

International Communication Gazette

<http://gaz.sagepub.com/>

The Irish press and the Iraq War: Real world cues, news values and the political calibration effect

Mary O'Regan

International Communication Gazette 2010 72: 443

DOI: 10.1177/1748048510369211

The online version of this article can be found at:

<http://gaz.sagepub.com/content/72/6/443>

Published by:



<http://www.sagepublications.com>

Additional services and information for *International Communication Gazette* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://gaz.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://gaz.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

Citations: <http://gaz.sagepub.com/content/72/6/443.refs.html>

The Irish press and the Iraq War: Real world cues, news values and the political calibration effect

the International
Communication Gazette
72(6) 443–464

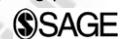
© The Author(s) 2010

Reprints and permission:

sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav

DOI: 10.1177/1748048510369211

gaz.sagepub.com



Mary O'Regan

Dublin City University, Ireland

Abstract

This article presents the findings of a descriptive content analysis of three Irish 'quality' newspapers' coverage of issues relating to the Iraq War during the period from 1 September 2002 to 31 December 2007 – *The Irish Times*, the *Irish Independent* and the *Sunday Independent*. It addresses the shortcoming in existing research on the Irish media's coverage of the Iraq War and also contributes to the body of research already undertaken on different international media's coverage of this war. Its central focus explores the influences that different contextually specific political, cultural and news factors have on media reportage. It is broadly situated within the agenda-setting research paradigm, but advocates a number of theoretical extensions of this paradigm. In particular, it is argued that rather than viewing media foreign news agendas as simplistic byproducts of media-political relations, they can be more usefully conceptualized as the outcomes of different processes of interaction between 'real world' cues defining the wider political environment and media factors, such as news values and sourcing strategies.

Keywords

agenda-setting, content analysis, foreign news coverage, Iraq War, Irish press, news values, sources

Corresponding author:

Mary O'Regan, School of Communications, Dublin City University, Dublin 9, Ireland.

Email: maryoregan@yahoo.com

Introduction

The Iraq War was a 'defining moment for media coverage of international conflict' (Dimitrova and Connolly-Ahern, 2007: 153). Thousands of international journalists covered the war during the initial invasion phase (Keeble, 2004) and, thereafter, international media attention remained relatively high. Within the international arena, the Iraq War generated considerable political and public opposition and from the outset two opposing worldviews dominated the arena. The official frame sponsored by the US and British administrations argued that war was an essential measure to counteract the threat posed by Iraq, even without a UN mandate. However, an opposing frame was sponsored by the French and German administrations, as well as other states and international NGOs. This frame argued that the invasion was an unnecessary, unjustifiable and illegal war of aggression which violated Iraqi sovereignty (Boyd-Barrett, 2004: 29).

The contested nature of the Iraq War within the international arena has provided a fertile background within which to explore the response of different international media to reporting the war. To date, most research has focused on the US and European media contexts and several studies conclude that the media were generally supportive of the US and British governments' perspectives (Dutta-Bergman, 2005; Kristensen and Ørsten, 2007; Lewis et al., 2006; Miller, 2004; Robertson, 2004). However, Tumber and Palmer's (2004) and Goddard et al.'s (2009) studies found that some British press coverage featured critical reporting of the government's foreign policy towards Iraq which, in turn, could be related to the wider ideologically contested environment and the different editorial positions adopted by the press. Dimitrova and Strömbäck's (2005) comparative analysis of Swedish and US elite press coverage of the Iraq War from March to May 2003 also found that because an anti-war mood prevailed in Sweden, the Swedish press tended to be more oppositional than the US press.

Two comparative analyses of international media coverage of the Iraq war highlight the role played by different national politico-cultural contexts in influencing media reportage. Dimitrova and Connolly-Ahern's (2007: 162) analysis of online US, British and Arabic news websites concluded that 'even in the age of globalization, significant differences exist in the way national media cover war and conflict' which can be related to differences in national public opinion trends and media values. Ravi's (2005) comparative analysis of US, British, Pakistani and Indian press coverage of the Iraq War found that the different national interests and prevailing public sentiments characterizing each of these countries affected media reporting styles. Ravi also argued that the level of consensus/dissensus that characterized political elite discourses on the war and media factors, such as news values and reporting conventions, further influenced press coverage.

Ireland supplies a relatively unique geopolitical environment with regard to media coverage of the Iraq War. Particularly, Ireland's status as a small, neutral and peripheral European state, with little or no hard power in international affairs, meant that its political position in relation to the issues arising from the Iraq crisis differed substantively from the position of other European states. In contrast to *both* the proponents of the war (e.g. the US, Britain, Spain and Australia) *and* opponents of the war (e.g. France,

Germany and Russia), the Irish state *neither* explicitly supported *nor* opposed the war, but adopted a highly reticent position. This position was reflective of its small state orientation to international relations – an orientation which has involved successive Irish governments seeking to balance positions that support the UN-based system of international collective security and Irish neutrality with positions that seek to enhance Ireland's 'special relations' with the US and Britain. This study of how three Irish national 'quality' newspapers (*The Irish Times*, the *Irish Independent* and the *Sunday Independent*) covered the Iraq War, therefore, provides a different angle to the current research agenda.

Media agenda-setting and media–source relations

Agenda-setting research has had a long and varied history within communication and media studies. A major strand of agenda-setting research is comprised of studies that analyse the influences that media coverage has for public knowledge and the priming of public attitudes and perceptions (Iyengar and Simon, 1993; McLeod and Detenber, 1999; Scheufele, 1999, 2000). However, another strand of agenda-setting research highlights the influences that political issue agendas have on media agendas and vice versa. The findings of these latter studies have been somewhat varied. Some studies, particularly those situated within the indexing research paradigm, conclude that political/official elite rhetoric often sets media agendas (Bennett, 1990; Coe et al., 2004; Eilders and Luter, 2000; Sigal, 1986; Wanta, 1992). However, other studies advance an alternative media–political correlation hypothesis (i.e. the hypothesis that media and political agendas are correlated and that media agendas can also influence political debates and policies) (Jablonski and Sullivan, 1996; Robinson, 2002; Walgrave and Van Aelst, 2006). Instead of focusing on the somewhat unidirectional influences exerted by political agendas over media agendas, these studies are more interested in exploring the media–source *interactions* that develop within the process of issue *agenda-building* (Berkowitz, 1987; Berkowitz and Terkeurst, 1999; Reese, 1991).

However, the theoretical premises of agenda-setting research can be usefully extended in three ways. First, models of media agenda-setting need to account more fully for the influences that 'real world' events have on foreign news agendas. Second, in relation to analysing the impact which media–source relations have on foreign issue coverage, agenda-setting theories need to recognize that the range of sources available to foreign journalists is considerably more extensive than those sources confined to nation-state boundaries. For instance, some commentators have convincingly argued that contemporary media foreign news agendas are influenced by the growing 'trans-nationalization', or 'globalization' of contemporary international conflicts and that this trend has led to a diminution of state control over international information channels (Brown, 2003; Reese, 2004). And finally, the roles performed by media cannot be simply reduced to the end process of political agenda-setting 'successes', as implied by some studies, particularly those advancing the political control hypothesis. In this sense, further explorations are required to uncover the ways in which politico-cultural contexts and media environmental factors enable different international media

to cover foreign issues in divergent and often incomparable ways (Hafez, 2000; Hibbard and Keenleyside, 1995; Nohrstedt et al., 2000: 400–1).

Media agenda-setting – The role of news values

Media are relatively independent ‘public interpreters of events’ (Wolfsfeld, 1997: 55) and, therefore, ‘a cultural system worthy of a dynamic analysis in its own right’ (Ganson, 1988: 165). Media play significant roles as the primary mediators of public dialogue and deliberation (Simon and Xenos, 2000). National media also influence foreign policy agendas (Mermin, 1999; Minear et al., 1996; Spencer, 2001) and public opinion trends, especially since media constitute the primary source of information that the public relies upon to frame their understanding of foreign events (Seib, 2002: 48; Van Ginneken, 1998: 15). An important adjunct to this conceptualization of the media as relatively autonomous cultural arenas is an understanding of the ‘reality-filtering’ and agenda-setting roles performed by media (Bennett, 1988). For instance, several studies demonstrate how news production practices and ideologies influence news-making processes (Berkowitz and Terkeurst, 1999; Fishman, 1980; Tuchman, 1978). Other studies highlight the ways in which news values can account for persistent discernible trends in news selection patterns (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Harcup and O’Neill, 2001; Peterson, 1981), determining which issues cross the foreign news threshold and which issues are relegated to the status of non-issues.

In relation to foreign news trends, negative and conflict-oriented storylines attain relatively high levels of newsworthiness (Adoni et al., 1990; Hackett, 1989; Thussu, 2003). Particularly, foreign conflicts which achieve resonance with journalistic socio-cultural frameworks are most likely to receive media attention (Sonwalkar, 2004), while the perceived *meaningfulness* (relevance and proximity) of a conflict to national readerships is also believed to increase its news value. Additionally, *elite* nations tend to receive more coverage than *non-elite* nations (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Peterson, 1981).

We can expect that the ‘real world’ cues supplied by the Iraq War would have attained relatively high levels of media coverage throughout this period. The growing strength of the resistance/insurgency from mid-2003 onwards and mounting coalition fatalities meant that the war retained its newsworthiness as a ‘conflict’ story despite President Bush’s declaration on 1 May 2003 that ‘major combat operations in Iraq’ had ceased. However, it was the frequency, lethality and devastating impact of the bomb attacks that occurred from August 2003 onwards, as well as the horrific nature of the widespread sectarian warfare that gripped Iraq (intensifying from 2006 onwards), which meant that Iraq rarely slipped off the international media agenda. Additionally, because the war involved elite nations and global political figures and occurred in a region regarded as geopolitically significant for the US and Europe, it was considered to be more newsworthy by US and European (including Irish) media than conflict stories emerging from other more ‘distant’/‘irrelevant’ parts of the world, particularly the developing world. However, notwithstanding the impact of these ‘real world’ cues on media agendas, it is the process by which these cues are refracted

through the Irish politico-cultural milieu and media lens which ultimately transformed these events into media 'stories'.

Surveying the political background – Ireland's position on the Iraq War

The prevailing public and political mood in Ireland was one that clearly opposed the war. All Irish opposition political parties opposed the war and strong voices of opposition emerged across the spectrum of Irish civil society (including NGOs, religious leaders and 'anti-war' groups). During 2003 a number of public opinion polls revealed that the majority of Irish people were opposed to the war and the Irish government's policy of providing over-flight and landing facilities to the US military en route to Iraq (see Lyons, 2005). On 15 February 2003 over 100,000 people participated in an anti-war demonstration in Dublin, which was one of the largest public demonstrations ever held in Ireland.

This prevailing oppositional backdrop constrained the Irish government's policy options in relation to the war. The government stance that eventually emerged was, to say the very least, a nuanced one, which sought to integrate a position that was supportive of the UN with a position that did not explicitly oppose, or denounce the US and British governments (Doyle, 2004; Rees, 2004). On 19 March 2003 the government decided to provide over-flight and landing facilities to the US military during the war and this decision was ratified by Dáil Éireann (national parliament) on 20 March. Interestingly, the government stressed that this policy protected Irish 'national interests' that were dependent on 'special relations' with the US and Britain, rather than relating/aligning this policy with the positions advanced by other EU member states (Tonra, 2006: 195, 204). Opposition parties alleged that the government's position amounted to the facilitation of an illegal war that contravened Ireland's historic commitment to neutrality and the 'primacy' of the UN in international affairs. Significantly, it was this ideological contest which defined the political environment within which the Irish press reported on the Iraq War.

The Irish press

In relation to the wider media environment within which the Irish press operates, it has been argued that its 'professional' orientation is most closely related to the Anglo-American model of journalism (Foley, 2004). Hence, the Irish press tends to cover issues along 'liberal', 'mainstream', or centrist lines and to avoid explicit party-partisan positions (Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 210; Kiberd, 1997). The Irish domestic newspaper market is a relatively small, yet extremely competitive market (Horgan, 2001: 167), and the growing penetration of imported media products, particularly British newspapers, exerts substantial financial pressures upon Irish-owned newspapers (Kiberd, 1997: 34, 40). Also, the Irish press displays a relatively high dependence on foreign English-language media sources.

Several studies highlight the ways in which competitive pressures and financial constraints in contemporary media markets have led media to reduce their number of foreign bureaus and the proportion of resources that they devote to foreign news coverage (Seib,

2004; Sparrow, 1999). A notable victim of these ‘commercial realities of journalism’ has been the once lauded ‘idea of the specialist correspondent’ (McLaughlin, 2002: 17–19). With specific reference to the Irish newspaper market, this trend is particularly evident. As a small English-language media sector, perceiving itself to be facing competition from infinitely better resourced foreign media, Irish newspapers tend to source foreign news copy in ways that are regarded as less expensive (i.e. rather than establishing and maintaining a network of foreign bureaus, Irish newspapers rely more on Irish-based staff journalists/columnists, foreign stringer correspondents, international news agencies and/or journalists affiliated with British newspapers).

Significantly, there has not been a strong Irish press tradition of regularly reporting ‘on the ground’ in the Middle East, which is itself reflective of the fact that no strong historical politico-cultural links have existed between Ireland and this region. None of the sampled newspapers have employed a permanent foreign correspondent in the Middle East. In fact, *The Irish Times* is the only Irish newspaper to have established any foreign bureaus beyond London and Brussels (Smith, 2004: 85). During the 1980s and 1990s, *The Irish Times* expanded its foreign bureau network to Berlin, Paris, Rome, Beijing, Moscow, Washington and Johannesburg (Brady, 2005: 67–70, 103–4). However, this expansionary strategy was reversed in 2001–2 as part of a cost-cutting operation in response to a severe financial crisis (Brady, 2005: 265; Smith, 2004: 83–4), and presently the newspaper only has bureaus in the US and Europe.

Methodological approach

At the outset, it was decided to focus on Irish ‘quality’ press coverage of the Iraq War. ‘Quality’ newspapers perform important inter-media agenda-setting roles (Golan, 2006) and often exert significant levels of influence over policy debates, elite discourses and public opinion trends (Meyer, 1995: 191). The *Sunday Independent* is the biggest selling ‘quality’ Sunday newspaper, while the *Irish Independent* is the biggest selling ‘quality’ daily newspaper.¹ However, although *The Irish Times* has lower readership and circulation rates, it is regarded as the national ‘newspaper of reference’ (Brady, 2005: 63). Also, its website is one of the most widely and regularly used of Irish news and information websites. In contrast to the more market-driven and commercial orientation of the *Irish Independent* and the *Sunday Independent*, it is managed by a trust.

An intensive, longitudinal sampling method was applied to the time period from 1 September 2002 to 31 December 2007 to enable analysis of the ways that ‘media discourse on each issue is a continuing story that develops over time’ (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989: 10–12). Online searches, based on the search term ‘Iraq’, were conducted on the website for online editions of the *Irish Independent* and the *Sunday Independent* (www.independent.ie) and the website for online editions of *The Irish Times* (www.irishtimes.com). A general reading was then undertaken of all retrieved items and only items that displayed *significant mentions* of Iraq were selected for analysis. This generated a total sample of 3117 newspaper items (see Table 1).

It was decided to confine the sample to thematically rich genres such as editorials, opinion/analysis/commentary and letters to the editor. The decision to exclude ‘hard news’ features from the sample was made because these features typically conform to

Table I . Total Newspaper Samples Collected (1 September 2002–31 December 2007)

Newspaper	Total sample size
<i>The Irish Times</i>	2124
<i>Irish Independent</i>	629
<i>Sunday Independent</i>	364
Total sample	3117

a predominantly informational and non-persuasive style (O'Keefe, 2002; Van Poecke, 1988), which can be assumed to limit their thematic potentials. However, the exclusion of 'hard news' from this sample does mean that this study's findings, particularly those relating to newspaper attention trends, only pertain to the coverage occurring within editorial, opinion/analysis/commentary and letters forums.

In contrast to 'hard news', a greater degree of thematic and ideological diversity is expected within opinion/analysis/commentary features (Ciofalo and Traverso, 1994; Day and Golan, 2005; Hoffman and Slater, 2007), thereby ensuring that they constitute a fruitful database for exploring press presentational trends. On the other hand, editorial pages display the 'institutional opinion' of newspapers (Meltzer, 2007: 85; see also Eilders, 2002: 33–4) which often set wider media agendas (Billeaudoux et al., 2003: 169). The letters pages were included within this analysis because they are a key platform for civic participation in public debates regarding the Iraq War (Hynds, 1992; Pounds, 2006).

Each item was treated as an individual unit of analysis for coding purposes. Four manifest content features were analysed:

1. The amount of attention devoted to Iraq within editorial, opinion/analysis/commentary and letters forums.
2. The originating source/authorship of newspaper items (e.g. whether newspaper items were penned by editorial writers, staff columnists/journalists, or syndicated British/US journalists).
3. Topic/subject matter trends.
4. The sources quoted, or paraphrased in newspaper content. Sources were coded as belonging to one of 15 pre-coded categories of sources (e.g. US/British/European/Irish political-official actors, Iraqi/Arab political-official actors and categories of international and Irish civil society).

This form of manifest content analysis is especially useful for analysing the presentational and 'surface' features of media content (Chang, 1998; Mishra, 1979) and for generating an overall picture of various dimensions of press coverage over time.

Setting the media agenda – The prominence of the Iraq War within Irish 'quality' press coverage

The largest number of items was sourced from *The Irish Times* 68.14 percent of total sample. The *Irish Independent*'s items accounted for 20.18 percent, while the lowest

proportion of items was derived from the *Sunday Independent* 11.68 percent. The higher news value accorded to the Iraq War by *The Irish Times* concurs with its own definition of the newspaper's stance published in an editorial on 29 March 2003, that it would, 'despite its financial and restructuring crisis last year', make it a 'particular priority to cover this war'.

Figure 1 illustrates that, notwithstanding differences in the peaks and lows of press attention trends, an over-time pattern can be broadly discerned, i.e. periods of sustained rates of attention, combined with a relative decline over time. While it needs to be reiterated that these findings only pertain to the amounts of attention devoted to Iraq within these newspapers' editorial, opinion/analysis/commentary and letters-to-the-editor forums, as 'hard news' coverage was excluded from this study's sample, we can still reliably draw the following conclusion: while issues relating to the Iraq War appear to display a relatively high news value throughout this period, their capacity to pass the foreign news threshold also weakened over time. This, in turn, indicates a trend of progressive media desensitization towards the issues and a rise in journalistic perceptions regarding the lack of fit between the 'real world' traits of the Iraq War and news values.

Figure 2 illustrates that over 40 percent of the *Sunday Independent*'s coverage originated from staff columnists/journalists, especially opinion writers. As this newspaper is a Sunday title, and opinion features form an important part of its 'brand identity', it is hardly surprising that this newspaper emerged as the most 'opinionated' of the three newspapers. Only 24.53 percent of *The Irish Times*' sample was sourced from staff columnists/journalists and, in contrast to the other two newspapers, this figure also included staff foreign correspondents. Interestingly, the *Irish Independent* sourced very little of its opinion/analysis/commentary features from staff columnists/journalists (4.61 percent). Instead, almost 30 percent of its total sample was sourced from columnists/journalists working for British newspaper titles. This is probably due to the fact that it is more cost efficient for the *Irish Independent* to source copy from its sister newspaper – the London-based *Independent* – particularly from the foreign correspondents Robert Fisk and Patrick Cockburn, as well as columnists such as Nicholas Leonard and Rupert Cornwell.

In relation to total sample size, guest columnists' contributions were, relatively speaking, statistically insignificant, accounting for only 8.05 percent of *The Irish Times*' sample, 5.49 percent of the *Sunday Independent*'s sample and 2.54 percent of the *Irish Independent*'s sample. Even more striking was the relative lack of editorial priority accorded by these newspapers to the Iraq War – the *Irish Independent* (17.33 percent), *The Irish Times* (10.40 percent) and the *Sunday Independent* (4.40 percent). However, high levels of attention were accorded to the war within the letters forum of each newspaper. Over half of *The Irish Times*' features and approximately 38 percent of features in the *Irish Independent* and the *Sunday Independent* were letters to the editor.

In addition to this over-time analysis of the prominence achieved by the Iraq War within these newspapers' editorial, opinion/analysis/commentary and letters forums, a similar analysis was undertaken of the differential levels of salience achieved by different topics/subject matters within these forums. Each newspaper item was individually coded for up to three different topics. All coded topics were then grouped within seven

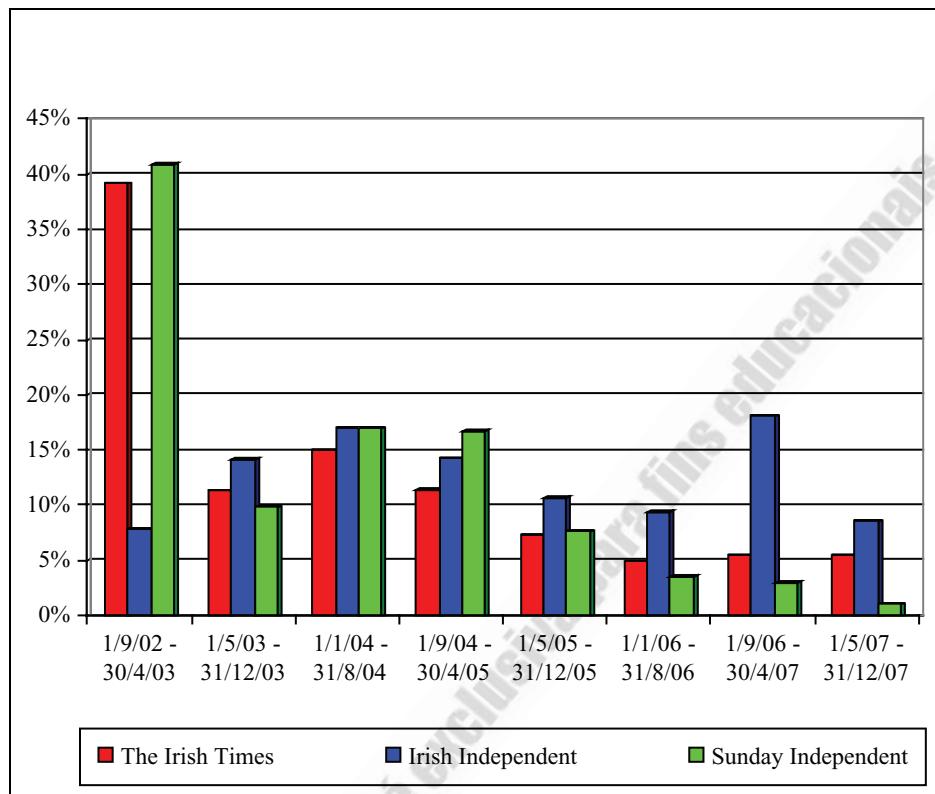


Figure 1. Frequency of Coverage of Iraq (1 September 2002–31 December 2007)

different categories (see Figure 3). The first category of topics covers foreign policy and political developments in the US relating to Iraq. Examples of such topics include the US administration's case-for-war; the impact of the Iraq War on US politics, public opinion and the economy; developments/changes in the US administration's policy towards Iraq; and the impact of the war on the US military. The second topic category consists of topics relating to British foreign policy and political developments, including the British government's case-for-war; developments/changes in British foreign policy relating to Iraq; and the impact of the war on British politics, public opinion and Tony Blair's leadership. The third topic category concerns European and other international foreign policy developments regarding Iraq. Examples of such topics include the implications of the Iraq crisis for the role of the UN; the passage of UN Security Council resolutions; and policy divisions within Europe and within US–EU relations. The fourth category of topics concerns Irish foreign policy and political developments, including topics such as the government's position on the war; the policy of providing over-flight and landing facilities to the US military; the impact of the war on Irish–US relations; Ireland's role within the UN during its term as an elected member of the Security Council (2001–2); Ireland's contribution to EU policies on Iraq; political, civil society and public

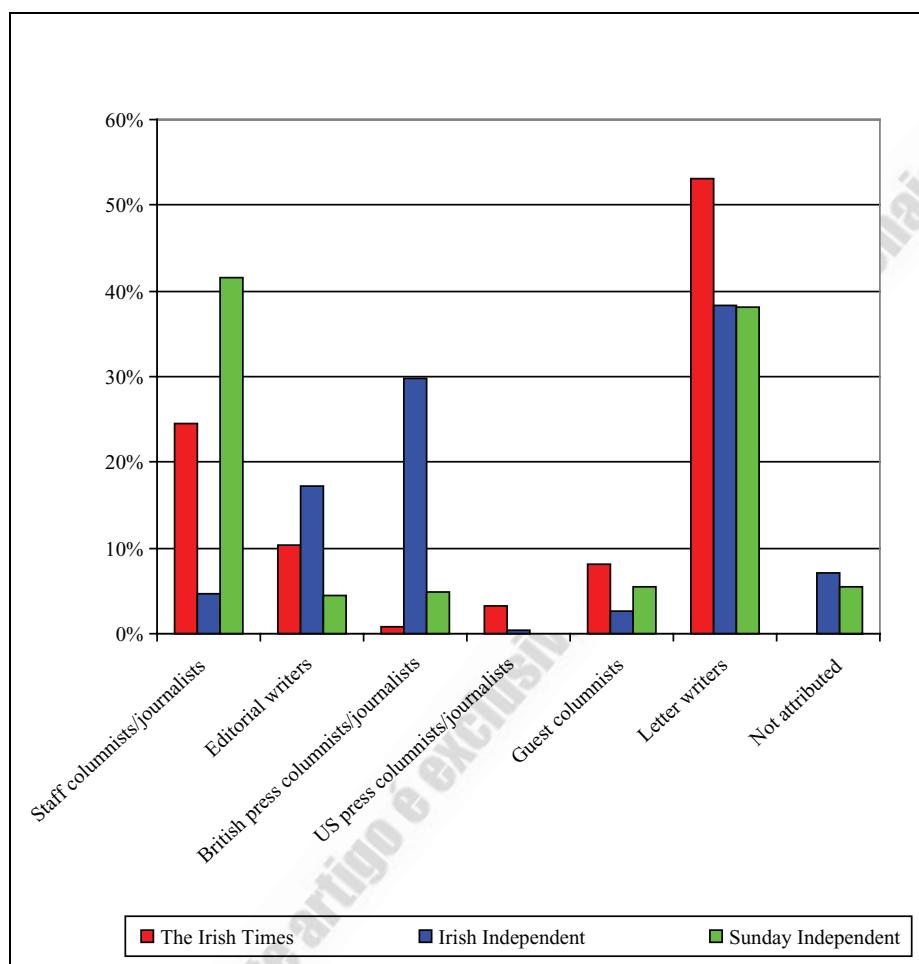


Figure 2. Originating Source of Newspaper Items (I September 2002–31 December 2007)

opposition to the war and anti-war demonstrations. The fifth category consists of conflict/political violence topics. These topics include the tactical aspects of the Iraq War and military occupation; human rights violations and the killing of Iraqi civilians by coalition forces; Iraqi insurgent bomb attacks; the kidnapping/execution of foreign and Iraqi civilians by militias and sectarian violence. The sixth topic category contains topics covering the political and socioeconomic impacts of the war on Iraq. Such topics include the security and political crisis generated by the collapse of Saddam Hussein's administration; the governance failures of the US-British Occupying Authority; the workings of the Office for Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA), the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), the Iraqi Governing Council (GC) and the Iraqi interim government; the referendum on the Iraqi Constitution (October 2005); national elections

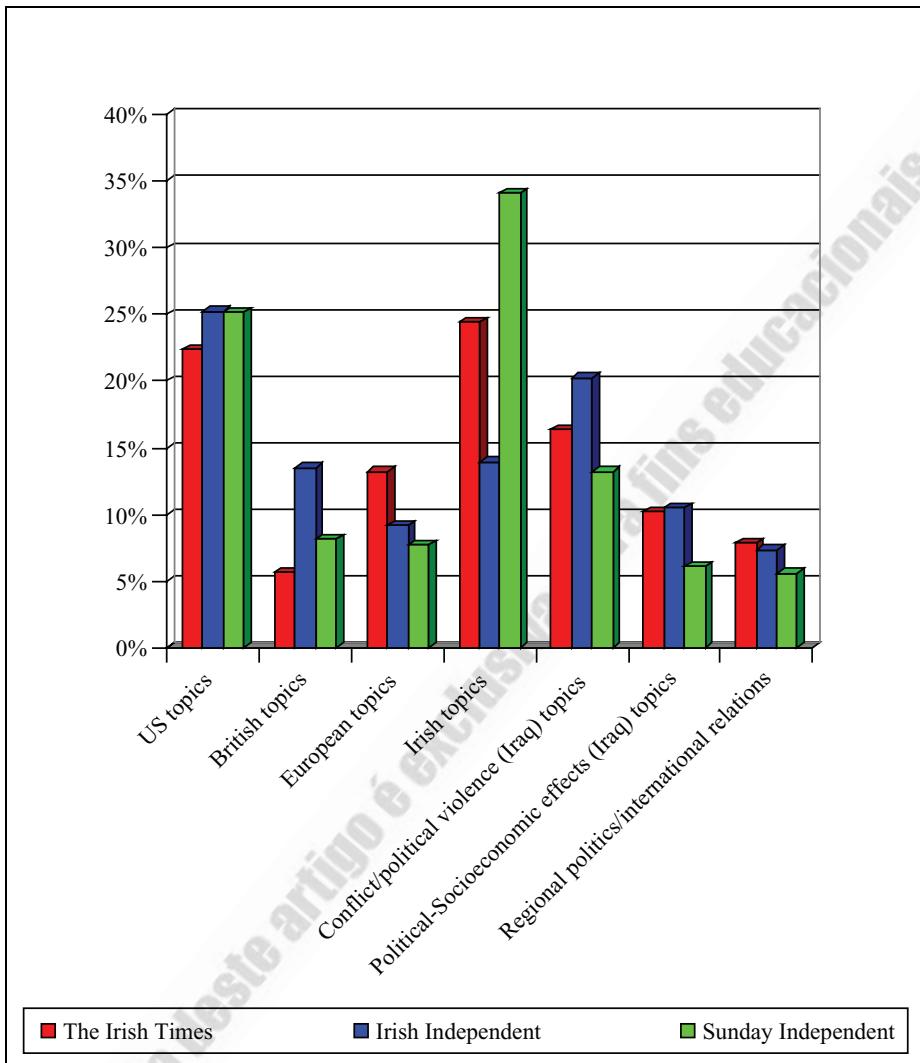


Figure 3. Rate of Topic/Subject Matter Displays within Newspaper Items (1 September 2002–31 December 2007)

(January and December 2005); the workings of Iraqi-led administrations from 2005 onwards; profiles of Iraqi political and militant groups; and debates surrounding the future governance of Iraq (i.e. federalization, partition, etc.). The final category of topics covers the effects of the Iraq War on regional politics and international relations. These topics include the effects of the war on US–Arab relations, the Israeli–Palestinian conflict and Lebanese politics; Iranian involvement in Iraq and the impact of rising Iranian influence on existing regional power balances; Syrian involvement in Iraq; the

implications of the war for Turkey–Kurdish relations; the impact of developments in Iraq on Shia–Sunni relations in the Middle East; and links between the war and global ‘terrorism’.

Overall, topics relating to the US and Irish foreign policy and political contexts receive relatively greater levels of representation (see Figure 3). Within each newspaper more than one in five of all topics concern US foreign policy/political angles, attesting to the operation of the news values of *magnitude* and *national elitism*. The US was by far the most powerful global state actor involved in the Iraq crisis, while the international divisions that the US administration’s case-for-war precipitated were perceived to be of global import. Stories featuring US foreign policy topics also fulfilled the news values of *meaningfulness* and *national relevance* since the Iraq War was constructed by the Irish government as a *relevant* international issue pertaining to Irish ‘national interests’ dependent upon ‘special relations’ with the US.

However, given the fact that Britain is also depicted as a ‘special relations’ state within Irish political discourses, these newspapers’ relative lack of attention to stories relating to British foreign policy/political topics is notable. Even the *Irish Independent* (which sourced a far greater proportion of its copy from British newspaper-based journalists and columnists and, therefore, displayed a greater percentage of British foreign policy/political topics), still focused more frequently on US foreign policy/political topics. The ‘junior partner’ standing of Britain in its support for what was in essence a US-led war clearly reduced its news value, especially in terms of its lesser *magnitude* and global *elite* status. The level of *meaningfulness* and *national relevance* of British foreign policy issues was also lower than that attained by US foreign policy issues because national political debates surrounding the Iraq War during this time period *emphasized* topics relating to US foreign policy positions (as opposed to British and European foreign policy positions).

Given Ireland’s membership of the EU and the hegemonic standing of the foreign policy objective of furthering Ireland’s integration within the EU over the last four decades, it is surprising that topics relating to EU foreign policy positions on the war received so little attention in the Irish press overall. Although *The Irish Times* did cover European foreign policy topics somewhat more frequently than the other two newspapers, this was not a very significant trend, and was probably related more to the fact that it has foreign correspondents based in European capitals, rather than the fact that it was pegging its agenda regarding the Iraq War to these topics per se. Two factors explain the relative lack of press attention accorded to EU foreign policy topics. First, because references within national political debates to EU foreign policy perspectives were scarce, these perspectives lacked the *domestic relevance*, or *meaningfulness* achieved by US foreign policy perspectives. Second, internal divisions within the EU regarding the war and France and Germany’s opposition to it meant that the EU did not achieve a sufficient fit with the news values of *elitism* and *magnitude* and was, in all probability, cast by Irish media into the role of non-player.

However, where the news value of *meaningfulness* was most evident was in the favourable bias shown by the *Sunday Independent* (34.08 percent) and *The Irish Times* (24.40 percent) towards stories covering Irish foreign policy/political developments in relation to Iraq. The *Sunday Independent*’s particularly high level of attention to these

topics is also related to its greater reliance on Irish-based staff columnists/journalists that are presumed to be more focused on such domestic topics. Moreover, given the contested nature of the debates that occurred in the Irish political domain regarding Ireland's positions on the war, press coverage of Irish foreign policy topics also fulfilled the news perquisites for *conflict* and *drama*. However, a notable divergence from this trend occurred within the *Irish Independent*, as only 13.96 percent of its topics were concerned with domestic politics. Its minimalist use of Irish-based columnists/journalists appears to explain this trend.

Interestingly, the *Irish Independent* sought its *negative* and *dramatic* stories more often within the arena of the Iraq War itself (20.26 percent) than either *The Irish Times* (16.36 percent) or the *Sunday Independent* (13.22 percent). This trend is most likely related to the fact that the *Irish Independent* relied more on British press foreign correspondents based in the Middle East and Iraq (e.g. Robert Fisk and Patrick Cockburn). Given the underlying assumption of previous research that foreign news tends to be conflict-driven, this study's finding regarding these relatively lower levels of newspaper attention to conflict/political violence topics requires some explanation. The exclusion of 'hard news' coverage from this study's sample might go some way towards explaining this finding, as it is likely that a higher proportion of this coverage would have focused more on these topics. However, all newspapers also infrequently covered topics concerning the political and socioeconomic effects of the war (ranging from 10.50 percent to 6.10 percent) and its regional and international implications (ranging from 7.85 percent to 5.60 percent). These trends are likely to have been influenced by a combination of news and political factors, including the absence of any permanent Irish media presence in the Middle East, the small state outlook characterizing Irish foreign policy perspectives and Ireland's lack of hard power and vital foreign policy interests in Iraq and the Middle East.

The picture that emerges here of press attention and topical trends strongly suggests that foreign news agendas are not determined by any singular extrinsic factor (i.e. political agenda-setting), or intrinsic factor (i.e. news production practices or news values). Instead, it is the *interactions*, or fits achieved between 'real world' cues, politico-cultural factors and news production practices/values which influence the Irish press's agenda for covering the Iraq War.

News sources – The Irish press follows the trail of political power

In light of the fact that both national and international political discourses on the Iraq War were highly contested, this study explores the extent to which Irish newspapers quoted or paraphrased the perspectives of competing sources. This was achieved by undertaking a survey of the frequency of occurrence and presentation of sources within news texts. At the outset, each source assertion was nominally coded as belonging to one of 15 pre-coded categories of sources. These categories include US/British/European/Iraqi/Arab and other international political-official actors; Irish political-official actors; Iraqi/Arab NGO, religious and civilian sources; Iraqi/Islamic militants; categories of

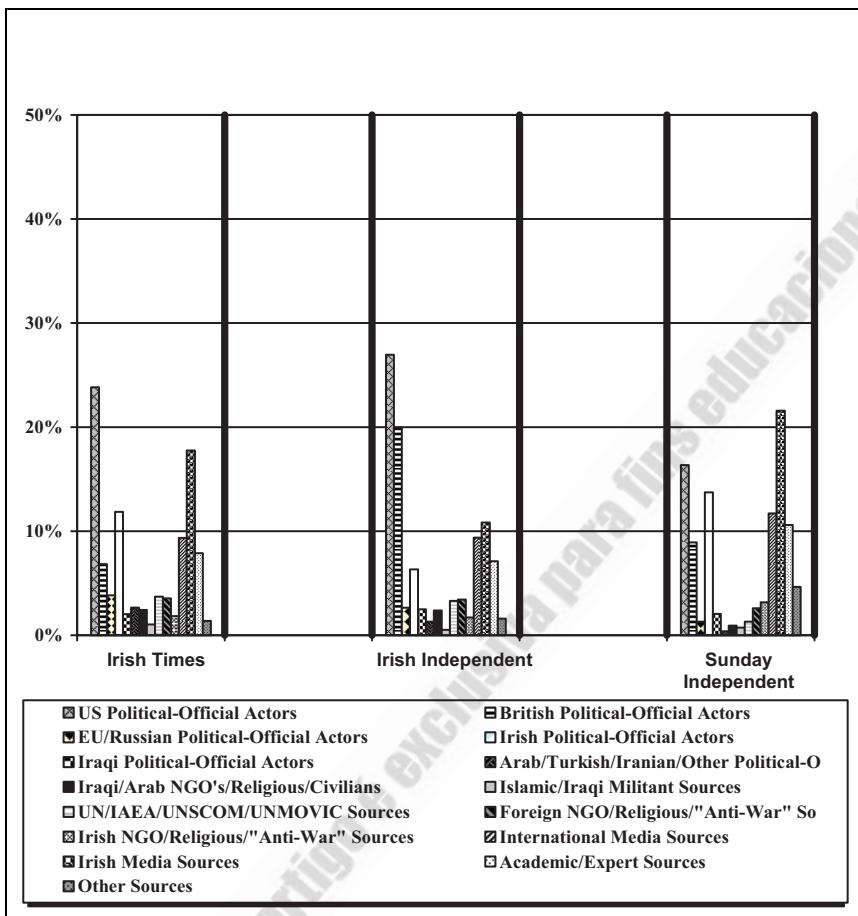


Figure 4. Sources Quoted/Paraphrased within Newspaper Items (1 Sept 2002 to 31 Dec 2007)

international and Irish NGO/civil society/academic sources; and international/Irish media sources (see Figure 4).

This analysis of source access and representation trends focuses on answering questions regarding *which* voices were included within the Irish 'quality' press forums analysed in this study (i.e. editorial, opinion/analysis/commentary and letters forums). Although these answers do not address the extent to which these sources *set* the media agenda (particularly since 'hard news' coverage was excluded from this sample), they do reveal some of the sourcing strategies relied upon by Irish media actors when covering the Iraq War. Having answered this question, this analysis then goes one step further in outlining some of the factors that can be inferred to have influenced these sourcing strategies.

There is general agreement within existing media research (including agenda-setting research) that journalists tend to mostly rely on political-official or institution-based

sources for information and perspectives (Bennett, 1990; Cook, 1998; Hallin, 1986). It is argued that most media reporting operates according to an 'elite model of source structure' (Reese, 1994: 94), that is based on a hierarchy of source access, which encourages media dependence on politically powerful and resource-rich sources (Hackett, 1991; Hackett and Zhao, 1996). Yet, wealth and power per se may be insufficient to secure preferential media access, as media sourcing strategies often calibrate to sources that possess the capacity to effect changes to the decision-making and policy processes relevant to the issues being covered (Entman and Page, 1994). In fact, it has been argued that so strong is this political calibration effect that media will ordinarily index their sourcing strategies to wherever 'the trail of political power may lead' (Alexseev and Bennett, 1995: 397). Media sourcing strategies and outcomes also vary in accordance with changes in foreign policy contexts. A particularly significant context factor here is the extent to which elite consensus or contest prevails within the wider political environment (Bennett, 1994). Moreover, given the 'globalized', 'transnational' and internationally contested nature of the Iraq War, we might expect that Irish journalistic sourcing strategies would lead to diverse 'trails'.

This study's findings strongly confirm the political calibration effect hypothesis. US political-official actors achieved the highest rates of access within both *The Irish Times* (23.84 percent) and the *Irish Independent* (26.95 percent), while this category was the second most frequently accessed source category within the *Sunday Independent* (16.36 percent). Irish political-official sources also fared relatively well and were the third most relied upon source category within both *The Irish Times* (11.85 percent) and the *Sunday Independent* (13.75 percent). However, the *Irish Independent*'s sourcing strategies diverged somewhat from this pattern, as only 6.34 percent of their total source assertions originated from Irish political-official actors. A further difference between the sourcing trends of the *Irish Independent* and *The Irish Times* and the *Sunday Independent* related to the degree to which they accessed British political-official sources. While these sources were the second most frequently accessed sources within the *Irish Independent* (represented within almost one in five of total source assertions), they only featured within 6.83 percent of *The Irish Times'* source assertions and 8.92 percent of the *Sunday Independent*'s source assertions (see Figure 4).

The media sourcing bias towards US political-official actors uncovered here is clearly related to its standing as the actor possessing the capacity to influence events and developments relating to the Iraq War. On the other hand, the sourcing bias towards Irish political-official actors (with the exception of the *Irish Independent*) is evidently influenced by the fact that the Iraq War attained the status of *salient issue* on the Irish political agenda, which, therefore, encouraged these newspapers to index Irish political-official actors. If the converse situation applied (i.e. if the Iraq War did not feature on the Irish political agenda), it is unlikely that the press would have sought to index their coverage to these political-official sources to the same extent. Similarly, the *Irish Independent*'s preference for indexing British political-official actors is again related to the fact that its columnists/journalists (mostly affiliated with the British press) were indexing sources within an establishment wherein the Iraq War was also an immensely salient political issue.

The other side of the implications of this political calibration effect is the minor rates of access accorded within these press forums (i.e. editorial, opinion/analysis/

commentary and letters forums) to each of the remaining categories of international political-official sources – including European, Russian, Arab, Iraqi, Turkish and Iranian sources. At first glance, the minor rate of representation accorded to European political positions on the Iraq War is remarkable given Ireland's membership of the EU. However, when one considers the 'real world' cues surrounding the EU's role during the Iraq crisis, the political calibration hypothesis again comes into play. Particularly, the EU's failure to enunciate a common position on the war and the exclusion of its core member states (France and Germany) from the arena of war meant that the Irish media's lens never rested on European political actors for very long.

Even lower levels of representation were achieved by Arab and Iraqi political-official sources. This, in effect, meant that these sources were not provided with any significant opportunities to challenge the perspectives of the most frequently voiced political-official sources (i.e. US, British and Irish political-official sources). As Arab and Iraqi political-official sources were situated *within* the geographic region which the war would impact so profoundly, one would have expected that the Irish press would have sought to represent these sources' perspectives more frequently. In this sense, it is likely that Ireland's relative lack of historical politico-cultural relations with Iraq and the Middle East, its lack of a strong press presence in the region, as well as a more general ethnocentric bias, might have influenced this trend.

The findings of this analysis also overwhelmingly confirm the findings of previous studies that civil society actors (both international and national categories) and relatively resource-poor actors are accorded far less media access than governmental or other institutional sources. Additionally, however, even highly prominent and well-resourced international actors, particularly the UN and its affiliated organizations, were rarely sourced. This finding appears even more extraordinary in light of the high levels of political and public support enjoyed by the UN within Ireland. However, 'real world' cues again influenced this trend. Since the UN's role in relation to the Iraq crisis was effectively 'sidelined' by the launch of the war itself, this meant that it was not a strong contender for access to an Irish press whose sourcing strategies were mostly calibrated to the most powerful global sources.

Taken collectively then, the Irish press's selective indexing of international sources outlined here has potentially profound implications for how the Irish public view the Iraq crisis, as it resulted in the virtual exclusion of an entire range of sources (both political and non-political) which could have been expected to level strong counter-arguments against the perspectives advanced by US, British and Irish political-official actors. Moreover, as outlined earlier, this study's findings are broadly in line with the findings advanced by other studies regarding the press's bias towards state/political institutional sources and their relative neglect of sources advancing alternative and/or oppositional perspectives (i.e. NGO, civil society and civilian sources). Particularly, this analysis confirms the political agenda-setting hypothesis that news tends to cover sources within the domestic political arena (i.e. Irish political-official sources), if the foreign issue that is being reported *has* established itself as a *salient issue* on the political agenda. However, because of the transnational nature of issues relating to the Iraq War, the 'trail' to political power that these newspaper sourcing strategies embarked upon also extended beyond this domestic political landscape. The political calibration hypothesis was used

in this study to explain these international sourcing 'trails'. This hypothesis posits that foreign press sourcing strategies will calibrate to the sources that exert the greatest influence and power over the events being reported (i.e. US political-official sources). Furthermore, like this study's analysis of the topical trends displayed by these newspapers, news source representations were also analysed as the outcomes of *interactions* between the 'real world' cues shaping sources' power, the wider political context and news production practices (i.e. sourcing strategies). Thus, when changes occur in the 'real world' cues of the international issue being reported on, or in the national political domain, one can expect changes to occur in the press's topical presentation patterns and sourcing strategies.

Conclusions

This article is based on a comprehensive, longitudinal and descriptive analysis of the coverage of developments in Iraq within the editorial, opinion/analysis/commentary and letters forums of three Irish 'quality' newspapers during the period from 1 September 2002 to 31 December 2007. It is concluded that press foreign issue agendas cannot be explained as the outcomes of any single factor. Instead, the picture that emerges from this study regarding the role of media and politics in setting the media agenda on the Iraq War is of an *interactive* media-political relationship. Thus, media agenda-setting is best conceptualized as the outcome of news-making processes that activate already-existing news values *in response* to 'real world' cues emanating from both the international and national political arenas.

For instance, the 'real world' cues supplied by the international political divides that were precipitated by the Iraq War and by the contested Irish political debates that accompanied the war supplied the kinds of *dramatic*, *conflict-oriented*, '*big news*' stories that the Irish press focused their lens upon. The fact that the US was *the* most powerful global player in the Iraq crisis and the fact that the Irish government promoted a 'special relations' discourse that was highly cognizant of the US position on the war, ensured that topics relating to US foreign policy fulfilled the news values of *national elitism*, *magnitude* and *meaningfulness*. On the other hand, topics relating to the British and European contexts fared less well because of the lack of fit achieved between the 'real world' characteristics of those contexts and prevailing news values. Within the international arena, Britain's role was a subsidiary one; while the lack of a unified voice emanating from the EU, as well as Germany and France's opposition to the war, meant that the EU was effectively a non-player during the Iraq crisis. Also, since Irish political debates emphasized US foreign policy topics far more prominently than EU and British foreign policy topics, it was more likely that the Irish press would locate *national relevance* or *meaningfulness* in US topics, rather than EU and British topics. This news value of *meaningfulness* was especially evident in the relatively strong tilting by two newspapers (*The Irish Times* and the *Sunday Independent*) towards topics concerned with Irish political and foreign policy debates on Iraq.

This study's analysis of source representation trends concluded that a pivotal role is played by the political calibration effect in influencing those trends. Because media tend to calibrate towards sources that possess the greatest capacity, or power to influence the

outcomes of the international events being reported on, US political-official sources achieved far higher rates of representation than all other categories of international political-official actors involved in the Iraq crisis. Moreover, in relation to the sourcing of political-official actors more generally, while the press forums analysed here (i.e. editorial, opinion/analysis/commentary and letters forums) displayed a discernible bias towards sourcing US, Irish and British political-official perspectives, they only accorded negligible rates of access to European, Iraqi, Arab and other international political-official actors. International and Irish NGO and other non-politico-institutional sources were also disproportionately underrepresented across all newspapers. Again, these sourcing trends are explained in terms of *interactions* between 'real world' cues, news production practices/values and factors defining the international and national political contexts. This finding (i.e. that the press granted greater representation to state-sponsored and other official perspectives, at the expense of alternative, or oppositional perspectives), is also broadly in line with political agenda-setting research, as is the finding that relatively high rates of press indexing of Irish political-official actors occurred precisely because issues relating to the Iraq War *did* achieve salience on the domestic political agenda.

A number of signposts for future research emerge from this analysis. First, this theoretical framework requires further empirical investigation. The analytic model applied in this study could be usefully enhanced by applying it to analyses of a more diverse range of media and foreign policy contexts. Particularly, such analyses could generate further hypotheses regarding the different weighted impacts that 'real world' cues, news values and international/national political factors exert on different foreign news construction processes. Also, since this analysis was limited to a descriptive content analysis of Irish 'quality' press coverage of the Iraq War, its theoretical framework could also be applied to more *qualitative* explorations of press foreign discourses. Such explorations would facilitate a more in-depth exploration of the *interactions* between media foreign issue agendas, 'real world' cues and political agendas.

Notes

1. See www.jnrs.ie/survey.htm (accessed 20 July 2009).

The author wishes to acknowledge the financial support received from the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences (IRCHSS), as part of its postdoctoral fellowship awards scheme. This fellowship is currently funding a research project titled: 'Media Representations and the Construction of Irish Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Contemporary Lebanon and Iraq'.

References

- Adoni, H., C.R. Bantz and A.A. Cohen (1990) *Social Conflict and Television News*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Alexseev, M.A. and W.L. Bennett (1995) 'For Whom the Gates Open: Journalistic Norms and Political Source Patterns in the United States, Great Britain and Russia', *Political Communication* 12(4): 395–412.
- Bennett, W.L. (1988) *News: The Politics of Illusion*, 2nd edn. New York: Longman.
- Bennett, W.L. (1990) 'Toward a Theory of Press–State Relations', *Journal of Communication* 40(2): 103–25.

- Bennett, W.L. (1994) 'The News about Foreign Policy', pp. 12–40 in W.L. Bennett and D.L. Paletz (eds) *Taken by Storm: The Media, Public Opinion and US Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Berkowitz, D. (1987) 'TV News Sources and News Channels: A Study in Agenda Building', *Journalism Quarterly* 64(2–3): 508–13.
- Berkowitz, D. and J. Terkeurst (1999) 'Community as Interpretive Community: Rethinking the Journalist–Source Relationship', *Journal of Communication* 49(3): 125–36.
- Billeaudaux, A., D. Domke, J.S. Hutcheson and P. Garland (2003) 'Newspaper Editorials Follow Lead of Bush Administration', *Newspaper Research Journal* 24(1): 166–84.
- Boyd-Barrett, O. (2004) 'Understanding the Second Casualty', pp. 25–42 in S. Allan and B. Zelizer (eds) *Reporting War: Journalism in Wartime*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Brady, C. (2005) *Up with the Times*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.
- Brown, R. (2003) 'Spinning the War: Political Communications, Information Operations and Public Diplomacy in the War on Terrorism', pp. 87–100 in D.K. Thussu and D. Freedman (eds) *War and the Media: Reporting Conflict 24/7*. London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi: Sage.
- Chang, T.K. (1998) 'All Countries not Created Equal to be News: World System and International Communication', *Communication Research* 25(5): 528–63.
- Ciofalo, A. and K. Traverso (1994) 'Does the Op-Ed Page Have a Chance to Become a Public Forum?', *Newspaper Research Journal* 15(4): 51–63.
- Coe, K., D. Domke, E.S. Graham, S. Lockett-John and V.W. Pickard (2004) 'No Shades of Gray: The Binary Discourse of George W. Bush and an Echoing Press', *Journal of Communication* 54(2): 234–52.
- Cook, T. (1998) *Governing with the News: The News Media as a Political Institution*. Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Day, A.G. and G. Golan (2005) 'Source and Content Diversity in Op-Ed Pages: Assessing Editorial Strategies in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*', *Journalism Studies* 6(1): 61–71.
- Dimitrova, D.V. and C. Connolly-Ahern (2007) 'A Tale of Two Wars: Framing Analysis of Online News Sites in Coalition Countries and the Arab World during the Iraq War', *The Howard Journal of Communication* 18(2): 153–68.
- Dimitrova, D.V. and J. Strömbäck (2005) 'Mission Accomplished? Framing of the Iraq War in the Elite Newspapers in Sweden and the United States', *Gazette* 67(5): 399–417.
- Doyle, J. (2004) 'Irish Diplomacy on the UN Security Council 2001–2: Foreign Policy-Making in the Light of Day', *Irish Studies in International Affairs* 15: 73–101.
- Dutta-Bergman, M.J. (2005) 'Operation Iraqi Freedom: Mediated Public Sphere as a Public Relations Tool', *Atlantic Journal of Communication* 13(4): 220–41.
- Eilders, C. (2002) 'Conflict and Consonance in Media Opinion: Political Positions of Five German Quality Newspapers', *European Journal of Communication* 17(1): 25–63.
- Eilders, C. and A. Luter (2000) 'Research Note: Germany at War – Competing Framing Strategies in German Public Discourse', *European Journal of Communication* 15(3): 415–28.
- Entman, R.M. and B.I. Page (1994) 'The News before the Storm: The Iraq War Debate and the Limits to Media Independence', pp. 82–104 in W.L. Bennett and D.L. Paletz (eds) *Taken by Storm: The Media, Public Opinion and US Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Fishman, M. (1980) *Manufacturing the News*. Austin: University of Texas.

- Foley, M. (2004) 'Colonialism and Journalism in Ireland', *Journalism Studies* 5(3): 373–85.
- Galtung, J. and M. Ruge (1965) 'The Structure of Foreign News: The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Newspapers', *Journal of Peace Research* 2(1): 65–91.
- Gamson, W.A. (1988) 'The 1987 Distinguished Lecture: A Constructionist Approach to Mass Media and Public Opinion', *Symbolic Interaction* 11(2): 161–74.
- Gamson, W.A. and A. Modigliani (1989) 'Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach', *American Journal of Sociology* 95(1): 1–37.
- Goddard, P., P. Robinson and K. Parry (2009) 'Patriotism Meets Plurality: Reporting the 2003 Iraq War in the British Press', *Media War and Conflict* 1(1): 9–30.
- Golan, G. (2006) 'Inter-Media Agenda Setting and Global News Coverage', *Journalism Studies* 7(2): 323–33.
- Hackett, R.A. (1989) 'Coups, Earthquakes and Hostages? Foreign News on Canadian Television', *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 22(4): 809–25.
- Hackett, R.A. (1991) *News and Dissent: The Press and the Politics of Peace in Canada*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing.
- Hackett, R.A. and Y. Zhao (1996) 'Journalistic Objectivity and Social Change', *Peace Review* 8(1): 5–11.
- Hafez, K. (2000) 'International News Coverage and the Problems of Media Globalization: In Search of a "New Global–Local Nexus"', pp. 3–24 in K. Hafez (ed.) *Islam and the West in the Mass Media: Fragmented Images in a Globalizing World*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Hallin, D. (1986) *The 'Uncensored War': The Media and Vietnam*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hallin, D. and P. Mancini (2004) *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harcup, T. and D. O'Neill (2001) 'What is News? Galtung and Ruge Revisited', *Journalism Studies* 2(2): 261–80.
- Hibbard, A.L. and T.A. Keenleyside (1995) 'The Press and the Persian Gulf Crisis: The Canadian Angle', *Canadian Journal of Communication* 20(2); at: www.cjc-online.ca/view-issue.php?id=36 (accessed 14 July 2009).
- Hoffman, L.H. and M.D. Slater (2007) 'Evaluating Public Discourse in Newspaper Opinion Articles: Values-Framing and Integrative Complexity in Substance and Health Policy Issues', *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 84(1): 58–74.
- Horgan, J. (2001) *Irish Media: A Critical History since 1922*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hynds, E.C. (1992) 'Editorial Page Editors Discuss Use of Letters', *Newspaper Research Journal* 13(1): 124–36.
- Iyengar, S. and A. Simon (1993) 'News Coverage of the Gulf Crisis and Public Opinion: A Study of Agenda-Setting, Priming and Framing', *Communication Research* 20(3): 365–83.
- Jablonski, P.M. and C. Sullivan (1996) 'Building the Terrorism Agenda, 1981–1994: The Media, the President and Real World Cues', *World Communication* 25(4): 191–201.
- Keeble, R. (2004) 'Information Warfare in an Age of Hyper-Militarism', pp. 43–58 in S. Allan and B. Zelizer (eds) *Reporting War: Journalism in Wartime*. London and New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.
- Kiberd, D. (ed.) (1997) *Media in Ireland: The Search for Diversity*. Portland, OR: Open Air.
- Kristensen, N.N. and M. Ørsten (2007) 'Danish Media at War: The Danish Media Coverage of the Invasion of Iraq in 2003', *Journalism* 8(3): 323–43.

- Lewis, J., R. Brookes, N. Mosdell and T. Threadgold (2006) *Shoot First and Ask Questions Later: Media Coverage of the 2003 Iraq War*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Lyons, P. (2005) 'Public Opinion in the Republic of Ireland: 2003', *Irish Political Studies* 20(1): 7–24.
- McLaughlin, G. (2002) *The War Correspondent*. London and Sterling, VA: Pluto Press.
- McLeod, D.M. and B.H. Detenber (1999) 'Framing Effects of Television News Coverage of Social Protest', *Journal of Communication* 49(3): 3–23.
- Meltzer, K. (2007) 'Newspaper Editorial Boards and the Practice of Endorsing Candidates for Official Office in the United States', *Journalism* 8(1): 83–103.
- Mermin, J. (1999) *Debating War and Peace: Media Coverage of US Intervention in the Post-Vietnam Era*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Meyer, D.S. (1995) 'Framing National Security: Elite Public Discourse on Nuclear Weapons during the Cold War', *Political Communication* 12: 173–92.
- Miller, D. (ed.) (2004) *Tell Me Lies: Propaganda and Media Distortion in the Attack on Iraq*. London: Pluto Press.
- Minear, L., C. Scott and T.G. Weiss (1996) *The News Media: Civil War and Humanitarian Action*. Boulder, CO, London: Lynne Rienner.
- Mishra, V.M. (1979) 'News from the Middle East in Five US Media', *Journalism Quarterly* 56(2): 374–8.
- Nohrstedt, S.A., S. Kaitatzis-Whitlock, R. Ottosen and K. Riegert (2000) 'From the Persian Gulf to Kosovo: War Journalism and Propaganda', *European Journal of Communication* 15(3): 383–404.
- O'Keefe, K.J. (2002) 'The Quality Press in Ireland: A Linguistic Analysis of Two Text Types', pp. 239–63 in A. Sanchez-Macarro (ed.) *Windows on the World: Media Discourse in English*. Valencia: Universitat de Valencia.
- Peterson, S. (1981) 'International News Selection by the Elite Press: A Case Study', *Public Opinion Quarterly* 45(2): 143–63.
- Pounds, G. (2006) 'Democratic Participation and Letters to the Editor in Britain and Italy', *Discourse and Society* 17(1): 29–63.
- Ravi, N. (2005) 'Looking beyond Flawed Journalism: How National Interests, Patriotism and Cultural Values Shaped the Coverage of the Iraq War', *Press/Politics* 10(1): 45–62.
- Rees, N. (2004) 'Ireland's Foreign Relations in 2003', *Irish Studies in International Affairs* 15: 205–28.
- Reese, S.D. (1991) 'Setting the Media's Agenda: A Power Balance Perspective', *Communication Yearbook* 14: 309–40.
- Reese, S.D. (1994) 'The Structure of News Sources on Television: A Network Analysis of "CBS News", "Nightline", "MacNeil/Lehrer" and "This Week with David Birkley"', *Journal of Communication* 44(2): 84–107.
- Reese, S.D. (2004) 'Militarized Journalism: Framing Dissent in the Persian Gulf Wars', pp. 247–65 in S. Allan and B. Zelizer (eds) *Reporting War: Journalism in Wartime*. London and New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.
- Robertson, J.W. (2004) 'People's Watchdogs or Government Poodles? Scotland's National Broadcasts and the Second Iraq War', *European Journal of Communication* 19(4): 457–82.
- Robinson, P. (2002) *The CNN Effect: The Myth of News, Foreign Policy and Intervention*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Scheufele, D.A. (1999) 'Framing as a Theory of Media Effects', *Journal of Communication* 49(1): 103–22.
- Scheufele, D.A. (2000) 'Agenda-Setting, Priming and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication', *Mass Communication and Society* 3(2–3): 297–316.
- Seib, P. (2002) *The Global Journalist: News and Conscience in a World of Conflict*. Lanham, MD and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Seib, P. (2004) 'The News Media and the "Clash of Civilizations"', *Parameters* 34(4): 71–85.
- Sigal, L. (1986) 'Sources Make the News', pp. 9–37 in R. Manoff and M. Schudson (eds) *Reading the News*. New York: Pantheon.
- Simon, A. and M. Xenos (2000) 'Media Framing and Effective Public Deliberation', *Political Communication* 17(4): 363–76.
- Smith, P. (2004) 'Feeding in the Peripatetic Press Tent: On Being an Irish Foreign Correspondent', *Studies* 93(369): 79–90.
- Sonwalkar, P. (2004) 'Out of Sight, Out of Mind: The Non-Reporting of Small Wars and Insurgencies', pp. 206–23 in S. Allan and B. Zelizer (eds) *Reporting War: Journalism in Wartime*. London and New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.
- Sparrow, B.H. (1999) *Uncertain Guardians: The News Media as a Political Institution*. Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Spencer, G. (2001) 'Keeping the Peace? Politics, Television News and the Northern Ireland Peace Process', *Irish Journal of Sociology* 10(2): 57–76.
- Thussu, D.K. (2003) 'Live TV and Bloodless Deaths: War, Infotainment and 24/7 News', pp. 117–32 in D.K. Thussu and D. Freedman (eds) *War and the Media: Reporting Conflict 24/7*. London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi: Sage.
- Tonra, B. (2006) *Global Citizen and European Republic: Irish Foreign Policy in Transition*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.
- Tuchman, G. (1978) *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: The Free Press.
- Tumber, H. and J. Palmer (2004) *Media at War: The Iraq Crisis*. London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi: Sage.
- Van Ginneken, J. (1998) *Understanding Global News: A Critical Introduction*. London: Sage.
- Van Poecke, L. (1988) 'The Myth and Rites of Newsmaking: Hard News versus Soft News, Facts are Sacred, Comment is Free', *European Journal of Communication* 14(1): 23–52.
- Walgrave, S. and P. Van Aelst (2006) 'The Contingency of the Mass Media's Political Agenda Setting Power: Toward a Preliminary Theory', *Journal of Communication* 56: 88–109.
- Wanta, W. (1992) 'The Influence of the President on the News Media and Public Agendas', *Mass Communication Review* 19: 14–21.
- Wolfsfeld, G. (1997) *Media and Political Conflict: News from the Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fonte: The International Communication Gazette, v. 72, n. 6, p. 443–464, 2010. [Base de Dados]. Disponível em: <www.sagepub.com>. Acesso em: 14 dez. 2010.