoch left old printing techniques and the power of the unions behind.

Belfield et al. note that Rupert Murdoch “has achieved what none of his peers has managed. He has built a major international empire *and* remained completely in control for more than forty years” (1). Murdoch once stated “Monopoly is a terrible thing, until you have it” (Belfield et al. 7). In Britain Murdoch does not have newspaper monopoly, but until July 2011 his News International published four national titles. The *Sun* and *News of the World* are red-top newspapers, the *Times* and *Sunday Times* are elite newspapers (McNair 4, 7).

McNair gives an overview of the British national press, drawing distinctions between elite, mid-market, and red-top newspapers. Elite newspapers contain relatively demanding articles, whereas red-top newspapers are known for sensationalism aiming at readers from the lower socioeconomic classes. Mid-market

newspapers aim at readers from higher socioeconomic classes, but their content is less demanding than that of elite newspapers (5).

The distinction between broadsheet and tabloid has been replaced by elite versus red top because broadsheet titles rapidly switched to tabloid formats in the 2000s. As a result, content and size no longer correlate (McNair 5). The elite and mid-market classifications refer to audiences, whereas red-tops literally have their mastheads printed in red at the top of the paper. The website British Newspapers Online, britishpapers.co.uk, which McNair also refers to, prefers the term heavy-weight rather than elite.

Table 1 shows a list of British national newspapers published in July 2011, extracted from information given by McNair (4, 7). Since McNair's *News and Journalism in the UK* dates from 2008, recent changes have been checked at British Newspapers Online. Two red-top papers ceased publication: *Daily Sport* in April 2011 and *News of the World* in July 2011. The Financial Times does not have a Sunday sister paper, whereas the *Sunday Sport* and *People* lack a daily sister paper.

Category	Daily Paper	Sunday Paper	Publisher
Elite	<i>Financial Times</i>	---	Financial Times Ltd.
	<i>Guardian</i>	<i>Observer</i>	Guardian Media Group
	<i>Independent</i>	<i>Independent on Sunday</i>	Independent Group
	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	<i>Sunday Telegraph</i>	Hollinger
	<i>Times</i>	<i>Sunday Times</i>	News International
Mid-market	<i>Express</i>	<i>Sunday Express</i>	Northern & Shell
	<i>Daily Mail</i>	<i>Mail on Sunday</i>	Associated Newspapers
Red top	---	<i>Sunday Sport</i>	Sport Media Group
	<i>Daily Star</i>	<i>Sunday Star</i>	Northern & Shell
	<i>Daily Mirror/Record</i>	<i>Sunday Mirror</i>	Trinity Mirror Group
	---	<i>People</i>	Trinity Mirror Group
	<i>Sun</i>	<i>News of the World</i>	News International

Papers have different readership scopes. Whereas circulation refers to the number of copies sold, readership refers to the number of people reading the copies. Table 2 depicts newspaper readerships in 2010 according to the National Readership Survey that surveyed 36,000 people (Press Gazette). The Press Gazette reports no data on *Sunday Sport*, and the *Daily Mirror* and its Scottish counterpart *Daily Record* have been surveyed separately. The “Fall/Rise”-section refers to declines and increases in readerships compared to 2009, the year before.

Category	Daily Paper	Readers	Fall/Rise	Sunday Paper	Readers	Fall/Rise
Elite	<i>Financial Times</i>	0.36m	-16%	---	---	---
	<i>Guardian</i>	1.1m	-4%	<i>Observer</i>	1.03m	-20%
	<i>Independent</i>	0.53m	-21%	<i>Independent on Sunday</i>	0.55m	-10%
	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	1.68m	-12%	<i>Sunday Telegraph</i>	1.44m	-16%
	<i>Times</i>	1.57m	-12%	<i>Sunday Times</i>	2.95m	-9%
Mid-market	<i>Express</i>	1.43	-10%	<i>Sunday Express</i>	1.47m	-10%
	<i>Daily Mail</i>	4.74m	-4%	<i>Mail on Sunday</i>	4.9m	-9%
Red top	<i>Daily Star</i>	1.57m	0%	<i>Sunday Star</i>	0.92m	-3%
	<i>Daily Mirror</i>	3.1m	-14%	<i>Sunday Mirror</i>	3.7m	-5%
	<i>Daily Record</i>	0.88m	-10%			
	---	---	---	<i>People</i>	1.27m	-5%
	<i>Sun</i>	7.7m	0%	<i>News of the World</i>	7.54m	-1%

Table 2 shows the same categorical ranking as Table 1, revealing that elite newspaper readerships have been dropping much lower in comparison to mid-market and red-top newspapers. No newspaper saw readership rise, but red tops *Daily Star* and *Sun* maintained their stable numbers. News International's *Sunday Times* did relatively well compared to its elite competitors, and *Sun* and *News of the World* formed the most widely read daily/Sunday duo in 2010.

The PCC, Press Ethics, and Politics

The watchdog of British press is the PCC, the Press Complaints Commission. The PCC is a self-regulating body of the newspaper industry and it carried out an investigation into illegal conduct at *News of the World* in 2007, after the Goodman and Mulcaire cases. Charnley explains how the inquiry led to “no evidence of wrongdoing at the News of the World beyond that carried out by Goodman and Mulcaire. The newspapers’ self-regulator failed to expose the massive scale of unlawful conduct at the paper” (215). When the *Guardian* provided the PCC with information proving phone hacking had happened on large scale at the red-top Sunday paper, the launch of a second investigation also failed to yield evidence of unlawful behaviour. The commission eventually retracted both the reports, as the pile of evidence grew (215).

Apart from the fact that the PCC twice failed to reveal the scale of phone hacking, the press regulator has little power. Charnley points out that “[w]hen the PCC receives a complaint, it investigates it and seeks a response from the newspaper. The PCC . . . cannot enter a newspaper’s premises or seize documents, for example, or impose fines when the [Editor’s] Code is breached” (217). The Editor’s Code is

advocated by the PCC and “prohibits undue intrusions into the private lives of individuals” (215). In addition, each newspaper has its own code of conduct (215).

Charnley argues that, even though the PCC has failed in several ways, a self-regulatory body is the best option for press regulation, as no regulation would provide scope for unquestioned unethical conduct and governmental regulation would endanger free press (218-219). What Charnley only briefly touches upon, is optional membership. Newspapers are not compelled to accept the authority of the current PCC; the daily and Sunday editions of the *Express* and *Star* are major national titles outside the PCC’s zone of control (O’Carroll). The *Express* and *Star* papers are published by Northern & Shell who decided to cease funding the press regulator from January 2011 onwards, for unclear reasons (Press Association). The chairman of the PCC called it “disappointing” (PCC).

By discussing laws of primary concern to the phone hacking scandal, Charnley mentions the right to claim “a reasonable expectation of privacy” (213), which must be balanced against the right of freedom (213). Public interest and a right of privacy must both be taken into account. The concept and connotation of public is explained by Elliot and Ozar as follows: “journalism’s commitment is to serve ‘all the people,’ society as a whole, and to relate to that society precisely insofar as people’s actions actually or potentially affect the lives of others in the society. This is the public that journalism serves” (11). A distinction may be drawn between societal information desires and needs. Desires are optional whereas needs are, indeed, necessary (14).

Even though Elliot and Ozar write from an American perspective, it can be argued that the ethically conflicting concepts of public and private interest are universal to countries with free press. According to Gordon et al., the Enlightenment inspired Western society to value a freedom-centred press, whereas non-Western

press is more authority-based. The latter is commensurate with a strict social hierarchy and the former “is designed for maximum freedom and consequently permits excesses in journalistic activity” (8), including ethical excesses.

As a response to excesses, the ICO or Information Commissioner’s Office is the industry-financed data privacy regulator of Britain and it proposed jail sentences for violations of the Data Protection Act in 2006. However, politicians stayed clear of making any decisions, pressured by newspapers. In 2011, ICO leader Graham explained that “[j]ournalists would have several defenses to avoid jail, including a ‘public interest’ argument that the private details were needed for legitimate journalistic purposes” (Larson). The involvement of politics with the press, or a lack thereof, also became clear after the announcement that the *News of the World* would be shut down when Prime Minister Cameron said: “we have all been in this together - the press, politicians and leaders of all parties” (“The Wrong Red Top Went”).

A noteworthy example of contacts between *News of the World* and politicians is the hiring of Andy Coulson as communications advisor by future PM David Cameron, after *NoW*-editor Coulson had quit the Sunday paper in 2007 when the paper was first accused of phone hacking (Robinson & Curtis). 8 July 2011, two days before *News of the World*’s final issue, Cameron defended his choice by claiming: “I decided to give him a second chance and no one has raised serious concerns about how he did his job for me” (“Cameron’s Defence”). This statement was criticised by, for instance, a comic strip parody in *British Journalism Review*. Figure 1 shows a fragment of the comic, picturing David Cameron with big, innocent eyes and Andy Coulson literally watching over his shoulder.

Figure 1. Fragment from comic parody “School for Scandal” (BJR Comix 19)



Thesis

From 8 July 2011, the day after the announcement of *News of the World*'s cessation of publication, until 10 July 2011, the day of its last issue, fellow national newspapers published several editorials in which they reflected upon the state of affairs. Great Britain had just lost its biggest Sunday paper, leaving behind 7.5 million readers and a history of 168 years, but also an uncertain number of hacking victims; *News of the World*'s closure moved the British newspaper landscape.

Dailies and Sundays responded in their editorials and touched upon major topics relating to the end of News International's red top but also to the British press in general: ownership, the PCC, politics, and press ethics. These topics serve as analysis perspectives. Something else could be taken into account as well: the editorial's kick, a conclusion or recommendation which expresses the newspaper's

standpoint. The kick contains the last words of the editorial to resound in the reader's memory.

Two factors would be expected to influence press responses to the cessation of publication of the *News of the World*: which target readership a newspaper appeals to (*elite/mid-market/red top*) and whether or not a title is published by News International (*publisher*). The sensationalism of red tops will affect their philosophies and make them distinctive from the mid-market titles meant for higher socioeconomic classes and the elite newspapers providing more demanding content, whereas newspapers belonging to News International, the disgraced owner of *News of the World*, are positioned differently from titles published by other owners. The *Times*, *Sunday Times*, and *Sun* share their roots with the *News of the World* which was waving goodbye.

This paper will investigate the immediate responses of unsigned opinionated articles in British national newspapers using the perspectives of ownership, the PCC, politics, press ethics, and the editorial kick to distinguish between elite, mid-market, and red top papers and between News International and other titles.

3. Methodology

Material

In order to research the immediate responses of British newspapers to the end of *News of the World*, editorials can be used since they reflect the position a newspaper holds: “It is in editorials that newspapers speak both for and to their audience, creating a distinctive voice for the newspaper that is otherwise buried under the conventions of objective journalism” (Fowler in Wahl-Jorgensen 70). Since they most closely approximate a newspaper’s voice, editorials will be used to investigate responses to the end of the *News of the World*.

A limited time frame was used in order to make the comparison between editorials as fair as possible, meaning that all editorials date from the same period and thus concern the same range of events. The selected time frame is 8, 9, and 10 July 2011 because these days were filled with news about *News of the World*’s publication stop; Friday 8 July was a day after the released statement that News International’s red-top newspaper would cease to exist and Sunday 10 July was the day of its last issue.

The 14 different newspapers from six different publishers selected are all national papers and have a daily or Sunday sister paper. News International publishes four rather than two newspapers. Table 3 shows the selected newspapers and their publishers, ranked alphabetically by category. Both daily and Sunday papers were taken into account, because the time frame spans from Friday to Sunday.

Table 3. Newspaper Selection			
Category	Daily Paper	Sunday Paper	Publisher
Elite	<i>Guardian</i>	<i>Observer</i>	Guardian Media Group
	<i>Independent</i>	<i>Independent on Sunday</i>	Independent Group
	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	<i>Sunday Telegraph</i>	Hollinger
	<i>Times</i>	<i>Sunday Times</i>	News International
Mid-market	<i>Daily Mail</i>	<i>Mail on Sunday</i>	Associated Newspapers
Red top	<i>Daily Mirror</i>	<i>Sunday Mirror</i>	Trinity Mirror Group
	<i>Sun</i>	<i>News of the World</i>	News International

The *Daily Mirror*'s counterpart *Daily Record* was left out because it is only distributed in Scotland. National newspapers *Express*, *Sunday Express*, *Daily Star*, and *Sunday Star* were excluded, because no editorials were found in either *Express* title and the *Daily Star* is not part of the used database. The *Express* and *Star* titles are published by Northern & Shell and they are the only national newspapers that are not in the zone of control of the PCC since January 2011, when Northern & Shell decided to cease funding the press regulator. (PCC). These papers might therefore have provided an additional perspective. Also, without the *Express*, the *Mail* titles are now the only mid-market newspapers. Still, the selected newspapers range from elite via mid-market to red top and have six different publishers so they offer a variety of perspectives.

The editorials selected from the chosen newspapers come from online newspaper database LexisNexis, using the terms "News of the World," "phone hacking," "editorial," and/or "leading article." LexisNexis does not always provide editorials from national editions and it does not show the newspaper lay-out either. It does, however, reveal in which section an article was published and whether it had a by-line; editorials typically do not credit any authors, since they reflect the voice of the newspaper. The nonexistence of a by-line and no usage of "T" in the content were

therefore criteria during the selection procedure. By-lines such as “Sun SAYS” formed an exception: it was stated clearly in the by-line that it was the opinion of the newspaper as a whole. It can also be noticed that newspapers have different ways of describing their editorials. For instance, the *Guardian* prefers “leading article” whereas the *Mail* provides a “Comment” and the *Sun* “SAYS” what it thinks. The material selected from *News of the World* is a word of farewell, so not an editorial in the traditional sense, but it responds to recent events surrounding the hacking scandal and the newspaper’s voice clearly sounds in the constant use of “we.”

Table 4 shows the selected editorials, with the same ranking as in table 3. The content of daily and Sunday sister papers was placed next to each other as they are published by the same companies and are considered each others counterparts, although this does not mean they will always share exactly the same ideas; on the other hand, they never have the exact same range of current events to discuss, as they appear on different days.

The editorials vary in length from 186 words (*Sun*, 9 July) to 1713 words (*Observer*, 10 July). Five editorials are from national editions (*Telegraph*, *Sunday Telegraph*, *Times*, *News of the World*), three from London editions (*Daily Mail*, *Mail on Sunday*), two from Northern Ireland editions (*Sunday Times*, *Sunday Mirror*), one from the England edition (*Observer*), one from the Scotland edition (*Sun*), two from “3 Star Editions” (*Daily Mirror*), two from a “First edition” (*Independent*, *Independent on Sunday*), and one from a “Final edition” (*Guardian*).

Although the editorials were found in different geographical editions, the content was still used because in none of the cases did it refer directly to any geographical differences or preferences. Sometimes no editorial on the subject was

found. This is indicated in X. Although table 4 contains four X's, there is at least one editorial from each newspaper.

Table 4. Editorial Selection			
Papers	8 July 2011	9 July 2011	10 July 2011
<i>Guardian, Observer</i>	"News of the World: Put Out of Its Misery"	X	"News International: Murdoch's Malign Influence Must Die With the News of the World"
<i>Independent, Independent on Sunday</i>	X	"A Question Mark Now Hangs Over David Cameron's Judgement"	"The Wrong Red-Top Went"
<i>Telegraph, Sunday Telegraph</i>	X	"Cameron's Self-Serving Attack on Press Freedom"	"This Scandal Must Not Destroy Our Free Press"
<i>Times, Sunday Times</i>	"Unpopular Journalism"	"Politicians and the Press"	"Beware the Motives of the Witch Hunters"
<i>Daily Mail, Mail on Sunday</i>	"Hubris and a Threat to Press Freedom"	"Mr Cameron and a Stink of Hypocrisy"	"The Press, the PM and a Threat to Our Freedom."
<i>Daily Mirror, Sunday Mirror</i>	"No Sky for Murdoch"	"PM Tainted by Links to Disgraced"	"A Scandal, but Not an Excuse to Chain Britain's Free Press"
<i>Sun, News of the World</i>	X	"PCC Can Work"	"We Recorded History and We've Made History."

Procedure

An example of an editorial analysis typology is Dijk's (Galindo 235-6), comprising three basic functional categories. However, Dijk's categories of "introduction," "explanation and/or evaluation," and "conclusion or moral" were considered quite general and the multiple issues surrounding the end of *News of the World* seemed to require a more detailed approach. By touching upon larger journalistic themes such as e.g. ownership and by evaluating the categories *elite/mid-market/red top* and *publisher*, more factors important to the British press could be included in the analysis of unsigned opinionated newspaper articles, without trying to fit all complexities into Dijk's three nonspecific categories.

Five analysis perspectives were used, mainly modelled after several issues in the British newspaper landscape which were exposed by the end of the *News of the*

World: ownership, the PCC, politics and the press, and press ethics. These issues formed the common ground which was needed in order to make a comparison.

The end of each editorial may not concern one of the aforementioned themes. The editorial “*kick* or . . . *conclusion* is where the writer drives home the point of his argument and delivers the kick. This sums up the editorial” (Stewart et al. 415). It are the final words to resound in the reader’s mind, and taking into account the editorial kick also resembled the third step of the editorial analysis typology that Galindo uses: he looks at the “conclusion or moral” (236) which addresses the question “What should be done?” (236). Furthermore, analysing the editorial kick added the possibility to include topics other than e.g. ownership as well; it therefore functioned as a control perspective.

In short, ownership, the PCC, politics and press, press ethics, and the editorial kick formed five analysis perspectives. Table 5 shows the five analysis perspectives and the questions through which they were measured in order to identify the various editorials by the same strategy.

Table 5. Analysis Perspectives	
Perspective	Question
Ownership	<i>What does the editorial say about newspaper ownership in relationship to the topic?</i>
PCC	<i>What does the editorial say about the PCC?</i>
Politics & Press	<i>What does the editorial say about the involvement of politicians and/or politics?</i>
Press ethics	<i>What does the editorial say about ethical behaviour?</i>
Editorial kick	<i>What is the editorial’s final message?</i>

The questions in table 5 show that this was a qualitative analysis and they focus on content: not “How...?” was asked, but “What...?”, in order to reveal from what angle newspapers respond to the topic. The questions simultaneously revealed whether a certain topic is discussed in an editorial at all. “Ethical behaviour” refers to press

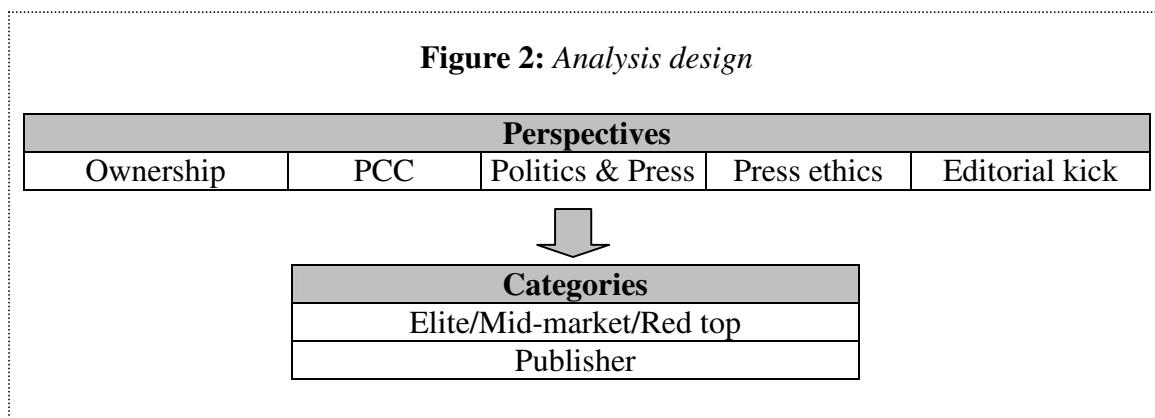
ethics specifically and not, for instance, the ethics of police officers bribed by *News of the World*.

As newspapers belong to different readership segments, ranging from elite to red top, and to different publishers, the analysis perspectives were compared in two ways in order to investigate whether and/or how the categories elite/mid-market/red top and publisher matter:

- elite/mid-market/red top – *newspapers compared by the categories elite/mid-market/red top;*
- publisher – *News International newspapers compared to newspapers from other publishers.*

The category of elite/mid-market/red top was investigated because of McNair's explanation how newspapers can be distinguished from each other: red tops are sensational, mid-market are meant for higher socioeconomic classes, and elite papers aim at more demanding reading material (5). This may result in differences between editorials. The category of publisher was added to check the influence of News International roots in editorial content. *News of the World* was also taken into account, whereas this paper was of course the subject of the scandal.

In summary, the analysis can be represented as in figure 2:



4. Results

In this section sources are referred to by newspaper title. Full headlines of the editorials can be found under “Methodology” in table 4 and under “Works Cited.” Daily papers are further specified by date, whereas this is not necessary for Sunday papers as only Sundays from 10 July are included in the data. The results are discussed by analysis perspective: ownership, PCC, politics and press, press ethics, and editorial kick. Each perspective is discussed by category: elite/mid-market/red top and publisher.

Ownership

Elite/Mid-market/Red top

The sacrifice of *News of the World* staff to save executives, the large amount of political power the Murdoch empire acquired, and the commercial calculation that would have prompted the decision to close down *News of the World* appeared in all three newspaper categories. However, the elite newspapers paid more attention to News International’s influence on politics than the mid-market and red-top newspapers did, and the elite newspapers were the only ones to discuss media plurality.

The *Observer* claimed that Murdoch “has come close to gelding Parliament, damaging the rights of citizens and undermining democracy” (*Observer*), and the *Independent* titles referred to politicians who “have bent their knee to the power of the Murdoch media” (*Independent*, 9 July) and stated that “[s]ome of the influence of Rupert Murdoch on the British media has been baleful, partly because of craven

politicians” (*Independent on Sunday*). The *Telegraph* titles mentioned how News International influenced Labour (*Daily Telegraph*, 9 July) and how “[a]ll the main political parties were intimidated by Mr Murdoch’s power” (*Sunday Telegraph*). In the mid-market and red-top segment only the *Sunday Mail* and *Daily Mirror* mentioned, and condemned, the “close, personal friendships” (*Daily Mirror*, 9 July) between the PM and members of the Murdoch empire and the troubling “interwoven relationship between the political elite of this country and the Murdoch empire” (*Sunday Mail*).

Media plurality, i.e. a plural number of newspapers owned by a plural number of publishers, was only discussed by elite newspapers. Interestingly, the editorials disagreed about the status of media plurality in Britain, for the *Independent on Sunday* and *Sunday Times* praised Murdoch for “add[ing] to the pluralism in British journalism” (*Independent on Sunday*), whereas the *Observer* and *Daily Telegraph* considered media plurality threatened after a Sunday paper had been closed down.

Publisher

The owner of the newspaper appeared to be a crucial factor in discussing newspaper ownership in editorials, as News International’s *Times*, *Sunday Times*, *Sun*, and *News of the World* were the only newspapers that did not sharply criticise the power of the Murdoch empire, neither in relation to politics nor in general. The *Sun* and *News of the World* did not reflect on ownership at all, whereas both the *Times* titles mentioned a shared publisher with *News of the World*. The *Sunday Times* elaborated on the subject but mostly in a celebratory manner. Although the behaviour at *News of the World* was “indefensible,” the *Sunday Times* emphasised that “Rupert Murdoch has done more than any other figure to increase the plurality of newspapers in this country

by reviving *The Sun*, defeating the print unions and funding loss-making papers such as *The Times*.” It credited Murdoch with creating variety in the media. Other newspapers showed some appreciation for Murdoch, such as the *Independent* which claimed that “for all his will to dominate he has also added to the pluralism of British journalism.” Still, the *Sunday Times* was remarkable for its amount of praise and lack of criticism.

PCC

Elite/Mid-market/Red top

Elite, mid-market, and red-top newspapers discussed the PCC in different ways. In contrast to the elite newspapers, papers in the mid-market and red-top segments gave positive feedback to the regulatory body. Mid-market and red-top papers also emphasized that *News of the World* broke the law, while the PCC was simply a regulator. State regulation was rejected in all three categories.

Mid-market *Sunday Mail* compared the PCC to Ofcom, Britain’s broadcast regulator and “a fat bureaucracy stuffed with liberal elite apparatchiks” (*Sunday Mail*). The PCC costs £2 million per year, £98 million less than Ofcom, and ten of its seventeen members are not journalists for the British press, so the PCC should stay according to the *Sunday Mail*. Red tops did not need a comparison in order to praise the PCC as “fast and efficient” (*Sunday Mirror*) and although it “is not perfect . . . most of the time it works well” (*Sun*, 9 July). The elite newspapers mostly restricted themselves to discussing reforms, a topic discussed by mid-market and red-top papers as well, but the elite press was also much more critical of the PCC: it “never commanded much confidence” according to the *Independent on Sunday* and “ill-equipped as it has proved to be, its bite still seems gummy,” said the *Observer*.

The mid-market and red-top papers emphasized that, although the PCC showed shortcomings, it is not up to the PCC to prosecute illegal behaviour – that is what the law should do. As the *Sun* put it: “the PCC is a regulator, not a police force” (9 July). The *Daily Mirror* (9 July) and the *Daily Mail* (8, 9 July) made similar statements. Elite newspapers did not reflect upon the line between regulation and legislation.

Publisher

There did not seem to be a noteworthy distinction between News International newspapers and other newspapers in the discussion of the PCC. The *Times* titles evaluated different regulation options, just as other newspapers did. The *Sun* and *News of the World* supported a continued mandate for the PCC, which was not much different from the views of other red top newspapers.

Politics & Press

Elite/Mid-market/Red top

In each newspaper category state regulation or a regulatory body even partially controlled by the state, was strongly condemned. Democracy proved to be a key concept in this respect: without a non-state controlled and thus free press, democracy would be at stake. Most elite newspapers highlighted politicians’ fears of media power, whereas mid-market and red-top newspapers mentioned distrust of politicians over the MP’s expenses scandal.

Mid-market and red-top newspapers used the MP’s expenses scandal to prove that politicians were not to be trusted: the *Daily Mail* (8 July), *Sunday Mirror*, and

Sun (9 July) all referred to this. The *Daily Mail* even stated that politicians were revenging themselves on the press after the MPs' expenses scandal in their responses to the end of *News of the World* (*Daily Mail*, 8 July). The *Sunday Times* was the elite exception in that it argued that politicians would like to keep something like the expenses scandal out of the press. Other elite papers (*Observer*, *Independent on Sunday*, *Sunday Telegraph*) pointed at the fear that supposedly moved politicians. For instance, "[a]ll politicians have held back, for fear of offending media organisations that might support them in elections or shed unwelcome light on their private lives," the *Independent on Sunday* said.

Publisher

Newspapers not owned by News International condemned the close ties between politicians and News International. The *Observer* stated "Murdoch's newspapers supported Tony Blair in the general election. Blair in turn backed a communications bill that loosened restrictions on foreign media ownership." Blair's successor Cameron was not particularly celebrated either, as he was considered to have been "singularly enthusiastic about cultivating the media group [NI]" (*Independent*, 9 July). Red top *Daily Mirror* stated Cameron showed "weakness – not political expediency" (9 July) when it came to these close ties with News International.

By contrast, News International's *Times* supported Cameron and considered his hiring of former *News of the World* editor Coulson legitimate, until proved wrong (9 July) and referred to politicians as victims in the phone hacking scandal. This made the *Times* remarkably positive about politicians in relation to the press. *News of the World* had a different way of emphasising the possible benefits of intertwined politics and press, only the other way around: the paper praised itself for influencing politics,

for instance by campaigning for Sarah's Law, also known as the Child Sex Offender Disclosure Scheme.

Press Ethics

Elite/Mid-market/Red top

Most editorials discussed press ethics in relation to the *News of the World* scandal, sometimes by connecting it to press regulation, but what was interesting on the level of elite/mid-market/red-top newspapers was the concept of rather one-sided "bad journalism" in elite editorials, whereas red top *Sunday Mirror* provided a more nuanced view of the practice of journalism. Another difference which emerged was the attention two elite papers paid to other newspapers' criminal behaviour, while this topic was absent in mid-market and red tops.

Three elite newspapers provided a good-versus-bad conceptual view of journalistic practices: the *Guardian* blamed "'wrongdoers' - unnamed people who apparently 'turned a good newsroom bad'" (8 July) and the *Sunday Telegraph* claimed that "the public is not always disposed to make fine distinctions between good and bad journalists." By saying this, the *Sunday Telegraph* did not just point out "distinctions": it created a binary division between good and bad journalism instead of considering gradual differences in journalistic practices that may fall in between, and it thus created an excluded middle. The *Times* went further and stated that hacking into the phones of celebrities and politicians was done by people who "had lost their bearings as journalists, had failed to understand the limits of investigation" (8 July), but hacking other people's phones, such as murder victim Milly Dowler's, was "behaviour by individuals who have lost their bearings as people" (8 July). This went

beyond the good journalists versus bad journalists dichotomy in the *Guardian* and *Sunday Telegraph*: the *Times* dehumanised the hacking journalists. Red top *Sunday Mirror* showed a more gradated spectrum: “Journalists are not perfect and sometimes make mistakes. There are even times when some indulge in totally unacceptable behaviour. But they are not the norm.” In this view, there is a line between journalistic imperfectness and unethical behaviour.

Two newspapers explicitly referred to criminal conduct at other newspapers, and both were elite. The *Independent on Sunday* warned that “[h]ostility to the Murdochs certainly means that the illegal methods used by other newspapers have attracted much less attention than they deserve.” The *Sunday Times* too stated that “there seems little doubt that such behaviour was widespread across the industry.”

Publisher

Compared to newspapers not owned by News International, the *Times* (8 July) and *Sunday Times* provided relatively elaborate views on press ethics. The *Times* titles and *News of the World* did not shy away from judging the scandal, which was not different from what other newspapers said. However, the *Times* dehumanised unethical journalistic behaviour by describing phone hacking, especially hacking phones of people who were not celebrities, as “behaviour by individuals who have lost their bearings as people” (8 July). The *Sun* dedicated itself to a discussion of press regulation and political influence, hereby refraining from comments on press ethics.

Editorial kick

Seven different topics were distinguished in the editorials’ kicks, or final messages. Four of these concern topics also used as analysis perspectives: ownership, the PCC,

politics (and press), and press ethics. Three other kind of messages concerned readers, trust, and the *Guardian*'s quest for truth.

Elite/Mid-market/Red top

When comparing elite, mid-market and red-top papers by looking at topic choice in the editorials' kicks, few differences could be found. For instance, ownership was discussed in the elite *Observer*, but also in red tops *Daily Mail* (8 July) and *Daily Mirror* (8 July); moreover, all three editorials strongly disapproved of Murdoch's "cynical gamble with people's livelihoods" (*Daily Mirror*, 8 July) and both the *Observer* and *Daily Mirror* warned that the power of the Murdoch empire should not increase.

As for press regulation and thus the PCC: mainly the *Sun* (9 July) was concerned with the regulatory body in its kick. However, one editorial seems too little evidence to make substantial claims of differences between red tops like the *Sun* and other newspapers.

Politics were discussed with little variation between elite, mid-market, and red-top newspapers as well. The Prime Minister had a lot of explaining to do (*Independent*, 9 July) and kept "spinning away" (*Daily Mirror*, 9 July), the PM and politics should stay clear of press regulation (*Daily Telegraph*, 9 July; *Sunday Times*; *Sunday Mail*) and the PM should not shut down the PCC (*Sun*). The *Sun* was exceptional in its explicit support for the PCC, but still the papers seemed to agree that politicians serve the public and the press by explaining themselves and by not getting involved with press regulation.

Ethics were hardly discussed in the editorials' kicks. Red top *Sunday Mirror* was the most explicit: "Readers rightly accept only the highest standards and ethics.

And we know that trust has to be earned, not by glib words but by hard work. At this critical time for newspapers and journalists, the *Sunday Mirror* will strive even harder to achieve that.” This is a straightforward promise to pursue the highest ethics.

References to ethics in other newspapers were less explicit. Elite paper *Times*, for instance, mentioned in its final lines that “A handful of people have trampled upon others in grief and despair” (8 July), and the mid-market *Daily Mail* concluded that “with its [NoW] demise, the corrupt and the rich and powerful who so frequently abuse their positions will now sleep easier in their beds” (9 July): press ethics should protect the public from “grief and despair,” and from corruption. These messages from the elite *Times* and red top *Daily Mail* differed from red top *Sunday Mirror*’s promise for high standards, but they also only very implicitly referred to press ethics.

Red tops *Sunday Mirror* and *News of the World* addressed the reader; the elite paper *Independent on Sunday* and mid-market title *Daily Mail* did not refer to their own readers but to readers of *News of the World*. The *Daily Mail* said: “Today, the chances are that the five million people who read it [NoW] will no longer read a newspaper. That cannot be good for democracy” (9 July). The *Independent on Sunday* referred to elite/red-top categories by concluding that “While hardly in the same market, we hope that at least some readers of the NOTW will look again at the alternatives.” Both papers hoped *News of the World* readers would continue reading newspapers. Two red tops did not discuss readers, but addressed them. The *Sunday Mirror* does this rather implicitly: “Readers rightly accept only the highest standards and ethics . . . the *Sunday Mirror* will strive even harder to achieve that.” The *News of the World* was very explicit in its goodbye: “we’ll miss YOU, our 7.5 million readers.” This explicitness is very likely, though, to come from its final goodbye instead of categorical differences between elite, mid-market, and red-top newspapers.

Trust was also an important issue in the editorials' kicks: two elite newspapers discussed it, and one red top. To regain the public's trust was essential to all three titles. "It will be a long time before that trust is regained," the *Times* (8 July) said, whereas the *Sunday Mirror* claimed: "we know that trust has to be earned, not by glib words but by hard work." The *Sunday Telegraph* was most clear on the subject: "The public must be reassured that the press is worthy of its trust, and that this disgraceful episode will not be repeated."

Publisher

Ownership was not mentioned in News International newspapers; this appeared as a taboo subject. Within the News International titles, there were many differences between editorials' kicks: the *Times* was concerned with the public's trust in the press (8 July) and warned more scandals would arise from the past (9 July), and the *Sunday Times* stated the Prime Minister should try to "neuter the press." The *Sun* also discussed the PM, but in relation to the PCC (9 July), and the *News of the World* concluded with a goodbye to its readers: "We'll miss you more than words can express. Farewell." So the editorial kicks of News International papers lacked a common ground, and the only features to distinguish them from other titles was the lack of mentioning ownership and *News of the World's* goodbye to its readers.

The *Guardian*, incidentally, distinguished itself in its editorial kick by paying attention to the fact that it already discovered malpractices by *News of the World* several years ago: "When we published the 2009 story about Mr Murdoch's payoff to the Professional Footballers' Association's Gordon Taylor, NI responded by telling MPs that we had deliberately misled the public" (8 July). So the *Guardian* ended with

a clear message to News International and requested: “This time, please, the truth” (8 July).

5. Discussion

The farewell of Britain's biggest Sunday paper dominated the headlines of other national newspapers. Not only did it move society, but it touched upon several important journalistic issues in Britain, such as ownership, press regulation, politics, and press ethics. By using five different analysis perspectives, the aforementioned issues and the so-called editorial kick, comparisons were made within the categories *elite/mid-market/red top* and *publisher*.

Elite/mid-market/red top

The editorial comparison showed the influence of *elite/mid-market/red top*. Elite and mid-market papers placed ownership in a wider context by discussing political power and media plurality: especially elite titles are expected to aim at a more demanding content, so this can explain the difference in framework complexity and attention to politics between elite and mid-market versus red-top papers.

Secondly, mid-market and red-top papers were rather positive about the PCC, unlike elite titles. This difference may be explained by the high degree of sensationalism in red tops and, to some extent, in mid-market titles: sensationalism may cause journalists to explore the limits of press regulation and they know how much the PCC allows, but another regulator may allow less, for instance. So they might fear the fate of their own future. This remains speculation, however.

Charnley argued that a self-regulatory body serves press regulation best, since state regulation would threaten free press and no regulation would leave unethical journalistic behaviour unquestioned (218-219). The content of the selected editorials

agreed with Charnley. Several editorials also discussed the severe limitations of the PCC's power, as did Charnley.

Elite newspapers stressed politicians' fear of media power, whereas mid-market and red-top papers highlighted fear of politicians' abuse of media power. So elite newspapers paid attention to power abuse in their own industry, while the mid-market and red-top titles lacked this more demanding self-investigation and also saw a doomed future if the politicians were to gain explicit control over the media. So within the mid-market and red-top segment readers are (sensationally) made afraid of a possible scenario, whereas elite papers stick more to an analysis of past and current events.

The concept of "bad journalism" in elite papers was remarkable. If appearing at all, this highly judgemental dichotomy of good journalists versus bad journalists would be expected to be uttered by sensational red tops; sensationalism tends to bring about one-sidedness, as it is rather to create a sensational, thrilling impression by leaving out nuances that would make it less clear. Remarkable as well, it was red top *Sunday Mirror* which showed a more nuanced view of journalistic practices, although this may be interpreted as an excuse for its own more sensationalist practices.

Few differences can be found between the editorial kicks of elite, mid-market, and red-top papers. Ownership, the PCC, politics, and press ethics occur as topics, but other topics arise as well; readers, for instance. An elite and a mid-market title refer to *News of the World* readers, whereas two red tops address their own readers. Trust is another issue: two elite newspapers discuss it, and one red top.

Publisher

An important outcome of this research was the influence of *publisher* on the editorial content. Non-News International papers criticised the power of the Murdoch empire and questioned ties between politicians and News International; the News International titles stood out for their lack of criticism towards their publisher and for their relatively positive attitudes towards political intercession with the press. Ownership, and Murdoch's especially, was discussed by e.g. Bainbridge and Stockdill, and Murdoch appeared both criticised for his so-called ruthlessness and praised for his willingness to take risks ("Profile"). The content of the selected editorials varied between the same criticism and appraisal in non-News International and News International titles respectively.

The News International titles stayed loyal to their publisher and its ties with politics, which seriously affected their critical attitude compared to non-News International papers. As a variety of factors is involved, e.g. newspaper reputation, the reason(s) for this loyalty remain(s) speculation. The dehumanisation of hacking *News of the World* journalists in the *Times* forms a remarkable exception, unequalled by the *Sunday Times*, *Sun*, and *News of the World* or any of the non-News International titles.

Elliot and Ozar distinguished between information society needs, which outweighs individuals' right of privacy, and information society desires, in which case a person's right of privacy is more important (14). This relates to the strong condemnation of phone hacking in the selected editorials, and the remarkable categorisation of hacking journalists as unjournalistic and even unhuman being in the *Times* (8 July).

What distinguished News International papers from other titles in the perspective of “Editorial kick” is the lack of reference to ownership in their editorial kicks. This can be explained by the fact that the power of News International owner Murdoch was heavily challenged by the public.

In the results outline the mid-market category was often taken together with either red tops or elite titles, since only two mid-market papers were part of this research: the *Daily Mail* and the *Mail on Sunday*. Two titles from one publisher formed a very small amount of evidence for an entire category, whereas the elite and red-top segments showed a much larger variety in content. However, with the *Express* titles left out, this research still included half of the national mid-market papers.

6. Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to investigate British newspapers' immediate responses to the closing down of *News of the World*. Editorials were used in order to measure the responses since they reflect newspapers' points of view. Data was selected from fourteen national newspapers, seven dailies and seven Sundays, owned by six different publishers. The material was published from 8 July 2011, a day after the announcement that *News of the World* would be shut down, to 10 July 2011, the day its final issue was published. Five perspectives were used as analysis tools: ownership, the PCC, politics and press, press ethics, and the so-called editorial kick. Within each perspective it was investigated whether and/or how the categories elite/mid-market/red top and publisher mattered.

The distinctions made between the categories elite/mid-market/red top and News International/non-News International newspapers proved to be valid, as the results showed that a newspaper's category mattered to editorial content. It did not have the same shaping power in each of the perspectives, but differences between elite/mid-market/red top titles and News International/non-News International papers were nearly always noticeable. The different perspectives and categories have therefore allowed to investigate newspaper responses with distinctive results.

The data are to be approached carefully, as they only reflect the content of a limited selection of editorials of a limited number of British national newspapers. The *Express* and *Star* titles are nationally distributed as well, but were not included in this research. Material availability, material choice, and procedure choice were important factors which influenced the results. Supporting theory, material, time frame, analysis

perspectives, and analysis categories were selected in order to fit the small-scaled comparison between fourteen newspapers. Also, it needs to be stressed that the used data comprises seventeen editorials: this is only a small amount of evidence to provide for conclusions.

It would be interesting for future research to investigate *Express* and *Star* material as well. Future research could also include material other than editorials, material from a different time frame, material from regional newspapers, material from other media, and/or material from outside Britain; the possibilities are countless and this research has excluded many in order to conduct a small-scale, fair comparison between seventeen editorials from fourteen British newspapers.

This research provides a few answers concerning newspapers' immediate responses and this is a step, if only a small step, to investigate the end of the *News of the World* as we know it.

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¹ In database LexisNexis, the title of this editorial is: “The Press, the PM and a Threat to Our Freedom the an Affront to Freedom / A Flailing PM.” This title displays ungrammaticality. Since the online version in the Mailonline database is simply called “The Press, the PM and a Threat to Our Freedom,” the additional “the an Affront to Freedom / A Flailing PM” was deleted from the editorial title in the bibliography.

8. Appendix

This appendix contains the seventeen editorials used for analysis. They are ranked by date, starting 8 July and ending 10 July. They are also alphabetically ranked by te categories elite/mid-market/red top respectively. An overview is given below:

Appendix Table. Editorial Selection			
Papers	8 July 2011	9 July 2011	10 July 2011
<i>Guardian, Observer</i>	“News of the World: Put Out of Its Misery”	X	“News International: Murdoch's Malign Influence Must Die With the News of the World”
<i>Independent, Independent on Sunday</i>	X	“A Question Mark Now Hangs Over David Cameron’s Judgement”	“The Wrong Red-Top Went”
<i>Telegraph, Sunday Telegraph</i>	X	“Cameron’s Self-Serving Attack on Press Freedom”	“This Scandal Must Not Destroy Our Free Press”
<i>Times, Sunday Times</i>	“Unpopular Journalism”	“Politicians and the Press”	“Beware the Motives of the Witch Hunters”
<i>Daily Mail, Mail on Sunday</i>	“Hubris and a Threat to Press Freedom”	“Mr Cameron and a Stink of Hypocrisy”	“The Press, the PM and a Threat to Our Freedom.”
<i>Daily Mirror, Sunday Mirror</i>	“No Sky for Murdoch”	“PM Tainted by Links to Disgraced”	“A Scandal, but Not an Excuse to Chain Britain’s Free Press”
<i>Sun, News of the World</i>	X	“PCC Can Work”	“We Recorded History and We’ve Made History.”

Guardian, 8 July

The Guardian (London) - Final Edition

July 8, 2011 Friday

Leading Article: The News of the World: Put out of its misery

SECTION: GUARDIAN LEADER PAGES; Pg. 38

LENGTH: 644 words

That Rupert Murdoch is ruthless is a universally acknowledged truth. But his action yesterday in killing off the 168-year-old News of the World - the first paper he bought in Britain 42 years ago - was one of the most clinical moves in his long, tumultuous career as a newspaper publisher. Some would go further and say that it was one of his most cynical.

The statement released by his son, James, yesterday afternoon is remarkable, both for what it contains and for its omissions. Much of it says very eloquently precisely what we have been saying since the day - almost exactly two years ago - we revealed that he had signed a secret £1m deal to buy the silence of one of the multiple victims of his journalists' sordid and illegal acts. He now concedes that payment was wrong. He acknowledges that the paper has been sullied by repeated "inhuman" editorial behaviour which was "without conscience or legitimate purpose"; that the company failed to investigate itself properly; that executives had misled the police, misled parliament and misled the public.

That is a devastating admission of criminality, incompetence, misjudgment and deception. In any other company this would be a statement of resignation. But - apart from Mr Murdoch's limited admission of error in respect of the 2009 payout - there is no clue as to who is to blame for a catalogue of calamity so grave that a newspaper itself must be sacrificed in atonement. Who on earth was responsible for these catastrophic editorial and management failures? The answer is "wrongdoers" - unnamed people who apparently "turned a good newsroom bad".

None of this currently makes much sense except as a desperate exercise in saving executive skins, including his own. It is certainly true that the newspaper's reputation has been appallingly tarnished by the drip-feed of revelations which began in this paper and which have this week swelled to a torrent. It may be that the board of News Corp, which belatedly inserted independent investigators into the company, is aware of further revelations which - coupled with an already burgeoning commercial boycott - could have proved terminal to the paper's already damaged credibility and finances. Some suspect there is a simpler commercial explanation involving already well-advanced plans to merge the Sunday and weekday editorial staffs into a seven-day operation.

But numerous questions are still left hanging. There are two important ones: who are these "wrongdoers" whose actions caused the death of one of the most famous newspapers in the world? And how on earth can the executives responsible for this mess possibly convince themselves, let alone a sceptical outside world, that they are the right team to clean it up now? If Rebekah Brooks, the chief executive of News International, was not herself one of the "wrongdoers" then she was guilty of such editorial blindness and managerial ineptitude that she should resign. Mr Murdoch's statement praises the "loyal staff . . . whose good work is a credit to journalism". But the blunt conclusion is: they go, she stays.

When we published the 2009 story about Mr Murdoch's payoff to the Professional Footballers' Association's Gordon Taylor, NI responded by telling MPs that we had deliberately misled the public. If, instead of giving in to its worst instincts - blustering denial and attack - the company had taken the allegations seriously, it is unlikely that it would now be taking the desperate step of closing a title. Now it will be for the police, the courts and a judicial inquiry to get to the bottom of the systematic "wrongdoing" within NI - and how its baleful influence corrupted and infected wider public life, including the police. And if Ms Brooks and Mr Murdoch Jr insist on staying in post, parliament should now require them to give evidence before MPs. This time, please, the truth.

Times, 8 July

The Times (London)

July 8, 2011 Friday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Unpopular Journalism;

After a colourful, prize-winning career the News of the World lost its bearings and the faith of its readers. But popular journalism is a crucial part of a free society

SECTION: EDITORIAL; OPINION, LEADING ARTICLES; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 1056 words

“It is Sunday afternoon, preferably before the war. The wife is already asleep in the armchair, and the children have been sent out for a nice long walk. You put your feet up on the sofa, settle your spectacles on your nose, and open the News of the World. Roast beef and Yorkshire, or roast pork and apple sauce, followed up by suet pudding and driven home, as it were, by a cup of mahoganybrown tea, have put you in just the right mood. Your pipe is drawing sweetly, the sofa cushions are soft underneath you, the fire is well alight, the air is warm and stagnant. In these blissful circumstances, what is it that you want to read about?” With these words, George Orwell began his famous essay on the Decline of the English Murder. Yesterday a little bit of England died, and it is a moment to mourn. For what its readers have wanted to read for more than a century and a half, they found in their copy of the News of the World on a Sunday. And after Sunday it is no more.

Murders and investigations, scandals and gossip, light entertainment and dark crime, moments of farce and moments of tragedy, terrible wrongdoing and stories of human triumph: it was all there, amusement, sometimes enlightenment, for millions. It was a mixture that made the paper, at one point in its long history, the best-read publication in the world. The News of the World printed stories that many people wanted to enjoy, truths some people hoped would never see the light of day and, at the same time, tales that dismayed many others or simply left them cold.

The paper was welcomed into the homes of huge numbers of people, a little bit of fun at the end of a hard week, a guarantee that someone would tell you what “they” did not want you to know. And equally there were many people who thought its stories disreputable and would not have it in the house. For both these sorts of people, Sunday will not be the same again.

The investigative techniques of the newspaper at their worst have now resulted in its closure. But at their best they produced great stories, and sometimes exposed great wrongs. In March, the latest in a long, proud line of great exclusives - the exposure of corruption in Pakistani cricket - won the newspaper the Scoop of the Year prize at the British Press Awards. Without the News of the World there will be powerful people in need of exposure to the light who will not be exposed.

And generations of journalists, just like those who heard yesterday that they had lost their jobs, ensured that the design and production of the paper made an impact on its readers. Even journalists who disapproved of it would look at a copy and note its professionalism.

Yet a terrible lapse in professional behaviour - a lapse by people who had forgotten what professional behaviour was - has now laid this great paper low. A murdered child, a grieving mother, distressed relatives, families of fallen war heroes. Each day it seemed as if the hacking scandal could not get any worse, and yet each day it did.

Hacking into the phones of politicians and celebrities was a crime by individuals who had lost their bearings as journalists, had failed to understand the limits of investigation. But what has emerged this week is worse. It is behaviour by individuals who have lost their bearings as people. That is the only possible conclusion from learning that they were willing to contemplate - or indeed did - intruding into grief and anguish using illegal methods for the sake of a story or two.

The closure of the News of the World will not, must not, bring an end to the questions raised by the hacking scandal. There will be hard questions to answer by the people who were directly involved in the hacking; hard questions about the culture of the tabloid newsroom, hard questions for the company that owns the News of the World (and also, of course, The Times); and broader, but still tricky, questions about the general conduct of the media. And about their regulation.

It is right that there will now be at least two inquiries. The conduct of the police in the first, clearly botched, investigation needs to be subjected to careful examination. And media practices that have been tolerated for years without coming under much scrutiny need to be carefully and independently reviewed. The

media have covered enough stories like this. They know that public confidence will not return unless there is change. And they know that this change is usually greater than anticipated at the beginning of the story.

The tragedy and scandal that has now overtaken the News of the World, and will leave its mark for years to come on the practice of journalism, is a reminder of the impact that the behaviour of small groups of people can have on the reputation of many others. And that reputation matters to more than the people who have it.

For it is essential to a free society that journalism - hard-charging, challenging, irreverent, nosy, original, popular journalism - emerges from this strong, independent and free. It must have enough confidence in its own ethics, and the policing of its own behaviour, that it can do its job.

That job, the job of popular journalism, is telling the many what the few know. It is exposing the truth, even, perhaps especially, when there are those who do not want the truth to be told. It is providing a voice for the vulnerable, providing a microphone for those who find it difficult to get heard. It is understanding what really matters and telling the story. Telling the truth without fear or favour, explaining the world, that is the purpose of journalism and the fundamental contract that a newspaper has with its readers.

Yesterday was a day that Fleet Street will long mourn. Hundreds of News of the World staff will mourn it too, more personally, more directly. And sharing an owner with those staff means that The Times feels it personally and directly, too. The best answer we can give is to be judged by our journalism, to live up to the historic reputation of The Times, to respect the intelligence and integrity of our readers and to honour both by producing the journalism that makes them and us proud.

A handful of people have trampled upon others in grief and despair. They have shamed themselves, destroyed a newspaper and damaged trust in the free press. It will be a long time before that trust is regained.

Daily Mail, 8 July

DAILY MAIL (London)

July 8, 2011 Friday

DAILY MAIL COMMENT

LENGTH: 614 words

Hubris and a threat to press freedom

IT has been a tumultuous, and frankly, depressing week for British journalism in which the flagrant criminal activities of one newspaper have besmirched the media in general and inflicted possibly irreparable damage on the cause of press freedom.

Each new revelation in the News of the World hacking scandal has been more surreal and contemptible than the last.

And in an incredible new twist, it's now alleged two senior policemen failed to investigate these criminal acts properly because they were being scrutinised by News of the World journalists who had knowledge of their extra-marital affairs.

Yesterday, News International summarily axed a newspaper which has enjoyed a huge circulation for countless years by combining a welter of titillation, prurience and scandal with occasional campaigning journalism of the first order.

The Mail does not dance on the News of the World's grave. The death of any newspaper diminishes democracy. The sanctimonious crowing over its demise by such individuals as the sex pervert Max Mosley and that compulsive liar Alastair Campbell is truly sickening.

So what lessons must now be learned? Firstly, the newspaper industry must come together to ensure that such criminality never occurs again, a process which will not be easy, considering the parlous economic state of most papers.

It needs to remind the British people that a free and commercially viable press gives voice to voiceless readers and protects them from being exploited by the rich and powerful.

The Press Complaints Commission, which like the police and Parliamentarians, was too quick to believe NI's lies needs to come up with a serious package of reforms to restore its credibility.

Equally, its critics must understand that the News of the World was blatantly breaking the law and no regulator can put itself above the judicial system.

And what of the police? They were so much in NI's pocket that they barely scratched the surface of the original allegations. There was a whiff of corruption about this and they must examine deeply their personal and corporate shortcomings.

Yes, there must be an inquiry, but how interesting that the MPs' expenses scandal £ which would not have been revealed if Britain did not have a free press £ did not result in a judicial inquiry.

Indeed it's difficult to avoid the conclusion that MPs are exacting their revenge over the Fourth Estate with a little too much glee.

But senior politicians must also learn lessons. One of the most disgusting aspects of the Blair years was the way he and his cronies obsequiously prostrated themselves before the Murdoch empire, which in turn gave Blair unfaltering support for his immoral Iraq adventure.

The sadness is that Mr Cameron seems obsessed with copying New Labour's obeisance to NI. He has become much too close to its senior executives and must distance himself forthwith if any good is to come out of all this.

Ultimately, the News of the World's downfall can be blamed on hubris. The Murdoch empire thought it had the politicians, the police and Britain's media in its pocket.

Never again must one man be allowed to hold such power. That's why the Mail welcomes the announcement to defer the decision to allow NI to buy BSkyB.

The axing of the NoW was either a bold, decisive move designed to draw a line under the debacle, or a cynical act of legerdemain calculated to protect News Corporation's purchase of the whole of BSkyB.

Meanwhile, our sympathies are with the NoW's innocent sub-editors and printers who can feel with some justification that they have been sacrificed in the ultimately unsustainable attempt to save the job of the company's chief executive.

Daily Mirror, 8 July

The Mirror

July 8, 2011 Friday
3 Star Edition

NO SKY FOR MURDOCH

SECTION: EDITORIAL; OPINION, LEADING ARTICLES; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 195 words

THE extraordinary decision by James Murdoch, heir apparent to Rupert, to shut a newspaper after 168 years raises far more questions than it answers.

No wonder foot soldiers lined up in front of a corporate firing squad feel betrayed, punished for a series of scandals from an era before many started working on the title.

Folding the News of the World fails to address the central issue of what went on at the top of the company.

Indeed James Murdoch may have inadvertently deepened the crisis by confessing the company gave untrue evidence to the police and misled Parliament.

The News of the World was undeniably caught in a terrible vortex of its own making. But few believe the decision was made out of any corporate moral compunction.

Rather it was a straightforward business decision.

Use the scandal as cover to sacrifice a newspaper with pounds 200million - but shrinking - revenues a year in order to access the potential pounds 1billion, and growing, revenues of BSkyB.

Get rid of a bad apple to grab a shiny new one - a classic Murdoch sleight of hand.

But such a cynical gamble with people's livelihoods illustrates why News International should never take over B Sky B.

Independent, 9 July

The Independent (London)

July 9, 2011 Saturday
First Edition

A question mark now hangs over David Cameron's judgement;
Leading article

SECTION: COMMENT; Pg. 34

LENGTH: 678 words

David Cameron sought a tone of contrition in his dramatic press conference on phone hacking yesterday. But amidst the expressions of personal responsibility there was also a subtle attempt from the Prime Minister to spread the blame. "We have all been in this together", said Mr Cameron, as he painted a picture of an entire generation of politicians who had got too close to the mighty media empire of Rupert Murdoch.

It is certainly true that previous occupants of Downing Street, including Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, were desperate to win the tycoon's backing and that they did many undignified and dubious things to try to secure it. But this cannot disguise the fact that Mr Cameron was "in this" with the Murdoch regime, in an especially serious way thanks, in particular, to his employment of Andy Coulson, the News of the World editor who resigned in 2007 after one of his journalists was sent to jail for phone hacking. It is of course, the phone hacking affair that exploded, once again, this week with such spectacular consequences.

Mr Cameron trotted out his usual line yesterday that he magnanimously decided to give Mr Coulson a "second chance" when he made him the Conservative Party's communications chief in 2007. Those who err deserve a second chance only when they have owned up to their original misdemeanour. There was widespread scepticism in 2007 over Mr Coulson's claims that he was unaware phone hacking was taking place on his watch. How scrupulously did the Conservative leader challenge Mr Coulson's assurances on this subject? Was Mr Coulson asked about any other potential embarrassments that could emerge from his past? No adequate answers to these questions were provided by the Prime Minister yesterday.

Mr Cameron implied that he could not have been expected to foresee what a disaster the Coulson appointment would become. This is disingenuous. The Prime Minister was warned, both in public and in private, not to take a compromised figure like Mr Coulson with him across the Downing Street threshold. Yet the Prime Minister chose to ignore those warnings. And, as head of communications, Mr Coulson was installed close to the very centre of the Government machine. All this inevitably raises serious questions about Mr Cameron's judgement. And so

does the Prime Minister's remarkable description of Mr Coulson as "a friend" yesterday, even as the former editor was about to be arrested.

There are further problems with Mr Cameron's attempt to present the appeasement of the Murdoch press as something for which all politicians are equally guilty. While his predecessors were, at various time, close to the Murdoch regime, Mr Cameron was singularly enthusiastic about cultivating the media group. The Prime Minister declared yesterday that if he had been in a position to receive the offer of resignation of the News International chief executive, Rebekah Brooks, he would have accepted it. Yet not long ago Mr Cameron was apparently a close personal friend of Ms Brooks. The pair are said to have gone riding together. Mr Cameron attended a dinner party at Ms Brooks' Oxfordshire home over Christmas, a party at which the senior News Corp executive James Murdoch was also present. And this was at a time when the Government was considering the media company's controversial bid to acquire the broadcaster BSkyB.

Worse, Mr Cameron's Government appears to have granted special favours to the Murdoch organisation. In January, Ofcom recommended that the BSkyB bid should be referred to the Competition Commission. But the Culture Secretary, Jeremy Hunt, decided to allow the company to avoid this referral in return for an agreement to sell off Sky News. It is inconceivable that any other organisation would have been offered such regulatory leeway.

Mr Cameron is right to argue that a great many politicians, from Labour as well as the Conservatives, must account for the manner in which they have bent their knee to the power of the Murdoch media. But the Prime Minister should be in no doubt: it is he who has the most explaining to do.

Daily Telegraph, 9 July

The Daily Telegraph (London)

July 9, 2011 Saturday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Cameron's self-serving attack on press freedom;
THE DAILY TELEGRAPH Established 1855

SECTION: EDITORIAL; OPINIONS, LEADING ARTICLES; Pg. 25

LENGTH: 948 words

Memories are short - e have been here before. More than 20 years ago, amid a maelstrom of outrage about media intrusion into the lives of the Royal family, David Mellor, then the Heritage Secretary, told newspapers that they were "drinking in the Last Chance Saloon". The government established an inquiry, chaired by Sir David Calcutt QC, that led to the creation of the Press Complaints Commission (PCC), in succession to the old Press Council. In 1993, a follow-up inquiry concluded that the industry was incapable of properly policing itself, and

recommended the creation of a statutory tribunal to oversee the Press. However, John Major decided to allow self-regulation to continue under the PCC, with a tougher code of practice.

There matters stood until yesterday, when David Cameron announced that, as a result of the phone-hacking scandal, another inquiry is to be held, along similar lines. But he has pre-empted its findings: he stated that while press freedom is important, the revelations that led to the closure of the News of the World show that independent oversight is essential.

Whenever a prime minister says he believes in a free press, there is usually a "but" somewhere in the sentence. Eighty years ago, Stanley Baldwin denounced newspaper proprietors for exercising "power without responsibility, the prerogative of the harlot throughout the ages". It is a phrase that has echoed through discussions of press freedom and ownership ever since, and was implicit in Mr Cameron's statement yesterday.

Of course, what happened at the News of the World was unconscionable. Hacking phones, whether of murder victims or celebrities, was illegal and should have been - and should now be - properly investigated by the police, with the miscreants brought to book. However, this must not be used as an excuse to impose the first statutory controls on the press since censorship laws were abolished in 1695.

Mr Cameron has a point when he says that the PCC has not behaved as robustly as it might have: under a weak leader, it failed fully to investigate the complaints about phone hacking. Yet he ignores the fact that it was not the police or the Government, but a newspaper - The Guardian - that exposed the full extent of the scandal. And it is hard for the PCC to take criticism of its ineffectiveness from a Prime Minister who appointed Andy Coulson, the News of the World's former editor, as his director of communications, and who is personally compromised by his association with senior News International executives.

The relationship between the media and politicians has always been ambiguous: they need, but rarely trust, each other. Yet that tension is the cornerstone of a free society. For all that Mr Cameron defends the principle of press freedom, statutory oversight would be a slippery slope to state meddling. We do not know what system he desires, since that is for the inquiry to suggest. But the "starting presumption" is that it should be independent of press and government.

While this might sound like a reasonable compromise, such a body would inevitably work to a set of rules and principles laid down by Parliament. Ed Miliband, the Labour leader, favours some new form of self-regulation, with greater non-industry involvement. But it is hard to see how that differs from the PCC, where "lay" members are a majority. Anything resembling the tribunal proposed in 1993 would have wide-ranging powers to draw up and review a code of practice; restrain publication; inquire into complaints of alleged breaches; initiate its own investigations; require the printing of apologies; and impose fines and award compensation. Such a regime would fundamentally compromise press freedom: for instance, it would almost certainly have prevented this newspaper disclosing the MPs' expenses scandal.

There was more than an element of grandstanding in Mr Cameron's actions yesterday. He knows that the public is rightly appalled by the goings-on at the News of the World. But in order to garner plaudits for taking tough action, he risks jeopardising something far more important. To punish the whole of the press for News International's misdemeanours is wrong; so, too, is the sneering disdain of the political classes for the tabloid newspapers that are read by the majority of their constituents. It was a revolting spectacle to see Labour politicians cheer the closure of one of this country's oldest newspapers, with the loss of 200 staff, most of whom had nothing to do with the scandal - especially since they only found their voice once News International had ended its support of their party.

The paper was amputated from the Murdoch empire to prevent the poison seeping into the rest of the corporate body. In closing it, the plurality of the British media, long one of its strengths, has been diminished - largely so that the country's dominant private-sector media player can reinforce its commercial position through the acquisition of the remainder of BSkyB, a purchase that should now be investigated by the Competition Commission.

In truth, no one emerges from this fiasco with credit.

News International's handling of the scandal was woefully inadequate, and it is hard to understand how its chief executive, Rebekah Brooks, remains in post. The police failed in their duty to investigate criminal activity, with some officers enjoying a potentially corrupt relationship with News of the World journalists. And Mr Cameron showed poor judgment in appointing Mr Coulson to a senior position. It would be disgraceful if he compounded that mistake by undermining three centuries of free speech.

Times, 9 July

The Times (London)

July 9, 2011 Saturday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Politicians and the Press;

The arrest of Andy Coulson raises questions about the Prime Minister's judgment. But changes to regulation should be considered with care rather than haste

SECTION: EDITORIAL; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 646 words

The triumphal procession of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge through Canada shows that at least one British institution is thriving. The banks brought the economy to the edge of a precipice. MPs tore into their own reputations with unwise, and in some cases illegal, expense claims. The judiciary was forced to bow to the revelations of technology that it can neither understand nor control. Now, after the most egregious wrongdoing that has dominated this week, the British

press faces its own existential crisis, in which the police have now become embroiled.

The arrest of Andy Coulson, former Editor of the News of the World, raises new, even more troubling, questions than the dreadful allegations of phone hacking. If it turns out to be true that journalists were routinely paying the police in the course of their investigations, it brings two important institutions into disrepute. It also takes the scandal out of the realm of the morally outrageous into the realm of the legally culpable. The arrest of Mr Coulson also brings the affair uncomfortably close to the Prime Minister. In 2007, Mr Coulson resigned from the editorship of the News of the World when its royal reporter, Clive Goodman, and a private investigator, Glenn Mulcaire, were jailed for plotting to intercept voicemail messages left for staff associated with the Royal Family. At his press conference in Downing Street yesterday, David Cameron said that he decided, when he recruited Mr Coulson to be his director of communications, that it was reasonable to offer "a second chance". Mr Cameron made no attempt to deflect responsibility, saying that the decision was "mine and mine alone". He also stressed that he had been satisfied at the time with the assurances that Mr Coulson had offered and, it should be stressed, nothing has yet been proven.

It should also be said that, during his time working for Mr Cameron both in Opposition and in Downing Street, Mr Coulson was an effective aide who was liked and respected by those with whom he came into contact. He had the trust of the Prime Minister and nothing he did in that post ever suggested he did not warrant it. However, the allegations now against Mr Coulson are of the utmost gravity. There were those at the time who questioned whether Mr Cameron had not perhaps been cavalier in accepting Mr Coulson's assurances at face value. The critics may not be right - but the Prime Minister's judgment is a legitimate line of inquiry until they are proved wrong.

To raise questions of this nature is the task of the official Opposition and the Labour Party leader, Ed Miliband, has had perhaps his best week in the job so far. At the start of the week, Mr Miliband had a big call to make. He could have decided to stay out of the story and watch the travails of his opponents from a safe distance. In taking the bold course, Mr Miliband has exploited the case for political effect cleverly and in a way that he is perfectly entitled to do.

The Prime Minister has announced two public inquiries, one into the police and a second into the ethics and culture of the press. He has also said that the Press Complaints Commission (PCC) should be scrapped. Mr Cameron took responsibility for his part in the saga and tackled a suspicious public head on. He was candid enough to confront the politician's inevitable instinct to cosy up to journalists, broadcasters and proprietors. He had the courage not to shy away away from the difficult questions but showed the caution not to rush for easy answers. He is right that any form of regulation should be independent of the press but, even more importantly, independent of government.

In this past week, the politicians have provided a most powerful commentary on the press. But there will be more shame to come - for Fleet Street, for Scotland Yard and, no doubt, for Westminster too. This story is not over.

Daily Mail, 9 July

DAILY MAIL (London)

July 9, 2011 Saturday

DAILY MAIL COMMENTS

LENGTH: 633 words

MR CAMERON AND A STINK OF HYPOCRISY

AFTER a tumultuous week for the media, in which a shocked Britain learned of the odious and unforgivable behaviour of some Murdoch journalists, it was the unmistakable whiff of hypocrisy that yesterday swirled around the corpse of that 168-year-old very British institution, the News of the World.

Perhaps most sickening was the hypocrisy of those whose own odious conduct had been exposed by a free Press and who now dance on the grave of a paper which Ñ to the chattering classes' horror Ñ still had five million readers.

How ironic that John Prescott, whose lurid affair with his secretary so abused his high office; Alastair Campbell, who sexed up that dossier 'justifying' the war on Iraq; and the pervert Max Mosley should lead the charge against the media.

But, when it came to hypocrisy, the politicians were in a class of their own.

First came Ed Miliband who, with considerable justification, denounced David Cameron for his woeful absence of judgment in becoming so close to News International and appointing disgraced NotW editor Andy Coulson as press officer.

But is this the same Mr Miliband who was a senior member of a Blair regime which so sickeningly and slavishly courted News International while in office?

Is it the same Mr Miliband whose own spin doctor Tom Baldwin, an ex-NI journalist, allegedly commissioned a private detective to break into a bank account as part of a ruthless attack on the former Tory treasurer Lord Ashcroft?

But top of the class for hypocrisy is Mr Cameron who, in a desperate and cynical bid to deflect attention from his own terrible lack of judgment in becoming so close to the Murdoch empire, delivered a bodyblow to Britain's free Press by announcing that some kind of statutory control would now be necessary.

Truly, it is a dark day for the Conservative Party when its leader, in a bid to save his own skin, advocates the muzzling of the free Press. Mr Mugabe would be proud of him.

Let's be clear. Nothing can excuse the NotW's heinous behaviour. Its journalists broke the law and must be punished.

And, yes, the newspaper industry must learn huge lessons from this debacle.

For its part, the Press Complaints Commission has signally failed to adequately respond to the scandal and must initiate a root and branch reform of its procedures.

But, as this paper has repeatedly argued, phone hacking is an illegal activity and no regulator can set itself above the law.

However inconvenient to its critics, the fact remains that NI lied to the PCC just as it lied to Parliament and the police and all the regulatory bodies in the world won't change that.

But Mr Cameron and those MPs gleefully out for revenge on a free Press that exposed their fraudulent expenses should be careful what they wish for.

Many newspapers, shackled by some of the strictest privacy and libel rules in the world, are in a parlous financial state and Ñ if they are further restricted Ñ risk going out of business altogether.

What then? Doubtless the political class would love tame and heavily regulated newspapers that have to rely on State subsidies, as in France.

And how the Left would love it if the politically-correct BBC Ñ so pro-Europe and against any discussion of immigration Ñ became the only news provider, courtesy of millions from the taxpayer.

Yes, the NotW deserves no sympathy. But the fact remains that, alongside the smut and prurience, the paper broke many important stories, successfully exposed corruption and carried serious political content. Today, the chances are that the five million people who read it will no longer read a newspaper.

That cannot be good for democracy. Nor can the fact that, with its demise, the corrupt and the rich and powerful who so frequently abuse their positions will now sleep easier in their beds.

Daily Mirror, 9 July

The Mirror

July 9, 2011 Saturday
3 Star Edition

PM TAINTED BY LINKS TO DISGRACED

SECTION: EDITORIAL; OPINION, LEADING ARTICLES; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 314 words

IT was patently clear a while back that the Police, Parliament and the Press Complaints Commission were all lied to by Rupert Murdoch's senior lieutenants in the phone hacking scandal. However, let us be honest and admit that even if the PCC had sharper teeth, with tougher abilities to sanction errant publishers, it would have made no difference to the events of the past few days.

What the News Of the World was doing was - and particularly in regard to paying the boys in blue - is illegal. And it is up to the law to prosecute any illegality, not an industry watchdog.

That having been said, the PCC's reaction when the scandal first erupted was insufficiently robust.

It should have made much clearer that at the end of any legal processes, there would be real consequences.

David Cameron and Ed Miliband are correct that press self-regulation should continue.

And they are also correct in saying that the PCC - or more pertinently the successor body which emerges following a judicial inquiry - should have greater powers.

What these powers may be will make up part of the inquiry and are better decided in a calmer atmosphere.

But the Prime Minister's suggestion that all British media is at fault is simply wrong.

His close, personal friendships with those in the Murdoch empire who now stand in disgrace, forged when in Opposition, have tainted his Premiership. And Mr Cameron showed weakness - not political expediency - when he refused to terminate those ties, even when warned of an impending scandal.

The Prime Minister had some nerve to claim "we're all in this together" when he was repeatedly told of the dangers of embracing a corporation which believed it was above normal rules.

Mr Cameron's refusal to admit his own failings leaves him unable to point the finger at others.

Hard lessons must be learned by all concerned, but the PM is still spinning away instead of leading.

Sun, 9 July

The Sun (England)

July 9, 2011 Saturday

Edition 1;
Scotland

PCC can work

BYLINE: Sun SAYS

SECTION: EDITORIAL; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 186 words

THE Prime Minister is right to look at Press regulation as part of his inquiries into the News of the World scandal.

But he is too hasty in condemning the Press Complaints Commission - the industry's independent watchdog - as a failure.

Rushing to judgment so quickly risks creating more problems than it solves.

There is a real danger that scrapping the PCC opens the door to official State regulation under which newspapers would answer to politicians.

Some in Parliament would love that. But it would be catastrophic for democracy.

Would the Westminster expenses scandal have been exposed if MPs had their way? The PCC is not perfect. But most of the time it works well.

Readers can force newspapers to print apologies and corrections.

The Sun takes PCC rulings extremely seriously.

We carefully observe the Commission's Code of Practice which has raised standards across the industry.

But the PCC is a regulator, not a police force. The PCC will learn from this scandal.

But this is not the moment, when feelings are running high, to ditch a body that has generally served the public well.

We hope Mr Cameron will think again.

Observer, 10 July

The Observer (England)

July 10, 2011

NEWS INTERNATIONAL: Murdoch's malign influence must die with the News of the World

BYLINE: Editorial

SECTION: OBSERVER NEW COMMENT PAGES; Pg. 38

LENGTH: 1713 words

Suddenly, Rupert Murdoch seems much less a global mogul, much more a diminished man of glass. He flies into London this weekend from Sun Valley, Idaho, in time for the last rites of the most Sunday successful newspaper in Britain, the News of the World. One hundred and sixty-eight years ago, it pledged: "Our motto is the truth, our practice is fearless advocacy of the truth." After today, the tabloid will appear no more, felled not by one royal rogue reporter but by the arrogance, ambition and apparent tolerance of systemic criminal behaviour by members of the senior News International management.

The loss of a newspaper, especially one with a proud history of award-winning investigative journalism, is a cause for sadness. The News of the World was the biggest-selling Sunday tabloid in the English-speaking world. The death of a paper in such rude health is unprecedented and unwanted in the media. The individuals who are to blame are, as yet, unwilling fully to admit culpability. Rebekah Brooks, the chief executive, still in post, has warned that worse revelations are to come. The shameful saga stretches back over five years. Arguably, it would not have come to light but for the sterling and stoic persistence of the Guardian, some diligent lawyers and a handful of MPs such as Tom Watson and Chris Bryant.

The News of the World's termination is the price Murdoch is willing to pay to halt the accelerating erosion of the British wing of his international empire and to secure full ownership of "the cash machine", the satellite broadcaster BSkyB, the leading provider of pay TV. However, over the past few days, BSkyB shares have lost more than £ 1bn in value. A decision on its sale has been postponed until the autumn by Jeremy Hunt, minister for media. Against sound advice, he had previously been minded to approve Murdoch and a £ 10bn deal which would give him an alarmingly large slice of British media. Now, City experts are warning that the deal could collapse.

On Thursday, Murdoch's son, James, deputy chief operating officer of News Corp, the ultimate owner of News International, which also owns the Times, the Sunday Times and the Sun, possibly opened himself up to criminal charges on both sides of the Atlantic. He admitted he had misled Parliament, although he stated that he did not have the complete picture at the time. He went on to give an extraordinary admission of negligence, describing what he called "repeated wrongdoing that [had] occurred without conscience or legitimate purpose" on his watch. He admitted that, without apparently much questioning, he had signed cheques for £ 1.7m for two individuals among dozens more celebrities, whose phones have been hacked.

Why did the young Murdoch authorise the payments? They paid out £ 700,000 to the chief executive of the Professional Footballers' Association, Gordon Taylor. One of the conditions was that Taylor didn't speak about the case. News Corp also persuaded the court to seal the file on Taylor's case to prevent all public access, even though, as the Guardian revealed, "it contained prima facie evidence of criminal activity". Did alarm bells not sound for him, that he was having to spend such vast sums of money to keep his company's victims quiet?

One would have expected the company to leave no stone unturned to get to the root of the cancer that had spread across its paper. Instead, it convinced almost everyone,

including a toothless PCC, that it was the work of a "rogue reporter". It was anything but - it was industrial scale hacking of phones.

The senior management at News International were abject in their failure - through lack of insight or enthusiasm - to get to the root of the problem. They failed their victims, they failed their journalists and they failed the News of the World. They may yet be proved to have failed their shareholders.

It is a long road from this to James Murdoch's McTaggart lecture in 2009 at the Edinburgh international television festival. The lecture was titled "The Absence of Trust". He argued: "There is an inescapable conclusion that we must reach if we are to have a better society. The only reliable, durable and perpetual guarantor of independence is profit."

James Murdoch would do well to reflect again on The Absence of Trust. Only closer to home this time. He and other senior management at News International should desist from lecturing the rest of the British media in light of their baleful performance over the phone-hacking affair.

It is therefore only right that Ofcom says that once the current police inquiries are complete, it will consider whether News Corporation, as an organisation, would make a "fit and proper" owner of BSkyB .

As a result, Murdoch may be about to reach an unexpected milestone. Possibly for the first time, his powers have proved no shield against the force of public anger. Thanks to new social media, more than 150,000 people have lodged objections to control of BSkyB passing to Murdoch. In addition, dozens of major advertisers withdrew their contracts from the News of the World. The verdict of many appears to be that News Corp is not fit and proper.

On Friday, David Cameron was heavily criticised for his lack of judgment in giving Andy Coulson a second chance when he appointed him as his director of communications. Cameron opted for a polished mea culpa: "The buck stops here," he said. He indicated that Rebekah Brooks should resign. He also said that the Press Complaints Commission should be axed and reforms to the regulation of the fourth estate initiated. In addition, an investigation into the laxity of the original police and News International inquiry will be conducted. A third inquiry will ask: "How did we - press, politicians and police - get here?"

Undoubtedly, good and honourable journalists exist in abundance, many employed on News International's remaining titles. However, the scale of the News of the World's telephone hacking operation has triggered international disapproval. What appears to be the routine invasion of the privacy of ordinary people already blighted by tragedy is a particularly ruthless and cold-hearted method of harvesting copy.

So what kind of an organisation provides a home for such a culture? Over 40 years, Murdoch convinced the establishment that he can make or break political reputations and grant or take away electoral success. In doing so, he has come close to gelding Parliament, damaging the rights of citizens and undermining democracy. It is legitimate to ask how a naturalised American, domiciled in New York, born in

Australia, and who pays next to no UK tax, holds so much sway. What right exactly did this man have to exert such influence over our political life? Freedom of information requests reveal that he spoke to prime minister Tony Blair three times in the 10 days that led up to the Iraq invasion in 2003. This was a perversion of our politics, orchestrated by a man whose power the establishment failed to check. Then they had to live with the demeaning consequences.

And what did Britain get in return for gifting this man the back keys to political power? (Literally in Murdoch's case, as he swept into Downing Street days after last year's election and then left by the back door). In return, a swaggering, bullying, crassly ineffective News International treated British citizens with contempt by hacking their phones and treated the media, police and politicians investigating the affair with wilful disdain and barely concealed threats. Let this never happen again on our watch.

Prime ministers have danced fast and furiously to Murdoch's tune. In 2001, for instance, Murdoch's newspapers supported Tony Blair in the general election. Blair in turn backed a communications bill that loosened restrictions on foreign media ownership. More recently, News International bosses are reported to have told Ed Miliband that there would be "repercussions" if he continued to call for Rebekah Brooks's resignation. Miliband, belatedly, has broken out of the cocoon of fear that is Murdoch's speciality. He is on the offensive against the power of Murdoch and that's to his credit. It's hard to conceive that there's any going back.

Abuses of power have certainly occurred around News International. For several years, police failed to notify potential victims of hacking and follow up leads. The police in Surrey appear to have known about the Dowler hacking but did little. Since January, however, the Met's deputy assistant commissioner, Sue Akers, head of Operation Weeting, has been in charge. More arrests are expected. Clearly, the police have much to explain and much to reform. We need a full account of the failure of earlier investigations to unearth the widespread evidence of wrongdoing that is now coming to light.

There are huge challenges ahead, too, for Britain's newspapers. In the 1960s, Hugh Cudlipp of the Daily Mirror dismissed the Press Council as "an exercise in futility". The current Press Complaints Commission (PCC) has more powers but, ill-equipped as it has proved to be, its bite still seems gummy. It published a woefully poor report into hacking that it subsequently had to withdraw. But before we embrace statutory regulation, with all the danger of political interference that threatens, we must urgently consider radical reforms of the existing regulatory framework: reducing the power of serving editors to stand in judgment of their own work; enhancing the investigative powers of the new body which is properly staffed and funded; and providing sanctions, including the power to levy substantial fines and insist upon prominent retractions of false claims. How this new organisation deals with publishing on the internet is perhaps its first challenge.

It is rumoured that Murdoch intends to launch the Sun on Sunday, possibly in the autumn. That makes it all the more urgent that the lessons of what has happened at the News of the World and on other newspapers are rapidly established.

In the spirit of plurality in the media, it is also essential that Murdoch's control of BSkyB is rejected. The spectre of the old Murdoch, the one whose demise was signalled last week - powerful, voracious and threatening - must not be allowed to rise again from the ashes of the News of the World.

Independent on Sunday, 10 July

The Independent on Sunday

July 10, 2011
First Edition

The wrong red-top went;
Leading Article

SECTION: COMMENT; Pg. 40

LENGTH: 710 words

We do not celebrate the passing of the News of the World. At its best, it was one of the finest newspapers in Britain, with an astonishing record of scoops and entertainment. The Independent on Sunday would wish we enjoyed anything like its sales success. And no one, least of all the staff of another Sunday newspaper, should take pleasure in the sacking of fellow journalists, few of whom were responsible for the excesses that brought the title down.

What is worse is that the closure of the NOTW was unnecessary. If Rebekah Brooks had resigned, the toxicity of the title could have been purged and advertisers might have been won back.

That there needed to be some kind of reckoning, however, is beyond doubt. Elements of the press, and not just at News International, have been out of control. The worst of the phone hacking has (presumably) been reined back since Clive Goodman and Glenn Mulcaire were jailed in 2007. But it took the revelation that, in 2002, the mobile phone of Milly Dowler, the murdered 13-year-old, had been hacked and messages deleted to blow the scandal open.

It is almost universally agreed that phone-hacking of this kind, simply trawling for information about people in the news, or their families, is repugnant. It is bad enough when hacking is used as a short cut to easy stories about the private lives of celebrities, but in the Dowler case, the hacker gave false hope to Milly's family and could have jeopardised a police murder investigation. What Ms Brooks meant when she said that there was worse yet to come out we can only shudder to imagine.

The opening up of this hidden underside of popular journalism, and the inquiries into the failure of the original police investigation and, separately, into the ethics of the press, are welcome. Daylight has now been let in on the press, its relations with the police and with politicians. On Friday, the Prime Minister was bold enough to admit, subverting one of his own slogans, that "we have all been in this together - the press, politicians and leaders of all parties". All politicians have held back, for

fear of offending media organisations that might support them in elections or shed unwelcome light on their private lives.

This crisis provides an unusual opportunity to deal with the problem. It could be the time to clean up the corrupt relationship between the police and elements of the press. And it could be the chance to replace the Press Complaints Commission, which has never commanded much confidence, with a system of accountability that is independent of both the Government and the newspapers themselves.

Curiously, however, we find ourselves worrying whether the reaction to the hacking scandal might go too far. Some of the influence of Rupert Murdoch on the British media has been baleful, partly because of craven politicians. But the liberal left often refuses to accept that for all his will to dominate he has also added to the pluralism of British journalism. We might not wish otherwise, but without the revolution of print technology and challenge to trade union restrictions instigated by Murdoch and Eddie Shah, this newspaper would probably not exist. Hostility to the Murdochs certainly means that the illegal methods used by other newspapers have attracted much less attention than they deserve.

There is a danger, too, that an overreaction would curb justifiable investigation. The Daily Telegraph, for example, secured the MPs' expenses story by paying for a stolen disc. In that case, what would otherwise be unlawful was in the public interest. Hacking voicemails could be justified if there were good reason to believe that it would expose greater wrongdoing. One of the simplest tests is whether a newspaper is prepared to tell its readers how information was obtained.

Finally, there is a risk that the festival of revulsion pushes politicians towards a privacy law, a law of prior restraint and statutory regulation. Those would, in our view, negate the principle of free expression and must be resisted.

As we bid farewell to the most successful Sunday newspaper in the world, we should celebrate its iconoclastic spirit. While hardly in the same market, we hope that at least some readers of the NOTW will look again at the alternatives.

Sunday Telegraph, 10 July

The Sunday Telegraph (London)

July 10, 2011
Edition 1;
National Edition

This scandal must not destroy our free press;
The Sunday Telegraph Established in 1961

SECTION: EDITORIAL; OPINION, LEADING ARTICLES; Pg. 25

LENGTH: 1036 words

The general public is aghast at the details of the journalistic methods used by the News of the World - as, indeed, are most journalists. It is not easy to find words strong enough to condemn the allegations of hacking into phones belonging to the parents of soldiers killed in the course of service in the British Army, still less to express the shock and disgust at the suggestion that one investigator on the News of the World's payroll hacked into the mobile phone of Milly Dowler, the murdered teenager, and deleted some of the messages left on it, thereby giving her parents the entirely false hope that she might still be alive.

Executives from News International, the company that owned and controlled the News of the World, long insisted that such actions were restricted to isolated individuals. The evidence has become overwhelming that this is not true, and that the practice of hacking into the phones, not merely of celebrities, but of ordinary members of the public, was widespread. Rebekah Brooks, News International's chief executive, has suggested that there is much more, and possibly much worse, to come. We await a comprehensive statement from News International which gives the full picture of what went on, not just at the News of the World, but at all of the titles owned in this country by Rupert Murdoch. We also await an explanation for why Mrs Brooks, and other News International executives, appear to have given misleading information to parliamentary committees, and the police. It is certainly right that there should be a public inquiry, led by a judge, that can establish the full truth.

No institution emerges particularly well from this sorry affair. There have been allegations that the relationship between some police officers and the tabloid was inappropriately close, and possibly corrupt. The interview we publish today with John Yates, the assistant commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, shows that Scotland Yard admits candidly that it made mistakes, especially in failing to review and re-investigate information it obtained when Glenn Mulcaire and Clive Goodman, the two News of the World employees jailed for their role in hacking phones, were prosecuted. The Crown Prosecution Service took a very narrow view of when the offences had been committed, which made it very difficult for prosecutions to take place, and encouraged the police to restrict their investigations in a way that prevented officers from uncovering the enormity of what had been done - even though the relevant evidence had been in the possession of the police since 2006.

All the main political parties were intimidated by Mr Murdoch's power, as were most Members of Parliament. That partly explains why they failed, as Mr Cameron admitted last week, to take the allegations of phone hacking by the News of the World with the seriousness that it is now clear they deserved - to the extent that Mr Cameron could appoint its former editor, Andy Coulson, as one of his most senior advisers.

Obviously, the institution that has most to answer for is News International, whose behaviour has contaminated the reputation of the media as a whole. The overwhelming majority of journalists do not employ the shameful tactics of the News of the World; sadly, the public is not always disposed to make fine distinctions between good and bad journalists, any more than it was to make distinctions between frugal and profligate MPs during the expenses scandal. In this case, the system of press regulation, which aims to ensure universal adherence to proper standards of decency and honesty, did not work. What can be done to prevent something similar from happening again?

Under the present system, the press is regulated by the Press Complaints Commission, which has a majority of lay members. These 10 independent figures are supported by seven senior editors from the magazine industry and the local and national press (their number currently includes the Editor of The Sunday Telegraph). The PCC has a reasonably good record in resolving complaints against the press, and forcing editors and journalists to admit and correct their errors. But with limited investigative powers, it is forced to rely on the basic veracity of those giving evidence, a process which manifestly failed in the case of the phone hacking scandal.

The public must be reassured that the press is worthy of its trust, and that the News of the World's disgraceful behaviour will never be repeated. The need to reform the system of press regulation is without question: in particular, the PCC, or its successor, must have the power to investigate accusations far more thoroughly. But David Cameron's plan for a new system of government-imposed regulation, whose nature will be determined via a second inquiry, has its dangers, too. As "super-injunctions" have shown, the law has given those with the money to do so the ability to stifle discussion, and to prevent the publication of facts they find inconvenient. We can be sure that some politicians would, if given the chance, frame regulations in a way which would impede the investigation of serious wrongdoing by public figures, and even diminish the ability of the press to scrutinise and criticise government policy. This would be disastrous for the media, and for democracy.

A free press has many faults: but so far, no one has been able to discover an alternative method of holding public figures to account. A system of state licences for newspapers, which has been mentioned, would be a way of ending press freedom. Even in the 17th century, it was recognised as incompatible with a free press, which is why the Licensing Act, first passed in 1662, was allowed to lapse in 1695. The press needs to be trusted by the public if it is to fulfil its function of informing it. The hacking scandal has punctured that trust. Action must be taken to restore it. But government regulation will not have that effect. Politicians and legislators must therefore resist the temptation to replace the present, inadequate system with something that would be much, much worse.

The public must be reassured that the press is worthy of its trust, and that this disgraceful episode will not be repeated.

Sunday Times, 10 July

The Sunday Times (London)

July 10, 2011 Sunday

Edition 1;

Northern Ireland

BEWARE THE MOTIVES OF THE WITCH-HUNTERS

SECTION: EDITORIAL; OPINION, LEADING ARTICLES; Pg. 22

LENGTH: 795 words

'When sorrows come,' says that old fool Claudius in Hamlet, "they come not single spies, but in battalions." That is how it has felt at News International this past week when the country's biggest newspaper publisher reeled under a series of body blows. For years it had survived sporadic revelations about the hacking of telephone messages by a private eye working for the News of the World. But on Monday it reached its nadir. While the public were not overly exercised about the hacking of the phone messages of pop stars, politicians and even members of the royal family, they were rightly outraged about the hacking of the phone of Milly Dowler, the murdered schoolgirl.

Outrage was compounded when it emerged that the private eye may have deleted messages on Milly's phone, thereby giving false hope to her anguished parents. If that was not bad enough, it was then revealed that the News of the World had systematically bribed police officers. By Friday, Andy Coulson, the paper's former editor and subsequently the prime minister's communications director, had been arrested over alleged involvement in phone hacking and paying bungs to policemen. He also faces the risk of perjury charges. Others will follow him.

That a newspaper which once sold about 8m copies a week and reached half the population of Great Britain should have been brought so low was shocking. In the end James Murdoch, deputy chief operating officer of News Corporation, the owner of News International, which also publishes The Sunday Times, felt he had no choice but to shut down this radioactive brand. He was anticipating a further maelstrom of revelations and it became an issue of whether it would irretrievably damage the company's three other titles and the worldwide reputation of News Corporation. As with many disasters, this was avoidable. Of course the newsroom should never have been allowed to run out of control as it hacked its way across the ether. And when the allegations first surfaced five years ago, they should have been dealt with decisively and openly. It might have led to severe embarrassment and more criminal charges, but it would have avoided the damaging cover-up and debilitating series of revelations that led to last Thursday's dramatic announcement of the closure of a paper that launched Rupert Murdoch's global expansion 42 years ago. It was not just the organisation that was at fault, though. The police were complicit in conducting too cursory an investigation.

The consequence is a crisis in how the media are regarded in this country and a real threat to freedom of expression in the face of widespread revulsion. The prime minister has set up two inquiries which will probe into the entrails and these will run alongside numerous civil actions and criminal trials. This is likely to take years to resolve and will drag in other newspapers, for there seems little doubt that such behaviour was widespread across the industry. That this will have further significant ramifications seems not to be in doubt. Like in some Jacobean tragedy, it is hard to predict how many bodies will lie scattered on the stage when the drama reaches its climax.

Although the behaviour of the News of the World has been indefensible, it has not stopped a witch-hunt against News International by other self-interested and often hypocritical parties seeking commercial gain. Rupert Murdoch has done more than any other figure to increase the plurality of newspapers in this country by reviving The Sun, defeating the print unions and funding lossmaking papers such as The Times. We have a richer and more varied media as a result. Some of his harshest

newspaper critics would not even exist had it not been for his defiance of the restrictive practices within the industry.

The key objective now must be to reform the press without further damaging our freedoms. The British media already operate within a restrictive panoply of libel and human rights laws, but this scandal shows they need tighter self-regulation, including powers to investigate and penalise misbehaviour. Statutory controls would play into the hands of the many who would prefer a toothless press. They include the politicians who would have liked to keep our cash-for-questions and cash-for-honours investigations, as well as the scandal over MPs' and Lords' expenses, off the front pages. They include the drug companies that destroy people's lives and the corrupt officials who run world football. They also include the public figures who would prefer their hypocrisy to remain unexposed.

David Cameron, under intense political pressure because of his appointment of Mr Coulson, must not bow to demands to neuter the press. That route is a short cut to corruption, complacency and an unhealthy democracy.

Mail on Sunday, 10 July

MAIL ON SUNDAY (London)

July 10, 2011 Sunday

THE MAIL ON SUNDAY COMMENTS

LENGTH: 550 words

THE PRESS, THE PM AND A THREAT TO OUR FREEDOM THE AN AFFRONT TO FREEDOM

A FLAILING PM

THIS newspaper endorsed David Cameron at the Election and has been supportive of his conduct of the Coalition. Even so, there have always been aspects of Mr Cameron's behaviour which have given cause for concern. And on Friday he made a grave error.

He tried to knock away one of the chief pillars of our free society, an independent Press. He declared that the Press Complaints Commission (PCC) should be swept away and replaced. But with what?

The Premier has no power to do this and his statement prejudged the inquiry into media ethics that he also announced.

The only charitable explanation of this flailing is that Mr Cameron is embarrassed by his closeness to Rupert Murdoch's News International and is seeking to divert attention elsewhere.

It is easy to understand why Mr Cameron thought it justifiable to hire Andy Coulson, the former Editor of the News of the World now under police investigation. Whatever his faults, Mr Coulson is a highly skilled operator in the art of public presentation.

But the decision to take Mr Coulson into Downing Street is against the warnings of many and is of a quite different order.

The Prime Minister's defence of this, that he was giving a flawed man a 'second chance', is baffling. No 10 is not a branch of the Probation Service. It is the heart of our Government.

And here is a crucial part of this affair that needs to be given more prominence. There has of course been serious wrongdoing in the Press, which the courts must now pursue to the end. The PCC has failed to do its job properly. The police have spectacularly failed to do theirs. This must be put right.

But the interwoven relationship between the political elite of this country and the Murdoch empire is at least equally disturbing.

Mr Murdoch's media empire should not be forgotten and must take much of the blame for fomenting the disastrous Iraq War. But Mr Murdoch does not only want wars.

When Rebekah Brooks abruptly ended News International's long and slavish support for New Labour and switched allegiance to the Tories, this should surely have given the Conservatives cause for doubt. It did not.

They allowed themselves to be gulled into giving a fair wind to Mr Murdoch's deeply controversial bid for full control of BSkyB. Then they galloped into the Libyan morass, cheered on by Murdoch headlines.

No wonder the Prime Minister now wants to change the subject. Yet he should remind himself that the PCC he has abruptly sought to shut down is a genuinely independent body of the kind that a Conservative should support.

Compare it with Ofcom, the sort of regulator likely to emerge if he gets his way. Ofcom is a fat bureaucracy stuffed with liberal elite apparatchiks. It swallows more than £100 million a year.

The PCC has a budget of £2 million and costs the taxpayer nothing. Ten of its 17 members have no connection with the newspaper industry (just three, including the Editor of The Mail on Sunday, are national newspaper editors and none of them of Murdoch newspapers).

Mr Cameron has in the past made a virtue of his willingness to change his mind when he is wrong. He is deeply, dangerously wrong about this and he has a heavy responsibility not to leave the country less free than when he came to office.

Sunday Mirror, 10 July

Sunday Mirror

July 10, 2011 Sunday
Ulster Edition

A SCANDAL, BUT NOT AN EXCUSE TO CHAIN BRITAIN'S FREE PRESS;
VOICE OF THE SUNDAY MIRROR

SECTION: EDITORIAL; OPINION, LEADING ARTICLES; Pg. 14

LENGTH: 668 words

THE UK newspaper industry is the most competitive in the world but it still feels a genuine sadness when one of its number falls by the wayside.

The closure of the News of the World, with its 168-year history, is a loss and a shock for journalism. But it was inevitable.

Newspapers survive by winning and holding the trust and respect of their readers. Not because they provide the money to keep us going, but because the fundamental purpose of a free Press is to inform with honesty and integrity.

That is why the most important part of any paper is its readers and for the Sunday Mirror, with its long, proud tradition of fighting for the ordinary people of this country, it is the reason for our existence.

We fight and strive to investigate and explain issues vital to you and your family and society as a whole. Even in this supposedly civilised time at the start of the 21st Century, there are too many injustices, too much abuse of the of underprivileged by the privileged, too many terrible things happening to the weak and vulnerable. The Press has the power to stop readers in their tracks with stories of the uncaring treatment of the elderly, in hospitals and care homes.

It has the power to shock when it reports on the horrible abuse of children and the failures of the "caring" systems that let it happen.

It brings home the plight of millions in Britain today - the elderly eking out a lonely existence, the families in poverty, the young people thrown on the scrapheap at the start of their lives.

The Sunday Mirror prides itself on being at the forefront of all these issues and many others, including the sometimes callous treatment of our indomitable Armed Forces.

We have consistently exposed and held to account those who abuse their positions. We have named and shamed wrongdoers. We have battled to protect those who aren't strong enough or rich enough to protect themselves.

These have been tough days for the image of newspapers but never forget that, despite a few rotten apples, much good is done.

A free, strong forthright Press is vital for democracy. Yet it must always be honest, truthful and trustworthy if it is to support democracy rather than undermine it. We are not afraid to upset the establishment. By asking difficult questions, demanding answers that those in power don't want to give and holding them to account. Not to us, but to the people of Britain.

There are always people at the top who would love to curtail the questioning voice of the Press. At a time like this, they shout particularly loudly.

Already there have been calls for the Press Complaints Commission to be wound up. Certainly its response to the News of the World scandal was inadequate. But it was blatantly lied to by the newspaper, as was Parliament and the police.

There must be no rush to ditch the PCC. Its function is to uphold standards and deal with complaints, not to be a detective agency uncovering crime where the police have failed. It is fast and efficient at dealing with thousands of complaints a year and behind the scenes it handles media attention for those who unexpectedly find themselves in the public eye.

The alternative is control by politicians or the judges who have introduced a back-door privacy law to protect the rich and powerful. If that existed, there would have been none of the exposures of government and MPs' abuses, including the disgraceful expenses fiddling.

The PCC may need to take a long hard look at itself but it must not and cannot be replaced by politicians whose main concern would be protecting themselves rather than the British people. Journalists are not perfect and sometimes make mistakes. There are even times when some indulge in totally unacceptable behaviour. But they are not the norm. On the contrary.

Readers rightly accept only the highest standards and ethics. And we know that trust has to be earned, not by glib words but by hard work.

At this critical time for newspapers and journalists, the Sunday Mirror will strive even harder to achieve that.

News of the World, 10 July

The News of the World (England)

July 10, 2011
Edition 1;
National Edition

We recorded history and we've made history

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 3

LENGTH: 779 words

"It is Sunday afternoon, preferably before the war. The wife is already asleep in the armchair, and the children have been sent out for a nice long walk. You put your feet up on the sofa, settle your spectacles on your nose and open the News of the World."

These are the words of the great author George Orwell. They were written in 1946 but they have been the sentiments of most of the nation for well over a century and a half as this astonishing paper became part of the fabric of Britain, as central to Sunday as a roast dinner.

An advertisement for our first ever edition on Sunday, October 1, 1843, announced the News of the World as "the novelty of nations and the wonder of the world ... as worthy of the mansion as the cottage."

That has informed our journalism through six monarchs and 168 years. We lived through history, we recorded history and we made history - from the romance of our old hot-metal presses right through to the revolution of the digital age.

In our first Christmas Eve edition, for example, on December 24, 1843, we reviewed and told the story of a new novel by a writer published just a week earlier: A Christmas Carol, by Charles Dickens. Fortunately we gave it a good review and, like us, it became part of a national heritage.

In May 1900, we broke the news of the relief of Mafeking on the same evening details first arrived in London, the only newspaper to do so.

We also recorded the death of Queen Victoria, the sinking of the Titanic, two world wars, the 1966 World Cup victory, the first man on the moon, the death of Diana ... the list goes on.

But we also recorded and most often revealed the great scandals and celebrity stories of the day. Many of them are recalled in this final edition of the News of the World.

In sport, too, we have led the way with the best, most informed coverage in the country - a tradition we have upheld proudly since 1895, when we published our first soccer report (quickly followed by the first picture album: Famous Footballers 1895-1896, proving that some things never change!) But we touched people's lives most directly through our campaigns. In the 19th century we crusaded against child labour.

Our more modern campaigns have famously included the fight for Sarah's Law, which has introduced 15 new pieces of groundbreaking legislation - including the crucial right of parents to information about paedophiles living in their area.

This year we forced the government into a U-turn to enshrine the Military Covenant in law.

At Christmas, we delivered toys to the children of every serviceman and woman in Afghanistan.

We forced computer giants to police their sites to protect children.

We railed against cyberbullying and, of course, we have run our annual Children's Champions Awards, celebrating those heroes who work beyond the call of duty for youngsters.

We praised high standards, we demanded high standards but, as we are now only too painfully aware, for a period of a few years up to 2006 some who worked for us, or in our name, fell shamefully short of those standards.

Quite simply, we lost our way.

Phones were hacked, and for that this newspaper is truly sorry.

There is no justification for this appalling wrongdoing.

No justification for the pain caused to victims, nor for the deep stain it has left on a great history.

Yet when this outrage has been atoned, we hope history will eventually judge us on all our years.

The staff of this paper are people of skill, dedication, honour and integrity bearing the pain for the past misdeeds of a few others.

And as a small step on the long road to making some amends, all profits from the sale of this final edition will be split equally between three charities: Barnardo's, the Forces Children's Trust, and military projects at the Queen Elizabeth Hospital Birmingham Charity.

Meanwhile, we welcome and support the Prime Minister's two public inquiries, one into the police handling of the case and another into the ethics and standards of the Press.

But we do not agree that the Press Complaints Commission should be disbanded.

Self-regulation does work. But the current make-up of the PCC doesn't.

It needs more powers and more resources. We do not need government legislation.

That would be a disaster for our democracy and for a free Press.

But most of all, on this historic day, after 8,674 editions we'll miss YOU, our 7.5 million readers.

You've been our life. We've made you laugh, made you cry, made your jaw drop in amazement, informed you, enthralled you and enraged you.

You have been our family, and for years we have been yours, visiting every weekend.

Thank you for your support.

We'll miss you more than words can express.

Farewell.