Media Agenda-Setting and Framing in the Second Gulf War

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By

Dorra Maalej

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ABSTRACT

The present study is a corpus-based investigation of the way American and British newspapers set the agenda for the reader and frame his attitude towards the reported event through the use of various reporting strategies, namely discourse presentation categories and sub-categories, subjectivity markers and reporting signals (mainly verbs). Four newspapers have been employed as study cases (two broadsheets and two tabloids); they are *The Washington Post* (a U.S. broadsheet), *The Times* (a U.K. broadsheet), *New York Daily News* (a U.S. tabloid) and *The Mirror* (a U.K. tabloid). They have been confined to the coverage of the Second Gulf War which was a newsworthy event that appeared as a lead story all over the world and elicited controversial opinions. The four papers were surveyed by means of manual tagging as well as the concordancer *MicroConcord* aiming at detecting similarities between American and British newspapers, in general, and differences between broadsheets and tabloids, in particular, in their agenda-setting and framing processes. The study has revealed similarities and differences between U.S. and U.K. newspapers and their internal serious and popular sub-divisions in their presentation of the war. The similarities are mostly motivated by issue-sensitivity while the differences are motivated by generic and country-based constraints.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF ACRONYMS

BNC	The British National Corpus
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CMA	Critical Metaphor Analysis
DS	Direct Speech
DT	Direct Thought
DW	Direct Writing
FDS	Free Direct Speech
FDT	Free Direct Thought
FDW	Free Direct Writing
FIS	Free Indirect Speech
FIT	Free Indirect Thought
FIW	Free Indirect Writing
GB	Great Britain
IS	Indirect Speech
IT	Indirect Thought
IW	Indirect Writing
KWIC	Key Word In Context
LOB	Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen
LLC	The London-Lund Corpus
M	*The Mirror*
MIP	Most Important Problem
NC	Narrative Conjunctions
NI	Narration of Internal States
NLP	Natural Language Processing
NMS	Narrative Modal Stance
NRS	Narrator's Report of Speech
NRSA	Narrator's Representation of Speech Acts
NRT	Narrator's Report of Thought
NRTA	Narrator's Representation of Thought Acts
NRW	Narrator's Report of Writing
NRWA	Narrator's Representation of Writing Acts
NV	Narrator's Representation of Voice
NW	Narrator's Representation of Writing

NYDN	*New York Daily News*
SP	Speech Presentation
ST&WP	Speech, Thought and Writing Presentation
SW&TP	Speech, Writing and Thought Presentation
T	*The Times*
TP	Thought Presentation
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
WP	*The Washington Post*
WP	Writing Presentation

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

0.1 Background to the Study

Media discourse has increasingly become the focus of ongoing research due to its pervasiveness in people's lives. Indeed, "We live," as Jones and Jones (1999, p. 4) put it, "in a media-saturated world, where the media are all around us, where new technology has shrunk the globe and made global communication commonplace." It is one of the most influential discourses in society, ideally meant to be a means of information and a neutral mirror of reality, while in fact it is a means of "misinformation," "misrepresentation" and "distortion" (Bell, 1991). Many linguistic approaches to news discourse such as Content Analysis (Hogben & Waterman, 1997), Semiotics (Glasgow University Media Group, 1980) and Critical Linguistics (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979; Wodak, 1997) have challenged the objectivity of news, trying to unveil the ideologies that underpin media texts.

 Most communication studies have primarily focused on media effects on the audiences exposed to them. The power of the mass media to influence public opinion is acknowledged by a multitude of scholars such as Curran (2002, p. 158) who asserts that "[t]he conviction … that the media are important agencies of influence is broadly correct." They are actually viewed as powerful propaganda tools serving to mystify people and influence their attitudes and behavior by giving them a mediated version of reality and making them accept at face value all that is conveyed to them. The mass media are persuasive forces not only in what they cover but also in how they present it (Jamieson & Campbell, 1997).

Media effects research has undergone, as reviewed by McQuail (1994) and Macnamara (2003), different changes in paradigms. McQuail (1994) has divided the history of research on media effects into four stages:

Stage One: It began in the turn of the 20th century and finished in the late 1930s. It was characterized by the paradigm of strong media effects whose central premise is that media messages change people's attitudes.

Stage Two: It finished in the late 1960s. It was distinguished by the minimal media effects model which centres upon the belief that the mass media do not always change existing attitudes but reinforce them, stressing the active role of the audience in deciding what to learn from media outlets.

Stage Three: It began in the 1970s and was marked by the cognitive media effects model which highlights the strong impact of mass communication on public thinking (see Chapter One).

Stage Four: It began in the early 1980s till now and is typified by *Social Constructivism.* This stage combines elements of both strong and limited media effects. Strong effects are reflected in the powerful ability of the mass media to construct social reality through framing, whereas limited effects are manifested in the interaction between the media and recipients.

Macnamara (2003), on the other hand, has reviewed the evolution of media effects research referring to the following theories:

1. Direct Effects Theory: A theory, which dominated thinking during the first half of the 20th century, based on the assumption that the media have direct effects on the audiences who were perceived as passive information receivers. It was also known as the "transmissional" or "hypodermic" model of mass media.

2. Minimal or Limited Effects Theory: A theory, which appeared in the late 1950s, rejecting the direct effects thinking of earlier research, arguing that the mass media major effect is attitude reinforcement rather than attitude change. The limited influence of the mass media was supported by the "pluralist" view of society and the "uses and gratifications" perspective.

3. Neo-Marxist Cultural Studies View of the Media: A theory, which reversed the limited media effects, centred on the belief that the mass media subtly influence and control audiences through cultural hegemony which is, according to Lull (2000, p. 54), "a process of convergence, consent and subordination" (see Chapter Two).

4. Political Economy Views of the Media: A theory based on the conviction that the mass media are highly influenced by political and economic organizations in society.

5. Political Economy─'Public Sphere' Theory: A theory conceiving of the mass media as a public sphere of debate based on reason and logic. It was criticized because of its "idealisation of public reason" (Curran, 2002, p. 45).

6. 'New Audience Research' Cultural Studies View of the Media: A theory stressing the active participation of the audience in interpreting media texts, and hence limiting the all-powerful effects of the media.

7. Synthesis of Views/Integrated Theory: A theory emphasizing that interpretations and perceptions are not only influenced by media representations but also by other factors such as race, ethnicity,

education, etc. along with interrelationships such as family, peers, work groups, etc. The afore-mentioned media effects theories are summarized in Figure 0-1, extracted from Macnamara (2003, p. 10).

MEDIA EFFECTS THEORIES

Direct Effects
Media assumed as all-powerful; audience as passive recipients

Minimal or Limited Effects Theory
Joseph Klapper, Katz & Lazarsfeld found most common impact of media communication was reinforcement, not change

Cultural Studies – Neo-Marxist
Media seen as powerful agents for ideological hegemony by ruling elites & capitalism. Assumed major effects

Political Economy
Media seen as part of political & economic structure; agents of Powerful institutions & capitalism. Assumed major effects

Political Economy – 'Public Sphere' Theory
Habermas proposed media were a public forum for all. This view widely dismissed as 'romanticized' and naive

Cultural Studies – 'New Audience Research'
'Ethnographic turn' introduced recognition of audiences as active interpreters of texts and texts as polysemic. Shifted focus to audiences & viewed media as less influential

Synthesis of Views/Integrated Theory
Media are influential but through a matrix of factors including audience education, race, sex, religion, etc., access to alternative discourse (eg. family, peers) diversity of media, etc.

Figure 0-1. Summary of evolution of media effects theory.

To conclude, despite their limitation, the mass media effects on the public are undeniable. Indeed, the media exert considerable control over the audience knowledge, attitudes and behavior. They not only set the agenda for people by determining what issues to think about but also frame their attitudes and opinions by determining how to think about these issues. Thus, agenda-setting and framing are important media processes due to their influential role in affecting news consumers. Both theories of media effects─McQuail (1994) and Macnamara (2003)─will be studied together in the current book since they are intertwined; therefore, focusing research on only one or the other would underestimate the total impact of media on people.

Regarding the selection of the Second Gulf War as our topic of study, it is motivated by the controversial opinions this conflict has induced about its rationale, legality, development and losses. Indeed, there was a controversy over the real reasons behind this military invasion, and therefore its legality. Bassil (2012, pp. 29-31), for instance, distinguishes between two kinds of goals, which are the following:

- Official Statement Objectives: They are overt reasons consisting in (a) abolishing Saddam Hussein's dictatorial regime and establishing a transition democratic government representative of all Iraqi communities, (b) eliminating weapons of mass destruction which represent a threat to the world─including the United States (US), (c) destroying pockets of support for terrorism as Iraq is conceived of as an ally of Al Qaeda and (d) protecting oil wealth which will serve to reconstruct the country.
- Informal Statement Objectives: They are covert reasons consisting in (a) installing a new democratic government in Iraq to serve U.S. interests, (b) placing U.S. troops and bases permanently in Iraq to have control over the Persian Gulf and (c) taking control of Iraqi oil.

As far as the legality of the war is concerned, this issue caused, as highlighted by Bassil (2012, p.31), a United Nation (U.N.) diplomatic dispute between the *Axis of the War* and the *Axis of Peace*. The former axis includes countries─mainly the US, the United Kingdom (UK) and Australia─supporting the use of force against Iraq since it still holds weapons of mass destruction, and therefore represents an international threat. The Axis of Peace, on the other hand, includes countries─mainly France, Germany and Russia─opposing to this military intervention and considering it illegal since it lacks the approval of the U.N. Security Council.

What is worth noting is that the legality of Operation Iraqi Freedom was critically assessed by many scholars such as Bellamy (2003), Sifris (2003) and Schmitt (2006) who shed light on the controversial debate about the main arguments put forward to justify this war. Bellamy (2003), for instance, argued that the first argument—the use of force was authorized on the basis of a string of existing U.N. Security Council resolutions—is illegal since neither the resolutions passed at the time of the First Gulf War nor Resolution 1441, passed in November 2002, provide implicit authorization for sub-sequent use of force. The second argument—the invasion was a preemptive self-defense act—has no legal basis because, to borrow Schmitt's (2006, p. 375) words, "there [wasn't] any compelling evidence of Iraq distributing weapons of mass destruction to transnational terrorists or in any other way directing or sponsoring specific and imminent attacks on the United States." Finally, the third argument—the war fell within the scope of humanitarian intervention to put an end to the human rights abuses committed by Saddam's regime—is, according to Sifris (2003, p. 558), the most controversial since even though human intervention is legally flawed pursuant to the U.N. Charter, the law relating to this doctrine is undergoing a paradigm shift, allowing military intervention in case of grave human rights violations.

The U.S.-led war in Iraq had also induced some contradictions in content between U.S. and non-U.S. coverage mostly related to the conflict rationale, the development of military operations and the total number of casualties on both sides. It was, as pinpointed by Kellner (2004, p. 69), diversely framed by the U.S. networks which presented it as "Operation Iraqi Freedom" or "War in Iraq," and other broadcasting networks such as the Canadian CBC which used the logo "War on Iraq," and various Arab networks which talked of an "invasion" and "occupation." Comparing these networks, Kellner (2004, p. 74) argued that "two different wars [were] being presented" as U.S. broadcasting networks tended to present a sanitized view of the war ignoring Iraqi casualties and highlighting the U.S. victory and the evils of Saddam Hussein while Canadian, British and other European, and Arab broadcasting networks presented harrowing pictures of civilian casualties and the horrors of war, including looting, anarchy and chaos. These multiple framings were motivated by their producers' ideological attitudes towards the war and its major parties. Hence, all of the afore-mentioned factors make this topic worth studying.

0.2 The Theoretical Framework

The present research is multidisciplinary for it is at the crossroads of a wide range of subject areas such as stylistics, pragmatics, cognitive linguistics, corpus linguistics and computational linguistics. All these fields will be briefly dealt with in the coming sub-sections.

0.2.1 Stylistics

It is a branch of linguistics concerned with the study of style in written and spoken discourse. Style belongs, according to Leech and Short (1981, p. 10), to Saussure's notion of *parole* since "it refers to the way in which language is used in a given context, by a given person, for a given purpose, and so on." It is defined by Wales (1989, pp. 435-436) as "variation in language use, be it literary or non-literary, which may vary from one situation to another, one genre to another, one period to another and even one author to another." Stylistics studies this linguistic variation aiming at (i) identifying stylistically significant or distinctive features, (ii) uncovering the reasons behind their choice in preference to other alternatives and (iii) classifying them into categories based upon their function in the social context (Crystal & Davy, 1969). Thus, stylistics goes beyond the descriptive phase up to the interpretative one linking linguistic choices to their (social) functions. In this respect, Wales (1989) states that:

> The goal of most stylistic studies is not simply to describe the FORMAL features or texts for their own sake, but in order to show their FUNCTIONAL significance for the interpretation of the text; in order to relate literary effects to linguistic 'causes' where these are felt relevant. (pp. 437-438)

Stylistic analysis was traditionally associated with written literary texts; it was concerned with (i) the linguistic habits of a particular author (i.e. authorial style), (ii) language use in a particular genre, period, school of writing and (iii) some combination of these (Leech & Short, 1981, p. 11). Later, it was applied to non-literary texts such as news reports which are the focus of the present book. Indeed, stylisticians, mainly Crystal and Davy (1969), Freeborn (1996) and Thorne (1997) have argued that newspapers are stylistically eclectic since they have distinctive reporting styles. They have referred to the classification of newspapers into tabloids and broadsheets, highlighting their differences in graphology, grammar, vocabulary, etc. These stylistic disparities have been attributed to their different readership profiles (Crystal & Davy, 1969; Duff & Shindler, 1984;

etc.) and to their different political leanings and ideologies (Duff & Shindler, 1984; Freeborn, 1996; etc.).

In short, stylistics is a field of paramount importance to this research which is a comparative study investigating stylistic variations between American and British tabloids and broadsheets. These include their choice of reporting strategies, namely discourse presentation categories, using the Leech and Short fine-tuned stylistic model, and reporting signals (see Chapter Four).

0.2.2 Pragmatics

It is a branch of linguistics studying communication, precisely the principles governing language use and "the way in which meanings are constructed or calculated within particular contexts of interaction" (Wilson, 1990, p. 3). It is, in other words, as defined by Marmaridou (2000, p. 61), "the study of the use of language to structure reality as meaningful experience." Interest in pragmatics originates in the growing dissatisfaction among linguists with the semantic accounts of language phenomena, specifically the mathematical, logical and truth-conditional ones. The rise of this subject area is motivated by a number of reasons summed up by Levinson (1983, pp. 35-38) as follows:

1. Chomsky's treatment of language as an abstract device, or mental ability, dissociable from the uses, users and functions of language.
2. Semanticists' isolation of intractable phenomena like presuppositions, speech acts and other context-dependent implications, together with troublesome phenomena like honorifics and discourse particles.
3. The growing realization that there is a very substantial gap between current linguistic theories and accounts of linguistic communication.

Pragmatics is of great relevance to the current work which examines the use of reporting techniques in a discourse highly governed by context-sensitivity and intentionality. Indeed, news reporting is a subjective discourse mediating the reporter's value-laden attitudes towards the reported state of affairs through the very selection of the reporting inquit (Triki, 1989) and mode (Maalej, 2002). These intentional selections are context-sensitive and require the analyst to mobilize powers of inference in order to understand the journalist's purpose behind them.

0.2.3 Cognitive linguistics

It is a subject area "concerned with investigating the relationship between human language, the mind and socio-physical experience" (Evans, Bergen, & Zinken, 2007, p.2) and seeing language as a tool to organize, process, and convey information (Geeraerts, 2006, p.3). This cognitive approach to language emerged in the 1970s as a reaction to formal approaches to language such as generative linguistics[1] and was developed by a multitude of scholars mainly Johnson (1987) and Lakoff (1990).

Lakoff (1990), for instance, considers cognitive linguistics as a scientific enterprise defined by two primary commitments, namely the *Generalization Commitment* and *the Cognitive Commitment*. The former represents, according to this cognitive linguist (1990, p.40), "a commitment to characterizing the general principles governing all aspects of human language," while the latter represents "a commitment to make one's account of human language accord with what is generally known about the mind and the brain."

The cognitive linguistics enterprise has made, as reviewed by Evans et al. (2007, pp. 29-30), some notable achievements. First, it has given rise, thanks to its two key commitments, to an integrated approach to language and thought. Second, it has refocused interest on the empiricist perspective, and thus reopened channels of investigation into language and mind taking into account embodiment, experience and usage. Third, it has extended the range of conceptual phenomena studied by cognitive scientists by providing an approach for examining the richness and complexity of the human imagination. Finally, it has integrated formalist and functionalist concerns as it is concerned with not only achieving descriptive adequacy but also modelling language as a cognitive phenomenon.

This subject area is of great significance to the present research which approaches media discourse from a cognitive perspective following the tenets and methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). Indeed, these two cognitive-based frameworks are concerned with analysing discourse, focusing on linguistic structures (CDA) and metaphoric choices (CMA) which, they believe, are ideologically invested. In the same vein, this work is devoted to demonstrating, empirically as well as analytically, the way news reporting encodes ideology through the very choice of the reporting mode and inquit.

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[1] Generative linguistics is viewed by Lakoff (1990, p. 43) as a philosophical program studying linguistics in terms of systems of combinatorial mathematics "in which arbitrary symbols are manipulated by rules of a restricted mathematical form without taking into account the interpretation of those symbols."

0.2.4 Corpus linguistics

It is a field concerned with the study of linguistic phenomena through a corpus which is, to quote Krieger (2003), "a databank of natural texts, compiled from writing and/or a transcription of recorded speech." The collected texts can also be from the same language or different languages and from the same genre or different genres. The potential diversity of corpora is highlighted by Stubbs (2001) who maintains that a corpus:

> … could be a collection from a given text type… or it could be designed to sample as wide a range of text types as possible, including written and spoken, formal and informal, fiction and non-fiction, language produced by or for children and adults, and texts from different historical periods. (p. 25)

Corpus-based language research has considerably grown in the last decades thanks to the use of computing facilities which provide linguists with not only large collections of texts in electronic format but also software programs to process them. See the coming sub-section for more information about computational linguistics.

There exist, as enumerated and defined by the University of Essex (n.d.), a multitude of computer-readable corpora, some of which are:

The Brown Corpus: It is considered as the first modern, electronically readable corpus of Standard American English. It consists of one million words of American English texts sampled from 15 different text categories such as press, religion, fiction, etc.

The Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen (LOB) Corpus: It is a corpus of British English made to match the Brown corpus. It, therefore, consists of one million words of British English texts─500 texts of 2,000 words each─ sampled from 15 text categories as well.

The London-Lund Corpus (LLC): It is the first machine-readable corpus of spoken British English. It consists of five hundred thousand words of orthographically transcribed texts of different categories, such as spontaneous conversation, spontaneous commentary, spontaneous and prepared oration, etc.

The Bank of English (BoE): It is a large corpus of British spoken and written texts launched in 1991. It consists, as shown in its latest release (1996), of three hundred and twenty million words due to the constant addition of new material to it.

The British National Corpus (BNC): It is another large but finite corpus of both spoken and written texts released in 1995. It consists of one hundred million words of texts of different styles and varieties and not limited to any particular subject field, genre or register.

Corpus linguistics has many advantages. It enables, according to Biber, Conrad, and Reppen (1998), empirical analysis of patterns of actual usage in large databases of naturally-occurring discourse. It also "provides," as Krieger (2003) put it, "a more objective view of language than that of introspection, intuition and anecdotes" and "can investigate almost any language patterns – lexical, structural, lexico-grammatical, discourse, phonological, morphological – often with very specific agendas… ." Corpus-based approach has been applied to different research areas such as grammar, lexicography, stylistics, computational linguistics, etc. It is of great relevance to the present study which investigates the use of reporting strategies by the British and American print media through a sample computerized corpus of news articles drawn from different U.K. and U.S. newspapers. To have more information about this corpus, see Chapter Four.

0.2.5 Computational linguistics

It is an interdisciplinary field integrating computer science in linguistics by studying human language from a computational perspective. It is concerned, as maintained by the Association for Computational Linguistics (2000), with "providing computational models of various kinds of linguistic phenomena. These models may be 'knowledge-based' ('hand-crafted') or 'data-driven' ('statistical' or 'empirical')." It is, in other words, a field centred around processing natural language using computers. This is known as *Natural Language Processing* (NLP) which is a research area acting as (i) "a computational technology" offering the users a set of computer systems dealing with language such as machine translation, human-machine conversation, etc. and (ii) "a method of linguistic investigation" offering a set of sub-systems serving to survey and evaluate linguistic phenomena such as parsing, tagging, etc. (Triki & Sellami-Baklouti, 2002, p. 10).

What is worth mentioning is that the computer can operate at the different levels of text processing which are, as enlisted by Butler (1985), the graphological, the phonological, the lexical, the syntactic and the semantic levels. It basically functions, according to Triki and Sellami-Baklouti (2002, p. 17), as a counting device performing complex calculations at a very high speed and as an assorting device producing word lists, concordances, frequencies, etc.

Computational linguistics has been applied to various fields such as lexicography, language teaching, corpus linguistics, etc. It is of high relevance to the current research which uses not only computer-readable collections of news reports but also a concordance software as an instrument to process them. This computer program serves to conduct different

computational operations such as generating frequency lists (see Chapter Four for further details).

0.2.6 Towards a synthesis

To conclude, this study, as has been shown in the afore-mentioned sub-sections, draws upon a multitude of disciplines. It is related to:

(i) stylistics through its study of the stylistic disparities between tabloids and broadsheets.

(ii) pragmatics through its reliance on the parameter of context, on speaker intention and on analyst inference.

(iii) cognitive linguistics through its cognitive-based approaches to media discourse, namely Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Metaphor Analysis.

(iv) corpus linguistics through its examination of a sample corpus of American and British press.

(vi) computational linguistics through its utilization of a computerized corpus as well as a computer software to process it.

In short, the present work opts for an interdisciplinary approach since dealing with media discourse exclusively from one particular perspective does not account for the complexity of such mediated discourse.

0.3 Statement of the Problem

This corpus-based study is aimed to be a potential contribution to the ongoing research projects that point toward unveiling the ideological role of media discourse in affecting public thinking and shaping its world-views with special focus on reporting strategies and inquits[2]. It is based on two major hypotheses. They are the following:

H1: There are differences between broadsheets and tabloids, be they American or British, in their representation of the Second Gulf War.

H1.1 American broadsheets and tabloids do not report the Second Gulf War in the same way.

H1.2 British broadsheets and tabloids do not report the Second Gulf War in the same way.

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[2] Inquits (Triki & Bahloul, 2001) is a technical term referring to reporting signals (see Thompson's (1994) Taxonomy in Sub-section 4.2.4). It is interchangeable with Johnstone's (1987) *narrative introducers* and Collins's (2001) *tags*.

H1.3 American and British broadsheets and tabloids do not report the
Second Gulf War in the same way.

H2: There are similarities between American and British newspapers, be
they broadsheets or tabloids, in their representation of the Second
Gulf War.

H2.1 American and British broadsheets report the Second Gulf War in
the same way.

H2.2 American and British tabloids report the Second Gulf War in the
same way.

These distinctions, at both the generic and geopolitical levels, are assumed
to be conditioned by different factors as discourse structure, issue-
sensitivity, political affiliations and ideological frameworks.

To test the validity of the above-mentioned hypotheses and sub-
hypotheses, the current book uses agenda-setting and framing strategies as
testing grounds due to their influential effects on the audience. They are
quantitatively investigated through their textual manifestations, namely
discourse presentation categories and sub-categories, subjectivity markers
and reporting signals. They are also qualitatively analyzed in terms of their
modal significance. What is meant by the notion of modality is, to use
Palmer's (1986, p. 16) definition, "the grammaticalization of speakers'
(subjective) attitudes and opinions." It is, hence, a prominent vehicle in
expressing point of view and ideology in language (Caffey & Janney, 1994)
and revealing the speaker's stance towards both the addressee and the
statement (Triki, 1989).

To conclude, this research project is an attempt to examine the agenda-
setting and framing functions of media discourse in a sample corpus of news
reports covering the Second Gulf War. It aims at (i) showing how these two
processes are linguistically manifested in American as well as British
broadsheets and tabloids, (ii) exploring their modal implications, and (iii)
checking whether these similarities or differences are conditioned by
generic constraints, geopolitical affiliations, subject matter and the latent
ideologies of representative sections of the American and British written
news media.

0.4 Research Questions

In line with the afore-highlighted hypotheses and objectives, the current
basically qualitative research revolves around the following questions: