

The Northern Ireland Flags Protests of 2012–13: A Corpus-Based, Comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of Local, Ethno-Politically Aligned Newspaper Coverage of the Protests and Protestors

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Introduction

On Monday December 3rd, 2012, Belfast City Council passed a motion restricting the flying of the Union flag from Belfast City Hall to 15 designated days, rather than every day, as had been the norm (Bradley, 2012). Despite the decision being a democratic one, Protestant Loyalists and Unionists were enraged and some descended on Belfast City Hall in protest, which gave rise to scenes of violence (McAleese, 2013). Soon, protests and violence spread throughout Northern Ireland, with rioting and disruption to traffic and services affecting many towns and villages (Edwards, 2012) with Unionists and Loyalists claiming that the move was further evidence of a Irish Nationalist/Republican attack on their culture and traditions (McDonald, 2013).

Over the months of protests and violence that followed, two regional, Northern Ireland newspapers provided extensive coverage, the Unionist leaning Belfast Newsletter (NL) and the Nationalist leaning Irish News (IN). To date, very little, if anything, has been written about the coverage of the protests by these two newspapers, or indeed any other media outlets, print or broadcast. This study aims to go some way to correcting that.

This research takes a corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

approach to examine how the two newspapers represented the flags issue and the protesters to see if and how etho-political allegiance coloured their reportage.

The following section presents background literature in the field of CDA and Corpus Linguistics (CL), drawing attention to how these two fields have come together to provide a potent tool for discourse analysis. After that, the research aims of the study are presented, and an account of the methodology is given, before the analyses are presented and discussed. Finally, the study will be assessed in term of the research aims, with suggestions for further research.

Literature Review

CDA emerged as a network of scholars in the early 1990s. It has been described as “an academic movement, a way of doing discourse analysis from a critical perspective”, (Baker et al, 2013: 1). It is characterised by ‘the common interests in demystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken and visual)’ (Wodak and Mayer, 2009: 3). There is no one uniform, common theory formation determining CDA, and, in fact, there are several approaches (Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 6; Wodak and Meyer, *ibid.*: 19–23). CDA addresses the ideological character of discourse (Fairclough, 2014: 10) and whilst it can focus on larger issues such as the ideology of globalisation and capitalist hegemony, it can also find use in other, localised contexts (Baker et al, *ibid.*: 3). This study, therefore, uses CDA to assess if ethnocentric reporting occurs in the context of the Northern Irish conflict.

Baker (*ibid.*: 5) reports that discourse analysts have used corpuses in order to analyse newspaper articles (van Dijk, 1991; Morrison and Love, 1996; Caldas-Coulthard and Moon, 1999; Charteris-Black, 2004). He claims that such studies, among others, show how corpus analysis can uncover ideologies (see Hunston, 2002: 109–23 for a summary). In this case, CL will be used to try to identify evidence of ethno-political bias, which can be argued is a form of ideology.

Whilst the use of corpus analysis in CDA is becoming increasingly common, it is still comparatively rare for critical discourse analysts to go to the web for their primary data (Mautner, 2013: 253). However, in the era of the internet many corpus linguists are seeing the web as a corpus from where texts that they want can be intelligently harvested and compiled into corpuses (Lee, 2010: 115). This is exactly the approach taken in this study.

To qualify as a corpus-based discourse analysis, argues Thornbury (2010: 271), a study would need to use quantitative methods with the aim of producing findings that are both descriptive and explanatory. He argues that descriptive findings are generated by searching for particular discourse features in a corpus - typically a collection of texts, using computational means. To explain the frequency, significance and use of these features would generally involve reference to context, either in the co-textual environment, or to other texts. Therefore, an analyst can compare and contrast an individual text, or sub-corpuses of a specific type, with texts of another type. It is such an approach that has been employed herein.

Research aims

Does a comparative corpus analysis of the two newspapers' reportage reveal different representations of the flags issue, the protesters and the violence surrounding the protests, and, if so, what are those differences?

Methodology

In order to achieve its research aims, this study employs a comparative analysis of two small (Nelson, 2010: 54–55; Koester, 2010: 69), specialised (Baker, 2006: 26) corpuses comprising the reportage from The Belfast Newsletter (NL) and The Irish News (IN) from the first two months of the protests. The analysis was undertaken by comparing word frequency counts, collocations (MI and t-score), and concordance analyses.

The corpuses were built using articles from both newspapers downloaded from LexisNexis using the lexical search term *flags*. Only articles directly

related to the flags issue from the two months following the council vote on December 3rd, 2012, were included, as this period contained the large majority of protests, which petered out somewhat, but have continued sporadically up until the time of writing. The situational representativeness of the corpuses (Koester, *ibid.*: 69) was achieved by excluding opinion pieces (other than editorials) and letters from the public, as they do not necessarily reflect editorial positions. The corpus files were cleaned of extraneous information (Baker, *ibid.*: 33) except for minimal content information such as file descriptions and word counts (nine words of each corpus), and article dates, which were included for ease of reference. Other than that, only article headlines and contents were included. The Irish News corpus is 143,919 word tokens, spanning 374 articles, and The Belfast Newsletter corpus is 142,569 word tokens, spanning 322 articles.

Raw and lexical word frequency lists (Baker, *ibid.*: 51–53) were generated using the corpus analysis software Antconc, v3.4.3m (Antony, 2015) and were normalised (Evison, 2010: 126) to enable comparison.

Collocate lists (see Appendices) were generated using the statistical tests Mutual Information (MI) and t-score (Baker, *ibid.*: 101–102; cf. Stubbs, 1995: 5–14), span range was set to five left and five right, with a minimum frequency value of 5. Collocates were chosen from the results for concordance analysis in an attempt to identify underlying discourses (Fairclough, 2003: 129).

Node words (Evison, *ibid.*: 129) for the concordance analysis were selected from the collocation lists on the basis of their high frequency or saliency to the issue. For example, one protester's name, whilst low in frequency, was considered worthy of inspection in terms of how they were represented by the two publications. The selected node words were categorised into two groups: the flags issue and the protesters.

Concordance analysis used the Key Word in Context (KWIC) format provided by AntConc. The node words under investigation appears in the centre of each line, with extra space on either side of it. The length of the context can be set to however many words deemed necessary on either side. Context lengths were set to 50 characters. Occasionally, given a wieldy

number of search hits, samples containing 30 concordances were selected by choosing the n^{th} result, for example, for *protester/s* in the IN corpus there were 303 hits. The 1st, 11st, 21st, 31st, and so on, were chosen until 30 were selected. Only those directly referring to the flags issue were chosen. Otherwise, all concordances of a particular node word were included in the analysis. The concordances were analysed using Sinclair's seven-stage procedure (Tribble, 2010; Sinclair, 2003).

Discussion:

Word Frequency:

Setting aside grammatical items and the lexical verbs *said*, raw frequency lists (see Fig. 1 and Fig. 2) show the lexical item *flag* featuring in the top 25 of both papers' lists, but with the NL showing a much higher token percentage (Li, J. and Hu, W. 2013: 184), (0.78%) than the IN, (0.53%). Despite protests taking place in towns around N. Ireland, both NL and IN lists have only *Belfast* in the top 20 with 0.70 and 0.73 respectively. While *protests* has a very similar token percentage (NL=0.50%, IN=0.51%) a difference appears in that of *police* (NL=0.43%, IN=0.52%) suggesting from the outset that the IN might have placed more of an emphasis on disorder and law-breaking.

Examining the content frequency lists (Figs 3 and 4) it is easier to see themes appearing in both papers. Within the first 150 items on the lists, analysis revealed a similar number of word types relating to political actors and activities (e.g. *party*, *council*, *community*, *Alliance*, *party*, *UUP*, *forum*, *minister*). However, highest on the IN's list of such words is the adjective/noun *loyalist* (6th, with freq=499 and 0.35%), a term used for pro-Union elements often associated with political violence, and who were blamed for the violence around the protests, and which is 30th on the NL list (freq=182 and 0.13%), further suggesting an IN emphasis on disorder and law-breaking. Higher on the NL list is the adjective/noun *unionist*, which is a euphemism for party political, pro-Union actors (freq=430, 0.30%), compared to the IN list (freq=307, 0.21%), suggesting an emphasis by the NL on party-based and

governmental responses to the issue.

Regarding the violence itself, both papers displayed a shared lexis (e.g. *police, violence, attack(ed), arrest(ed), trouble, threat(s), disorder*) with very similar token percentages, with exceptions being *police*: NL=0.43, IN=0.52; and *attack*: NL=0.08, IN=0.12. The lexical items *court, accused, rioting and UVF* (Ulster Volunteer Force, a loyalist paramilitary group widely accepted as having organised much of the violence), were in the IN's top 115 items on its content frequency list, but below 115 on the NL list, once again suggesting an emphasis by the IN on the violence, or, indeed, a diminution of it by the NL.

Collocation

The issue:

The search terms *flag* and *flags* were used to identify how each newspaper referred to the issues and events arising from the council vote. The terms were chosen given the author's prior knowledge of the reportage of, and discourses emanating from, the issue. Phrases like *the flags issue* and *the flags crisis* were commonly used in the media. Results from NL MI (Fig. 5) and t-score (Fig. 6) lists show that the NL favoured the use of *issue* over *crisis*, with frequencies to the right (Freq(R)) of 54 and 24 respectively, whilst the IN Freq(R) were 265 (Fig. 7) and 8 (Fig. 8). Here is a clear difference of narrative between the two publications, given the semantic prosodies of both words. *Issue* has a much more neutral semantic prosody compared to the negative semantic prosody of *crisis*, and given the disruptive and violent nature of some of the fallout of the decision by the council, it could be argued that the use of *issue* might seek to mask that. The higher frequency of the IN's use of *crisis* can be explained in part by its use as a series section, i.e. articles relating to the issue appeared daily in a section titled 'The Flags Crisis'. A collocate that is unique to the IN is *fury*, which had a similar series section use, i.e. 'Loyalist Flag Fury', which, like *crisis*, has a negative semantic prosody, and which also suggests violence and aggression. The use of both of

these collocates could be seen as evidence of an effort by the IN to highlight the violent nature of the protests.

The protesters:

The body of people who generated the most reportage of the issue were the flag protesters (also *protestors* was used). It was their non-violent and violent protests that dominated media coverage throughout the sample period. Therefore, collocates were sought for the lexical items *protester(s)* and *protestor(s)*, and the top 50 MI and t-score collocates were examined.

For the most part, there were a great many shared collocates in the samples between the two papers, with some exceptions. Where differences did occur, however, was in the frequency of their occurrence, which might be offering further insight into the reportage of the two papers.

The top MI collocate for the NL (Fig. 9), and 2nd for the IN (fig. 11), was the lexical item *flag*, NL Freq(T)=52, IN Freq(T)=41, which can be explained by the general use of the terms flag protester(s); note that NL Freq(R)=2 and IN Freq(R)=1. Fourth on the IN MI list was *police*, with a total frequency (Freq(T)) of 32, whereas NL (T)= 18. The related lexical items *officers* and *PSNI* shared similar frequencies.

Next on the IN list was *blocked*, Freq(T)=27, whereas NL Freq(T)=6. The lemma *block* Freq(T)=7, and a second form, *blocking* Freq(T)=6, also appear on the IN lists, but not on the NL lists. The blocking of roads was a major tactic of the protesters, which was reported as bringing considerable disruption to Northern Ireland at the time.

First in the IN list and 6th on the NL MI list was the lexical item *loyalist* IN Freq(T)=48, Freq(L)=47, NL Freq(T)(L)=16 which suggested strongly that it was used as an adjective in the phrase *loyalist protesters*. A quick check using AntConc confirmed this. A lexical item unique to the NL list was *peaceful*, Freq(T)=11, which was number 8 in terms of frequency. This may also be another indication of a desire by the NL to soften their reporting of the protests, and also of a desire of the IN to emphasise the violence. Other lexical items further suggest that this was indeed the case.

Whilst both lists contain the item *violence*, (IN Freq(T)=6, NL Freq(T)=5), only the IN list contains the item *violent*, Freq(T)=4. Both lists also contained *attacked*, IN Freq(T)=9, NL Freq(T)=5, but related items unique to each list were *threw*, IN Freq(T)=11 (suggestive of rioting), *stormed*, IN Freq(T)=4; and *injured*, NL Freq(T)=5, *forced*, NL Freq(T)=5. Unique to the NL list was the name of a protest leader, Jamie Bryson. Also unique to the NL lists were *politicians* Freq(T)= 5 and *community* Freq(T)=5, which suggests more of a focus on political engagement of political parties and community sector players in the issue than the IN.

Both the MI and T-score collocate lists contained very similar collocates with few notable exceptions. One is the presence of another protester leader's name on the NL list, *Frazer* Freq(T)=4. This is William Frazer, a close associate of Jamie Bryson, and this name was noted for concordance analysis. Otherwise, it can be said that the t-score and MI collocate lists offer more or less the same data with minor, insignificant differences.

Concordance analysis

The Flags Issue:

Concordances were sought from both corpuses using the phrases *flag/s issue* and *flag/s crisis*. For the NL, there were 48 hits for *flag/s issue* (NL hits=48) and 9 for *flag/s crisis*. For the IN, there were 36 hits for *flag/s issue* (IN hits=36) and 267 for *flag/s crisis* (30 of the latter were selected for analysis). The prominent discourse in the NL deals with party and governmental responses to the protests, with 41 hits for *issue* and all 9 for *crisis* focusing on this. Many concordances refer to the issue being dealt with through dialogue in institutions such as Stormont, where the N. Ireland government and Belfast City Hall. Twelve of these concordances reveal a belief that the flags issue is “*the straw that broke the camel's back*”, a phrase that appears five times. Other such phrases include, “*the top of a much larger iceberg*”, “*unionist discontent*”, “*merely the tipping point*”, and “*a lightning rod for other issues*”. This suggests that the often cited Ulster Protestants'

‘siege mentality’ was playing a significant role in the protests, with what was once the “Unionist citadel of Belfast” now seeing encroachment by Irish Nationalists in its power structures (Guelke, 2014: 148), yet another sign of the ‘*cultural ethnic cleansing*’, a phrase that appears in one concordance. There was only one reference to the violence and that was the assertion, by the Unionist First Minister Peter Robinson, that ‘*reasonable*’ Unionists ‘*don’t want to be involved with the violence*’.

All but 2 of the IN’s 36 *flag/s issue* concordances deal with party and governmental responses to the protests. Similar to the NL, they are dominated by calls for dialogue to deal with the issue. However, just over 50% of the sample of 30 concordances of *flag/s crisis* deal directly with the protests, with 50% of those referencing violence or law breaking. They refer to rioting, threats of violence, Loyalist paramilitaries, and violent attacks on political parties. This is yet more evidence that the IN’s reportage draws emphasis to the violence and rioting, whereas the NL’s reportage draws emphasis to the party political and governmental responses to the protests, most probably for ethnopolitical purposes.

The Protesters:

Both papers used two different spellings to refer to this group of people, *protesters* and *protestors*. Searches for both the singular and plural forms of these lexical items found IN hits=71 and NL hits=204. All the IN concordances were studied and compared to a sample of 40 NL concordances. Two broad discourses were identifiable in both corpuses: reports of the physical protests, and political and governmental reaction to them. However, they were different in both percentages of total, and content.

Fifty per cent of the NL concordances dealt with reports of the physical protests. What is noticeable is that there is clearly sympathetic language being used; “*peaceful protestors braved the winter conditions*”, “*many protestors want peaceful protests, but some youths are getting masked up to cause trouble*”, “*aggression from [the police] towards the protesters, even though it was [the protesters] who were being attacked.*”

This is repeated in the 40% of the sample that contains party political

reaction; “*The First Minister Peter Robinson condemned those responsible for injuring the police officers, but said protestors feel alienated.*”; “*a question of how sympathetic retailers are to the protestors*”; “*whilst violence caused them concern, Mr Robinson and Mr Nesbitt (Unionist party leaders) —reiterated their support for the protestors*”.

Eighty per cent of the concordances dealing with the physical protests focus on violence and disorder caused by the protesters. There are references to attacks on property and the police, for example, “*more than 100 PSNI officers have been injured*”, and “*police coming under attack*”, as well as general law breaking such as blocking roads, “*stormed through the gates*”, “*forced their way into*”.

In comparison, 61% of the IN concordances focus on the physical protests, with only 7% dealing with political reaction. Of this 61%, 81% focus on violence and disorder with language and general content much stronger than that of the NL. Reports are carried of “verbal abuse” on elderly people by protestors, as well as threats to kill Catholics on social media, “shoot a few Tiags”, people being “left shaken” and “held to ransom”. They also include references to Loyalist paramilitary involvement of the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), who were widely accused of orchestrating the violence related to the protests (The Journal, 2013), as well as suggesting association of a protest leader with the Ulster Defence Association (UDA). Overall, 42% of concordances refer directly to violence or disorder.

Of the two protest leaders whose names have appeared thus far, *Frazer* was chosen for concordance analysis, given that he has a higher profile than *Jamie Bryson*, insofar as he had a political profile prior to the protests, whereas *Bryson* did not. *Frazer* formed the victim’s organisation Families Acting for Innocent Relatives (FAIR) in 1998, after having had several members of his family killed by the Irish Republican Army (IRA). FAIR was accused of being sectarian by only campaigning for victims of IRA violence, but not Loyalist or state violence. He has also expressed sympathies with Loyalist paramilitaries in the past and been accused of membership of a Loyalist paramilitary group (BBC, 2004), namely the Red Hand Defenders, a cover name for the UVF.

Both corpuses offer up a similar number of concordances for *Frazer*, with NL freq=76 and IN freq=69. The NL contains descriptions of him as a *victims' campaigner* freq=16, *controversial victims' campaigner* freq=3, *veteran victims' campaigner* and *Armagh victims' campaigner* freq=1 each, the latter being a reference to where he lives.

In the IN, he is also described as a *victims' campaigner* freq=7, *controversial victims' campaigner* freq=2, *loyalist victims' campaigner* freq=2, and *Ulster People's Forum spokesman, loyalist spokesman, colourful loyalist figure, hardline loyalist*. Describing him as *loyalist* marks him down as being a supporter of *loyalist* violence, seeing that in Northern Irish political discourse, the adjective *Unionist* tends to refer to those who support the union with Britain, but who disagree with pro-union paramilitary violence, whereas *Loyalist* tends to describe Unionists who support Loyalist paramilitary violence. It should be noted that he is not described as Loyalist in the NL concordance list. Furthermore, he is described by a Sinn Fein spokesperson, in the IN as “*anti-peace process*” and “*an idiot*” after the IN reported him saying that he would not condemn anyone who shot Martin McGuinness, Sinn Fein's deputy leader and former IRA leader. The NL does not seem to have reported Frazer's comments.

Conclusion

This study set out to analyse the language used in two Northern Irish regional newspapers, The Belfast Newsletter and The Irish News, to report the protests arising from the Belfast City Council decision to fly the union flag on allotted days annually, rather than ever day, as had been the case until that point.

Specifically, it set out to pursue these research aims:

1. Does a comparative corpus analysis of the two newspapers' reportage reveal different representations of the flags issue, the protesters and the violence surrounding the protests?
2. If so, what are those differences?

Although frequency analysis should be treated with some caution, it is worth mentioning the differences that exist between the two papers regarding word frequency because the same differences persist throughout the entire analysis. The NL list showed a higher frequency for party political, community, and governmental actors than the IN, while the IN showed higher frequency for some lexical items linked to or suggesting disorder and violence. This suggested that the NL tried to downplay the violence by giving greater prominence to the political moves to end it, or the IN emphasised the violence over party political and governmental activities in order to discredit, to some degree, the Unionist community.

The same patterns of discourse were evident in the collocation analyses. Looking at the lexical items used to refer to the broad issues around the protests, the NL chose the more neutral term *issue* over the IN's favoured *crisis* and *Loyalist flag fury*, with their negative semantic prosody. Further evidence emerges with analysis of collocates relating to the protesters. The IN's higher frequency of references to the blocking of roads, as well as the lexical item *Loyalist/s*, as well as the NL's unique use of *peaceful* to describe the protesters, as well as the lexical items *politicians* and *community*, which also suggest an emphasis on political responses to the protests and the resulting violence.

The clearest evidence of biased reporting comes in the concordance analysis. Whilst the NL does carry condemnations of the violence, it also reports attempts to provide understanding and sympathy for the protesters and their grievances, whereas the IN does not. The NL concordance analysis reveals several attempts to explain the violence as being the result of a sustained campaign (by Nationalists and Republicans) attacking Unionist culture and political power, with even the First Minister of the Northern Irish government, as well as the leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, both expressing support for the cause, whilst condemning the violence. On the other hand, the IN's emphasis is firmly on the violence, drawing attention to the involvement of Loyalist paramilitaries, acts of violence against the police and political parties, sectarian death threats, and rioting. Further evidence of

bias is found in the treatment of protest leader Willie Frazer. The NL seems to shy away from Frazer's more controversial actions and pronouncements, whereas the IN reports depict him as ranging from somewhat eccentric to dangerous and shadowy.

The differences that have emerged from the analyses present further opportunities for research. Given the constraints of time and scope of this piece of research, it could be argued that further research focusing on the issues and the actors separately could reveal further discourses by allowing for analyses of larger bodies of collocates and concordances using other, and more, statistical techniques such as log-likelihood (Dunning, 1993), log-log (Kilgariff and Tugwell, 2001), z-score (Berry-Rogghe, 1973), or M13 (Oakes, 1998). Furthermore, as a result of the constraints of this research piece, there is the possibility of inaccuracy in the findings. Factors such as the placement of articles in a newspaper, accompanying photographs, column inches, and so on, can have a bearing in the power and use of language in articles. A following piece of research allowing for such qualitative analysis would take this factor into strong consideration.

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Fig. 1 NL Raw Frequency List

Rank	Word	Freq	%
1	the	8862	6.16
2	to	4444	3.09
3	of	3645	2.53
4	and	3475	2.41
5	a	3189	2.22
6	in	2827	1.96
7	on	1671	1.16
8	said	1527	1.06
9	that	1352	0.94
10	was	1330	0.92
11	at	1143	0.79
12	for	1127	0.78
13	is	1097	0.76
14	belfast	1056	0.73
15	it	1044	0.73
16	s	1014	0.70
17	have	1013	0.70
18	he	1012	0.70
19	be	878	0.61
20	with	834	0.58
21	as	818	0.57
22	flag	759	0.53
23	were	753	0.52
24	police	743	0.52
25	are	730	0.51
26	protests	730	0.51
27	city	696	0.48
28	by	692	0.48
29	from	689	0.48
30	people	674	0.47
31	been	667	0.46
32	not	650	0.45
33	has	625	0.43
34	we	589	0.41
35	they	576	0.40
36	there	568	0.39
37	this	548	0.38
38	i	539	0.37
39	an	513	0.36
40	loyalist	499	0.35

Fig. 2 IN Raw Frequency List

Rank	Word	Freq	%
1	the	9377	6.58
2	to	4435	3.11
3	of	3917	2.75
4	and	3491	2.45
5	a	3085	2.16
6	in	2714	1.90
7	on	1751	1.23
8	that	1724	1.21
9	is	1337	0.94
10	for	1246	0.87
11	said	1240	0.87
12	flag	1112	0.78
13	at	1100	0.77
14	have	1090	0.76
15	it	1079	0.76
16	was	1057	0.74
17	belfast	1000	0.70
18	be	961	0.67
19	as	877	0.62
20	with	876	0.61
21	s	865	0.61
22	city	852	0.60
23	are	826	0.58
24	he	819	0.57
25	been	786	0.55
26	people	733	0.51
27	i	727	0.51
28	protests	717	0.50
29	has	716	0.50
30	from	705	0.49
31	by	698	0.49
32	not	678	0.48
33	this	646	0.45
34	police	612	0.43
35	we	612	0.43
36	they	586	0.41
37	were	554	0.39
38	will	549	0.39
39	union	545	0.38
40	hall	521	0.37

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Fig. 3 NL Content Frequency List

Rank	Word	Freq	%
1	flag	1112	0.78
2	belfast	1000	0.70
3	people	733	0.51
4	protests	717	0.50
5	police	612	0.43
6	union	545	0.38
7	hall	521	0.37
8	ireland	478	0.34
9	violence	472	0.33
10	northern	461	0.32
11	party	459	0.32
12	unionist	430	0.30
13	protest	418	0.29
14	council	356	0.25
15	alliance	300	0.21
16	dup	287	0.20
17	community	274	0.19
18	uup	273	0.19
19	road	249	0.17
20	political	240	0.17
21	robinson	239	0.17
22	number	222	0.16
23	officers	217	0.15
24	forum	210	0.15
25	leader	210	0.15
26	flying	204	0.14
27	ulster	203	0.14
28	meeting	202	0.14
29	decision	197	0.14
30	loyalist	182	0.13
31	protestors	182	0.13
32	flags	180	0.13
33	psni	170	0.12
34	support	167	0.12
35	peaceful	165	0.12
36	designated	164	0.12
37	sinn	164	0.12
38	stormont	161	0.11
39	issue	160	0.11
40	fein	521	0.11

Fig. 4. IN Content Frequency List

Rank	Word	Freq	%
1	belfast	1056	0.73
2	flag	759	0.53
3	police	743	0.52
4	protests	730	0.51
5	people	674	0.47
6	loyalist	499	0.35
7	protest	482	0.33
8	flags	478	0.33
9	violence	461	0.32
10	loyalists	459	0.32
11	road	455	0.32
12	union	415	0.29
13	hall	363	0.25
14	party	324	0.23
15	unionist	307	0.21
16	alliance	290	0.20
17	protesters	288	0.20
18	crisis	287	0.20
19	community	255	0.18
20	council	248	0.17
21	ireland	236	0.16
22	dup	235	0.16
23	leader	203	0.14
24	area	187	0.13
25	officers	184	0.13
26	minister	180	0.13
27	flying	179	0.12
28	decision	167	0.12
29	attack	166	0.12
30	take	162	0.11
31	made	161	0.11
32	political	159	0.11
33	psni	158	0.11
34	facebook	153	0.11
35	ulster	152	0.11
36	fein	151	0.10
37	sinn	151	0.10
38	meeting	147	0.10
39	robinson	142	0.10
40	group	141	0.10

Fig. 5 NL collocates flag/s MI

Rank	Freq	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	Stat	Collocate
1	507	499	8	6.89809	union
2	254	27	227	5.25633	city
3	215	24	191	5.72541	hall
4	196	167	29	6.94464	flying
5	180	23	157	5.00838	protests
6	177	17	151	4.42889	belfast
7	168	81	33	6.86947	fly
8	116	3	81	6.03713	designated
9	114	2	74	6.80734	flown
10	84	13	54	5.74652	issue
11	76	14	49	4.27228	protest
12	67	51	9	5.11483	number
13	63	39	6	6.68686	removal
14	60	18	24	3.51203	violence
15	45	14	28	5.06376	stormont
16	42	12	30	3.49381	ireland
17	42	26	16	3.91894	council
18	42	8	33	3.51129	northern
19	42	14	24	5.65037	policy
20	41	6	30	6.92436	flies
21	38	32	2	4.70612	support
22	36	2	32	4.58203	protestors
23	34	24	7	5.24231	voted
24	34	16	15	4.89047	vote
25	34	31	0	5.76673	ongoing
26	31	15	15	1.79031	flag
27	31	28	0	6.45216	remove
28	31	7	21	2.55233	police
29	30	6	22	5.78735	buildings
30	29	4	22	2.70845	mr
31	29	16	8	2.74497	party
32	28	9	12	1.87701	people
33	28	2	18	6.27989	row
34	28	7	13	4.22626	loyalists
35	28	10	10	3.09547	alliance
36	27	16	3	3.62824	decision
37	26	3	15	4.07425	public
38	25	8	10	3.23565	our
39	24	16	2	4.05334	new
40	22	15	3	3.66449	loyalist
41	21	7	11	3.00738	dup
42	21	15	2	5.56626	proposal
43	20	8	8	2.25417	unionist
44	20	0	16	5.38765	removed
45	20	1	15	4.52663	protesters
46	20	14	2	6.24747	national
47	20	2	14	2.82743	east
48	19	4	12	4.64481	continue
49	18	13	1	5.80971	review
50	18	3	11	3.1515	meeting

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Fig. 6 NL collocates flag/s t-score

Rank	Freq	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	Stat	Collocate
1	267	2	265	8.12982	crisis
2	40	35	5	4.85899	union
3	33	19	14	4.43607	loyalists
4	29	5	24	6.24652	issue
5	27	3	24	3.47717	protests
6	25	6	19	3.965	protest
7	17	7	10	3.3586	loyalist
8	16	7	9	2.79109	city
9	16	10	6	2.18964	belfast
10	14	2	12	2.50417	police
11	13	2	11	8.02758	protocol
12	13	10	3	4.45065	flying
13	12	5	7	2.25104	flag
14	11	3	8	2.84484	violence
15	11	7	4	2.29686	people
16	10	3	7	4.55596	public
17	10	6	4	3.21611	party
18	10	1	9	3.67944	dup
19	10	4	6	3.60176	council
20	9	9	0	5.7601	ongoing
21	9	1	8	4.34867	man
22	9	0	9	4.14657	facebook
23	9	0	9	6.15603	dispute
24	9	6	3	3.4096	community
25	8	1	7	4.67944	stormont
26	8	2	6	3.06411	protesters
27	8	4	4	3.26825	north
28	8	4	4	2.31517	mr
29	8	2	6	5.67944	mccrea
30	8	8	0	6.84171	carrying
31	7	6	1	4.0756	recent
32	7	3	4	6.87146	placed
33	7	1	6	3.37605	leader
34	7	0	7	6.04139	interface
35	7	6	1	4.81257	expected
36	7	2	5	7.71946	erected
37	7	6	1	2.59844	east
38	7	3	4	5.68383	discuss
39	7	0	7	4.39753	accused
40	6	4	2	3.92418	weeks
41	6	4	2	4.81899	stop
42	6	0	6	5.09107	standstill
43	6	4	2	5.11855	shared
44	6	1	5	3.66925	robinson
45	6	2	4	1.98927	road
46	6	4	2	4.39273	put
47	6	5	1	7.81899	load
48	6	4	2	4.62917	issues
49	6	5	1	2.31517	hall

Fig. 7 IN collocates flag/s MI

Rank	Freq	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	Stat	Collocate
1	267	2	265	8.12982	crisis
2	40	35	5	4.85899	union
3	33	19	14	4.43607	loyalists
4	29	5	24	6.24652	issue
5	27	3	24	3.47717	protests
6	25	6	19	3.965	protest
7	17	7	10	3.3586	loyalist
8	16	7	9	2.79109	city
9	16	10	6	2.18964	belfast
10	14	2	12	2.50417	police
11	13	2	11	8.02758	protocol
12	13	10	3	4.45065	flying
13	12	5	7	2.25104	flag
14	11	3	8	2.84484	violence
15	11	7	4	2.29686	people
16	10	3	7	4.55596	public
17	10	6	4	3.21611	party
18	10	1	9	3.67944	dup
19	10	4	6	3.60176	council
20	9	9	0	5.7601	ongoing
21	9	1	8	4.34867	man
22	9	0	9	4.14657	facebook
23	9	0	9	6.15603	dispute
24	9	6	3	3.4096	community
25	8	1	7	4.67944	stormont
26	8	2	6	3.06411	protesters
27	8	4	4	3.26825	north
28	8	4	4	2.31517	mr
29	8	2	6	5.67944	mccrea
30	8	8	0	6.84171	carrying
31	7	6	1	4.0756	recent
32	7	3	4	6.87146	placed
33	7	1	6	3.37605	leader
34	7	0	7	6.04139	interface
35	7	6	1	4.81257	expected
36	7	2	5	7.71946	erected
37	7	6	1	2.59844	east
38	7	3	4	5.68383	discuss
39	7	0	7	4.39753	accused
40	6	4	2	3.92418	weeks
41	6	4	2	4.81899	stop
42	6	0	6	5.09107	standstill
43	6	4	2	5.11855	shared
44	6	1	5	3.66925	robinson
45	6	2	4	1.98927	road
46	6	4	2	4.39273	put
47	6	5	1	7.81899	load
48	6	4	2	4.62917	issues
49	6	5	1	2.31517	hall

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Fig. 8 IN collocates flag/s t-score

Rank	Freq	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	Stat	Collocate
1	48	47	1	6.9212	loyalist
2	41	38	3	6.39159	flag
3	39	12	27	6.23791	road
4	32	17	15	5.64408	police
5	27	5	22	5.19376	blocked
6	27	15	12	5.17638	belfast
7	16	10	6	3.98991	union
8	16	8	8	3.98307	city
9	15	3	12	3.87009	roads
10	12	4	8	3.45433	east
11	10	7	3	3.15794	group
12	9	0	9	2.99857	threw
13	9	5	4	2.99673	derry
14	9	5	4	2.99673	attacked
15	9	7	2	2.99403	officers
16	9	2	7	2.99296	street
17	9	5	4	2.98823	hall
18	9	7	2	2.9845	flags
19	9	4	5	2.97815	people
20	8	0	8	2.82654	gathered
21	8	8	0	2.81856	crisis
22	8	4	4	2.81852	protesters
23	7	2	5	2.64457	block
24	7	7	0	2.64355	small
25	7	0	7	2.63983	made
26	7	4	3	2.63976	against
27	7	2	5	2.62796	mr
28	6	0	6	2.44786	blocking
29	6	2	4	2.44611	demonstration
30	6	4	2	2.44599	crowd
31	6	3	3	2.44572	newtownards
32	6	1	5	2.44556	set
33	6	6	0	2.44552	between
34	6	4	2	2.44322	psni
35	6	4	2	2.44206	area
36	6	3	3	2.44016	dup
37	6	1	5	2.43956	north
38	6	4	2	2.4392	january
39	6	4	2	2.43118	violence
40	5	4	1	2.23559	handful
41	5	1	4	2.23481	moved
42	5	4	1	2.2345	hundreds
43	5	1	4	2.23441	crumlin
44	5	4	1	2.23407	armagh
45	5	1	4	2.23341	took
46	5	1	4	2.23289	traffic
47	5	5	0	2.23259	used
48	5	1	4	2.23228	irish
49	5	1	4	2.23172	streets

Fig. 9 NL collocates protesters MI

Rank	Freq(T)	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	Stat	Collocates
1	52	50	2	9.46003	flag
2	31	10	21	8.23734	belfast
3	30	11	19	8.79149	city
4	21	11	10	9.21603	hall
5	18	10	8	7.96025	police
6	16	16	0	8.36465	loyalist
7	13	0	13	11.24662	gathered
8	11	5	6	9.77575	peaceful
9	9	7	2	9.36818	number
10	8	0	8	9.68369	streets
11	8	5	3	9.46956	many
12	8	1	7	11.68369	jamie
13	8	1	7	10.52019	bryson
14	7	3	4	7.43793	union
15	7	3	4	8.83112	psni
16	7	5	2	8.61134	officers
17	7	2	5	8.4484	northern
18	7	5	2	7.52387	last
19	7	7	0	10.96497	hundreds
20	7	2	5	10.1349	call
21	6	4	2	10.52019	urged
22	6	1	5	9.06702	roads
23	6	5	1	6.40075	protests
24	6	3	3	6.5159	people
25	6	1	5	11.05452	moved
26	6	2	4	8.02986	ireland
27	6	2	4	8.91251	blocked
28	6	4	2	10.35792	bbc
29	5	0	5	8.4303	way
30	5	2	3	6.80085	violence
31	5	3	2	11.47955	twitter
32	5	0	5	6.81975	road
33	5	4	1	14.06451	province
34	5	3	2	9.11031	politicians
35	5	1	4	10.89458	leading
36	5	5	0	9.54095	injured
37	5	0	5	11.84212	gates
38	5	0	5	10.22321	forced
39	5	0	5	9.42065	expected
40	5	2	3	9.94903	even
41	5	1	4	9.24008	demonstration
42	5	4	1	7.65512	community
43	5	3	2	8.99126	attacked
44	4	0	4	8.69819	want
45	4	3	1	7.06545	unionist
46	4	0	4	14.32754	storm
47	4	2	2	10.86811	stay
48	4	3	1	10.6271	stage
49	4	2	2	9.77295	speaking
50	4	3	1	10.15762	saying

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Fig. 10 NL collocates protesters t-score

Rank	Freq	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	Stat	Collocates
1	52	50	2	7.01425	flag
2	31	10	21	5.33848	belfast
3	30	11	19	5.27865	city
4	21	11	10	4.43744	hall
5	18	10	8	4.0585	police
6	16	16	0	3.94192	loyalist
7	13	0	13	3.58962	gathered
8	11	5	6	3.25312	peaceful
9	9	7	2	2.90553	number
10	8	0	8	2.79232	streets
11	8	1	7	2.80992	jamie
12	8	1	7	2.80631	bryson
13	8	5	3	2.75802	many
14	7	7	0	2.63465	hundreds
15	7	2	5	2.61005	call
16	7	3	4	2.56373	psni
17	7	5	2	2.54105	officers
18	6	1	5	2.43698	moved
19	6	4	2	2.43698	bbc
20	6	4	2	2.43021	urged
21	6	2	4	2.42969	blocked
22	7	2	5	2.42332	northern
23	6	1	5	2.41822	roads
24	7	3	4	2.38279	union
25	5	0	5	2.22065	forced
26	5	0	5	2.22008	gates
27	5	1	4	2.21723	leading
28	5	0	5	2.21152	expected
29	5	1	4	2.21152	demonstration
30	6	2	4	2.20038	ireland
31	5	3	2	2.1961	attacked
32	5	4	1	2.19382	province
33	5	3	2	2.1864	twitter
34	5	3	2	2.15671	politicians
35	5	5	0	2.155	injured
36	5	0	5	2.151	way
37	5	0	5	2.09391	road
38	5	4	1	2.07964	community
39	6	5	1	2.07582	protests
40	6	3	3	2.06748	people
41	5	2	3	1.9666	violence
42	4	3	1	1.96426	meanwhile
43	4	3	1	1.96043	saying
44	4	3	1	1.95979	several
45	4	2	2	1.9566	speaking
46	4	3	1	1.95404	frazier
47	4	4	0	1.94702	office
48	4	2	2	1.94638	centre
49	4	0	4	1.94575	want
50	4	2	2	1.9266	attack

Fig. 11 IN collocates protesters MI

Rank	Freq(T)	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	Stat	Collocate
1	48	47	1	9.94961	loyalist
2	41	38	3	9.11714	flag
3	39	12	27	9.78322	road
4	32	17	15	8.79032	police
5	27	5	22	11.08243	blocked
6	27	15	12	8.03804	belfast
7	16	10	6	8.63058	union
8	16	8	8	7.8846	city
9	15	3	12	10.38894	roads
10	10	7	3	9.50992	group
11	9	0	9	11.03804	threw
12	9	2	7	8.73592	street
13	9	4	5	7.10086	people
14	9	7	2	8.97391	officers
15	9	5	4	7.99364	hall
16	9	7	2	7.5966	flags
17	9	5	4	9.83926	derry
18	9	5	4	9.83926	attacked
19	8	4	4	8.15762	protesters
20	8	0	8	10.54618	gathered
21	8	8	0	8.16264	crisis
22	7	0	7	8.80398	made
23	7	2	5	11.1349	block
24	7	4	3	8.78617	against
25	6	4	2	7.06388	violence
26	6	1	5	9.28315	set
27	6	4	2	8.60872	psni
28	6	3	3	9.34265	newtownards
29	6	3	3	8.03599	dup
30	6	2	4	9.50311	demonstration
31	6	4	2	9.45307	crowd
32	6	0	6	10.55495	blocking
33	6	4	2	8.36561	area
34	5	4	1	8.75465	weeks
35	5	5	0	9.32754	used
36	5	1	4	9.45965	traffic
37	5	1	4	9.00561	streets
38	5	2	3	8.64947	public
39	5	1	4	10.79149	moved
40	5	1	4	9.20653	irish
41	5	4	1	10.47955	hundreds
42	5	4	1	12.19004	handful
43	5	5	0	8.39208	facebook
44	5	1	4	10.40154	crumlin
45	5	4	1	10.12591	armagh
46	4	4	0	11.42065	waving
47	4	4	0	9.13772	violent
48	4	3	1	8.07962	ulster
49	4	1	3	10.37335	tried

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Fig. 12 IN collocates protesters t-score

Rank	Freq	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	Stat	Collocate
1	48	47	1	6.9212	loyalist
2	41	38	3	6.39159	flag
3	39	12	27	6.23791	road
4	32	17	15	5.64408	police
5	27	5	22	5.19376	blocked
6	27	15	12	5.17638	belfast
7	16	10	6	3.98991	union
8	16	8	8	3.98307	city
9	15	3	12	3.87009	roads
10	10	7	3	3.15794	group
11	9	0	9	2.99857	threw
12	9	5	4	2.99673	derry
13	9	5	4	2.99673	attacked
14	9	7	2	2.99403	officers
15	9	2	7	2.99296	street
16	9	5	4	2.98823	hall
17	9	7	2	2.9845	flags
18	9	4	5	2.97815	people
19	8	0	8	2.82654	gathered
20	8	8	0	2.81856	crisis
21	8	4	4	2.81852	protesters
22	7	2	5	2.64457	block
23	7	0	7	2.63983	made
24	7	4	3	2.63976	against
25	6	0	6	2.44786	blocking
26	6	2	4	2.44611	demonstration
27	6	4	2	2.44599	crowd
28	6	3	3	2.44572	newtownards
29	6	1	5	2.44556	set
30	6	4	2	2.44322	psni
31	6	4	2	2.44206	area
32	6	3	3	2.44016	dup
33	6	4	2	2.43118	violence
34	5	4	1	2.23559	handful
35	5	1	4	2.23481	moved
36	5	4	1	2.2345	hundreds
37	5	1	4	2.23441	crumlin
38	5	4	1	2.23407	armagh
39	5	1	4	2.23341	took
40	5	1	4	2.23289	traffic
41	5	5	0	2.23259	used
42	5	1	4	2.23228	irish
43	5	1	4	2.23172	streets
44	5	2	3	2.2305	public
45	4	4	0	1.99927	waving
46	4	4	0	1.99645	violent
47	4	3	1	1.99261	ulster
48	4	1	3	1.99849	tried

Fig. 13 Concordance: NL: *Flag/s Issue*–46; *Flag/s Crisis*–9

people who responded to a public consultation on the	flag issue	want the Union Flag restricted to designated days
of Sinn Fein and the SDLP, especially with the	flags issue	in Belfast City Hall,” he said. Colin Worton,
undoubted progress made to date. In some	flags issue	was bound to surface at one point or
indeed inflammatory language about how we	flags issue,	but it singled me out as an individual,
respects the	flags issue:	“Don’t mess with people’s identity. When
would handle the	flags issue.	At this stage police are monitoring a protest
play.” And he warned against inflaming loyalists	flag issue	amid continued tension Unionist politicians
over the	have	
Hesketh Road due to the ongoing protest	flags issue	should be included in the CSI strategy,
regarding the	should	
g.” December 11, 2012 Tuesday DUP urged to	flag issue.	“This will not deter me from representing
drop Stormont	the	
can only be resolved by all-party talks. “The	flags issue	at Stormont at present as “idiotic”.
,” said the representative, who has been	Meanwhile N	
outspoken on the	flag issue	was “over the top”. Mr McCallister, Mr
unrest.” Sinn Fein described the idea of	McCrea’	
discussing the	flags issue	and will canvass support for definitive
progress	progress	
Basil McCrea over comments he made on the	flag issue	and other areas of concern within loyalism.
Union	Repr	
advance for unionism. “TUV has positive	flags issue,	Measures to increase voter registration and
proposals on the	tur	
set up a Stormont forum to focus on the	flag issue.	Emma Dale @emmadale26 @DUPleader
include matters such as; A strategy for	when are DUP/U	
addressing the	flags issue;	measures to increase voter registration and
agenda will be: producing a strategy to address	tur	
the	flags issue.	“It is essential that the forum do regular
schedule to completion will be crucial-	flag issue,	the issue of the economy, the lack of
particularly on the	flags issue.	These disturbances have not been on the
the table and try to thrash them out. “The	scale	
well, both around parades, and more recently on	flags issue.	“I will be asking the other leaders to
the	flags issue;	measures to increase voter registration and
present context, if action is taken which	tur	
addresses the	flags issue.	“I will be asking the other leaders to
agenda will be: producing a strategy to address	flags issue;	measures to increase voter registration and
the	tur	
present context, if action is taken which	flag issue	but repeated his call for protest organisers
addresses the	to “	
year - will include producing a strategy to	flag issue	A MASS meeting is to be held in
address the	flag issue	and the great commitment they have, and I
fully understood that emotions were running	flags issue,	“ said Mr Frazer. “It’s also about the
high over the	flag issue	any more, it’s about a lot more
ember 24, 2012 Monday Mass meeting planned	flags issue,	don’t want to be involved with the
for new year on	flags issue	is not the main issue motivating the ongoing
shows the depth of feeling they have over the	flags issue	was just the straw that broke the camel’
in Dublin and it’s not solely about the	flag issue	is not at the core of such discontent,
are not listening. “It is not just about the	flag issue	to forcefully and consistently engage with
on, the reasonable people, whilst still angry	there	
about the	flag issue	itself could become a case study for how
straw that broke camel’s back - Jim Wilson THE		

The Northern Ireland Flags Protests of 2012–13

Fig. 14 Concordance: Irish News: *Flag/s Issue*–36

<p>at a loss as to who owns the flagpole. The e also said unionists were misleading their voters over the majority view. “It is crazy to attack me over the on unionist politicians to show better leadership over the McGuinness said there needs to be “calm reflection” on the PUP The Progressive Unionist Party has compared the Union week’s planned meeting and said a solution to the Villiers met the leaders of the main parties about the The protocol recognises that an effective resolution to the soon as is practicable”. It is expected to address the isengagement” of loyalists from the political process. “The cross-party meeting today to begin a review of the the present context, if action is taken which addresses the the meeting would only be useful if it addressed the ay firmly illustrated the strength of her feelings over the a death threat over her party’s role in the yalist flag violence. The forum is expected to address the oes on, the reasonable people, whilst still angry about the political leaders to go the extra mile to resolve the esterday the DUP and UUP claimed the “controversy about the pe that those parties who insisted on pursuing the divisive of the DUP and UUP are attempting to use the ’s Forum said tonight’s demonstrations aim to keep the rchestrate violence. Birch said the only way to resolve the criminals. He warned that the only way to resolve the political leaders to go the extra mile to resolve the there’s a hidden agenda and it’s not the first minister, in the wake of loyalist rioting over the</p>	<p>flag issue the council flags issue meant that th flags issue flying of flags issue reached by Belf flags issue ground or the flag issue of Derry. flags issue lobbying and flags issue work tog flags issue the cooper flags issue voter regist flag issue represents flags issue and ask the public what they think of it. flags issue initiate flags issue initiate flags issue , although the evidence she put forward to justif flags issue , said she had not been invited to the talks. flags issue , parading, educational underachievement and meas flags issue , don’t want to be involved with the violence flag issue and other grievances and above all to take this flags issue was not commenced by the unionist representative flags issue will join with us in helping our city centre flag issue as a way of attacking other parties over the flag issue in the public eye. “There is no one organiser flag issue was through political mechanisms rather than stre flag issue was through the democratic process. ““We need a to</p>
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Fig. 15 Concordances: NL-Protester/s, protestor/s-40

<p>to DUP councillor Guy Spence. At one stage the toppled the desk, because all around them were other protesters trying to get out. The last of the firework exploded, followed by cheers from the crowd. The protesters had been arriving at City Hall from 5pm on The protesters forced their way into the grounds of City Hall a Union flag protest. It is understood that over 100 protesters gathered in the Linenhall Street area of the town police coming under attack from bricks and bottles, after protesters blocked the busy thoroughfare. It is understood Dundonald, Ballycastle, Lisburn and Cookstown. Many protesters are still organising gatherings via the social network sites, and to the debate about the Union Flag. "It is understood that those with influence in the community to work with protesters to ease tensions and avoid the risk of confrontation peaceful, lawful protest, in this case everything they (the protesters) want to achieve in terms of low-key police presence was overrun by hundreds of protesters. "There was a lot of anger about its members present at protests are there to keep that night protesters peaceful or dissuade them from protesting. But Around 20 of the protesters then moved their demonstration to the Upper Newtownards area. Peter Robinson protesters to engage with politicians. "As Peter Robinson protesters to express their concerns. He said the meeting protesters across Northern Ireland elected 10 people to a protest. "He said: "To change policy now in riot police and numerous PSNI Land Rovers. Last month protesters returned to east Belfast. Additional police office destroyed by the enemies of Ulster. No protesters managed to storm the rear gates to the grounds, Protestors have vowed to bring Northern Ireland to a standstill. The recording made by the BBC you can hear responsible for the injuring of police officers but said youths "are getting protesters. On Wednesday, Secretary of State Theresa Villi police] towards the protesters, even though they [the flag protesters responding by jeering "cheerio". Queen's Bridge in an attempt to divert the Flag at Belfast City Hall on designated days only. The scenario 's Forum (UPF) was set up to represent flag protesters felt alienated. The DUP leader said: "The only way protesters [] were being attacked. "Yes it provoked a reaction</p>	<p>protestors moved around to the front of City Hall where other protesters trying to get out. The last of the crowd protesters had been arriving at City Hall from 5pm on The protesters forced their way into the grounds of City Hall a Union flag protest. It is understood that over 100 protesters gathered in the Linenhall Street area of the town police coming under attack from bricks and bottles, after protesters blocked the busy thoroughfare. It is understood Dundonald, Ballycastle, Lisburn and Cookstown. Many protesters are still organising gatherings via the social network sites, and to the debate about the Union Flag. "It is understood that those with influence in the community to work with protesters to ease tensions and avoid the risk of confrontation peaceful, lawful protest, in this case everything they (the protesters) want to achieve in terms of low-key police presence was overrun by hundreds of protesters. "There was a lot of anger about its members present at protests are there to keep that night protesters peaceful or dissuade them from protesting. But Around 20 of the protesters then moved their demonstration to the Upper Newtownards area. Peter Robinson protesters to engage with politicians. "As Peter Robinson protesters to express their concerns. He said the meeting protesters across Northern Ireland elected 10 people to a protest. "He said: "To change policy now in riot police and numerous PSNI Land Rovers. Last month protesters returned to east Belfast. Additional police office destroyed by the enemies of Ulster. No protesters managed to storm the rear gates to the grounds, Protestors have vowed to bring Northern Ireland to a standstill. The recording made by the BBC you can hear responsible for the injuring of police officers but said youths "are getting protesters. On Wednesday, Secretary of State Theresa Villi police] towards the protesters, even though they [the flag protesters responding by jeering "cheerio". Queen's Bridge in an attempt to divert the Flag at Belfast City Hall on designated days only. The scenario 's Forum (UPF) was set up to represent flag protesters felt alienated. The DUP leader said: "The only way protesters [] were being attacked. "Yes it provoked a reaction</p>
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The Northern Ireland Flags Protests of 2012–13

Fig. 16 Concordances: IN–Protester/s, protestor/s–71

<p>the Land Rovers and hit them with flag poles. One r own political gain.” SDLP councillor Tim Attwood said the alists also protested in Derry “in solidarity” with Belfast lected representative who was in the chamber supporting the restrict the flying of the Union flag. Most of the in Co Down, Antrim and Belfast have been targeted by contacted her to say they had been threatened by loyalist Crazed Bigot Remix’ takes a humorous look at the loyalist road by police. TUV leader Jim Allister was among the the M2 motorway for around an hour. Police had told , it added that both the DUP and UUP shared the mined. “They are also sending dangerously mixed messages to rty politician has said he was left “shaken” after loyalist had been using side streets to avoid a group of police court hears A man accused of inciting loyalist flag are being held to ransom by relatively small numbers of ffic flow returned to normal on Crumlin Road. South Belfast was blocked at Doagh Road and Rashee Road by about 40 n flags gathered outside city hall with police outnumbering Christmas Day. A unionist forum set up to address the said when an elderly couple came out to remonstrate with of days the Union flag flies at city hall. The nts posted on social networking websites used by Union flag ng the Christmas holidays. Shortly before 6pm more than 50 fact, some rallies appear to have been dominated by female Street and Beersbridge Road during a long stand-off with the trouble, which he said was “initiated by the loyalist have led to violence. While there is much talk about we feel in Belfast.” He hopes that three busloads of aign by the UVF were further sinister demonstrations of the “not to engage with or be provoked” by the loyalist</p>	<p>protestor Rover. protesters hall “wer protesters Irish S protesters’ of pol protesters Stewart D protesters ye protesters “These a protester through the d protesters were o protesters half - the protesters only ack protesters Arlene F protesters shouted s protesters turn up protesters machine gun protesters up for th Protesters Sandy protesters 250 peo protesters outside th protesters’ January. protesters , they were verbally abused. January 1, 2013 Tues protesters , many of whom were wrapped in Union flags, blocke protesters . Almost a month after the PSNI said they were mon protesters , some carrying Union flags, had gathered beside C protesters , often attending with children. The gender balan protesters . Earlier, around 100 people had set up a roadbloc protesters “The Northern Ireland chairman of the Police Fed</p>
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Fig. 17 Concordance: The Newsletter: *Willie Frazer*–69

a shame and disgrace”. Victims’	Frazer	, who attended the protest at the
campaigner Willie	start	
rthern Ireland.” Armagh victims	Frazer	was also at the protest, where the
campaigner Willie	Frazer	was the only recognisable
rowd but had declined. Victims	speaker. “This is	
campaigner William	Frazer	has been invited to speak at
ess issues of concern. Victims’ campaigner	dozens	
Willie	Frazer	addressed a protest in
all of the problems,” he said. Willie	Magherafelt last nig	
to take the protests to Dublin. Mr	Frazer	said the forum would achieve
in the new year. Victims’ campaigner	nothing if	
Willie	Frazer	has been invited to speak at
val of the tricolour. Victims’ campaigner	dozens	
William	Frazer	said protesters objected to
solely about the flags issue,” said Mr	comments by Tao	
ay ahead. Controversial victims	Frazer	. “It’s also about the Irish
campaigner Willie	government’	
of immediate aims were agreed tonight,	Frazer	said he had been elected as an
Mr	Frazer	said. “We unanimously
the riots in east Belfast where Mr	supported a return to	
last night’s meeting, victims’ campaigner	Frazer	criticised police methods used
Willie	last night.	
umbrella group is formed,” he said. Mr	Frazer	described it as an opportunity for
and identity is being chipped away.” Mr	protesto	
was going to press last night Mr	Frazer	, who has spoken at 47 protests,
also been agreed for the group. Mr	said there	
ay ahead. Controversial victims	Frazer	who is standing as a candidate
campaigner Willie	for	
of immediate aims were agreed tonight,	Frazer	told this paper that a committee
Mr	had	
the riots in east Belfast where Mr	Frazer	went on to criticise the methods
man has said. Veteran victims’	used	
campaigner Willie	Frazer	said he had been elected as an
to the City Hall. Victims’ campaigner	Frazer	said. “We unanimously
Willie	supported a return to	
the right of this page January 7, 2013	Frazer	criticised police methods used
Monday	last night.	
keep flag protest out of Dublin Wille	Frazer	unveiled the news, adding that
spokesman Niall Collins TD called on Mr	the removal	
peaceful protest. However, I believe that	Frazer	was nominated as the group’s
Willie	spokesman.	
rethink the plan. “It appears that Mr	Frazer	urged to keep flag protest out of
came to our own streets following Mr	Frazer	has been urged not to take three
Parliament building on a daily basis. “Mr	Frazer	to rethink his decision. Mr Collins
Seanad are sitting,” he said. “If Mr	said: “	
Niall Collins had appealed to organiser	Frazer’s	stated intention to take three
Willie	busloads	
centre after republicans attacked the	Frazer	will lead the protest at D\xFAil ?
parade. Mr	Frazer’s	last such adventure - his Love
his calls had yet been returned. Mr	Ulster’	
and that alcohol could be confiscated. Mr	Frazer	appears to be proceeding on the
9, 2013 Wednesday Forum is a release	mistaken	
valve says	Frazer	has a coherent case to make on
	Frazer	to “rethink” his plans in light of

Fig. 18 Concordances: IN–Frazer–76

who attempted to stir the crowd were	Frazer who despite being a resident of
Willie	Co Armagh
riect Council offices. In Kilkeel, Co Down,	Frazer of the group Families Acting for
Willie	Innocent R
ne organiser, loyalist victims’ campaigner	Frazer , said it would preach a non-
Willie	violent message
ists disillusioned with the political process.	Frazer claimed the present street
Mr	protests could b
re not involved either, just ordinary	Frazer , who said he was speaking in a
people.” Mr	personal
body asked for grants to be returned. Mr	Frazer said that although the new group
r and they have no representation	will promo
whatsoever.” Mr	Frazer said the crisis within loyalist
e organisers, loyalist victims’ campaigner	communities
Willie	Frazer , last night said its remit will
some nationalist areas are also	include hig
disadvantaged, Mr	Frazer said the new group would focus
underfunding for community projects as	only on
well.” Mr	Frazer said people in loyalist areas feel
of 2012. Controversial victims’ campaigner	as thoug
Willie	Frazer gave a speech at the
13 Wednesday Editorial - Little cause to	demonstration near the
silence	Frazer The colourful loyalist figure
ence Frazer The colourful loyalist figure	Willie Fraze
Willie	Frazer claims that he has been
dinner. It is hard to believe that Mr	temporarily banned
Co Tyrone primary school. As long as Mr	Frazer does not have more important
removed from the Dail. Victims’	issues on his
campaigner Willie	Frazer has now worked out which flag is
government’s alleged links with the IRA.	which,
Mr	Frazer , has said he expects the protest
est movement, who include south Armagh	will happ
man Willie	Frazer said the trip was intended in a
Addressing the crowd, victims’	“spirit
campaigner Willie	Frazer , were trying to “undermine the
by personalities such as serial protester	DUP as the
Willie	Frazer condemned recent violence and
to all”. January 8, 2013 Tuesday Flags	said protests
Crisis -	Frazer of trying to “undermine the DUP
plans by controversial loyalist spokesman	as the
Willie	Frazer plans for ‘sarcastic’ protest at
take the Union flag protests to Dublin. Mr	Leinster H
all Collins branded the venture “ill-judged”.	Frazer to take the Union flag protests to
“Mr	Dublin.
that came to our own streets following Mr	Frazer is reported to be reviewing his
e his ‘Love Ulster’ demonstration in 2006.	plans for
“If Mr	Frazer appears to be proceeding on the
TD Gerald Nash also hit out at Mr	mistaken be
is bordering on the reckless,” he said. “Mr	Frazer ‘s last such adventure his ‘Love
to peaceful protest I would call on Mr	Ulster’ dem
Protests ‘release valve’ for loyalist anger	Frazer has a coherent case to make on
says	the
st anger, according to victims’ campaigner	Frazer’s insistence that his protest would
Willie	be a