

# **Circuits of Journalism: Mediating Irishness in the Digital Diaspora Press**

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A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy

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September 2019

## Declaration

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## Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to take the opportunity to express sincere appreciation and endless gratitude to my supervisor Dr Eugenia Siapera for her guidance, time, patience and unyielding support over the past few years. With her help, I have achieved more than I thought possible and have had opportunities open to me that I could have never imagined.

This research would not have been possible but for the substantial scholarship from the Irish Research Council, which allowed me to explore a wide range of theory and methods, and from the support of the School Communications in DCU over the final few months.

I would like to thank Dr Jane Suiter for her support and advice at crucial stages of my progression which was invaluable. Similarly, I would like to thank Dr Eileen Culloty for her support, encouragement over the past few years.

Dr Siapera, Dr Suiter and Dr Culloty were constant supports and provided opportunities to expand my fields of knowledge and practice as well as engage with a range of research that has helped me understand what can be achieved through research and academia.

Special thanks to the Heads of School, Professor Pat Brereton and Professor Kevin Rafter who have been supportive during my PhD research. Additionally, I would like to thank the wider support network in DCU for their insights, particularly Dr Jim Rogers and Dr Declan Fahy, and the faculty of the School of Communications who provided feedback during various stages of presenting this work.

Finally, my utmost thanks and gratitude goes to my mother Ann, siblings, Una, Bronagh and Lorcan, nieces Orlaith and Roisin for their support, concern and constant faith that I could do this. And to my father who was always with me in spirit. Additionally, many thanks to my dear friends whose support, confidence and understanding helped me get where I am today.

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## ABSTRACT

### Circuits of Journalism: Mediating Irishness in the Digital Diaspora Press

Niamh Kirk

This thesis addresses the process representing Ireland and Irishness in the digital diaspora press. It examines the production of diaspora journalism in the hybrid media environment through the lens of the circuit of cultural production, establishing journalistic and cultural influences on the process of representing Irishness.

Diaspora journalism has important implications for recreating ethnic identity among the deterritorialised Irish audience, but little is understood about what aspects of Irish culture diaspora news media represent or to what extent these representations can be regarded as homogeneous across different hostlands.

This research establishes that there are regional differences in both what stories about Ireland are reproduced in the diaspora press and how Irishness is represented. It identifies a range of material, organisational and cultural factors from journalism that shape what diaspora newsrooms can produce as well as how news is presented and distributed. Additionally it identifies how historically situated hybrid identities of the Irish diaspora communities influence the editorial agenda and shape the various representations of Irishness.

The focus of analysis is on Irish digital diasporic news organisations, comparing how news titles in Ireland and in the diasporic press in the USA, UK and Australia mediated Irish identity over six months in 2016. It interviews diaspora editors to understand the contexts on which diaspora journalism is produced and the thinking behind news selection and presentation. It compares the volume of news flows of the most pervasive categories and topics in different regions, highlighting similarities and difference in the regional editorial agendas. And a framing analysis of cases reveals differences in how Irish current affairs are framed in each region and how Irishness identified is represented.

This paper highlights the importance of diaspora news media's role in shaping ethnic identities as they respond and represent homeland current affairs. It reveals tensions among different Irish diasporic news media and the homeland, in particular, over how the transnational ethnic group should be conceptualised and represented as well as challenges to traditionalist views of the homeland and re-imaginings difficult or traumatic aspects of homeland history.

# Chapter One: Introduction

This research addresses how the Irish digital diaspora news industry represents Irish national identity and what influences Irish diasporic news production. It details what news stories about Ireland are presented in the Irish digital diaspora press, how Irishness is represented and the influential factors that shape diaspora news content. It approaches diaspora journalism as a hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2017) that conceptualises the production of journalism as a multi-stage process (Schudson, 1989) and, as such, uses a modified version of the circuit of cultural production (Hall *et al.*, 2013) to systematically work through the processes of producing cultural representations in news. It begins by examining the contexts in which the production process originates, including material, organisational and cultural factors that can shape how journalists go about their work. It follows this by establishing the editorial agendas of diasporic news websites in different regions and maps the news flows from Ireland to the diaspora press to compare the regional news agendas regarding Ireland. Finally, it examines the representation of Irishness in three prevalent case studies: the 1916 Centenary, the topic of Migration, and Irish Fans at the Euros 2016.

This introductory chapter establishes the background to the study and why it is important to understand the Irish diaspora press. It then offers an overview of the literature on diaspora journalism to date, identifying the gaps regarding the material realities and impact of digitisation on diaspora journalism as well as the need for comparative research that approaches cultural production as a process. It then articulates the purpose and contribution of this study, the scope and methodology, and finally, outlines the structure of the thesis.

## 1.1 Background

Migration from Ireland has been ongoing for hundreds of years and Irish migrants have established countless communities in new countries while maintaining links with home via news media. These migrant communities are regarded as giving the small nation of Ireland an amplified voice on the world stage (Kenny, 2016). However, migration from Ireland has been multi-directional as well as multi-generational, with

different push and pull factors as well as differences in experiences of resettlement and integration with cultures in new countries.

The enhanced connectivity brought about by digital technologies has increased the volume and pace of communication among the Irish transnationally. As diaspora media in different parts of the world reproduce news from Ireland, it has revealed differences and tensions among diaspora communities and people Ireland regarding the ‘correct’ interpretations and representations of Irishness (Kirk, 2019). Additionally, with the lack of geographic barriers to news distribution online, the Irish diaspora news media are increasingly integrated into the Irish digital media system, with diaspora media journalism appearing on newsfeeds on social media along with national media. While Ireland’s voice might be amplified, it is not clear how this part of Ireland’s media system conceptualise or represent Irishness.

While the Irish national media have been the subject of many studies, we know very little about the Irish diaspora news media or how they represent Ireland to diasporas and the wider world. We do not understand what types of news organisations comprise the Irish diaspora press, what types of news they produce or how they represent contemporary Ireland.

Initiatives in Ireland such as #HometoVote, where recent Irish emigrants chronicle their return journeys to Ireland on social media during election times, have revitalised proposals to extend the right to vote in some elections to Irish people living abroad. Additionally, to enhance the ties with Irish communities abroad the Irish government has proposed a regular event called the Gathering to call Irish diasporas to find, connect with and visit family in Ireland.

Given the increased outreach from Ireland and connectivity among the Irish communities globally, as well as the potential for the formalisation of the relationship with Irish diasporas through the right to vote, it is critical to understand the news media that provide important information about modern-day Irish society, politics and culture, and what it is they say about Ireland and the Irish.

## **1.2 Diaspora News in a Changing Ecosystem**

This study addresses parallel developments in the study of journalism and diaspora media to understand the Irish digital diaspora press today – in particular, the digitisation of the news industry, the resulting increased online news flow between

and among migrant communities and, in Ireland, tensions arising from the representation of Irish identity in diaspora news titles.

### **1.2.1 Adapting to Digital Journalism**

The first development is the significant shift towards digitisation of the news industry as a whole. Over the past twenty years, the mainstream journalism industry has undergone radical changes in production norms as news media incorporated digital production practices and frequently came to prioritise digital production and distribution (Franklin, 2016). News organisations have had to cope with adapting to a new environment where values and practices of news media merge with the approaches of traditional journalism, reshaping news production at not just the technological, but at the organisational and institutional levels (Chadwick, 2017). In this regard, hybridity is about more than the production and distribution dynamics of content across old and new media; it must include the evolutions in media logics or the associated genres, norms, behaviours and organisational forms. Along with this came a wave of innovation in the industry, as well as severe disruption to traditional revenue streams as news titles sought the most efficient ways to monetise online content (Pavlik, 2000; Scott, 2005; Franklin, 2016; Bell, 2017).

While the digital transition was negatively impacting the revenue and resources available to mainstream news organisations, Irish diaspora news media seemed to be engaging in mergers and expanding their operations, making inroads into the Irish news market and appearing more regularly on Ireland's social media distribution trending lists such as Crowdtangle and Newswhip. For example, the *Irish Central* merged with *Global Irish* and expanded its reach beyond Irish America to distribute to Irish migrants across the globe (O'Halloran, 2013). The *Irish Central* launched an innovative and accessible social media project based in Ireland, the @Ireland Twitter handle, which allows a person who identifies as Irish to run the account for a week. Similarly, in the UK, when an ambitious start-up TV channel, Irish TV, dedicated to the Irish diaspora, went into receivership it was bought up by an established British-based diaspora news media organisation, the *Irish Post*, and it digitised (Slattery, 2016). Around the same time, the Australian current affairs magazine *Tintean* stopped publishing its monthly paper and moved entirely online.

It was difficult to tell whether the diaspora press was ‘doing better’ than the mainstream news media in terms of navigating the treacherous and evolving digital landscape. These developments did not fit in with the dominant narrative of diaspora news organisations or the dire finances of mainstream news. Consequently, how the diaspora news media were adapting to the hybrid media system called for further attention. Popular knowledge would consider them smaller, amateur operations made up of migrant volunteers who were keen to retain their relationship with the homeland. However, an examination of the Irish diaspora news websites showed that, regarding format, output and journalistic styles, they were not unlike Irish national news media. They have professionally built websites, carried many of the same news categories and had progressive audience engagement strategies across a range of digital media. However, websites can be deceiving and look more professional than what is going on behind the screens.

Research in journalism studies has long established that the political economy, the revenue, resources and organisation of journalism can impact production and influence the news that is produced (Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Schudson, 2002; Mansell, 2003; McChesney, Robert and Schiller, 2003; Bagdikian, 2004). In the absence of research that addresses this regarding the Irish diaspora news industry, this research examines the material realities of diaspora newsrooms, asking what resources Irish diaspora newsrooms have access to and how this facilitates or limits what news about Ireland can be covered by reporters.

### **1.2.2 Transnational Culture Flows**

Among the wider changes instigated by the development and proliferation of digital media is the enhanced communication and interconnection between diaspora communities, which have increased the volume and pace of global information flows (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 1997, 2010; Pavlik, 2003; Barney, 2004). This raises questions about news flows and distribution of information about Ireland in the new transnational digital ecosystem. News flows are generated by the selection of news articles about a particular topic to reproduce in another country or platform. In considering Hall *et al.*'s circuit of cultural production (2013), part of the process in terms of producing journalism is newsgathering and news selection, which generate the news flows that carry the symbolic meanings of Irishness.

The Irish national digital news media are largely based on a free-to-access model whereby the news websites allow users to read news articles without payment, although some websites, like *irishtimes.com*, limit the number you are able to read a month, while others, such as *businessspost.ie*, are behind paywalls. However, the majority of Ireland's national digital news media are free to access (Mitchell, 2011; Kirk *et al.*, 2016). It seems that there is more news about Ireland produced by Irish national titles available online than there ever was in print, increasing the range of sources migrants could use to access news about home. Still, Irish diaspora news titles continue to publish news about Ireland, and it is relied upon by diasporas, old and new, to keep informed about the current affairs in Irish society. If Irish migrants want news from home, it is readily available on the multiple free-to-access Irish news websites that are geographically embedded in the Irish state and closest to the source of news events.

Initially, it seemed counterintuitive that the diaspora news media would compete with homeland news organisations in producing news about Ireland when there was already so much freely available online. It did not seem reconcilable with the economic concept of supply and demand; the supply direct from the source had increased, but this did not seem to lessen the reliance on seemingly secondary sources nor negatively affect the production of news about Ireland in the diaspora press. This begged questions regarding what news stories about Ireland flow and are circulated among the digital diaspora press.

### **1.2.3 Contested Representations of Irishness**

The third development that formed the basis of this research was controversy as to how Irishness was claimed and framed in Irish national and diasporic news organisations. In January 2015 the *Irish Times* published a series of short interviews ahead of the news year headlined "Big Ideas for the New Year", which included one with an Irish scriptwriter who said that he was writing a dark comedy based in the Irish Famine called 'Hungry'. There were clear regional differences in the representation of the Famine as a suitable topic for comedy, with the Irish-American press suggesting it was not suitable, while the Irish and Irish-British press were more supportive of the idea (Kirk, 2019). The discourse went over and back across the Ocean in articles, op-eds and comment pieces, and at one point Irish journalists and diaspora journalists began questioning each other's 'Irishness' and true anti-colonial integrity, implying



that there was only one correct response for Irish people to have. Tension and friction were arising over differing interpretations and representations of this period in Irish history to the point that each side suggested they were being censored by the other (O'Dowd, 2015; O'Doherty, 2015). This episode underlined that there are points of tension among the globally dispersed Irish regarding the appropriate representation of such seminal historic events (Kirk, 2019).

Hall (1989, 1992) discusses the idea of hybrid identities whereby diaspora communities develop a cultural identity that produces media which incorporate identification with both homeland and hostlands in the representations of national cultural identities.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Appadurai (1996) addresses a similar concept of situated identities, whereby migrant groups develop historically situated imagined worlds, cultures and identities. Furthermore, in journalism studies research has found that the national cultural identity can shape what and how news is produced (Reese, 2001; Nossek, 2004; Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2010), and in diaspora journalism research has found the similar influence of ethnocentrism on the representations in diasporic news (Ogunyemi, 2014). This research compares the representations of Irishness among diaspora news media in light of these concepts to establish similarities and differences in the representation of Irish identity in the media produced by diasporas.

### **1.3 Purpose of Study**

The purpose of this study is to begin to build the knowledge and research on the Irish diaspora mediascape and diaspora journalism. It aims to connect literature from journalism studies and diaspora studies to address Irish diaspora journalism and highlight how journalistic and cultural forces interact in newsrooms to shape news content and the representations of Irishness in diaspora news media.

It seeks, firstly, to identify what is the landscape of the Irish diaspora news industry; to describe what the news organisations are like in different regions, the

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<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to state that the terms 'homeland' and 'hostland' are not ideal. Although they are often used in academic research neither term is satisfactory, homeland implies that this is where a migrant originated and does not encapsulate the multi-generational nature of diasporas. Similarly, hostland implies that the migrant will someday leave as he nation is simply playing 'host'. While these terms are adopted in this research it they are used to signify the concept of where the diasporic identity regards as a national culture of origin 'homeland' and national culture of resettlement 'hostland'. It is hoped that in time more appropriate terminally that accurately and appropriately encapsulates the two concepts will develop.

resources available to them and transnational newsgathering, production and distribution practices. Secondly, to examine what news about Ireland is prioritised in the diaspora press and whether the same stories are salient in different regions of the world. Thirdly, to determine whether Irish identity and culture are characterised in the same way in different regions and to establish points of inter-diasporic cultural harmony and tension in the discursive constructions of Irishness. And finally, to understand the implications of the digital diaspora news industry and the global informational media network that it forms and that links the global Irish community.

This study is the first dedicated to the exploration of the Irish diaspora press, its role in the transnational media ecology and representation of Irishness globally. Diaspora media institutions are an important part of Ireland's transnational media system, communicating Irish current affairs, culture and identity beyond the borders of Ireland. But little is known about what they say about Ireland, what stories they tell and how Irishness is characterised. More broadly, this study aims to introduce the Irish diaspora news industry because, to date, no dedicated research chronicles the history, developments, owners, editors or journalism of this sector. Research has been conducted into how Irish diasporas have utilised diaspora media to analyse the culture of diaspora communities, but until now there are no research projects that map and interrogate diaspora media or its output as an industry. It seems an unfortunate omission from the academic record given the long history of the Irish diaspora press and the historical examples of Irish newspapers mediating and mobilising the diaspora to respond to significant political and social developments in Ireland, from Home Rule to Home to Vote in 2017.<sup>2</sup>

In terms of advancing the field of diaspora journalism, this research addresses the impact of digitisation on a long-running industry and aspects of the political economy of news media, as well as influences on the editorial agendas of regionally distinct diaspora media. It adds to the growing body of research dedicated specifically to understanding diaspora journalism. Scholarship in this emerging field has already examined critical journalistic functions and effects of diaspora news media, such as

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<sup>2</sup> The Home Rule movement was an era in Irish history that preceded independence and generally describes a range of political movements to restore the Irish government. Home to Vote is a phenomenon whereby Irish citizens living abroad travel home to Ireland to vote in referendums, often chronicling the journey on social media.

the public sphere function (Kperogi, 2014), the typologies (Nossek, 2004; Shumow, 2014), professionalism (Deuze, 2005), and usage of news media by audiences (Ogunyemi, 2014). This research recognises that there is a range of factors from journalism studies yet to be applied to diaspora journalism research, and to some extent this research addresses the gap in diaspora journalism research regarding the material realities of production. By taking a comprehensive approach that views journalism as a process of production, it addresses some omitted factors such as the material realities of transnational journalism that include the contexts of production, the processes and the content and compares them across regions to identify the similarities and differences in editorial agendas.

The impact of digitisation on the production norms of mainstream news media has been studied intensely, with much of the research highlighting that journalism now operates in a complex media environment where older practices blend with the new (Chadwick, 2017). This study advances the understanding of how diaspora news media groups are adapting to the hybrid media system, which has hitherto largely been examined from the perspective of national mainstream news and politics.

Diasporas have been acknowledged to have different qualities to those in the homeland and each other (Cunningham and Sinclair, 2001), but often they are not compared to understand their cultural proximities. Recent scholarship has acknowledged the overestimation of the dilution of the nation state and national identities in the face of globalisation; this research offers further insight into how national cultural identities are maintained transnationally by digital news media. Direct comparative analysis, both quantitative and qualitative, of the news agendas in separate regions, reveals differences in both what about 'home' is represented, and how, and previous scholarship on journalism and diasporas offers explanatory models for interpreting these differences.

To address these questions this research records, classifies, quantifies and compares the news flows among the Irish diaspora press to establish the range of news categories, topics and stories about Ireland that are published in the digital diaspora press. Additionally, it establishes and compares the news agendas regarding Ireland in different regions to see if the diaspora press in different regions tell the same stories about home. This research advances the understanding of the representation of

national identity in diaspora media and shows that there is clear negotiation of the hybridism of the diasporic identity.

While scholars have relied on diaspora media to identify attitudes and values among diaspora communities, these studies are often underpinned by an assumed free flow of information or the assumption that the mediation of national culture is shaped by operationalising identity alone. However, there is a need to incorporate how medium-specific production processes can also shape content so that the role of identity is not the only explanatory factor in the analysis of a media artefact. There is little work that acknowledges how the production process interplays with cultural forces to shape media content in Irish diaspora journalism. While the approach is not as deterministic as McLuhan's formula that "the medium is the message", it is necessary to recognise that the medium has a role to play and media production processes affect the representation of anything. This research advances the understanding of how, specifically, digital diaspora journalistic practices shape the representations of national cultural identities in terms both of what about Ireland and Irishness is characterised, and how.

To summarise, this study adds to the growing body of knowledge on diaspora journalism from scholars such as Ogunyemi (2015) by addressing the process of cultural production in newsrooms and establishing a range of cultural and journalistic influences on what and how national cultural identities are represented. This research highlights the importance of Ireland's digital diaspora news media not only for maintaining Irishness but for constructing an identity that is specific to the diaspora itself. This raises important questions concerning both the material, organisation and cultural conditions under which diaspora news organisations operate and the ideological/conceptual aspects of this mediated Irishness, as found both in the contents of the news and in the kinds of news that are selected for the diaspora. This study contributes to the body of research on the political economy of diaspora journalism and news production, identity construction and the news and agenda-setting by diaspora news outlets.

#### **1.4 Definition of Terms and Assumptions**

This research is situated in post-positivist ontology and epistemology and recognises identity and culture as discernibly constructed and differences between the two as

mediated differences. Precisely, this study understands that the discursive construction of identity occurs through the representations of sameness which manifest through narratives of fraternity, shared history and shared futures, language, common-sense expectation of the ingroup (Anderson, 1983; Hall, 1989, 1997), and also through the construction of difference through narratives of how a 'we' or 'us' are not like 'them' (Derrida, 1968; Said, 1978).

The operationalisation of the term 'culture' in academic research was described as dizzyingly broad (Chopra, 2011, p. 3) and can refer to a wide range of concepts. This study is situated in the post-modernist tradition and is examining the representation of Irish culture conceptualised as 'a way of life' and representations of ways of being Irish which include the signifiers of difference and sameness between social groups. Such cohesion and demarcations can be social, political, lifestyle-related, and cultural in the sense of the production of arts, heritage and memory.

This research approaches journalism as a process of cultural production (Berkowiz, 201; Scheduson, 1989; Hall, 1993). Anderson (1993) underlines that the symbols and building blocks of national cultural identity are carried by news media, sustaining national identities. However, this process of constructing national identity in news media is subject to medium-specific influences. It considers the medium an important part of the message in that there is something in the representation of Irishness in digital diaspora news media that is specific to this medium and should be considered.

Stemming from this, this research considers the contention of McCombs and Shaw (1997) in agenda-setting theory that the news media is good at directing the public towards what to think about, rather than what to think about it, and recognises the topics and stories in news media as essential constructs in the discursive translation of national ideology transnationally. How to think about national identity is, however, constructed in the discourse on specific topics and stories (Anderson, 1983; Brookes, 1999).

Based on the work of Marie Gillespie (2008), it approaches national identity or the homeland identity as a transnational phenomenon and the discussion of Irishness here is not a nativist approach but recognises that Irishness, or any homeland identity, is not limited by the borders of the nation state but constructed discursively through

media and community events across the world. The discursive constructions in this study are limited to those produced in diaspora news media, and it is important to note that the findings do not speak to the media effects on the diaspora audience, for which a separate study of equal depth would be required. Nor does it assume that these representations are reflective of values, views, ideology or interest of entire regional diasporic groups (Siapera, 2010). Situated (Appadurai, 1996), hybrid (Hall, 1993) identities exist in a space in-between the national cultural identities (Anderson, 1996) of two or more nations. As such, the term ‘homeland’ in this study is not defined as the home but used to signify the place considered by a diaspora to be the ‘location and time of origin’ while ‘hostland’ signifies the country where a community has settled. A diaspora traverses these conceptual boundaries to become a community and cultural identity that is more than the sum of these parts.

The analytic approach is to view diasporic identity transnationally and not confined to the island. However, that does not suggest that the role of nation state is redundant. While Irishness is constructed discursively, it cannot be dislocated from the material realities of news production and the fact that a portion of the news events being reported on are based in the country of origin, as well as other diaspora communities. It is this information flow that carries the symbols and meaning of Irishness around this mediascape or transnational network. In this study these terms are used somewhat interchangeably as they both describe the same phenomenon: the media that connect regionally dispersed diasporas with home and each other through the passing of information carrying culture messages about the group ethnocultural identity, described as information flows by Castells (1997, 2010) and culture flows by Appadurai (1997).

### **1.5 Scope of Research**

This research aims to describe the contexts of producing diaspora journalism and to identify the opportunities and challenges to news identification, gathering, selection, production and distribution to establish how the material realities of transnational news making may shape the content of diaspora journalism. With innovative use of digital software applets, this research quantifies the volume of news about Ireland that appeared in professional Irish digital diaspora news titles based in the UK, the USA and Australia in order to measure and compare the newsworthiness of news categories,

topics and stories in different regions to determine if diaspora news in different regions represent the same aspects of Irish society.

It analyses three case studies that were salient in the editorial agenda to compare how developments in Irish society were framed across the three regions to establish similarities and differences regarding how the diaspora news media interpreted and represented these issues. The data recorded for analysis consists of news articles published on the homepages of the most prominent and professional diaspora news organisations and the news events in this study took place over seven months, from February to August 2016. The news items that was predominantly about the homeland were identified, coded and quantified and, from this, suitable case studies were selected and analysed.

This research triangulates concepts from journalism studies, diaspora media studies and globalisation studies to develop a holistic and rounded approach to understanding the digital diaspora news production and representation process that acknowledges the range of forces operating in newsrooms which can shape the content. Because of this, it can only analyse the topics that are on the news media radar and does not include analysis of the omitted topics from the corpus of news article, but because it quantifies the categories, topics and stories it does offer insight into the prioritisation by newsrooms, showing what received most and least attention.

This research applied a quantitative news flow analysis to understand the volume of news produced under different news categories, topics and stories, which established the news agenda regarding Ireland and facilitated comparison between each region. It combined news flow with a framing analysis to understand how diaspora news represents Irishness. Methodologically, it highlights the value in quantitative and qualitative mapping of transnational networks to compare and better understand the information flows; and to advocate for the creative approach to the use of open-access data gathering, recording and organising software applications, which are powerful tools that can enhance established methods and generate new ones. While the technique used for this study is on a small scale, it is possible to imagine a much larger scale project that could automatically collect, record, code and visualise the flow of information around the global web.

This study establishes that there are differences in regional news agendas regarding Ireland and that there are both similarities and differences in how Irishness is represented in different regions where the Irish diaspora press is located. This study finds that there is a range of journalistic influences on diasporic news production, such as material, organisational and cultural factors, that facilitate and inhibit the representation of news about Ireland. It also finds that there is a range of factors associated with the historical contexts of migration and contemporary political and news agendas in the country of resettlement that shape what about Ireland is represented, and how. More broadly, it finds that there are some differences in representations of Irishness in diaspora news and some capacity to insert alternative conceptualisations of Irishness in the news that flows among the diaspora press.

## **1.6 Chapter Outlines**

The following two chapters describe the literature and theories that are utilised in this study, identifying the emerging research that focuses on diaspora journalism as well as the function and role of diaspora media. Looking at the production of diaspora journalism through the lens of the circuit of cultural production (Hall *et al.*, 2013), chapter two examines the first part of the circuit of cultural production (production and regulation), and incorporates literature on diaspora journalism studies and journalism studies to highlight the need to inspect the material, organisational and cultural factors that shape newsrooms' processes. It underlines how the contexts in which news is produced can be influential in the production process and ultimately on what is produced. It establishes the need to address the antecedent conditions in journalism production, highlighting the gaps in the literature in diaspora journalism and establishing the research questions regarding identifying influences on production. Chapter two addresses *what journalists produce* while the third chapter addresses *how Irishness is represented* in what is produced.

These chapters problematise established literature that approaches diasporas as a homogeneous community or as a unit, highlighting the situated and context-dependent nature of diasporic identity and how it shapes the flow of information about Ireland circulating in the digital diaspora press. Similarly, it highlights the need for platform-specific research that incorporates the production context, the antecedent conditions, the newsgathering and production norms that direct the attention of news



organisations towards some news over others and places some information higher or lower on the editorial agenda.

Chapter four outlines the Irish diaspora press, the history and the development of the digital diaspora news industry, as well as examining some of the cultural differences between Irish diaspora communities (the main audience for digital news titles) in different parts of the world, and establishes the typologies of diaspora journalism in the transnational ecology. It shows a long history of diaspora journalism and highlights the differences in experiences of Irish migrants from generation to generation and country to country. Finally, it establishes important contextual information for understanding the Irish diaspora news industry today, which is based in the USA, the UK and Australia.

The fifth chapter describes the research design and methodology undertaken to best reveal the context, production norms, output and analysis of the diaspora news content. It articulates the need to map the conditions in which news production occurs to understand how the political economies of the news organisations shape what is featured in the content produced. It details the adaptation of the RICC news flow method to capture, analyse and compare the volume of information about the homeland that appeared in the Irish diaspora press over six months under different news categories, topics and specific stories. To understand *how* Ireland is characterised within these flows and whether there are regional differences, it outlines the approach to a comparative framing analysis of suitable case studies. However, to get a deeper insight into the different forces at play in newsrooms, there was a clear need to talk to diaspora news workers, so it also describes the interview process.

The sixth chapter is dedicated to the responses from interviews and analysing their descriptions of how resources are managed, the organisational factors in the newsrooms, the professional identities and the representations of the journalistic cultures in each region. It is an introductory account of the Irish diaspora news industry from the perspective of the senior editors to understand how material contexts shape transnational diasporic news production. This chapter largely addresses the first set of research questions regarding the contexts of production. It details how diaspora editors describe the material, organisational and cultural factors that shape their work and the challenges and opportunities for producing news for the digital diasporic marketplace.

The seventh chapter details the findings of the comparative quantitative news flow study, showing the total volume of news about Ireland that appeared under various news categories, as well as the volume of news topics and news stories in each region. This section describes what stories about Ireland were reproduced in the diaspora press. To provide insight into news selection, extracts from the interviews with diaspora editors describing the thinking and motivations for selecting some types of news over others are included here. Descriptive statistics on news flows, illustrating the variations between the three press regions regarding what is prioritised, and responses from the editors addressing why some news is more salient than others are detailed. In summary, this chapter describes *what* stories about Ireland are reproduced in the diaspora press. It shows that about half of all news in the diaspora press is about Ireland and finds that there are clear differences in the news flows in each region regarding the categories, topics and stories that are most salient on the regional news agendas. What emerges is that what is prioritised on the news agendas is often aligned with social or political developments in the hostland, even though the news is about Ireland. It shows the news value of cultural proximity and how diaspora editors value expressing the practical or ideological links between the community and Ireland.

Chapter eight details three qualitative case studies; a comparative framing analysis reveals differences in *how* Irish identity and culture are characterised in each region and based on the situated nature of diasporic hybrid identities explains why these differences occur. The coverage of the ‘1916 Centenary’ and ‘Irish Fans at the Euros 2016’ emerged as highly salient topics and suitable comparative cases for extrapolating differences in representations of Irishness. The topic of ‘Migration’, which more explicitly discusses the experiences of leaving, arrival and resettlement, can be compared for regional differences to reveal more detailed differences in the discourses regarding the relationship with home and the articulation of Irishness in relation to the homeland.

Chapter nine synthesises and interprets the findings in relation to the established theory and explains what they might mean for the understanding of transnational diasporic mediascapes and Irish transnationalism. Each of the research questions and subordinate research questions is restated, how the empirical research addressed them is explained, and the implications for theory are discussed. From reviewing the research project, this chapter suggests the need to incorporate the

contexts of the process of cultural production (Hall *et al.*, 2013) more broadly, particularly the political economy of the producers regarding the resources available. Regarding the news flow and news agenda, it suggests that differences in the saliences afforded to news about Ireland seems to be largely shaped by the media, social, cultural and political development in the respective hostlands and advances on the knowledge developed regarding what shapes diaspora journalism (Matsaganis and Katz, 2013; Ogunyemi, 2014; Shumow, 2014). The quantification of the news shows that the centre–periphery model of communication is still quite prevalent in the Irish diaspora press, and although some circular flow does exist (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 1997, 2010) it is not significant and suggests that simply because there are transnational media it does not follow that the flow is unmediated by national institutions. The differences in how Irishness was represented in each region were associated with a range of cultural and journalistic factors such as the historical experiences of the diaspora communities and the context of hostland news and political agendas, adding context to Hall’s (1989) concepts of hybrid identities and Appadurai’s (1996) situated identities through comparing representations.

The final chapter reviews the previous chapters and concludes with a summary and recommendations for public policy.

## **Chapter Two: Diaspora Journalism: Contexts of Production**

### **2.1 Circuits of Cultural Production in the Hybrid Media System**

This chapter focuses on the conditions in which diaspora journalism is produced, addressing the literature related to contextual and organisational factors associated with producing diaspora news. In this chapter the critical issues related to resources available, how they are deployed, how newsrooms are organised, and the broader corporate structures and cultural forces are addressed. The first section focuses on the antecedent conditions of the news production process, the second on the organisational factors that could shape the production of journalism in relation to diasporic newsrooms, and the third on journalistic cultural influences. In journalism studies, there is a growing recognition of the need to study news as a process, in order to accurately explain the range of internal and external forces that influence why news stories are selected and how the news is presented (Schudson, 1989). Additionally, Chadwick (2017) highlights the need to understand such a process in the context of the hybrid media system as new technologies emerge, new norms, values and practices evolve, and new organisational and institutional structures arise. The integration of newer and older technologies has reshaped the production process in terms of both values and practices. Furthermore, incorporating approaches from journalism studies that conceptualise news as a process of cultural production (Schudson, 1989; Berkowitz, 2011) recognises it as a process which is shaped by norms, values and practices that can influence each stage and ultimately the final product (Schudson, 1989). Diaspora journalism and how Irishness is represented in diaspora news media should be approached in multidimensional ways so as to include the contexts in which the process originates, as well as production and representation.

Chadwick (2017) stresses the benefits of approaching media-related practice with a sense of looseness and openness and asks simply what people (individuals to organisations) are doing in relation to media across different contexts. The purpose is not to simplify but to reveal the complexity and fluidity of the situation and to understand how different parts of a media system relate to one another. In this context, media systems are understood in a non-reductive and multifaceted way as the use of resources of varying kinds in any given context of dependencies and interdependence

to enable people or organisations to pursue their values and interests both with and within different interrelated media. To approach journalism as a process of cultural production in a complex production environment, Hall *et al.*'s concept of the Circuit of Cultural Production (2013) is beneficial for facilitating a systematic analysis. It asserts the need to analyse how a cultural site, text, practice or object works from multiple perspectives, and, with respect to different stages in the process of production, to establish the influential factors on each stage.

This research examines the processes of producing news about Ireland in diaspora journalism within the complex and evolving hybrid media environment, combining the two frameworks. It breaks down and modifies the concept of the circuit of cultural production to enable a systematic analysis of the process of producing diaspora journalism in a complex hybrid media system to reveal how new and old technologies, practices and values interact at different stages of production in newsrooms to shape the representation of Irishness. The Circuit of Culture (Hall *et al.*, 2013) establishes production, regulation, signification, identity and consumption as interrelated and cyclical stages in a process which focuses the analysis on how a text is created and why. The stages in the production processes are divided into the visible (text presentation and representation) and the invisible (labour, regulation and consumption). When a text is analysed through this lens it offers insight into how it is produced *culturally*, establishing the ways in which it becomes encoded with meaning and what organisational factors shape the process and the outcome – here, representations of cultural identity (Hall *et al.*, 2013).

In considering diaspora journalism as a process of cultural production within a hybrid media system, it is necessary to ask what forces are at work in newsrooms shaping diaspora news content. Schudson (1989) argues that the lens of cultural approaches is beneficial for understanding journalism because it recognises the interplay of different factors, such as political, economic, sociological and cultural, resulting in a more comprehensive and meaningful analysis. He notes how important it is that the conceptual approach to the study of journalism is clear about the aspect of the news that is to be explained. He argues that while some specific concepts are useful for explaining some specific phenomena in journalism, such as the political economy for broad outlines of the news product (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996) or sociological factors for understanding organisational routines, a cultural approach that

incorporates multiple factors is best for establishing the process of producing news and understanding what shapes it.

Diaspora journalism is an emerging field of research which draws on scholarship from diaspora media and journalism studies. To date, it has largely focused on the use of news by diaspora audiences, but studies increasingly focus on journalistic factors, such as the professional identities of news workers (Kperogi, 2014; Ogunyemi, 2018), the typologies of organisations (Schmow, 2010), and the impact of diaspora news circulation (Oyeleye, 2018). Notwithstanding the valuable contribution of the established literature to date, these approaches tend to take limited perspectives on news production, examining one critical aspect of journalism to gain insight or explain one aspect of diaspora news media at a time. This can result in overly deterministic findings, where one influential factor is found to weigh on news production, but other explanatory factors are omitted. While Scheduson (1989) recognises the multiple factors at play within newsrooms, Hall *et al.*'s, (2013). circuit of cultural production involves a systemic approach for understanding the process that incorporates organisational, cultural and economic factors. However, it is still limited because it omits the framework of the wider evolutions in the media system and the antecedent conditions to the production process. Chadwick (2017) highlights the fact that news organisations operate within broader media systems and there is a need to understand the interrelations between different actors – human, technological and organisational – that shape what can be achieved. Similar concepts are discussed by Castells, who describes such systems as ‘networks’ (2001), Appadurai, who conceptualises them as ‘mediascapes’ (1996) and Oyeleye, who calls them ‘circuits’ (2018).

While asserting the breadth and complexity of the hybrid media system, Chadwick (2017) also asserts the need for a detailed analysis of the phenomenon being studied. The microanalysis of news organisations and production facilitates a better understanding of the macro local systematic interactions between them. In the case of this research, this would require a detailed analysis of Irish diaspora news organisations, relying on the circuit of cultural production to establish the specific factors shaping the process of news production, but also the relationships between organisations in the transnational diaspora news system.

This research examines the contexts, processes and circulation of Irish diaspora news in three stages to address Irish diaspora journalism through this framework. Incorporating research from journalism studies that highlights how the material realities in newsrooms shape the origin of the process of production (Schudson, 2002; Mansell, 2003; Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2010) and ultimately can shape both what and how news is presented, this research recognises that analysis of both context and process is necessary to understand the output from the circuit of cultural production appropriately. By firstly establishing journalistic and contextual forces in newsrooms, this research moves through the circuit of cultural production to establish the influences on the production phases (Hall *et al.*, 2013). Because digital technologies can both enable and constrain agency in the hybrid networks and socio-technical systems, it includes the examination of the relationships between newsmakers and the technologies they use. Then to understand the hybridity of the system within which diaspora journalism operates, it examines the interrelations between Irish diasporic news organisations and organisation in Ireland.

While the circuit of cultural production tends to address issues around who can consume a product and the target consumer base, this study is more concerned with what producers think of consumers/audience. However, because this study's focus is to understand the production of diaspora news media and the representation of cultural identity by diaspora journalists, how diaspora newsmakers conceptualise their imagined audience and the imagined community is a critical element in this part of the process. In other words, how diaspora news media think of their audience and how this shapes the process of production is of central relevance to this study.

There is a range of factors identified from journalism studies that can shape news production and the representations featured in news content that need to be applied to diaspora journalism but may not function in the same ways in diaspora media markets. Gillespie (2010) underlines the need to understand the challenges in the process of producing transitional journalism, with the news producer (diaspora media) far removed from the source of information (the homeland). Such explanatory factors must be understood not only in relation to each other as part of the 'cultural air' but also in terms of the material realities, recognising that in diaspora newsrooms the influences on the production process may manifest differently from those in mainstream national news production.

### **2.1.1 The Need for Medium-Specifics**

This section introduces approaches to diaspora news media to offer an outline of the established scholarship, and underlines the argument for more medium-specific research in this field.

To observe and analyse the passage of news through the cultural circuit and establish the factors that shape cultural representations, it is necessary to be specific about the medium or platform where the production occurs. The critical role diaspora media play in mediating the culture of the homeland to migrants and maintaining relationships with homelands over generations is recognised by a range of scholars (Hall, 1989; Ginsburg, 1994; Karim, 2003; Georgiou, 2006, 2007; Siapera, 2010). However, the ways in which digital diaspora journalism mediates everyday information, representing homeland current affairs and culture in real time in dispersed regions of the world, remain open to question (Brinkerhoff, 2009; Kperogi, 2011; Ogunyemi, 2014). Similarly, the impact of the experience of migration from the homeland to new cultural contexts on the interpretation and representation of ‘home’ is less well understood.

Diaspora journalism has a critical role to play in shaping cultural identity and the cultural agenda for diasporic audiences by providing current affairs information about a homeland that can both reinforce and challenge traditional conceptions of the homeland national identity and culture. As the diaspora news media report social, political, cultural and economic changes in the homeland, they are mediating the homeland identity and representing the developments of homeland society and culture on a daily basis. While diaspora media’s role in the construction and maintenance of national and cultural identity has been the subject of much research (Appadurai, 1996; Brinkerhoff, 2009; Castells, 2010; Cunningham and Sinclair, 2001; Ginsburg, 1991; Georgiou, 2006, 2007; Hall, 1989; Karim, 2003; Ogunyemi, 2017, 2015; Siapera, 2010; Skjerdal, 2011), medium- or platform-specific research is limited.

‘Media’ is a broad and non-descript term that refers to a wide range of platforms as well as a range of types of information and communication. It places different types of communication texts into the same broad category of ‘information’ and the disseminators broadly as ‘media’, and at this level, fictional literature and poetry are considered in the analysis along with current affairs and social media.



Oyeleye (2017) highlights the problem of the lack of precision in previous scholarship that broadly defines journalists' practices in line with those of other media producers. He argues that diaspora journalism should be recognised as a "distinctive category of communication" (p. 23), uncoupled from former categorisations such as 'alternative journalism', or 'diaspora media' to "gain better insight into the phenomenon" (p. 24).

Indeed, when researching any journalistic practices, it is necessary to be specific about the medium or platform being analysed because each has a different set of production norms, distribution networks, news cycles and agendas. While this research is not as wholly deterministic as the "medium is the message" (McLuhan, 2011), it is essential to acknowledge distinctions (Rosenstiel *et al.*, 2000) because of the different realities of producing different media forms.

In the wider body of communications research, journalism is treated as a distinct category of communication that recognises its Fourth Estate function in democratic societies. However, diaspora journalism is often conceptualised with regard to its use by diaspora communities, although recently there is increasing attention on its journalistic characteristics, such as public sphere (Kperogi, 2011), press typologies (Shumow, 2014), and use by the diasporic audience (Ogunyemi, 2014).

In order to understand what shapes national-cultural representations in diaspora journalism, it is necessary to address a broader range of critical issues identified in journalism studies, such as political economy and newsgathering practices, the editorial agenda and framing of news stories, as well as ethno-specific influences such as diasporic identities.

### **2.1.2 Defining Diaspora Journalism**

This section addresses the need for a functional definition of diaspora news media for researchers to fully position their research and the 'location' of the organisations in the media system being studied. In considering the production of diaspora journalism, it is best to outline exactly what is meant by the term as there are several operationalisations of it. Because this research primarily focuses on the production by news media it is necessary to establish a functional definition of diaspora journalism.

Definitions of diaspora news media depend on both the perspective of the research being undertaken and the conceptualisation of the community being studied.

The use of the term ‘diaspora’ rather than ‘ethnic’ or ‘minority’ precedes and shapes a specific kind of communication. The most prominent approaches to studying diaspora news media come from the field of cultural studies and aim to understand the role and use of media among a diaspora community (Hall, 1989; Ginsburg, 1991; Cunningham and Sinclair, 2001; Karim, 2003; Georgiou, 2007; Siapera, 2010; Budarick, 2011), the impact of news media on globalisation (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 1997, 2010; Rai and Cottle, 2007; Broersma, 2010) and to a lesser extent the professional values of the news media workers (Kperogi, 2011; Matsaganis and Katz, 2013; Harnischmacher, 2014; Ogunyemi, 2014).

News media produce content that captures specific target audiences, that meets informational needs and develops a consumer base which can be connected to advertisers, which in turn sustains an organisation’s revenue (Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Bagdikian, 2004). In diaspora media research, how the audience–industry relationship is defined shapes the conceptualisation of the medium. Several terms that describe the same phenomena have been proposed to capture the relationship between producer and audience. However, in considering the operationalisation of the term, it is necessary to consider how appropriate it is in describing these news organisations as well as the characterisation of the community as an ethnic, minority or diasporic community. In the case of Ireland, the emigrants are currently officially known as ‘The Irish Diaspora’ and this is also the term adopted by Irish emigrant communities and institutions. It came into popular use in the 1990s as part of a broader movement of racialisation of minorities and the simultaneous ‘internationalisation’ of the Irish, detailed in chapter four.

‘Minority media’, ‘ethnic media’ and ‘immigrant media’ are terms that are often used in research (Ginsburg, 1991; Siapera, 2010; Matsaganis and Katz, 2013; Shumow, 2014; Matsaganis and Yu, 2019). These terms are more commonly used in research aiming to understand ethnic minorities as they exist within a dominant culture from which they are distinct or somehow separate. ‘Migrant media’ is also a term that has been operationalised (Kosnick, 2007; Silver, 2018) and this term speaks more to the transnational and migratory experiences of the audiences. However, the term carries a sense of impermanence that does not acknowledge the historic establishment of communities over time within another nation.

‘Transnational’ or ‘cross-border’ media are terms that have been utilised in research to describe ethnocultural media organisations (Georgiou, 2007; Shumow, 2010). However, this term also applies in journalism studies and industry to news agencies such as Reuters, Associated Press and the BBC World Service, whose audiences and scopes are much broader than ethnic or cultural groups. These media organisations seek to transcend ethno-specific audiences to reach the broadest possible global audience (Broersma, 2010; Heft, Alfter and Pfetsch, 2017). While the term does acknowledge the transnational nature of the content and audience of an organisation, it overlaps with established definitions in journalism and is unnecessarily broad in terms of the types of organisations to which it refers. Similarly, ‘niche media’ is too non-specific a term in that there is a wide range of niche interests that are catered to by media organisations, from cultural identity groups to entertainment interest groups such as music or movie fans.

‘Diaspora media’ or ‘diaspora journalism’ (Cunningham and Sinclair, 2001; EkwoUchenna, 2011; Georgiou, 2006, 2007; Karim, 2003; Ogunyemi, 2015) are terms that incorporate all of the necessary characteristics, such as the target audience as a community, the recognition of the process of migration between nation states, as well as the idea of the retention of transnational links between two or more national cultures over longer periods of time. A diaspora is a migrant group with a wide range of characteristics, but often one that has established roots in the hostland in the form of self-generated organisations (including media) that serve the community’s specific needs (Hall, 1989, 1997; Griffin and Gilroy, 1995).

How diaspora journalism has been defined depends on the perspective of the researcher’s exploration – in the scholarship examining diasporas in the hostland terms such as ‘immigrant journalism’ (Shumow, 2010, 2014) or ‘minority journalism’ (Siapera, 2010) better illustrate the focus of the research. However, ‘diaspora’ should be operationalised by researchers who are examining the specific cultural *space in-between* a community’s country of residence and the country they retain links to. The core trait of a diaspora is a link with a ‘homeland’ or another national cultural identity. An ethnic community can carve out cultural space in new hostlands, but to appropriately operationalise the term ‘diaspora’ regarding news media, there should be some sustained communication between a ‘homeland’ or a country of origin and a

hostland, a country where they now reside, that reproduces the other national cultural identity.

Some definitions of diaspora journalism include descriptions of traits that can change from organisation to organisation, such as professionalism or volunteering, individuals or collectives, short or long life, and are sometimes shaped by what drives the journalism (public sphere function) or what it is used for (self-expression) (Kperogi, 2011; Matsaganis and Katz, 2013; Ogunyemi, 2014; Rai and Cottle, 2007; Shumow, 2014; Skjerdal, 2011). It is necessary to propose a definition that removes inconsistent characteristics and focuses on the space in-between and the purpose of mediation. Here, 'diaspora journalism' is understood to be the process or practice of identifying, gathering, creating and presenting current affairs information from both a homeland and hostland deemed to be of high news value to a specific national cultural group/audience in a dedicated journalistic publication.

This definition helps focus attention on the transnational production processes between two national cultural communities; the following section addresses what influences the newsgathering, production and presentation process before examining the influences on cultural codes embedded in the content.

## **2.2 The Production of Diasporic Journalism**

This section examines diaspora journalism with regard to the material realities of hybrid news production where the process of adopting new technologies in legacy news organisations is determined by the resources available (Chadwick, 2017). Hall *et al.*'s circuits of production (2013) does not fully incorporate the idea of the context in which the process of production originates. Although Schudson's cultural approach to news (1989) recognises the influence of the material realities and socio-political influences on news production, these areas are not fully explored in diaspora news studies.

The Irish diaspora press is in the business of journalism, which can be influenced by political and economic issues, ownership and profit orientation (Bagdikian, 2004; Harcourt and Picard, 2009), journalistic cultures (Schudson, 2001; Hampton, 2008; Hanusch *et al.*, 2008; Berkowitz, 2011), and regulation and professional norms (Davies, 2008; Mair and Keeble, 2012; Dunne, 2017). These can

be conceptualised as the ‘contexts of production’ which shape what a diaspora newsroom can do by directing attention towards resources that are more accessible than others. The following sections approach diaspora journalism as a media system to understand how material realities have shaped mainstream news media as they incorporated new technologies and logics with older, established production norms, and impacted diaspora newsrooms.

### **2.2.1 Political Economy and Material Realities of Diaspora Journalism**

This section addresses how the resources available to diaspora newsrooms can shape the content produced. The political economy of journalism shapes the resources that can be directed towards various journalistic practices, and can be loosely defined as an area of study that is concerned with “the nature and effects of the system of production of media and information” (Kellner, 2006, p. 197). The political economy of the mass media has an impact on the type and tone of content because the limited finances available to newsrooms mean that they cannot cover all ‘news’ all the time but must prioritise and “concentrate their resources where significant news often occurs” (Herman and Chomsky, 1994, p. 19). When resources available to mainstream national news organisations place restrictions on what can be covered and the ease of access to sources, questions are raised as to how the political economy effects diaspora newsrooms, which tend to be smaller, less well resourced and which collect news from a country in which the newsroom is not located (Siapera, 2010).

In examining the use of diaspora media, Gillespie (2006) notes that transnational practices depend on access to financial and intellectual/cultural capital and that these practices have both symbolic and tangible importance for democratic participation, identities and sense of belonging for diasporas. The access media practitioners have to sources and the forces that shape what stories are accessible and inaccessible are highly relevant to the production and representation processes (Davies, 2008; Matsaganis and Katz, 2013). To understand how the material realities of digital diaspora journalism shapes what and how Irishness is represented, we can draw on the research into the political economy of mainstream digital news media.

Among the established ways through which the political economy can affect newsrooms are: the profit orientation and ownership model, the role of advertising and distribution, human resources and production norms (Herman and Chomsky, 1988;

Schudson, 2002; Mansell, 2003; McChesney and Schiller, 2003; Bagdikian, 2004; Kellner, 2006). Essentially the political economy of diaspora journalism can shape how much and what types of news about home a newsroom can access, reproduce and redistribute. In this research, the political economy is operationalised regarding the material realities and the resources available to diaspora newsrooms.

Previous scholarship has addressed some aspects of the political economy of diaspora journalism, highlighting the struggle to survive (Siapera, 2010). Schmow (2014) found that immigrant journalism's ethno-specific focus in a multicultural market, where the advertising of local businesses that would traditionally advertise in local news outlets was increasingly online and 'glocal', created a challenging environment for sustainability. The limitations on financial resources in diaspora newsrooms should focus scholars' attention on how scarce resources are directed in newsgathering processes and recognise that ethno-specific digital journalism is produced as a commodity that generates financial rewards in the context of the new (digital) media environment (Mansell, 2003). Kperogi (2011), Siapera (2010) and Appadurai (1996) recognise concerns regarding the political economy of digital diaspora journalism, questioning the extent to which increasingly commercialised and corporate digital diaspora media can be conceptualised as alternative (Siapera, 2010) or oppositional media.

News organisations that are not subsidised or beneficiaries of a public service broadcasting funding stream must respond to market forces to sustain the business (McChesney and Schiller, 2003; Reese, 2009; Siapera, 2010). The digital economy is an uncertain environment, and technological innovation is expanding the opportunities and challenges of producing news content (Pavlik, 2010). To understand the production capacity of diaspora news outlets and if they are equitable across different regions we must gain insights into the economic forces in the industry that shape the processes of producing news. Kperogi (2011) argues that the "violence" experienced by alternative digital media because of the precarious digital marketplace needs further inspection as regards the diaspora press. The traditional political economy of the mass media has faced disruption during the digital transition, with a fall in revenue from newspaper sales and advertising and the need to monetise online content. As noted issues in the political economy of mainstream news may not be the same or manifest

in the same way in diaspora journalism. None the less it is necessary to be aware of the market forces in mainstream media that might impact diaspora news.

Following the development of digital media, which saw the convergence of multiple traditional platforms online, how modern media are described is often separated into different typologies based on whether or not they were established before the digital era. ‘Legacy’ media refers to media that were operating before the digital transition and then branched out online, such as television, radio and print, while ‘digital born’ refers to media that developed online only (Kirk *et al.*, 2016). These classifications provide a framework for interpreting the effect of the digital transition on media and how they adapt to the evolving digital landscape. These terms also allude to the resources available to and distribution channels of different media.<sup>3</sup> The digitisation of mainstream news had a dual impact: it damaged established sources of revenue as advertisers and other financial partners also moved online; at the same time, the move online saw news titles extend their reach to new audiences and access new revenue streams from online advertising. This raises questions with regard to how the digitisation of diaspora news affected the news production process and how new technologies are being merged with older logics. In what ways does this shape newsgathering, or what gets covered and how it is presented?

### **2.2.2 Digital Evolution of Diaspora Journalism**

This section addresses the hybridity of the diasporic news media system in relation to the digitisation of news. News media evolve in line with technological innovations (Chadwick 2017; Pavlik, 2010, 2013) and the recent development of digital communications has generated more focused scholarship on the impact of faster, richer online content on the globally dispersed digital audiences (Brinkerhoff, 2009; Andoni and Oiarzabal, 2010; Georgiou, 2013). However, research on digital diaspora journalism specifically is a recent but growing field of study, and so it is necessary to look to broader research on how digital media has impacted on journalism and the communication of current affairs. What is the impact of the move online for diaspora news organisations and how does the ‘digital’ aspect of online diaspora journalism shape the content that is produced? It is necessary to understand the extent to which

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<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that in 2018 the term ‘legacy media’ is largely used in academia and research as opposed to industry, because by this time most media organisations are regarded as digital and/or multimedia as opposed to a singular medium and singular platform.

the wider forces that shape journalism in the digital era also impact on the diaspora news media sector.

Research into mainstream journalism offers some insights in this regard. In general, technology has affected “(1) how journalists do their work; (2) the content of news; (3) the structure or organisation of the newsroom; and (4) the relationships between or among news organisations, journalists and their many publics” (Pavlik, 2000, p. 229). This has resulted in more news being gathered at a desk than walking beats and being present during news events. In this regard, much of the journalism produced by the mainstream is as far removed from the news event as the globally dispersed diaspora journalists, in that this type of reportage often relies on second-hand sources with information mostly gathered over the internet and by phone (Davies, 2008).

“Technology is also exerting a strong influence on both the structure of the newsroom and of the news industry. [...] Whether the thousands of news providers now online will find successful business models to support their online operations is another matter” (Pavlik, 2000, p. 233). Mainstream news’s business model is in part shaped by the rapid pace at which news is delivered online, with many titles publishing many stories digitally before they are published in print (Jarvis, 2011).<sup>4</sup> Whether to be digital first or last is shaped by how a news organisation monetises news content. This is in turn influenced by other sources of revenue, such as newspaper sales, other supplementary publications, the size and engagement of a publication’s online audience, and other projects in the overall organisational structure that can supplement revenue.

Many of the Irish diaspora news organisations began in print and expanded online and would be understood to be legacy news titles. This raises questions regarding how diaspora news titles negotiate the old and new in the hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2017) and how this might shape what content is presented, and how. However, the material resources have to be organised in newsrooms to

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<sup>4</sup> ‘Digital first’ is a term used to describe news organisations’ publication strategy that favours releasing information online before it is published on any other distribution channels (Jarvis, 2011). This is largely applied to legacy news organisations which formerly distributed on other platforms before digital and now have multiple platforms, as well as having online presence, and because the newer ‘digital born’ news is inherently digital first and usually digital only (Kirk *et al.*, 2016).



meaningfully produce content. The following section examines organisational factors shaping digital diaspora newsrooms.

## **2.3 Organisational Factors in Diaspora Journalism**

While the political economy underpins the resources available to diaspora newsrooms, other organisational factors can have a bearing on what news is identified and selected, and how it presented online. This section examines the organisational factors identified in journalism and diaspora media studies that shape the contexts in which news is produced and can direct the attention, values and practices of newsmakers. It addresses the antecedent conditions of the media system and the early stages of the circuit of cultural production (Hall *et al.*, 2013), factors that do not come ‘after’ or separate from the political economy but that operate alongside it by shaping norms in the processing of news.

The audience orientation, or consumer orientation in economic terms, and how the audience is utilised to generate resources to support the journalism, should also be addressed. The size of the audience, as well as how it is conceptualised by diaspora newsmakers, shapes how the newsrooms are organised in terms of what news is collected as well as how it is presented and distributed. The following sections address the organisation of diaspora news in terms of distribution and revenue, and news cycles and production practices.

### **2.3.1 Distribution Channels and Advertising Revenue**

This section considers the organisational factors regarding the distribution of news to the imagined audience and the need to secure revenue from consumers. News distribution and advertising revenue are inherently linked in that it is the audience that the news organisation is selling to the advertiser; whether it is online or in print, advertisers seek access to audiences via news media (Bell, 1991; Jenkins and Deuze, 2008). There are a number of different models of monetisation of online news content, including direct sales, where the news organisation sells space on a news website to an advertiser, and indirect sales via an advertising company such as Google AdSense, where Google sells the digital advertising space on a webpage and takes a cut of the revenue for itself. It is the latter method of monetisation, that of using third-party advertising companies, that dominates in the mainstream news industry and the

number of clicks a news page receives can correspond to the revenue it makes (Silkals, 2017). The cut that third-party advertising companies take is increasing, and some companies such as Google are syphoning large quantities of revenue away from news organisations (Horgan, 2016).

Advertising is linked to content distribution in journalism. In print, people buy the newspaper and find adverts placed alongside articles. However, online many digital diaspora news organisations are free to access, and the revenue comes from the monetisation of clicks, and the farther an article is distributed the more clicks it receives, which increases the revenue (Murtha, 2015). Most mainstream and much alternative digital news media rely on a number of distribution networks such as social media, search and discovery on search engines, and newsletters. Distribution channels such as Facebook and Google are consuming an increasing portion of advertising revenue from their partners, and because of the size of the audience and the dominance these organisations have in the digital marketplace, it results in increased dependency but lower returns for news organisations (Bell, 2016; Horgan, 2016; Uberti, 2017).

Chadwick (2017) and Pavlik (2013) highlight the disruptive impact this has had on the more affluent mainstream news media, indicating that such changes have the potential to damage the revenue stream for digital diaspora news organisations which tend to be much smaller and less well resourced. On the other hand, where diaspora news organisations are still distributing content in print, and with the niche nature of the audience, the digital transition may not be the primary stream for distribution and advertising, even if it is increasingly important. Print adverts are still a funding stream, as is the revenue from print sales of newspapers, although print sales continue to decrease year on year for many legacy news organisations (Bell, 2017; Kirk *et al.*, 2016; Uberti, 2017). The shift from print to digital as a revenue mainstay may be slower in diaspora news than other types of journalism.

To date, many of the legacy news organisations that made the transition online retain print newspaper as one of their content distribution strategies (Chadwick, 2017), which indicates a need to determine the extent to which diaspora newsrooms engage with either print or online by examining the production norms. News production is a process in which multiple, relational forces weigh on the choices that drive content production, distribution and revenue models. To understand the driving forces behind

what drives the news agenda and how the news is presented online, it is necessary to acknowledge the influence of the established variables in the process.

The external factors over which diaspora newsrooms have no control, but to which they must nonetheless respond, are not just industry changes. The organisational factors of newsrooms are also shaped by external, immovable forces that are the result of multidirectional migration. Where this section addressed the need for newsrooms to shape content to meet distribution needs, the following section addresses the organisation of diaspora journalism in the transnational media system as it responds to variations in news cycles and production norms in different countries.

### **2.3.2 News Cycles and News Production**

This section addresses the challenges and opportunities for geographically dispersed digital diaspora news organisations in the negotiation of the daily news cycle of the homeland and the hostland. Digital diaspora news organisations are part of the ecology of the internet and engaged in the transnational cycle of news production where, with digital news and social media, the pace is fast (Rai and Cottle, 2007; Kautsky and Widholm, 2008; Welbers *et al.*, 2018).

However, diaspora news cycles are not all in the same time zone as the homeland or each other. For example, the diaspora news organisations in the eastern hemisphere (Asia and Australia) begin the day a few hours before the news cycle in Ireland is scheduled to begin and can have only the previous day's news to rely on. On the other side of the Atlantic, those diaspora news organisations in the western hemisphere (America) begin their news cycle while that in Ireland is reaching its peak and can get a clear sense of what the main stories of the day are. The immediacy that is expected of news, and competition from other online sources, sometimes sources closer to the news event, are essential to consider when comparing the news organisations and their output. Such differences in daily news cycles of regionally dispersed news organisations could impact how diaspora journalism in different regions covers breaking news stories, for example. Similarly, when a news event occurs in an Irish diaspora community, it could impact on whether or how it is covered by other digital diaspora news organisations or even those in the homeland.

Publishing and distributing diaspora journalism online means that news media have the opportunity and the burden of tailoring their content for the digital

marketplace. Traditional news “is being supplanted increasingly by immersive and interactive multimedia news reports that can give readers/viewers a feeling of presence at news events like never before” (Pavlik, 2000, p. 232). In many ways, the news webpage is not very different from the printed newspaper. Both usually consist of images and text. However, there is also increasing use of third-party content such as social media content or videos through embedding features on webpages, as well as self-generated content such as audio recording of interviews, video footage or the live blogging of breaking news events (Chadwick, 2017).

Whether or not it is possible to engage with new forms of digital storytelling, investigations or experimental content depends heavily on whether there are the skills or resources available to organisations to allow them to experiment; in the absence of such resources, news organisations can stagnate regarding keeping up with new trends in digital journalism (Carvajal, García-Avilés and González, 2012; Pavlik, 2013). Digital diaspora news organisations can be comparatively less well resourced than mainstream national or multinational news media but nonetheless compete for digital news audiences, and no doubt feel the pressure to keep up with technological developments that create new industry norms.

Organisational factors such as the material resources, the online audience–advertiser distribution nexus, and how news organisations respond to differences in the news cycles of the homeland nation or other diaspora communities, form part of the organisational conditions of news production. At this stage of the production process, these factors direct the attention of newsrooms and set practical boundaries to what types of news is selected for representation. The circuit of cultural production model highlights the need to incorporate the regulation of the process into the analysis (Hall *et al.*, 2013).

## **2.4 Cultural Approaches to Diaspora Journalism**

This section addresses the scholarship from journalism studies that indicates the need to consider the cultural dimensions of journalism to understand news production processes fully (Hall *et al.*, 2013; Schudson, 1989). For example, regulation has been established to be formative in cultures of journalism because it sets the boundaries of what can and should be done. It shapes what is preferable to

produce and can restrict what topics are acceptable to cover, as well as how they are presented (Berkowitz, 2011; Mair and Keeble, 2012). The following section will address how journalism cultures could affect diaspora journalism.

The journalistic cultures of news organisations in different regions can play an essential part in shaping the roles that are developed in newsrooms, the people who are assigned to them, and the professional norms that are adopted and perpetuated (Berkowitz, 2011). This section outlines the forces that shape journalism cultures in order to identify how they could affect diaspora news production.

Schudson (1989) argues that neither the political economy nor the professional identities of the journalists alone can explain the representations that appear in news content. He establishes the necessity to look to the broader set of conditions in which news is produced and the need to account for the whole process of production to find explanations for the differences in treatment of topics and representations of the homeland. Communication must be studied through culture because the whole process of communication is embedded in a cultural environment. Culture circulates through communication (Hanusch, 2009). The process of making news passes through the filter of the newsroom cultures which Schudson argues is the “air we breathe, the whole ideological atmosphere [...] which tells us some things can be said, and some things cannot” (Schudson, 1989, p. 279).

Scholarship in journalism studies shows that there are distinct cultures of journalism in different nations, shaped by regulatory regimes and professional norms. In essence, journalism cultures are comprised of the values and practices that dominate the news industry (Leveson, 2012). They derive from a variety of social forces that are subtle, bordering on invisible (Forster, 2009). A culture is developed by building on the values and the systems and behaviours that preserve and perpetuate it. Cultures are defined by what they reward and celebrate. They are defined by the stories they tell about themselves, their successes, their failures (Geisler, 2004). Organisational cultures often explain the ways that newspapers adapt to new environments and new technologies, or don't. They are guided by senior editors and managers as well as shaped by the journalists who inhabit the newsroom (Readership Institute, 1999). As noted by Chadwick (2017), the culture of the newsroom is part of the media system that overlaps with governance and regulation, and needs to be incorporated by scholars

in their study of media systems. Shoemaker and Reese (2013) identify factors regarding human resources that influence news production: first, the work environment; second, news values; third, professional attitudes; fourth, education and background; and finally, workplace structure.

In newsrooms the journalism culture is shaped primarily by the professional norms and ethics which are upheld by senior members of staff and are passed on to junior members, forming a reward system that perpetuates norms and values (Breed, 1955; Schudson, 2001). Newsroom culture has been studied in relation to a number of influences such as the openness to technological change (Readership Institute, 2009), how cultures are maintained (Breed, 1955), comparing journalism cultures (Hanitzsch, 2007; Harnischmacher, 2014), and the impact of toxic cultures on content (Leveson, 2012; Mair and Keeble, 2012). This raises questions with regard to how the human resources in diaspora newsrooms are organised; who is taking on what roles, and why. Similarly, it raises questions regarding the formal rules and regulations that shape journalistic culture and how they affect diaspora news media.

It is also necessary to consider the newsroom's relationship with external factors. Comparative research shows that ethnocentrism and regionality influence cultures of journalism, and not just on broad regional – western and eastern – paradigms; it reveals national-level differences in attitudes to professional and ethical norms (Hanusch, 2009). Specifically, Matsaganis and Katz (2013) found that the diaspora news media can be shaped by the practices of the hostland news industry in terms of access to sources and conceptualisation of professional identity. Additionally, Husband (2005) describes how communities of practice develop; he found that diaspora journalists “generally defined their professional identities in contrast to those of their mainstream counterparts” from whom they are treated differently (2005, p. 427). For example, Matsaganis and Katz found that ethnic journalists had less access to the political elite than their mainstream counterparts (2013, p. 940).

There is a tension in diaspora journalism between some standard professional norms of objectivity and ethno-specific interests that can overlap with advocacy, which must be negotiated by diaspora newsmakers. “Ethnic media producers were keenly aware that they had difficulty reconciling professional practices associated with their inclusive and specialist identities” (Matsaganis and Katz, 2013, p. 940).

However, reconcile them they do. The study of professional identity tends to focus on adherence to codes of professional ethics that guide the values and practices of the news production process. In researching journalism in the liberal paradigm (Hallin and Mancini, 2004), scholarship has found that while there is a shared set of concepts, such as autonomy, objectivity, immediacy, accuracy, legitimacy and public function, these concepts are interpreted differently at organisational levels (McLellan and Porter, 2007; Davies, 2008; Leveson, 2012; Mair and Keeble, 2012), national levels (Schudson, 1989, 2001; Nossek, 2004) and geopolitical levels (Deuze, 2005, 2011). Deuze (2005) highlights the misguided conceptual underpinnings of scholarship that assumes rigid operationalisations of professional ethics and advocates for a more holistic approach that acknowledges subtle differences and evolutions in how journalists conceive of their work.

For example, research into diasporas from Ethiopia and Nigeria examined the impact of translocation to the USA on professional values and relationship with the homeland of Ethiopian and Nigerian migrants. Skjerdal (2011) examined the professional self-identity of the Ethiopian diaspora online community in relation to current affairs of the homeland, in particular, looking at whether they became more 'activist' or retained objective professional standards. He found that the editors largely adhered to standard professional norms, in particular the idea that the news should be objective, and found that translocation did not impact professional standards.

Kperogi's (2011) examination of how citizen journalists in the Nigerian diaspora in the USA conceptualised their role as either activists or professional journalists unpacked the nuances of professional identity. It illustrated that there are differences in press climates regarding press freedom which can facilitate the diaspora press in adapting a watchdog role in the homeland because journalists see it as their duty to take advantage of the liberty to do what journalism in the homeland cannot.

Research comparing journalism cultures by Nossek (2004) supports the idea that diaspora news sites treat the homeland differently depending on location. He finds that professional norms cannot be separated from cultural identity because both combine to shape how journalists conceive of their work. He establishes the influence of the reporter's national identity on the tendency to take a local angle on news reporting. This contention is supported by Galtung and Ruge (1979) and Hanusch *et*

*al.* (2008), who argue that the news production process has strong cultural dimensions, citing local editing preferences, and cultural and political affinities.

Esser too states that “there are fundamental differences between countries, although from looking at the final product one would hardly assume it” (1998, p. 376).<sup>5</sup> He also finds that journalists’ characteristics, news values, demographic backgrounds and other cultural factors have important parts to play. Hanitzsch proposes there is not one journalism but many, citing as evidence for this the different approaches taken to the same topic by different journalists, and argues that it is the differences in journalism cultures that explain the differences in content (Hanitzsch and Mellado, 2011). There is a growing interest in examining journalism from a cultural standpoint (Hanusch, 2009) because it offers more than just a description of processes and content; it provides a more nuanced understanding of the professional, political, social and economic perspectives by considering the interplay and negotiation of all of these influences at a group level. Because cultural patterns are systematic, repetitive, and widely shared by most members of the culture, they are useful for the study of intercultural communications (Hanusch, 2009; Samovar and Porter, 2012).

The news values of cultural proximity and ethnocentrism have been shown in numerous studies to influence the coverage of news events even within similar overarching news cultures, and even within the liberal paradigm. Journalism about news events in different regions (proximities) and among different diasporas (ethnic diversity) means the same news events could be represented differently by media based in different communities. Östgaard (1965), who examined the application of these news values across different locations, found that the overriding ethnocentric factors are substantial obstacles to the free flow of news.<sup>6</sup>

Gans (1979) identified some of the influences on editorial judgements about the newsworthiness of stories. His findings support the idea that what is represented in the mainstream news can be influenced heavily by ethnocentrism and an agenda to support and legitimise national cultural practice and values. Moreover, while it is argued that the idea of news values can be a slippery concept, there is consensus on

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<sup>5</sup> Esser (1998) also underlines that comparisons between journalistic practice need to take into account differences in the understanding of what journalism is.

<sup>6</sup> Note that this concept is based on ontological and epistemologically positivist journalism studies which regards the media as mirrors of reality rather than mediators of it.



the inclusion of an idea of cultural proximity, familiarity or regionality as a factor in shaping both what is represented and how (Agius, 2011). Additionally, national identities have been found to influence news values when covering foreign news (Nossek, 2004), and in examining the influences on diaspora journalists, Ogunyemi (2014) found that ethnocentric news values influence frames in the African diaspora press in the UK.

The sum of this work from journalism studies indicates that the ethnocentric and ethno-specific editorial agendas an important role to play in filtering and representing news content. Scholarship that studies diaspora news media, whether it is situated in journalism, migration or sociological studies, tends to presume a shared sense of ethnicity among diaspora media in different locations around the world, but there is little comparative research on whether diaspora media in different geographical locations filter news in the same way. This is an omission from the body of literature on diaspora journalism that this research aims to address.

#### **2.4.1 Ethnocultural Differences and Cultures of Journalism**

Further to identifying differences in journalism cultures and the influence dominant national journalism culture has on the culture of diaspora journalism, Kperogi (2011) found that the relationship between homeland and diaspora journalism can range from cooperative to thinly veiled hostility. One of the reasons, he argues, is the tendency of professional journalists to degrade civilian and amateur journalism to consolidate their authority, but it is necessary also to consider how the clash of journalism cultures might play a part. Kperogi (2011) also finds that there is a tangible impact from producing news media in different journalism-cultural spaces. Specifically, in circumstances where the press regime in the homeland is more repressive than that in the hostland, the diaspora media in the more liberal region can gain centrality in the transnational media ecology, and be viewed as a rival by homeland news media.

In seeking to determine why national journalism is different across the globe despite 'professional norms' and to establish some overarching classification that could be applied to all, journalism scholars have identified a host of different influences on news content and production, which manifest differently when placed in different cultural contexts.

When researching the influences on news content, it is necessary to understand the context in which the news is produced. Researchers aiming to explain the differences in the treatment of news have shown that to assign differences only to national peculiarities is not enough. For example, those who have examined cultures from the national collectivist/individualist dichotomy have found that these single, limited points of comparison are insufficient for explaining differences in either salience or treatment of a topic (Kim and Kelly, 2008). Hanusch and Porter (2001) propose that much more needs to be taken into account, listing worldviews, value systems, systems of social organisation, and systems of representation.

Elsewhere Esser (1998) notes differences in the understanding of what journalism is – differences that should be established when comparing one press culture to another. Earlier, Schudson (1989), looking from a sociological perspective, showed that the political perspectives and agendas of the newsmakers, and the newsrooms, were evident in the content of the titles.

As well as the interconnection of professional identity and ethnocentrism, the journalism cultures of diaspora media are shaped by external factors such as regulation, which is also an essential component in the circuit of culture (Hall *et al.*, 2013). Mainstream news organisations in Ireland, the UK and Australia have national self-regulation systems supported by statute but independent of the state. The purpose of these systems is to facilitate faster and more meaningful redress for press errors (Leveson, 2012; Dunne, 2017). By contrast, in America there are no national regulatory systems, and the press is protected from government interference by the US Constitution. However, in all regions the news media operate under defamation laws which set legal boundaries on what can be published. Because diasporic press cultural identities are situated in different national contexts, it would be expected that the manifestation of differences in diasporic journalism cultures would correspond to differences in rules, regulations and guidelines.

The cultures of journalism manifest in newsrooms shape the production process through the people who work there, the roles they take on and how they think about themselves as journalists. They are also shaped by the regulations where journalism is produced which set boundaries on what can be produced. What does this mean for diaspora news producers who are influenced by the hostland media systems,

ethnocentric values and media regulation? The implications from established research are that diaspora news produced in different geographical locations would display alignment with different hostland journalism cultures. Additionally, the research implies that diaspora journalism would prioritise news that speaks to their sense of ethnocentrism. However, this is problematised by the migratory experience whereby diasporas exist in-between two national cultures, and raises questions as to the role of diaspora journalism in the transnational hybrid media system. This in turn raises questions regarding what it means for the transnational media ecology, the content that is in circulation, and how it is produced by diaspora news media in different locations.

## **2.5 What Shapes Hybrid Diaspora Newsrooms?**

This chapter addresses material, organisational and cultural factors that shape the process of producing diaspora news, underlining the fact that the representations that appear and are circulated throughout the transnational Irish media system are not unfettered but mediated by the process of producing diaspora journalism. These mediating factors include the funds available to produce news, the incorporation of digital practices for news gathering and distribution, the negotiation of various news cycles for reporting, as well as the journalistic cultural forces that place boundaries on what can and cannot be published. Put simply, these factors shape what news about home can be accessed and how much of it can be produced, and put limitations on what can be processed by newsrooms. What can and cannot be produced, how much of it and for what purposes, has an important bearing on the representation of Irish identity and culture in the diaspora press in different parts of the world because these factors create the framework in which Irishness is represented.

The material and financial resources, the business models, profit and orientation towards an imagined audience, as well as news cycles, form the antecedent conditions of news production. Together with consumption, they form the ‘invisible’ part of the circuit of cultural production (Hall *et al.*, 2013). It cannot be presumed that the digital transition impacted diaspora news in the same way as it did mainstream journalism. The material realities of the news production process cannot be disassociated from the interpretation of the symbolic representations and cultural messages that it carries (Kellner, 2006). Siapera (2010) notes the need to understand

the antecedents to discourse because they tell us what the conditions of possibility were. Schudson too (1989) problematises scholarship that approaches newsgathering as unfettered by structural or organisational influences. The newsroom's political economy is the journalistic cultural context in which news content originates, is processed and is distributed. This research aims to redress the absence of this approach in the field of diaspora journalism studies.

The leading research question that can be derived from this addresses the context in which news originates and asks: How do the antecedent conditions of diaspora news production shape what news about Ireland is selected, and how it is presented and circulated? The subsidiary research questions that address the hybrid media system and how it might shape content are: What is the political economy of diaspora newsrooms? How do diaspora news organisations respond to digital developments? How do material and human resources shape what can be produced? How do organisational factors such as news cycles, as well as cultures, shape the news production process?

This chapter addressed the context of production in terms of resources, management, ownership, organisational and cultural factors that can shape *what can be accessed* by diaspora newsrooms to reproduce. It is now necessary to address in more detail the factors that shape *what is selected* and *how* diasporic cultural identities are represented in relation to the homeland. The following chapter addresses the latter part of the circuit of cultural production, which is the process of representations in news texts produced by diaspora media.

## Chapter Three: Representing Home in Diaspora News

### 3.1 Diaspora News: Representations and Identities

This chapter addresses influences on what news is selected and how it is presented. It corresponds to the visible parts of the circuit of cultural production, signification and identity. To analyse these, it is necessary to examine the process through which texts are produced (Hall *et al.*, 2013) and the implications for the wider media system. While the previous chapter addressed the framework in which production occurs, this chapter addresses the process of production within this framework, looking more specifically at how the process of producing diaspora journalism can shape what aspects of Irishness are represented, and how. The visible or tangible aspect of the journalism process begins with news selection, which is shaped by newsroom contexts that dictate what resources are available to access information. In other words, while the previous section addressed the influences on what can be accessed, this section addresses what shapes *what is selected from what can be accessed*. With diaspora newsrooms tending to be geographically dislocated from original homeland news sources, it is necessary to consider the news selection and representation process, as well as how digital media may help or hinder this (Gillespie, 2009). However, as Chadwick (2017) notes, such micro discourses have implications in the macro media system that also needs to be understood.

This chapter addresses representation in journalism, considering the microphases of the process of news production, from news gathering and selection to prioritisation and framing, as well as what factors can shape these steps. Because the focus of analysis is on how the homeland identity is represented, this chapter also addresses concepts of diasporic hybrid identities (Hall, 1993) and situated identities (Appadurai, 1996) and the cultural flow (in the form of news flow) that the diaspora media generate within the transnational Irish news media system.

#### 3.1.1 News Selection and Salience

This section examines the stage in the process of production concerned with identifying stories to reproduce as well as the selection and prioritisation of these

stories in diaspora news media. Östgaard (1965) outlined the three phases through which transnational news passes – selection, writing, publishing – and identifies ideological and practical critical issues such as resources, time sensitivity, geography, news values and editorial styles, as well as social and political factors that shape the selection process. Diaspora journalism, like any journalism, inherently involves the process of selecting and rejecting news stories for the audience before presenting them in news articles. However, what shapes the salience attributed to news stories from home by diaspora journalism? Alternatively, in terms of the circuit of cultural production, what shapes the signification and identity, or the representation process? Again, we must rely on journalism studies and diaspora media studies to identify what concepts should be operationalised to unpack this.

As part of the textual analysis of the cultural production in diaspora journalism, it is necessary to consider what is chosen to be produced, and what shapes this process. The causes of selection and rejection of news are examined in mainstream journalism as gatekeeping theory, which can help inform the research on diaspora journalism. Walter Lippman’s canonical book ‘Public Opinion’ first published in (1922) looks at news and journalism from an audience impact perspective. It argues that facts or the truth are not reproduced in journalism authentically; what is read is not a true representation of events, and could not be (Lippman, 1931). Referring to journalists’ production norms, Lippman notes that facts are not simple, all is not obvious, but subject to choices and opinion.

“Every newspaper when it reaches the reader is the result of a whole series of selections as to what items shall be printed, in what position they shall be printed, how much space each shall occupy, what emphasis each shall have. There are no objective standards here. There are conventions.” (Lippman, 1931, p. 223)<sup>7</sup>

This was written in the 1930s regarding newspapers, but only the medium and resources have changed in the digital age. The process of journalists making the news

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<sup>7</sup> This reveals a potential analytical complexity that needs to be addressed exactly. Journalism from a journalistic perspective is positivist: it is seeking to represent the truth, some aspect of a reality as authentic. However, research shows that for both practical and structural reasons, this is not possible. So it must be accepted that it is not the journalistic perspective that is regarded as valid here, but that of the cultural concept of subjectivised content based on a number of interrelated forces.

has remained largely the same despite their having some additional informational resources such as social media (Thurman, 2008; O'Neill and Harcup, 2009; Prat and Stromberg, 2013). Lippman's emphasis on selection, when viewed in the light of cultural studies, establish it as an essential part of the process of representing homeland identity. Through the selection and omission of news, journalists choose what stories to carry and what not to carry, what is represented about the homeland and what is left unsaid.

For Lippman, coming from a positivist journalism perspective, this was the first point of distorting the truth. Schudson (1989) notes the tension that arises from differences in approach to representing the truth/reality between sociologists and journalists, reflecting the epistemological and ontological differences of the positivist journalist and the post-positivist sociologist. In light of this, cultural researchers should understand selection and presentation as representative of points in the process of mediating, producing or reproducing cultural identity.

Studies that examine the gatekeeping role of journalism in coverage of foreign news highlight the selection and rejection of news stories as the first task in the news production process. In many respects, diaspora journalism coverage of home is a type of foreign coverage, in that reporting on homeland events is inherently news about a nation in which the media organisation is not based. Nosseck (2004) and Schudson (2001) support the contention that journalists as gatekeepers of foreign news at a basic level are responsible for news selection and what foreign news is represented, as well as how.

Galtung and Ruge's (1965) study into how news is 'picked up' and their application of the concept of news values can be informative for understanding how diaspora journalism approaches news selection. They state that what is considered to be a news event is culturally determined. Using radio signals as an analogy, they argue that when the signal is weak a story will not be picked up but a strong signal will be. If it is clear, it is more likely to be picked up than a fuzzy signal, and meaning can more easily be made of it. Galtung and Ruge (1965) identified a range of news values, including: time span to unfold (it must be capable of being reported in a meaningful way: events not social movements); amplitude (the threshold for attention); unambiguity (conventions and the story must be clear, in terms of the Five Ws);

meaning/cultural proximity and relevance (it must be in some way relevant to the receiver: if it is too culturally distant it won't be); consonance/mental image (readers must be able to imagine what is happening: think about the concentration camps, which were difficult to articulate so that mental images could be formed of the scenes); unexpected (rare, out of the ordinary, within the meaningful and the consonant); follow-on story (once newsworthy, a story is likely to come up again); composition (where the totality of the news articles are taken into consideration and if a topic or story has already appeared, it increases the threshold for articles on the same topic to be included.)where it is included).

How do such news values manifest in diaspora journalism? Moreover, do they interact with other factors in the context or process of producing diaspora news? Are some news values more valuable than others? In considering the selection of news content in newsrooms and by journalists, it is essential not to presume that the process is "sociologically untouched" and to map the conditions and criteria that direct selection and omission (Schudson, 2010, p. 265). However, the sociological, cultural or practical influences on diaspora journalism are not fully established. Related to the concepts of gatekeeping and news selection is the issue of agenda setting – which addresses the influences on what news is selected as well as the impact of the editorial agenda addressed in the following section.

### **3.1.2 Agenda Setting Regarding Home**

This section examines the importance of considering what news about Ireland is selected and the frequency with which it is presented in order to fully understand how Irishness is represented through the process of producing diaspora journalism. The topics and stories that are most frequently chosen for presentation can tell different stories about Irish culture today and offer a clear insight into how the cultural identity of diasporas can shape the representation of Irishness.

As an informational resource for migrant groups, diaspora media play an important role in the discursive construction of cultural identity using a range of cultural building blocks which include myths of fraternity, shared history and language, not fixed but always in a process of construction and reconstruction (Castells, 2010; Cunningham and Sinclair, 2001; Ginsburg, 1991; Georgiou, 2006; Hall, 1989; Helmreich, 1992; Karim, 2003). In the case of diaspora journalism, this



power is in the process of selection and omission of stories about homeland, the stories that contain the symbols of shared imagined community and that give shape to the culture flows from a homeland to diaspora media.

Agenda setting is an area of research from journalism studies that examines the extent to which the news media can make political or social topics more salient in the minds of the general public through the frequency and style of representation. “It refers to the idea that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media place on certain issues (e.g., based on the relative placement or amount of coverage) and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences” (Cacciatore, Scheufele and Iyengar, 2016, p. 11). The generic term for journalistic perspectives on what topics or stories news producers consider salient is ‘newsworthiness’ (McCombs, 1993). It is important to note that in this research agenda setting is not conceptualised as the result of any diabolical plan by journalists to control the minds of the public, but as “an inadvertent by-product of the necessity to focus the news” (McCombs, 2004, p. 19).

In the case of diaspora news media, the journalists and editors select (or reject) news from the homeland to republish in online news titles, and this flow of current affairs information from the homeland to diaspora news media carries the symbols and cultural messages about the daily evolution of Irish society and culture. What the producers select to republish is what is considered to be most ‘newsworthy’ about the homeland. Following this, it becomes necessary to understand what diaspora media producers view as having high news value, and to compare newsworthiness in different locations, as well as to understand what the implications of this might be. While this research does not extend to an audience study, it does incorporate the imagined audience and, theoretically, it is established that what stories are selected and prioritised for attention, as well as how stories are framed, has an agenda-setting effect on audiences (McCombs, 1993, p. 20)

The scholarship on the discursive construction of national identity provides a framework for understanding how homeland identity is reproduced in the diaspora press, while the concepts of agenda setting and news flows offer insight into how this occurs in the transnational mediascape. The categories, topics and stories about the

homeland that are more frequently represented in the diaspora press have the power to become priorities for the audience and issues for them to mobilise around.

If the national press plays a role in setting the agenda within the nation, the diaspora press no doubt plays a role in setting the agenda for how diasporas think about the homeland and mobilise around issues in the home state. What current events are selected to be represented and omitted about Ireland has a role to play in setting the agenda for the diasporic communities in different regions of the world because it provides the daily points of identification – the political, social and cultural issues that the news audience is mobilised to respond to. Diaspora press represents the ongoing social, political and cultural developments in Ireland which carry important symbols and messages about what it means to be Irish today and how to engage with Irish society. This flow of information carries the ‘code’ of national identity and culture and is then re-coded for presentation to the new, deterritorialised audience (Keane, 2003; Castells, 2010). This research is concerned with how these codes are produced in diaspora journalism, or the process of signification in the circuit of cultural production.

Whereas agenda-setting studies have identified patterns in the prioritisation of news in mainstream media, the patterns of representation in terms of news agendas of diaspora journalism have not yet been wholly established. Similarly, what influences the selection and rejection of stories about home by diaspora newsmakers that generate the news agenda is not fully understood. It is, however, essential to understand this because what is placed on the agenda offers insight into how diaspora journalism negotiates the homeland identity. In other words, it can explain what stories the diaspora press tell about Ireland, and on further investigation, it can be determined why these stories are told and not others.

### **3.1.3 Framing Homeland Current Affairs**

This section addresses the representation stage of the circuit of production from which it is possible to establish how cultural identities are constructed (Hall *et al.*, 2013). It is not enough to compare the news agendas of the diaspora press regarding the homeland to establish the meanings in diaspora news. Establishing the news agendas can describe what about Ireland and the Irish is presented, but framing can describe how the Irish are characterised. To identify how newsmakers discursively construct homeland culture and society it is necessary to identify how the homeland is framed

in the diaspora press. Newsmaking is a process of selecting stories followed by producing and presenting them, which is explored here through the examination of the process of agenda setting and framing. Framing is “the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights the connections among them to promote a particular interpretation” (Entman, 2007, p. 4).

The concept of framing analysis “is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterised in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences” (Brüggemann, 2014, p. 11) and traditionally it is used to understand how audiences respond to news content. However, this research seeks to understand how framing characterises Irishness and asks whether the frames produced by diaspora newsmakers in different locations are the same. From the perspective of analysing the process of producing news, how it is framed is a critical component of how news is presented and interpreted, and identity represented. As with agenda setting, this is understood not necessarily to be a conscious choice but a result of the need for news to be focused and meaningful.

However, any research using or analysing frame theories must acknowledge that there is no widely held definition, methodology or method of framing analysis. Any approach is centred around the concept that frames have the power to direct attention towards one interpretation of an event or events over another through the use of a wide range of culturally specific ideas, language, technical devices, rhetoric and analogies in news discourse (Marais and Linstrom, 2012). As noted by Brüggemann (2014), frame building is comparatively less well researched than framing effects. He argues that “Journalistic framing practices are situated on a continuum between frame setting and frame sending. Journalists frame their articles more or less in line with their own interpretations” (Brüggemann, 2014, p. 61). has found that ethnocentrism affects the framing of Africa in diaspora journalism. This research seeks to establish the process of framing and what cultural and journalistic factors shape it.

The aim of framing analysis is to identify what themes dominate others, how this dominant frame directs attention to some aspects of an event at the expense of others, and if any frames challenge the dominant frame (Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Marais and Linstrom, 2012). The dominant frame is usually agreed to be a central organising idea that places the news events in an editorially predefined context

(Entman, 1993; Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Marais and Linstrom, 2012). The purpose of frame analysis is to identify and compare dominant frames, and secondary frames that support the dominant frame, as well as conflicting frames that disrupt the homogeneity of the messages carried. It is in the process of distinguishing frames from each other and comparing them that frames can be placed within the hierarchy of dominant frame and secondary supportive frames (Entman, 1993; Marais and Linstrom, 2012).

It is acknowledged that the first-level frame (what is selected for representation) has more power to influence public opinion than the second-level frame (the discursive construction) that describes the events and the actors. This idea is summarised neatly in the concept that the media is good at telling audiences what to think about, but less so what to think about it (McCombs *et al.*, 1993). While it is understood that the second-level frame was found to have mitigated effects in terms of agenda setting, it is nonetheless important to understand how journalism is produced, albeit not received by audiences like a ‘magic bullet’ (Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Marais and Linstrom, 2012).

Here the idea of the discursive construction of national identity comes back into focus and should be kept in mind when determining the how and why the homeland is represented as it is. However, it is important to outline the core difference between the two academic approaches of cultural studies and journalism studies; where journalism scholars discuss distortion of the news or the truth, cultural scholars conceive of it as mediations and representations.

There is little research on what influences how diaspora journalism frames the homeland. Ogunyemi (2014) finds that ethnocentrism can shape how Africa is framed in the African diaspora press. However, this work is focused on one influence, ethnocentrism, and examines framing effects. In contrast, this research is concerned with frame building, or the factors that shape how diaspora journalism represents the homeland, for which it is useful to incorporate some of the established influences on framing from the study of the mainstream media.

Studies have found a range of influences in mainstream news media such as professional norms like objectivism and empiricism (Östgaard, 1965; Wu, 2000; Hanitzsch and Mellado, 2011; Kperogi, 2011), production norms such as syntactical, script, thematic and rhetorical structures (Pan and Kosicki, 1993), political and social

persuasion (McManus, 1994; Schudson, 2002), as well as nationalism and ethnicity (Wu, 2003; Hanusch, 2009; Hanitzsch and Mellado, 2011; Skjerdal, 2011). However, beyond professional formation studies into the diaspora press, there is little outside the journalism studies paradigm to account for what shapes how diaspora journalists frame and represent their homeland and explain the influences on this part of the process of production, something that this research aims to rectify.

The gaps in diaspora journalism studies that render influences on production practices understudied, raises questions that address how critical topics of news about Ireland are framed in the diaspora press. However, they also present broader questions regarding what about the homeland is being framed and how it is negotiated by diaspora newsmakers. The need to understand the signification and identification is part of completing the circuit of cultural production (Hall *et al.*, 2013) so as to establish how Irishness is characterised within the transnational media system. However, Irishness, like any national cultural identity, is not a monolith and there is diversity in its conceptualisations both within and outside of Ireland. This research is concerned with the transnational representation by diaspora news media, and the following section draws on literature from diaspora studies to identify concepts that contextualise this diversity for meaningful analysis of how diaspora journalism discursively constructs and represents homeland identity.

### **3.2 Mediated Negotiation of Essentialism and Hybridity**

This section addresses the differences among diaspora communities that arise from the variety of experiences of historical migration, including push and pull factors, as well as the impact of resettlement and integration of Irish people into new communities and cultures. The presence of diaspora media and their role in mediating national identities introduces concerns about representation, identity and essentialism. The content that is produced by diaspora newsrooms is a cultural artefact that carries the messages and symbols of national identity, as well as denoting the cultural boundaries between the diaspora culture, the hostland culture and the homeland culture. National media help maintain a national identity (Anderson, 1983; Brookes, 1999; Guibernau, 2004); diaspora media have much the same impact of sustaining, negotiating and transforming the diasporic cultural identity (Hall, 1989; Bottomley, 1991; Gillespie

and Cheesman, 2002; Georgiou, 2005; Siapera, 2010). Among the discursive tools communities use to bind together, with varying degrees and effects, are languages, history and myths of fraternity, and the discourses belonging to a nation or culture that are distributed in the print and oral traditions.

Anderson (1993) stressed the ability of the “shared imagined” to bind a community and showed that it was modular and capable of being transplanted across a great variety of social terrains and merging with pre-existing political and ideological constellations by charting how the core binding agent moved from religion to nationalism (Anderson, 1993). Anderson’s second significant contribution to understanding the tools by which nationalism is constructed was in highlighting the seminal role that media play in the process of propagating the form and shape of national identities and cultures (1993).

Although, since the digitisation of news, companies have made some information on specific demographics that engage with and distribute content online more visible, demographics are not audiences (Marwick and boyd, 2011). Such data does not offer newsmakers insight into how the readership conceive of themselves as Irish, and so newsmakers are producing content according to their own concept of the imagined Irish community. The audience/consumers are an important part of the circuit of cultural production and the wider news media system. While this research does not seek to understand the Irish diaspora communities beyond what shapes the representation of the community identity in news media, how diaspora newsmakers conceive their audience shapes the news selection and presentation processes.

The imagined audience is the conceptualisation of the people with whom we are communicating and guides what and how we communicate (Marwick and boyd, 2011; Litt and Hargittai, 2016). The concept resonates with Anderson’s imagined community, particularly when approaching the audience as a national cultural group. Litt (2012) finds that media producers’ imagined audience can vary in conceptualisation from individuals to specific communities of people to large masses. She argues, “The less an actual audience is visible or known, the more individuals become dependent on their imagination” (p. 331).

Hall’s encoding and decoding (1973), supported by Livingstone (2000), problematises the flow of communication, underlining the gaps between the messages

and meaning intended by the producers and the interpretations of different groups of people. There is a misalignment between the producers' imagined audience and an actual audience, an issue that the news media has long contended with (Mensing 2010). While studies into the distribution of news content on social media offers some insights into the demographics and the feedback loop, offering richer insights into how people interpret news, this does not wholly address the idea of how the diaspora editors conceptualise their hybrid community audiences.

Diaspora journalism produces news content for a specific imagined community, a hybrid cultural identity that bridges two or more national identities, here Irish-American, Irish-British and Irish-Australian. While there have been studies into the empirical composition of these communities, the critical question is how do the diaspora news workers conceptualise them?

Cultural identity is shaped and enriched by immediate experience and vice versa; hybrid communities rely on mediated communication of the homeland to sustain this ideological relationship and the source of homeland identification. However, we know little about how news and current affairs operate to maintain the complex cultural diasporic identity, including how diaspora news media meet the trilateral needs of mediating the host, home and internal communities. One of the central cultural negotiations that plays out in diaspora media is the issue of retention of homeland identity and the extent of assimilation into the hostland culture (Georgiou, 2005). This tension between heterogenisation and homogenisation among ethnocultural communities is further problematised by multi-generational and multi-directional migration from one nation. It is acknowledged that diasporas experience different push and pull factors and have varying experiences of resettlement (Clifford, 1994). How does this affect the representation of homeland identity in transnational diaspora media?

### **3.2.1 Situated Hybrid Identities in Diaspora Journalism**

The following section addresses the need to incorporate the concepts regarding diasporic cultural identity in the study of diasporic news production, particularly when comparing diaspora news media from different regions. Drawing on work from cultural studies and globalisation studies, it considers the impact of the hybridisation

of diasporic identity on multi-directional and multi-generational diasporas. Further to this, it questions whether diaspora news produced in different nations would represent the homeland identity in the same way. This illustrates the level of cultural complexity that diaspora journalism must negotiate when selecting and presenting news from 'home'.

Two important theories underpinning how nationally based identities are formed and maintained provide important lenses through which scholars view diasporic identity and culture. The first is that of Edward Said's 'othering' from a literary history perspective and the second, which this study is more interested in, is Benedict Anderson's 'imagined communities' from that of post-colonialism. Both Said (1978) and Anderson (1989) introduce powerful explanatory theories describing how diaspora communities are discursively formed and maintained.

Based on Said's processes of 'othering' (1978), cultural scholars posited that older definitions had failed to take into account the ways in which diasporic and hostland identities were being defined through the process of exclusion of a range of 'others' (other minority cultures and the dominant hostland culture) and the maintenance of a boundary with the dominant culture. This focus on the role and experience of the migratory group within the homeland continues to dominate diaspora studies. The second formative theory of modern diaspora studies, as set out in Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983), illustrates how nationalism and nationhood are constructed discursively through textual and oral cultural outputs of a defined geographically organised group. Examining colonies from the post-colonial point of view, the post-colonial theorist shows how creole and indigenous communities in colonies developed a complex relationship of affinity with the respective colonial power and metropolises, and shows how a sense of nationalism, albeit not a homogenous sense, transcends geographical locations.

Hall (1989) applied these concepts to the conceptualisation of diasporic cultural identity and found it is similarly discursively constructed and involves a complex matrix of situated differences in relation to a host of 'others', and in turn cultural identity can be viewed as a subset, category or part of the wider sense of identity. Identity is not an essential trait nor is cultural identity "a sort of collective one true self" (Hall, 1989, p. 223). This way of considering cultural identity relates to



the production of both sameness and differences in the media of diasporas. The attention to the sense of sameness or shared commonality that is evident in diasporic cultural identity is particularly useful to consider. Hall (1989) offers a way of thinking about this sameness, or 'in-groupness', as cultural identity reflecting the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning beneath the shifting divisions and residues of our actual history (Hall, 1989). This idea of stability is useful as it helps maintain part of a dynamic of group identity, the other being difference or othering. For Hall, both difference and sameness in cultural identity can be discursively produced; it involves the telling and retelling of the past but also looks to the future; it is as much as about becoming as being.

Cultural identity is a 'positioning' and identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned. Diasporic identity is inherently positioned in relation to two or more dominant, usually nationally orientated identities, resulting in "a place or sense of in-betweenness" (Hall, 1989, p. 223). When we consider the transnational nature of diasporas, the building blocks from history, geography, biology, production norms, collective memory and religion, from personal and group aspirations, are different to the cultural identity of the homeland from which the group 'dispersed'. However, diasporic groups positioned in relation to the same homeland, but in different hostlands, may form different cultural identities from each other; the spaces in-between nations that they occupy can be vastly different, depending on the hostlands.

Appadurai's (1996) theories on the situated nature of the diasporic identity allude to the idea that different diasporas could have different representations of the homeland, and to each other, which have not been fully explored. The historical experience of migrants shapes how their identities are constructed and expressed. Appadurai (1996) argues that the constructive forces of media and migration (mediascape) have been factors in producing "a new order of instabilities in the production of modern subjectivities" (p. 33). The disruption and disjuncture to the traditional nation state by migration and representation of new identities is argued to dissolve the power of national identities. However, this does not make national identities redundant; according to Appadurai's concept of the ethnoscape, the cultural group is maintained through the ideological alignment or identification with, if not a

nation then a national identity. Additionally, Castells (2010) argues that the power of the nation state or national identity are not lessened but transformed by the networked society.

However, the differences between diasporas and the homeland may not be articulated so extremely or be so disruptive. Appadurai accepts that only some differences are cultural, and these differences shape the cultural part of group identity. Because his study focuses on the differences that either “express or set the groundwork for the mobilisation of group identities” (1996, p. 13), it may overemphasise the nature of disruption. This qualification, he says, allows researchers to situate cultural identity within a wider framework of how a “variety of differences are at play in the within/without group dynamic” (1996, p. 13). However, Hall (1992) and Anderson (1993) remind us to balance this with the sense of constructing sameness.

### **3.2.2 Multi-Directional Migration and Fractal Identities in News Media**

This section addresses the consequences of the historical contexts of migrations and how they might impact on the representation of Irishness in diaspora news media today. The diasporic identity is hybrid, incorporating the cultures of both home and hostland, and diaspora media have a role to play in brokering the homeland culture to the deterritorialised audience through the discourse produced in the news content. Such complexity requires inspection of what about the homeland is being incorporated and negotiated, and how it is discursively framed by diaspora newsmakers.

Hall (1992) when reconciling the tension between the nation (sameness) and difference (boundary maintenance in the hostland) looked to media representations and described the nation as a “system of cultural representations” (p. 292). Diasporic identity is always in process of production, and diaspora “participate in the idea of a nation as represented in national culture. A nation is a symbolic community” (p. 274). This community extends beyond the borders of a nation state, and because the national identity is mediated it incorporates a nation’s migrants as part of national media ecology. Media “produce meaning about the nations with which we can identify” (Hall, 1992, p. 275). While the terms ‘hostland’ and ‘homeland’ are used in this study to meaningfully signify the countries or cultures which Irish diaspora communities identify with and to understand the relationship between the two, they do not denote the actual ‘homeland’ or ‘hostland’ of diasporans, but rather the concept with which

they identify. Hall (1993) and Gilroy (1997) underline that diasporic identities are hybrid, drawing on different cultures and existing in a space in-between both, and may not consider either country a 'home' or a 'host'.

The approach to defining a nation by Hall (1989) and Castells (2010) incorporates the idea of self-organisation and the complexities of globalisation and complicated citizenry. "More valuable by far than common customs posts and frontiers conforming to strategic ideas is the fact of sharing, in the past, a glorious heritage and regrets, and of having, in the future, [a shared] programme to put into effect, or the fact of having suffered, enjoyed, and hoped together. These are the kinds of things that can be understood in spite of differences of race and language" (Bhabha, 2013, p. 19).

However, Hall's particular concerns were about how the imagined community of the nation reached the minds of the diaspora, and this process was not exempt from exertions of cultural power. (Wodak, 2009), Said (1978) and Anderson (1983) all looked at print; Hall (1989, 19

91), Gilroy (1982) and Ginsberg (1991, 1994) focused on broadcasting and visual platforms, and Appadurai (1996), although not focused on cases, stressed the core role played by diaspora media in cultural flows.

The discursive construction of sameness among the diaspora community and difference from the hostland culture is important for understanding how diasporic communities are sustained over long periods and help explain the non-assimilation of ethnocultural identities. However, these concepts should be extended to consider the globally dispersed nature of producing sameness and difference. The treatment of homeland–diaspora identity as a dichotomy is problematic because it does not incorporate the complexity of multi-generational and multi-directional migration that produced different hybrid cultures in different parts of the world. It is underpinned by the idea that diasporas from one nation situated in different parts of the world are the same, and is derived in part from the lack of comparative diasporic research in the field. When discussing the idea of news media producing sameness, is this the same in different geographic locations? How shared is the shared imagined?

Situated identities (Appadurai, 1996) are related to historically situated imaginations, so while diasporas are physically a cultural group based in one state but

with a shared historical experience based in another, their identities take on a hybrid form, almost trilateral in nature, engaged with both hostland and homeland cultures as well as their specific community composition. Studying diaspora media in any respect can involve unweaving and understanding the complex tapestry that makes up the ‘in-betweenness’ or hybridity of diasporic identities.

There was a tendency in academia to approach the concept of ‘diasporas’ as meaning diasporas from different nations, as opposed to many diasporas stemming from one nation (Butler, 2001, p. 193). The Jewish diaspora was often spoken about as a homogeneous group, but it is clear that the diasporic experiences of the Jewish communities in America and those in Germany in the early 1940s were very different. Nonetheless they retained a sense of the same attachment to a shared identity. This points to a much more complex dynamic in terms of how we should conceptualise diasporas and the process of forming a diasporic cultural identity. Context is influential on how diasporas view themselves, and it has been established that hostland cultures also influence diaspora cultures, which indicates that the influences on diasporic culture would be different from host culture to host culture (Matsaganis and Katz, 2013). Based on this, when the cultural artefacts of different diasporas with a shared homeland are inspected, one would expect that the homeland culture would be represented differently in the respective diasporic media and therefore the source of homeland identity would not be the same. This establishes the need to identify and compare the regional news agendas and framings of Ireland to understand how migration and the culture of different diasporic communities might shape the representation of Irishness. Diaspora media must be researched from the perspective of situated hybrid diaspora cultures that are always in the process of creating new sameness and difference to maintain the cultural boundary, but are not exempt from the influence of power structures which control the sources of cultural identification (Hall, 1997; Wodak, 2006).

However, this raises questions as to the situated nature of the diasporic media that elect to mediate between two or more cultures. Each diaspora from one nation is situated in a different cultural and historical context from the homeland and each other and so we should not so much speak of a nation’s diaspora, as its diasporas; similarly, diaspora media in different hostlands would represent different diasporic cultures. Diaspora news media communicates to the audience something about their hybrid,

transnational cultural identity. Specifically, it “reproduces and transforms cultural identity among people who have experienced political, geographic and economic disruption” and it allows for self-expression and representation as well as the potential for the expansion of the community or transformation of the community shaped by their interests and cultural regeneration (Ginsburg, 1991, p. 216).

In such a complex environment, the capacity of the diaspora press to insert news narratives, cultural codes, into the Irish mediascape must also be considered. The potential of both difference and sameness to manifest in the patterns of selection and representation of the homeland identity in diasporas should be taken into consideration when asserting the power of diaspora media to transform or even alter the conceptualisation of Irishness. Are Irish diaspora news media in different regions telling the same stories about home. They propose that news media do not reflect reality, they filter and shape it, and that news media’s concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as the most salient. McCombs and Shaw (1993) advise that the frequency and the attributes of a story’s representations are indicators of its salience.

Recognising the historically situated and hybrid identities and cultures of different diaspora communities raises questions regarding the similarities and differences in the news media produced by diasporas in different locations. Are the news agendas the same in different regions? Moreover, is the homeland culture represented in the same way? Do the diaspora news media in different regions frame current homeland affairs in the same way? And what does this mean for the transnational, geographically dispersed ethnocultural group?

### **3.3 Culture Flows and Transnational Circulation of Diaspora News**

This section outlines the landscape of the transnational media network, or mediascape, which is the result of circuits of reproducing news stories about Ireland by digital news media organisations in multiple geographical locations. The following section addresses the impact of these globally dispersed media groups on the representation of Irishness and identifies the factors that can shape the production and distribution of Irish identity in diaspora journalism. Finally, it describes the need to examine the cultural texts and their circulation in the transnational diaspora press as culture flows,

incorporating the study of news flows from journalism studies. However, first it is necessary to address the concept of news as a carrier of national cultural representations. Berkowitz (2011) underlines the importance of conceptualising texts produced by news media as cultural artefacts which represent core values and meanings. He notes that often within the field of journalism studies, the practices and values in newsrooms are assumed to be natural. However, by conceptualising news as a cultural practice, news texts as cultural artefacts and culture itself as a domain that articulates and negotiates power structures through representation, how national cultural identity is produced and reproduced and what practices and values shape this can be more meaningfully identified.

Additionally, Berkowitz (2011) and Jenkins and Deuze (2008) assert that there are many types of journalism, and in the digital era a wider range of news media producing a wider range of news content that has been transformed by new digital technologies. However, regardless of the complexity of the ecology with its new formats, these scholars underline the fact that the news media mediate between peoples and communities by reproducing their surrounding culture. Drawing on this conceptual framework, news is culture and culture is news. While Jenkins and Deuze (2008) focus on how consumers are asserting control of culture flow, their examples are based on media systems where ‘traditional’ and digitally transformed factors that shape production have already been established. In this study, there is a need to first establish the role of diaspora news media and how it has been digitally transformed in order to understand the cultural representations in the news. The following sections examine in more detail the transnational digital landscape in which the Irish diaspora news media operate and represent the complexities of contemporary Irishness transnationally.

### **3.3.1. The Topography of Mediascapes and Ethnocultural Networks**

Having established the potential for differences in the historical experience of migration to develop differences in how diasporic communities are situated, as well as the hybrid nature of diasporic identities, it is necessary to understand the media and ethnoscapes in which Irishness is mediated and circulated (Appadurai, 1996). This section addresses the need to consider the concepts of mediation and representation by

diaspora news media in this complex context to fully understand the process of representing Irishness in the transnational media system (Chadwick, 2017).

Both Castells (2010) and Appadurai (1996) were interpreting the impact of migration and media on globalisation and nation states. Castells's (1997, 2010) analytical framework of a global 'networked society' was developed in 1997, not long after the publication of Appadurai's 'Disjuncture and Difference' (1996) which uses the similar concept of 'scapes'. Barney (2004) also discusses the idea of networks or scapes in discussing nodes, flows and ties in *The Network Society*; more recently, Oyeleye (2017) has adopted the term 'circuits' to describe the landscape of diaspora journalism. These concepts were part of the general shift in social sciences from areas such as audience and effects research to globalisation and multiculturalism, and from linear paradigms to those of circular/loop, and from the perspectives of power and resistance in identity to that of fractal identities. Appadurai (1996) argues that migration-media have loosened the internal coherence that sustained conventions around national identities as diasporas reconstruct culture and identity differently in regionally distinct contexts. Castells (2010) recognises this phenomenon but disagrees with the extent of the diluting effect on national cultural identity.

Although the theories of Appadurai (1996) and Castells (1997, 2010) are similar in that they offer a new way of seeing global flows of information as globally networked and transnational, what Castells (2010) illustrated in his revision was how the 'nodes' or 'landmarks' of cultural influence (media) in the transnational network or 'scapes' could rise and fall in gravitas. As global networks increased, the nation's influence was somewhat diluted, but it has reasserted itself in a new way.

Nations or national cultures and national identities are not fixed entities, but always in the process of reproduction through the media (Hall, 1991; Gilroy, 1993) and transformation. Castells (2010) argues that nationalism, and so in turn nations, have recovered a dominant role in the post-neo-liberal states. He argues that globalisation is not an unyielding force by pointing to how political state actors are challenging the globalisation process on behalf of national interests, amid feelings of dissatisfaction with and betrayal by globalisation, pointing to the EU as an example. The development of the EU, he argues, symbolises the suppression of the traditional nation state effectively and conceptually, and he sees the resumption of the new and

different form of a nation state: “A network of national and international political actors jointly exercising global governance” (2010, p. xxxi).

However, national identities are rarely homogeneous or uniformly expressed. For example, in the Irish context of the USA, the Protestant-Irish community was not represented in the media, which focused specifically on the Catholic-Irish (Akenson, 1993; Bielenberg, 2014). Similarly, Siapera (2010) asks, “is the Muslim Press in the UK, can we really say that it is representative of the entire Muslim community?” (p. 97) These are important issues in cultural identification and representation and reminders that it cannot be presumed that a diasporic media outlet is representative of the entire group, and care must be taken when making claims about the production and representation of national cultural identity. Representativeness is something Stuart Hall was concerned with in ‘Encoding/Decoding’ (2003) which illustrated the diversity in national audiences’ interpretations of media, influenced by contextual circumstances such as cultural background or social class. This immediately presents questions around whether the media are representative or, more accurately, who exactly they are representing, who uses them as a vehicle for identification. The central tension that underpins the political debate in diaspora media is whether the community should retain essentialism or assimilate into the values of the host culture.

Cultural identity is shaped and enriched by immediate experience and vice versa – hybrid communities rely both on digitally mediated communication of the homeland to sustain this relationship, and this source of identification. The discursive construction of diasporic culture is not immune to the influence of power (Hall, 1991) and the media are acknowledged to be powerful factors in the maintenance of ethnocultural identities through the representation of the in-group culture (Smith, 1991; Anderson, 1993). The presence of media organisations – the nodes that link the communities in the global network – that are organised around national identity is the infrastructure in the global media landscape that represents Ireland as a homeland. This presents the third set of research questions asking: What does the transnational Irish mediascape or global network look like? Where are the landmarks of power centred? Moreover, what might this mean for the mediation of identity to the transnational group?



### 3.3.2 Culture Flows from the Nation to Diasporas, via Digital Media

While this study aims to understand how diaspora news media represent Irishness transnationally, the broader consequence of such representation must also be considered. This section addresses the landmarks or features of the transnational media system/scape to establish where Irish diaspora news media are centred and how representations of Irishness are communicated and mediated transnationally. The selection of specific news stories about Ireland by diaspora news media to reproduce in other countries generates a flow of information about Ireland in which the symbolic meanings of Irishness are encoded and embedded.

On the global scale, diaspora media operate as nodal points in a global information network that broker information about homeland and hostland and generate transnational information flows (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 1997, 2010; Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2008). Appadurai's theories of the new fluid landscape of the global modern, and disjuncture and disruption in global cultural flows, are influenced by two powerful combined constitutive forces on the global cultural process, migration and media – two concepts that he ties together analytically in a non-mutually-exclusive form (1996). Diasporas for Appadurai (1996) have caused disjuncture in global political, economic, social and cultural ties, which can no longer be strictly understood in terms of the centre–periphery model.<sup>8</sup> He argues that diasporas and their media have changed the global cultural flow, and proposes the need to consider new ways of thinking about the new global disjuncture – what he describes as five 'scapes', referring to the unevenness of landscapes. The five 'scapes' are: mediascapes (culture flow), ethnoscapes (migration), technoscapes (distribution of technology), financescapes (global capital flow) and ideoscapes (ideology).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> As Appadurai states, the disjuncture and difference theory is highly sensitive to perspective; diaspora identities "are not objective, but perspective dependent, and are constituted by [...] historically situated imaginations". But the level of analysis is worth noting. Said was looking specifically at the historical construction of Western identities in relation to the East as effectively a case study, while Appadurai is taking a bird's eye view of the global cultural flows in relation to recent technological developments. Othering can be seen as a part of difference; it is difference manifested and is visible in cultural output in certain cases.

<sup>9</sup> The reliance on difference is a less dichotomous idea of othering and offers a more matrix-orientated view of how identity is constituted to a range of others and is context dependent. For Appadurai it is the special use by Derrida and his followers of 'difference' that is the most valuable concept of culture; he says that when something, anything as such, is understood in the cultural dimensions the idea of situated difference should be stressed (1996, p. 12). He

Digital media “transform the field of mass mediation because they offer new resources and new disciplines for the construction of the imagined selves and imagined worlds”, which creates a “new order of instabilities in the production of modern subjectivities” (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33). However, this is an overreliance on the idea of difference and contrary to Hall (1991), Castells (2010) or Anderson (1993), who acknowledges the power of sameness even if he did not specifically research it. While the strength in Appadurai’s ‘scapes’ lies in describing on a global level what cultural flows might look like and the complexity of mediating historically situated diasporic identities, a more focused image of these flows can be determined through capturing, in this case, digital news flows to diaspora sites and examining them to determine the nature of media’s role in the form the diasporic identity takes, in terms of representing both sameness and difference.

Appadurai’s framework for analysing cultural flows among a nation and diasporas is important because it moves beyond the linear view of centre–periphery cultural flows. Appadurai’s (1996) findings focus on the disruptive and ‘disjuncturing’ impact of migration and media. However, in the absence of empirical evidence for the volume and character of these flows, it overlooks the potential for some stability in cultural flows, order in the chaos, with the continued production of the sense of ‘sameness’ or shared homeland identity by a diasporic group.<sup>10</sup> However, we must be sensitive to the level of analysis here, which is much wider than that of Hall (1993), Gilroy (1993), Georgiou (2005, 2006) or this study, as Appadurai is seeking to develop a “general theory of a global cultural process” (1996, p. 33).

Castells (1997, 2010) too was concerned about the flow of information specifically from the perspective of the economics of culture in the globalised world. He suggests that radical changes in communications technology resulted in the dilution of the power of the mass media and the linear flow of information, and a shift towards a networked society of horizontal communication channels which is made up

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summarises both the concept and its impact succinctly in the comment, “One man’s imagined community is another man’s political prison.” But this idea can be taken too far and becomes removed from the day-to-day reality of global flows between long-standing diasporic sites and homeland nations.

<sup>10</sup> As a result it would be anticipated that the findings of this study would, even if the theory was applied in a pure sense, be different to Appadurai’s, which he predicts in stressing the perspective and context sensitivity of cultural research.

of “dimensions of social organisation and social practice” (1997, p. 1). While Castells sees the institutions of the nation state as having lost their capacity to control the global flows of information and wealth, he does not see these flows as being ‘free’ but subject to a range of powerful forces, such as ethnocultural identity (1997, 2010). He argues that a key feature of the network society in the information age is that “it is polycentric and hierarchical at the same time” (1997, p. xxvii). These points of hierarchy, for Castells, are the ‘nodes’, special sites of cultural importance – not global cities, but global informational networks that are manned by skilled professionals (2010).

These professionals are part of cultural groups, such as diasporas, and have cultural identities which can originate from dominant institutions and can be internalised and become part of the identity of a group that discursively constructs meaning about itself through media. To understand how a diasporic identity is represented in media it is necessary to consider not only the building blocks that dictate the form cultural identity takes, but also the modes of media production and the forces that weigh on them. What blocks are available and how they are presented may be different in different hostland cultures, indicating that diasporas from one nation may not manifest the same cultural identities as those of the homeland or of each other.

However, there is little scholarship that compares the quantity and qualities of these flows. The research questions that emerge from this address such cultural complexity, asking: What messages about the homeland identity are carried in the transnational culture flows from Ireland to the diaspora press? And are diaspora media in different parts of the world producing the same stories about Ireland and representing Irishness in the same way?

There has been much attention given to how digital diaspora media generate transnational information flows, on governmental, corporate and individual levels (Kperogi, 2011). However, these flows are often broadly conceptualised as communication, information or culture, resulting in a similar lack of specificity to the analysis that comes from broadly defining the industries that generate these flows as media. It does not tell us about what these flows are comprised of or what they look like, quantitatively or qualitatively, only how they are generated, by whom and what the broad social and geopolitical impacts are. This is not to dilute the necessity of understanding the transnational framework nor the broad implications of the flows

increasing in volume and pace, only to say that at a headline level there is a lack of clarity that needs to be addressed through platform-specific analysis that can give shape and form to these flows. Journalism studies have long offered a way to record news flows and in doing so they provide insight into the application of news values and the nature of ethnocentrism which reveals the news agenda of the area under analysis, organisational or regional.

Because of advances in digital technology, it is now possible to capture the culture flows or the information that passes through the transnational digital media channels forged by migration that form the 'networked society'. Once the flows from one nation to its diasporas have been captured, they can be analysed to determine the nature of the national identity represented in each of the diaspora media. From this, it is possible to establish whether the flows are the same or different from the homeland to different diasporic sites. It is also possible to gauge if these flows are truly disruptive and diluting of the role of national homeland identity, or if there is an undercurrent of stability and sameness that underpins these flows.

While the established research on global information or culture flows theoretically recognises the phenomenon of global information flows, only Castells quantifies flows in the form of economic or financial flows (2010). What is absent from this area is the quantification and characterisation of information flows within a defined mediascape or transnational media network. The conceptualisation of news from home as information flow and adaptation of news flow study for diaspora news media can give shape and form to the broad cultural flows within the transnational Irish news network.

Previous work does acknowledge that the flow of information is not unfettered and is constructed by globally dispersed media nodes. These news media reconstruct and represent what it means to be Irish, but questions remain over where these nodes are clustered. There may not be significant differences in representation where the nodes are regionally limited while there may be a wider range of cultural complexity where they are evenly dispersed throughout the world and represent a wider range of hybrid identities.

### 3.3.3 Comparative News Flows

This section describes how the approach to news flow analysis from international relations scholars can help reveal the composition of culture or information flow in digital diaspora journalism. Diaspora journalism can be conceptualised as a form of foreign news coverage in that the coverage is inherently about another country, here the ‘homeland’. The reproduction of current affairs about the homeland in the diaspora news media generates news flows which carry information about homeland culture and society. To understand precisely what categories of information, topics and stories about the homeland are represented in the digital diaspora press and its role in the mediation of national identity, it is necessary to identify the types of news that flow from the homeland to different diaspora sites before examining what messages are carried in the content.

There is an established framework for identifying and comparing international news flows to reveal and compare the characteristics of ‘newsworthiness’ between countries which can be adapted for comparative diaspora news studies.

Studying news flows tells us about the characteristics of news that are considered to be most newsworthy in different locations (Östgaard, 1965) and from analysing the content of news flows it is possible to understand the cultural and production conditions that shape what news is selected for prioritised representation and what is not. News flows are generated by diaspora journalists selecting stories about the homeland for republishing in another nation state (Wu, 2000; Kavoori, 2007; Rai and Cottle, 2007).

Although the focus of this study is on how the homeland is represented it is important to note that how the news flows from one country to diasporas in different geographic locations is not a linear centre–periphery flow but multi-directional with a contraflow. “So the hitherto unidirectional flow of news from the homeland to the diaspora has now given way to a new flow which is not just bidirectional but, in fact, circuitous” (Kperogi, 2011, p. 230). However, in terms of how the homeland identity is represented and conceptualised in the diaspora press, it is the homeland-to-hostland flow that is of vital importance as it carries current affairs which chronicle the daily developments and evolutions in Irish society and culture. And while Kperogi considers the theory of news flows he does not chart them and, because of this, misses potential

patterns within the content of the flows and production factors that could shape the content, and describes news flows as a “labyrinthine multi-dimensionality” (2011, p. 233). Within international relations and journalism studies, several important research papers identify factors influencing news flows that can be considered.

Regionality (Östgaard, 1965; Wu, 2003; O’Neill and Harcup, 2009), trade links, access to news brokers (Wu, 2003), news values (Wu, 2003; O’Neill and Harcup, 2009), ethnocentrism and national identity (Nossek, 2004; Ogunyemi, 2014) and cultural proximity (Östgaard, 1965) are among the variables that international relations scholars have found that shape global news flows.

A recent review of news flow theory in international relations from Elad Segev (2015) is informative here.<sup>11</sup> He identifies some common broad news determinants for international news flows:

“(a) national traits (e.g. the size and power of the foreign country), (b) relatedness (namely, proximity to that foreign country in terms of geography, demography, etc.) and (c) events (e.g. disasters, wars, conflict, local protest).” (Segev, 2015, p 2).

Because the relatedness of the diasporic community to the homeland is ‘fixed’, as are the homeland events that would be covered in different diasporic sites, these two influences are controlled for, and so the differences in the treatment of the homeland topics and how salient they are considered to be can be associated with the respective diasporic/national traits. Again, when we consider how national traits are conceived of in cultural studies as national identity, the parallel is clear: it must be acknowledged that national culture influences the news culture, and news cultures will dictate the news flow through the selection and representation process of content production.

Kperogi (2011), researching the Nigerian diaspora and the news contraflows from online news organisations in the USA to Nigeria, finds that news from the homeland flows to the diaspora press faster than the contraflow of news from the diaspora back to home. In the case of Nigeria, where the press in the homeland is working under more restrictive regimes, Kperogi (2011) finds that the traditional central–periphery linear information flow is reversed. The diaspora news produced in

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<sup>11</sup> However, the overt positivist position that international relations scholars can take must be remembered in terms of the authenticity of their claim-making.

more liberal press systems can have a powerful impact on social and political affairs in the homeland because they can deal with stories that were suppressed in the homeland or engage in discourse that might be taboo. Ireland is not comparatively as socially or politically repressive, but regarding some press freedoms Ireland is more restrictive than the Irish-American press.

What we also understand from the theories on culture flows is that the news flows will not be the same, with variable factors having different levels of influence on what stories are selected for re-presentation and what are rejected. Much of the research on diaspora journalism to date has focused on single case studies of one diaspora in one hostland, but by comparing the news flows from a homeland to multiple diasporas the similarities and differences between the news flows can be identified. Evidence for culturally situated differences can be found in the news that flows to the digital diaspora press from a homeland, and patterns of representation and prioritisation can be analysed in depth to detect differences in embedded codes about a homeland cultural identity.

By establishing and comparing the news flows in the Irish diaspora media system it is possible to identify what types of stories the diaspora news media tell about Ireland and what stories they tell about each other, as well as the differences between them. Comparing the news flows among the diaspora news media located in different regions of the world indicates what is considered most newsworthy about Ireland and other diaspora communities in different regions and is critical to understanding the representations of Irishness.

### **3.4 Research Questions**

Chapter two and chapter three establish the central requirements of this thesis, that to understand the representations of Irishness in the diaspora press, both journalistic factors and the cultural contexts of historical migration should be taken into account. Both the factors shaping the processes of producing journalism transnationally and the situated hybrid nature of the communities can impact on what and how news about another country is presented. By incorporating the mediascape and the consequences of transnational news production as culture flows, this study also incorporates the representations of Irishness more broadly and considers the extent to which diaspora

news media are about to inject different presentations and discourses of Irishness into the media system. The literature focusing on journalism and diaspora mediations indicates that neither the diaspora nor the diaspora media can be conceptualised as monoliths but must be considered in terms of their pluralities and diversity.

The impact of news media in different locations to reconstruct different identities based on their situated, hybrid identities has the potential to disrupt, alter or add to the range of narratives around Irishness. The question, however, is, Does it? It is not clear whether diaspora journalism reinforces dominant conceptualisations of Irishness or presents alternative or counter-narratives. Only empirical research that can compare the range of representations in terms both of *what* aspects of Ireland are presented and *how*, in different regions of the world where diaspora journalism is produced, can address this. By examining the volume and character of news flows, as well as mapping the nodes in the mediascape, it is possible to establish the extent to which diaspora news media contribute to new ways of thinking about Irishness by inserting new narratives and interpolations.

There are conceptual approaches that identify cultural production or cultural representation, as a process, with a range of external and internal forces shaping each stage from initiation of production to consumption and the dialectical relationship between them (Hall *et al.*, 2013). Similarly, news organisations are increasingly researched as cultural organisations (Schudson, 1989; Berkowitz, 2013), although the news has long been examined as a cultural artefact which carries messages regarding what it means to be part of a nation or national culture (Anderson, 1993). Moreover, diaspora news production results in global distribution of homeland news and the generation of cultural flows.

While it is acknowledged that the field of diaspora journalism is emerging and that in a short period it has developed as a discipline between media and cultural studies, there is a range of influential explanatory factors of the representations that are carried in diaspora journalism which are yet to be addressed. It is necessary to draw on research from journalism studies and migration studies to gauge what is omitted from the academic body of knowledge that addresses diaspora journalism. The political economy which shapes what can be achieved with the resources that are available is a crucial component in news production.



Scholars should be wary of overemphasising the effect of any one of these factors on representations where the others have not been included in the study. The circuit of cultural production (Hall *et al.*, 2013) is a useful model which does not suggest that all forces weigh equally on all news production and at all stages, and an understanding of the hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2017) is important for appreciating how different media relate to one another. Some factors may weigh more heavily on certain phases of the news production process, such as material or human resources, while others, such as journalism cultures, may have a more diffused effect across the production process. Empirical research is required to unpack these issues and to identify how they operate in diaspora newsrooms. Bearing in mind the lens of the circuit of cultural production model, the need to address some journalistic considerations omitted in diaspora journalism studies and the unexplored potential impact of multi-direction migration on diaspora hybrid identities, a range of interlinked research questions emerge from the need to approach the representation of Irishness in the diaspora press as a multidimensional issue.

RQ 1: To address the antecedent conditions outlined in chapter two, the first set of research questions asks what the contexts of producing Irish diaspora journalism are and how the context shapes what is selected and represented in diaspora news.

RQ 1.1 What are the material factors that shape news production and what was the impact of digitisation on the Irish diaspora press?

RQ 1.2: What are the organisational factors that shape the production of diaspora journalism?

RQ 1.3: How do cultures of journalism in different hostlands shape how Ireland and Irishness is represented in the diaspora press?

RQ 2: To understand what stories about the Irish are told by diaspora newsmakers, the second set of research questions addresses what news stories about Ireland are selected and prioritised for representation.

RQ 2.1: What is the composition of news flows regarding categories, topics and stories that flow to the diaspora press?

RQ 2.2: Are there differences in the news that flows from the homeland to diaspora news media in different regions?

RQ 2.3: To what extent do diaspora news media bypass the homeland and represent the current affairs of other diasporic groups?

RQ 3: Addressing the production of cultural texts and symbolic representations of Irishness within the news flows, the third set of research questions asks how Irishness is framed in the diaspora press.

RQ 3.1: Is Irishness framed in the same way in different regions?

RQ 3.2: To what extent are different representations disruptive of the hegemonic representations of Irish identity?

The following chapter details the Irish diaspora news industry and Irish migration to offer context to the empirical research and analysis, and it is followed by the research design and methodology that explain what methods can best be applied to address these research questions.

## Chapter Four: Ireland's Digital Diaspora Press

This chapter offers contextual information regarding the historical contexts of migration and the development of the digital diaspora press, as well as discussion on the specific conceptualisation by and of the Irish as migrants. It describes the broad contexts from which Irish diaspora news organisation originate and in which they operate in order to establish the basis of situated differences in the culture and identities of each diasporic group, as discussed in chapter three. The following sections offer a brief history of Irish migration, the development of the digital diaspora press, the locations and readerships, as well as a discussion of Irish migrant identities and cultures.

### 4.1 Diaspora News Media

Practically, diaspora media develop in response to the informational needs of migrant communities, which tend to not see adequate representation in the national media of either homeland or hostland (Siapera, 2010). However, from a cultural perspective diaspora media communicates to the diaspora audience something about their hybrid, transnational cultural identity. Diaspora media reproduce and transform the homeland cultural identity among people who have experienced political, geographic and economic disruption, facilitating self-expression and self-representation (Ginsburg, 1991).

The media content produced is a cultural artefact that carries messages and symbols of a national homeland identity, as well as denoting the cultural boundaries between the diaspora culture, the hostland culture and the homeland culture. Anderson (1993) stressed the ability of the 'shared imagined' to bind a community. Diasporic identity is formed and maintained through mediation in much the same way as national identity, although the topics of interest are orientated to the diasporic audience, drawing on the culture of the homeland and hostland.

One of the central cultural negotiations that plays out in diaspora media is the issue of retention of homeland identity and the extent of assimilation into hostland culture. This tension between heterogenisation and homogenisation among ethnocultural communities has been identified in close case analysis by Ginsburg (1991), who looked at indigenous media and mediation found in a case study of

Aboriginal Australia, and in global analysis by Appadurai (1996), who found an increase in disjuncture and difference among national identities caused by the dissolving effect of migration and media. Irish diaspora media have developed in much the same way and for many of the same reasons as all ethnic/minority/diaspora media – to serve the informational and cultural needs of the deterritorialised audience. This research examines digital news media specifically; however, historically Irish diaspora newspapers have been in circulation since the seventeenth century. Then and now, there are examples of tensions arising from the representations and mobilisations in these publications.

## 4.2 Irish Diaspora News Media

Irish migration over four centuries has resulted in a large, highly dispersed diaspora estimated to be 70 million strong. There are multiple examples of Irish diaspora news publications in the global cities where migrants have congregated en masse since the 1800s. Then, as today, the titles were engaged in informing their ethno-specific audience with news about home, developments in the community, and life in the hostland. From historical archives Irish and diaspora historians have identified various values, practices and mobilisations of Irish communities for political and social causes both at home and in new hostlands. Often publications were aligned to specific political or religious causes. This, however, should be viewed with a sense of historical sympathy: the subjectivity of the content did not undermine the roles journalists or editors, as the demand for impartiality and objective journalism was only introduced to the industry as a standard after the Second World War (Wilkes, 2002).

Historically there are examples of the Irish diaspora newspapers representing a range of agendas regarding both homeland and hostland affairs. In the early Irish diaspora press, there are many examples of conflicting agendas and disputes through diaspora publications regarding the mobilisation of the Irish audience for homeland political causes. Examples include the Home Rule movement, the Great Famine, the response to the 1916 Rising, the independence movement and so on throughout Irish history (Akenson, 1993; Ignatiev, 1995). It was in news publications such as the *Irish Exile* or the *Fenian Volunteer* that the Irish diaspora negotiated and constructed their culture, hybrid identity and roles as new migrants in the host communities. In *How the*

*Irish Became White* (1995), Noel Ignatiev chronicles coverage in Irish-American newspapers (and American papers established by Irishmen) of promotion and criticism of Daniel O’Connell’s calls to the American diaspora to support the anti-slavery movement and the Home Rule movement in Ireland. Irish historical scholars have used diaspora news publication as primary source material to chronicle the political and social trends among the Irish diaspora in reaction to both homeland and hostland current affairs. Less understood is the role of diaspora news publications themselves as mediators, their news ecology and range of voices in the transnational discourse, their selection and omission of material, the ways in which they represented current affairs, and the implications of all this.

**A non-comprehensive list of Irish Diaspora newspapers (print and digital)**

<b>USA</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>UK</b>	<b>Dates</b>
The Freeman’s Journal	1763–1924	Anti-Jacobin	1797–1798
Ulster County Gazette	1800–1800	Albion and Evening Advertiser	1799–1801
Boston Pilot	1829–1925	Alfred Journal	1822–1823
Catholic Herald	1839–1843	Catholic Fireside	1850–1900
Fenian Volunteer	1867–1867	Irish News	1867–1867
Irish Republic	1867–1868	Democrat	1884–1891
Irish Citizen	1867–1872	The Irish Monthly	1875–1954
Irish World	1870–1980	Irish Freedom	1910–1914
Kentucky Irish American	1898–1968	The Irish Worker	1911–1932
Gaelic American	1903–1951	The Weekly Summary	1920–1921
National Hibernian Digest	1905–2002	Exile	1916–1916
The Irish Volunteer	1914–1916	The Weekly Summary	1920–1921
Irish Echo	1928–	Irish Democrat	1944–2009
Catholic Worker	1939–1949	Irish Militant	1966–1968
Advocate	1939–1958	Irish Universe	1973–1973
Chicago Irish-American News	1977–1980	Irish Post	1970–
Irish People	1977–	Irish World	2001–
Boston Irish News	1981–1990		
Irish Edition	1981–2008		
Irish Emigrant	1987–2012		
Irish Voice	1987–2009		
Irish Central	2009–		

<b>Australia</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Dates</b>
Irish Exile	1850–1851	Antigua Standard	1883–1908
Freeman’s Journal	1850–1932	Antigua Observer	1898–1901
Advocate (Melbourne)	1868–1990	Southern Cross*	1906–2006
The Bulletin	1880–1965	Fakt Dla Irlandii	2008–2009
National Hibernian	1913–1918		
Irish Echo	2005–		
Tintean	2012–		

*Table 1 List of Irish Newspapers. \*These titles are still in operation but have changed from Irish diaspora news titles to national or regional titles of the hostland.*

The early Irish diaspora news publications came in various formats, including pamphlets, magazines and newspapers, and had varying longevity, with some operating for as little a year or two while others lasted for decades (Boston College Library, 2018; Irish National Library, 2018). As they were in print they were subject to certain distribution limitations, the titles were often regional and there were sometimes multiple competing and complementary Irish diaspora publications operating in one city. For example, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston in the USA, and London and Manchester in the UK were the home of multiple Irish news titles. To date, there is no definitive map of the volume and locations of Irish diaspora newspapers and publications that existed over the centuries. However, national libraries in Ireland, the UK, the USA and Australia have records and microfilm copies of many examples of Irish diaspora publications listed above.

Over the past twenty years the Irish diaspora press, along with most other media, transitioned to digital operations, moving from print journalism with a regional specificity and distribution range, to more decentralised operations that extended reach beyond city boundaries, gaining dedicated national and international audiences.

In order to get a sense of Ireland’s digital diaspora press role as an intermediary of Irish national identity, it is necessary first to get a sense of the broader culture in which the diaspora press is situated and the complexity of the audience. As noted, when studying diaspora communications from a cultural perspective it is useful to establish the social and cultural contexts of the communities (Hall, 1989, 1997; Cunningham and Sinclair, 2001; Kim and Kelly, 2008). And as advised by Kperogi (2011) and Segev (2015), it will also be necessary to identify the primary functions of the organisations and journalism models of the Irish diaspora press. In profiling the

context of news production in the Irish diaspora press organisations it is necessary to offer an overview of the historical development from traditional print to digital news for the evolution of the diaspora press to be meaningfully contextualised (Garnham, 1986). The following section outlines the complex make-up of the Irish diaspora whom the diaspora press both inform and represent, as well as the development and current approaches of today’s diaspora newspapers. The first section outlines how the Irish diaspora are viewed in Ireland. The following sections outline the history of the Irish diaspora press, establish where it is located today, before detailing the communities and digital news titles in the USA, the UK and Australia, and a diaspora news initiative based in Ireland. The final section addresses the purpose of the Irish diaspora organisation in relation to Schmow’s typology (2014).

### 4.3 Locating the Nodes and Mapping the Mediascape

This section establishes the readership of the Irish digital diaspora press in 2016.

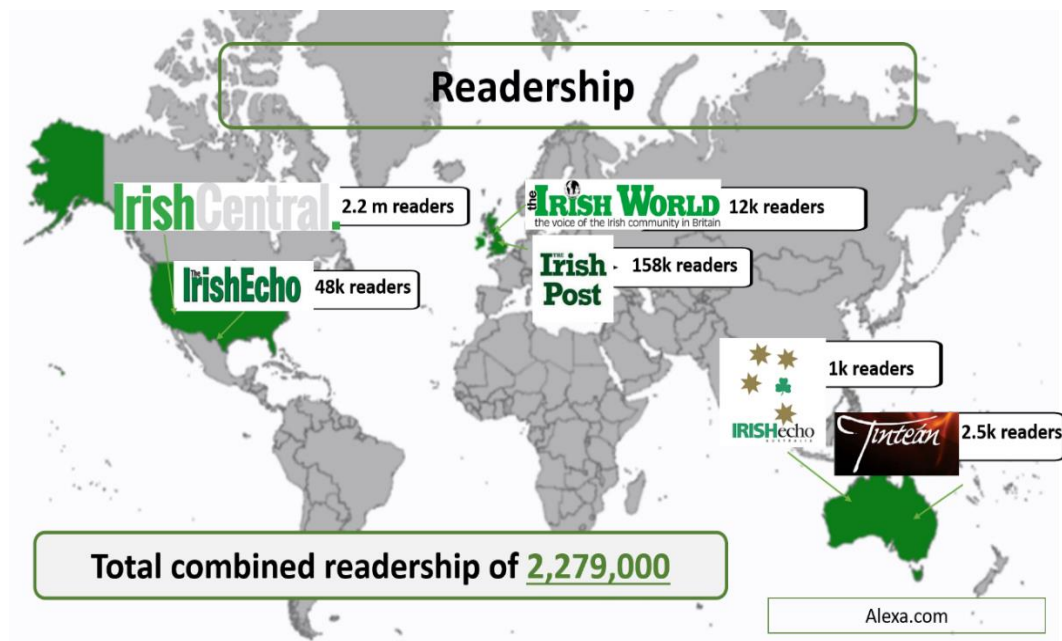


Figure 1 Readership of each news title and total diaspora news readership

The professional Irish diaspora news organisations are centralised in English-speaking countries. This can be attributed to two factors: the size of the Irish diaspora audience in these regions and the publication of journalism in English. The Irish diaspora is distributed throughout the world, but there are large and historically significant communities in North America, the UK and Australia. These communities were the primary audience for Irish diaspora journalism before the digital transition and remain so today, although its reach may have extended beyond national

boundaries. The audience for news about the intersection of Ireland and the Middle East or Africa is significantly smaller than it is elsewhere; these would be challenging conditions in which to establish, develop and sustain a media business.



Figure 2 Irish Diasporas (Department of Foreign Affairs, Ireland, 2016)

A second issue that could influence the centralisation in the West is that of language.<sup>12</sup> Discussing the sustainability of Spanish- or French-language diaspora journalism in an English-speaking market, Irish editors described the need to have an English-speaking edition to capture the broadest possible market. They described the advantage of the Irish being English speakers in this regard and pointed out that non-English-speaking diaspora media struggle to break out of a niche to tap into a wider audience. Aside from the *Southern Cross* in Argentina, which is in print only, there are no Irish digital diaspora journalism businesses in non-English-speaking markets. There are some English-language blogs, social media pages and a number of business networks that have websites in the Middle East, China and Japan, but few non-English Irish media businesses or even blogs. This may be due to the sustainability of a niche market and the need to speak to as broad an audience as possible to make online

<sup>12</sup> While there have been examples of Irish diaspora journalism in South America the news title the *Southern Cross* changed language from English to Spanish. It operates in print only and the main editorial focus is Argentina as opposed to the space in-between Argentina and Ireland. In part this could be attributed to language.



operations sustainable. However, if the population of Irish migrants increases in other regions of the world, there may be opportunities to establish media businesses.

#### **4.3.1 Irish-America**

The narrative of Irish migration to America is that of exile from the homeland and success in the hostland, often associated with the large-scale emigration during the Great Famine of 1845. However, there was a significant Irish presence in the USA for many decades before that (Akenson, 1993; Hickman, 2002; Harte and Whelan, 2007). Mass Irish migration to the then British colony began in earnest in the 1760s and 1770s as part of the waves of European migrants who fled unrest, described by Louis Cullen as “the greatest single watershed in the history of emigration overall” (Fitzgerald, 2008, p. 141). However, in terms of tracking migration from Ireland, it must be acknowledged that there is an incomplete view of the fifty years immediately before the Famine because historical data preceding it, and indeed much that followed, have been destroyed. Irish migration patterns are largely traced through the arrivals registers of the countries where the Irish landed (Walker, 2007).

In *The Lost Tribes of Ireland* (2007) historian and anthropologist Brian Walker offers a synopsis of the Irish diaspora, tackling the widely held assumption that the demographics of the Irish diaspora reflected those of the Irish population, particularly in terms of being predominantly Catholic and nationalist in political ideology. When Irish academics began to study the diaspora in more detail, it became clear that the mirror image concept was not accurate and the diasporisation process was more complicated than presumed. Lawrence McCaffrey provided one of the first overviews of the Irish migratory patterns in 1976 in *The Irish Diaspora in America* and was disturbed by some of the findings he made. Later, undertaking more focused research, he acknowledged the one-dimensional view that he had perpetuated and retitled the second edition *The Irish Catholic Diaspora in America in 1997*. This development was due to the new understanding of the range of migrants to America who identified themselves as Irish.

Upending the dominant perception, Akenson (1993) found that of the 40 million Americans who identified themselves as having Irish heritage, the majority were Protestant. Aiming to determine why the Irish diaspora in the USA had a distinctly Catholic identity despite the majority statistically being Protestant, he proposes some credible solutions. Looking at the wider process of populating the

USA, he suggests that the Protestant waves had arrived first in the late 1700s and had a degree of affluence; they had time to settle, disperse and procreate. Protestant Irish in the USA can be viewed as having formed a separate Scots-Irish identity which today stands at a community of three million (American Community Survey, 2013, McCaffrey, 1997). Catholic waves arrived en masse years later and with fewer resources to travel inland, had less time and space, and condensed in urban areas; the Protestant majority is down to basic mathematical reasoning (Walker, 2007; McMahon, 2015). Before the Famine, there were already large and influential Irish communities in urban centres along the east coast of America, organised and engaged enough to support Irish community publications.

The Irish-American press is the oldest of the deterritorialised Irish news industries. The public archive of the Irish-American press begins in 1763 (NYU Library Archive). However, Irish-American newspapers such as *The Freeman's Journal* and the *Boston Pilot* were already in circulation and actively engaged with homeland current affairs (Boston College Archive).

In *How the Irish Became White* (1995), Noel Ignatiev chronicles coverage of Irish-American publications from 1803 that show attitudes both supportive and critical of Irish political leader Daniel O'Connell and his vocal support of the anti-slavery movement in the USA. It is one of the earlier and most powerful examples of the Irish diaspora in America negotiating the homeland identity to inform how they should behave in the new hostland. Some positions demanded that to be genuinely Irish the diaspora should stand against slavery, while others argued that to be Irish-American meant to be nativised and called for adherence to new values and "acknowledge no dictation from a foreign source" (Ignatiev, 1995, p. 13). The Irish-American community was not then, nor is it today, a unified, monolithic ethnic group with shared values and practices. Adding to the established diaspora, new waves of Famine migrants replenished and increased Irish communities in America, bringing with them new values, practices and politics to further enrich and complicate the community culture.

The Irish diaspora in America, or Irish-Americans, became synonymous with Catholicism. Between 1845 and 1860 1.25 million Irish Catholics arrived in America. Geographically, the Catholics stayed in urban centres where there was work, while the established Protestant families had dispersed into regional America. The Irish diaspora in urban spaces established community centres and developed strong nationalist and

Catholic identities. The Irish Catholics began to enjoy prosperity, and shared networks saw the diaspora take on an Irish-American position, to the exclusion of the former Protestant Irish (Akenson, 1993; Fitzgerald, Lambkin and Fitzgerald P., 2008).

Current research into the demographics of the Irish-American community, or the readership of Irish diaspora news, is outlined in the Irish Central Media package. It estimates there are 34.7 million official residents in American who claim Irish heritage, with an average age of 39, 13 per cent concentrated in New York. It finds that the average Irish-American would have a better education than the Irish population, with 33 per cent holding a degree or higher, compared to 28 per cent in Ireland. The median household income for the family of their Irish-American readership is slightly higher; they estimated to earn about \$6,250 more per year than average Irish people, and 4.6 per cent more of them own property. The majority (26 per cent) work in offices or sales, 9 per cent work in transport, 18 per cent in tourism and 8 per cent in trade and construction. The Irish-American J1 Program sees about 170,000 short-term stays in the US by Irish citizens.

#### *Irish-American Press*

The *Irish Echo* in New York is 84 years old and is America's oldest and longest-running Irish diaspora newspaper, still publishing in print and also online. Its contents are mainly business orientated. It is estimated to have a readership of between 60,000 and 100,000 in print, but 200,000 online (they do not state how many per day/week) and they estimate that 44 per cent of their readership are first-generation Irish immigrants. Print editions of this paper are a popular resource for employment opportunities and classifieds among the Irish-American community in New York. Classified advertisements serve as a stable revenue stream for the company. It has substantial business news focus and publishes regular lists of business leaders, entrepreneurs and ones to watch, as well as sponsoring a number of community events and organisations. It was family owned and run (Grimes) until 2001 when it was sold to Irish businessman Sean Finley, MD, of RF Communications. The media pack offers a demographic breakdown of their normative audience: "100,000 Irish and Irish American readers with an average age of 38... 82% of our readers are homeowners... 44% of our readers are first generation Irish... Annual household income \$90,000–\$120,000... 70% are college graduates".

*Irish Central* is the website associated with the Irish-American publications *Irish Voice* newspaper and *Irish-America* magazine. It went live on Sunday, March 15, 2009, and markets itself to the global diaspora, but the primary focus is overtly Irish-American. It was founded and owned by Niall O'Dowd and in 2016 sold to "a consortium of investors led by Liam Lynch, a New York-based venture capitalist and investor in digital companies". There are four other Irish media and event companies in the corporate structure (Irish Central, 2018). It has a full-time staff of eight, mostly based in New York City, but with some staff in Ireland and contributors based in a range of nations. It says it has a global audience of several million monthly users and has 200,000 users on the website per day, 2.3 million per month, making it the site with the farthest reach in the USA. Most of the audience are college graduates, and they advise advertisers that just over half (53 per cent) are women. The website describes its focus: "Irish Central is the largest Irish site in North America and covers news and interests, from the nostalgic and modern Irish America and Ireland. Our team is dedicated to telling stories about Irish culture, roots, history, genealogy, and is a leading source for news and politics from Irish America and Ireland." It says: "If it's Irish, it's on Irish Central"—indicating their focus on the mediation of Irish affairs.

#### **4.3.2 Irish-Britain**

Migration to the UK has been extensive and ongoing. In terms of recorded history there were two significant periods of Irish emigration to the UK and the recent recession has added a third. Much of the post-famine migration was directed to the UK. From 1840 to the 1860s more than 927,000 and from 1921 to 1961 again about 900,000 left for the UK. The demographic of emigrants was 25 per cent Protestants, who faced few barriers to integration and were assimilated quickly and easily. However, where large numbers came together, for example in Liverpool, the Orange Order was established and maintained a sense of Irish identity among the Irish Protestants abroad (Akenson, 1993; Fitzgerald, Lambkin and Fitzgerald P., 2008).

The Catholics mainly settled in England or Wales but fewer settled in Scotland. Again, a strong sense of identity emerged, but it was not overtly political, as it was in the USA or Australia. The Irish identity in the UK is to this day is a source of contention. The idea that the Irish were mistreated in the UK is contested by some historians, with some suggesting there was pervasive bigotry (Hickman, 2002; Hickman *et al.*, 2011) while others suggest that the Irish worked and lived comfortably

in working- and middle-class families and later, like in Australia, became associated with the Labour Party (Walker, 2007).

The Irish in the UK are the most significant Irish diaspora and the UK emerges as the main destination of Irish emigrants. However, the distinction between those of Irish heritage and those in the Irish diaspora must be clarified; it has been estimated that 10–25 per cent of the UK population can claim Irish ancestry, depending on how historical analysis is constructed. The Irish Government claimed in 1997 that there were two million Irish people in the UK. However, in 2001 the UK census asked British citizens for the first time to express their ethnicity or ethnic heritage and only 1.2 per cent elected to describe themselves as of Irish ethnicity, with the majority of those concentrated in London. Migration to the UK has risen significantly since the recession in 2008 and a detailed report by the Social Policy Research Centre at Middlesex University reviewing the 2011 UK census data found that 601,917 Irish diasporans were living in the UK. There are, however, conflicting figures from the Clinton Institute in UCD, which undertook a similar review of the census and recent migratory data, and estimated the figure to be 407, 357. It is acknowledged, considering the proximity of the UK to Ireland, that the true figures are highly subject to fluctuation (Kennedy, 2011).

### *Irish-British Press*

As in America, there were a number of historical Irish newspapers in print in Britain through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, unlike in America, there were also a number of Irish national and regional newspapers available in Irish communities in the UK. However, the relationship between Ireland and Britain was different to that of Ireland and America, with Irish independence from the British Empire coming 150 years later than American independence. English colonial expansion into Ireland began in 1172, was completed by 1542, and the colony was subject to the punitive Penal Laws until 1869. These were a series of laws that suppressed the production of Irish culture, including banning many Irish newspapers in Ireland and those published in England (RTE, 2018).

Nonetheless, there were a number of examples of Irish publications in Britain, some that were only in publication for short periods of time and some that were explicitly cause-orientated, such as the *Anti-Jacobin*. These publications often dealt with specific political causes such as the Home Rule movement in Ireland but not all

were Catholic nationalist because in Ireland at the time there were conflicting ideas about the nature of the union with or independence from Britain. In the UK, as in Australia, the representation of the complexity of Irish identity and the homeland was problematic from the very first Irish diaspora publications.

*Irish Post* has been in print since 1970 and was taken over by Thomas Crosbie Holdings in 2003. It suffered difficult times in 2011 when it was placed in involuntary liquidation, being taken off shelves for six weeks. However, this provoked a local campaign to save the paper which attracted an investor, and it was bought by businessman Elgin Loane. It restarted publishing the print edition in 2011 and later launched the website in 2013, seeing 1000 per cent growth in traffic thereafter. It is a local institution similar to the *Irish Echo* and *Irish Central* in the USA. It sponsors events and runs the high-profile annual ceremony for the Irish Post Awards.

The *Irish World* advertises itself as the voice of the Irish community in Britain since 1987, front-ending their focus on localised affairs. It is community-orientated with a focus on the print edition and a website which is updated regularly but not always daily. However, it is nevertheless a regular source of content for diaspora readers.

### **4.3.3 Irish-Australia**

In Australia's urban centres a similar pattern of a strong Irish-Catholic, nationalist sense of identity emerged in the diaspora community. There was widespread and vocal support for the Home Rule movement in Ireland at the time, and after Irish independence, from 1923 onwards, the Irish diaspora became associated politically with the Labour Party (Walker, 2007). Historians have charted a dissolution of the sense of identity in the Australian and New Zealand diaspora communities, and despite the recent increases in Irish migrants in the region this trend seems to have continued, if the decline in diaspora media in Australia is viewed as an indicator of the reduction in interest (Unit, 2017).

It is estimated that about 15 per cent of New Zealanders can trace their lineage back to Ireland. However, the diasporic community is not regarded as distinctive as elsewhere; historically Irish immigrants to New Zealand are viewed as having been successfully integrated into society (Akenson, 1993). They did not develop a separate hybrid identity like the Irish in the UK, the USA or Australia. This is attributed in

some way to the lower numbers, and the density of other immigrant communities, but scholars agree it needs further inspection.

Fifty thousand Irish people are estimated to travel to Australia every year, and the 2011 Australian census showed that 2.1 million claim Irish ancestry, but the Global Irish research indicates that the diaspora is about 50,000 strong (Ireland Abroad Unit, 2017). However, there have been some notable waves in migration to Australia; for example, 40,000 Irish settled there between 2001 and 2012 with 5,000 seeking permanent residencies. Irish were claimed to be the highest-earning Europeans in Australia when income was assessed by place of birth (Irish Echo, 2011).

### *Irish-Australian Press*

As elsewhere, there are examples of historical Irish-Australian newspapers. The National Library of Australia lists a number of Irish newspapers available in Australia since 1763. As in the UK, as well as indigenous titles such as the *Advocate* published in Melbourne, and the *Southern Star*, there were a number of imported Irish publications, both national and regional. The *Freeman's Journal* was available in Irish diaspora communities in the USA, the UK and Australia.

Established in 1988 in Sydney, the *Irish Echo* is a newspaper for expats, those of Irish heritage and anyone interested in the Irish culture. Originally called the *Irish Exile* after the first Irish newspaper published in Australia in the early nineteenth century, it went online in 2005 and says its core readership is from the expatriated community. They state there are about 100,000 in the Irish-Australian diaspora, 50 per cent living in New South Wales, 22 per cent in Victoria, 15 per cent in Western Australia and Queensland and small numbers elsewhere. The company's advertising information points to similar demographics as in the USA, those of a highly educated, skilled, high-earning group.

*Tintean* was a popular Irish-Australian print magazine and moved entirely online to sustain operations. It is more an online current affairs and culture magazine than a newspaper but is operationally similar to a diasporic news homepage. While the demographic of readers is unclear, they are explicit about their cultural interests and aims:

“To build and nurture the Australian Irish identity and explore social, cultural, political and religious issues of interest to the Australian-Irish subculture as well as the Irish diaspora in Australia. The big themes of exile, diaspora and

settlement will be addressed, but we also hope to encourage narratives both historical and contemporary, of the experiences of individuals and families who for whatever reason have departed from their homes in Ireland to settle in Australia. Tinteán online also hopes to continue to study the political and economic evolution of Ireland.” (McKenzie, online)

#### **4.3.4 Generation Emigration**

Within Ireland, there are efforts to engage in diaspora journalism in the form of the *Irish Times*'s Generation Emigration (now Ireland Abroad), a dedicated section on the *Irish Times* website for and about the Irish diaspora. It began in 2011 and was originally named 'Generation Emigration' as an effort to cover the post-recessionary mass migration from Ireland. This section was run on a small scale up until 2016 when it expanded into Ireland Abroad with the support of Google News Initiative funding.

This project is run by the *Irish Times*, and the editorial choices are those of the section editor, Ciara Kenny. However, it was not solely funded by the Irish Times Trust. As mentioned above, the project received funding from the Google News Initiative which provides support for innovative, sustainable journalism. To secure funding, projects must adhere to the Initiative's guidelines, aims and mission, which focus on editorial and technological innovation and sustainability. While the specific details of applications are private, summaries of successful applications are provided. The *Irish Times* application offers some insight into the aims and agenda of their diaspora journalism project:

“The Irish Times Diaspora Journalism Project will be a new online service that engages Irish emigrants in a national and international conversation. The project will: talk directly to Irish readers abroad; create technologies that help them share their stories; and develop polling tools to get overseas views on Irish issues” (*Irish Times*, online)

The Generation Emigration project published news on a dedicated section along with a digital newsletter and hosts social media accounts, creating a digital network, and regularly polls diasporas on issues related to Ireland. The *Irish Times* says that it has more than 24,000 members in the community network. The section builds demographic information about the Irish diaspora and offers insights into the different



ways that Irish diasporas view Irish homeland current affairs through this polling of them.

This project is mainly focused on human interest stories, as opposed to hard news reporting. It is situated in the Life and Style section of the *Irish Times*, [www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/abroad](http://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/abroad), with a series of more specific subcategories. The subcategories have different functions; Generation Emigration focuses on publishing contributions from recent emigrants, where the other subsections, Working Abroad and Returning to Ireland, provide a mix of feature articles and practical information, and regionally specific information is provided under regional subcategories: Australia, Canada, Gulf States, New Zealand. Under these categories, there are further sub-subcategories, such as Irish in Britain, Irish in the USA, Irish Connections, Welcome to My Place, and Ask the Experts.<sup>13</sup>

The Ireland Abroad section of the *Irish Times* provides human interest stories about this generation's experiences of migration, representing the differences in the experiences of migration of different demographics of Irish people, including push and pull factors as well as resettlement in different countries. The way this section is run is consciously different to other forms of diaspora journalism in that it largely publishes stories by diasporas, as opposed to diaspora journalists or Irish journalists setting the news agenda by writing stories about diasporas. From interviews the section editor expressed the preference for allowing Irish diasporas to "tell their own stories of what it was like to live overseas, rather than having a journalist here in Ireland writing about it or interviewing them over the phone and writing pieces" (see Appendix E).

The *Irish Times* Generation Emigration concentrates distribution networks on social media on Facebook and Twitter. The Generation Emigration (now Ireland Abroad) Facebook page had about 41,000 followers and on Twitter about 8,500 followers – but these figures fluctuate slightly as users follow and unfollow these accounts.

Both accounts regularly publish links to the articles on Generation Emigration (now Ireland Abroad) section of the *Irish Times* website with a small excerpt from the

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<sup>13</sup> The sub-subcategories are not placed under any of the sub categories, they appear in blocks on the Abroad homepage.

article and allow the social media users to comment underneath. So, once the article is published, it sets the agenda or topic for discussion and the community leads the discussion from there. The Facebook ‘About’ section explains the nature of the page: “Like us on Facebook for updates on Irish emigrant stories from overseas, discussion forums, destination guides, opinion and analysis, and more.” Similarly, on Twitter the process is to post links to an article on the *Irish Times* website, but they do not engage with other social media users either by retweeting posts or responding to mentions or replies.

The nature of social distribution of news in Ireland is different to that of other regions where diaspora journalism is produced because of jurisdictional differences in the legal frameworks that govern publication and responsibility for defamation. The legal framework in Ireland regarding responsibility for user-generated content in Ireland indicates that Irish news titles cannot moderate or engage in these social media forums without taking on the liability for what is published. To protect themselves from costly lawsuits and potential payouts, Irish news organisations choose not to moderate either comment sections on their social media profile pages or their comment sections below articles on the newspaper websites. This presents a more challenging situation for leading dialogues and engagement with the digital community than is faced elsewhere. The result of this framework is that, in terms of social media distribution of news content, Ireland is still very limited to the traditional legacy model of top-down, speaking to not with audiences. While on social media the audience has an opportunity to speak back, the newspapers cannot respond and so the news distribution social media situation in Ireland is less communal and more top-down.

#### **4.4 Irish Diaspora Press Typologies**

This section addresses the typologies of Irish diaspora news organisations. In studying the politics of diaspora, Siapera (2010) tells us that a distinction should be made between the form and the substance. The form refers to how media is produced, the substance what is produced. Siapera says this helps separate the mission of the news organisation from the content that is produced, and this distinction helps us place news in its most appropriate and focused context for analysis. Shumow (2014) identified three models of immigrant journalism with clear criteria to identify the central

tendency of a news organisation that address the types of news that are produced as well as the organisational structure. The first is Oppositional (focused on accountability journalism regarding events in the homeland); the second is Hybrid or Market-Driven Journalism (drawing on events in both home and hostland, a range of types of news, with a profit orientation); the third is a Community Model (more focused on events in the host country, with an informational orientation). However, Shumow also argues that there can be some overlap and that this framework is not exhaustive but helps contextualise the work of diaspora journalism. Additionally, he notes that because the cultural identity of a diaspora is always in the process of discursive construction and reconstruction, the productive norms within a news organisation can change.

*Irish Central* is a successful hybrid-journalism-style website. It is a leading source for news and politics from Irish America and Ireland and has news categories similar to what would be expected in any professional news website, including News, Opinion, Culture, Business and Politics, but with some specific Irish cultural additions such as the Roots section. The content of *Irish Central* overtly discusses Irish cultural identity and use Irish and Irish-American interchangeably. The website can be viewed as a powerful mediator, and occasionally it enters the Irish national discourse through ongoing ‘debates’ with the *Irish Times*, sometimes explicitly about Irish identity and carrying an explicit message that it is for the Irish diaspora to define its cultural identity, not Irish journalists. There are elements of political advocacy also, with the paper throwing its support behind the Clintons, Senator John McCain, Vice-President Biden, Jean Kennedy Smith and other prominent Irish-Americans at election time. Editor O’Dowd is overtly political; he was among founders of the Irish Lobby for Immigration Reform. He was also instrumental in getting Clinton involved in the Peace Process.

The *Irish Post* is largely community-style journalism, focusing on how events impact the Irish in the UK but with a degree of hybridity at times. It focuses on Breaking News, News, Sport, Opinion, Culture, Business and Lifestyle, with an emphasis on local events and news and sport from Ireland. It is the biggest-selling national newspaper to the Irish in Britain and the most popular and best-resourced website. Regarding influence, it seems more cultural and arts-related, offering a platform and promotion, and less political. However, it does engage in campaigns for

and against causes at home that affect them, such as the continuance of the analogue radio signal or calling for the public service broadcaster to extend digital viewing right outside the territory.

In Australia, the *Irish Echo* follows a typical community/immigrant model, almost entirely focused on Irish diasporic life in Australia. The *Irish Post* is the only paper still in print, and the online website is the most popular in the region. The content of the paper is not overtly political, focusing on local news and local issues. It operates as a bridge between Australia and Ireland only when the news values dictate, as when a particular Irish-Australian news item becomes salient at home, for example when there are deaths or crimes in the Irish diaspora community. There is no overt engagement in political campaigns. *Tintean*, albeit a diminished news title, is much more hybrid in substance if not in form, reporting and offering opinions not just on Irish-Australian issues but explicitly on Irish ones, including issues about national cultural identity, such as reporting on the women of 1916 (McKenzie, 2016).



Figure 3 Typologies of Irish Digital Diaspora News Organisations

The influence of typology in the Irish diaspora news titles is reflected in the levels of engagement with each of the websites.<sup>14</sup> Engagement scores from Alexa, which ranks

<sup>14</sup> Alexa traffic estimates are based on their “global traffic panel, which is a sample of millions of Internet users using one of many different browser extensions. In addition, [they] gather much of [their] traffic data from direct sources in the form of sites that have chosen to install the Alexa script on their site and certify their metrics.” The rankings are based on how a website is doing relative to all other websites on the web. “The rank is calculated using a proprietary methodology that combines a site’s estimated average of daily unique visitors and its estimated number of pageviews over the past 3 months.” (Alexa.com 16/12/2017)

websites based on estimates of traffic over a given period, show that there are lower levels of engagement with local or community-based diaspora news titles while the traffic to the transnational titles is much higher.

### Website Traffic

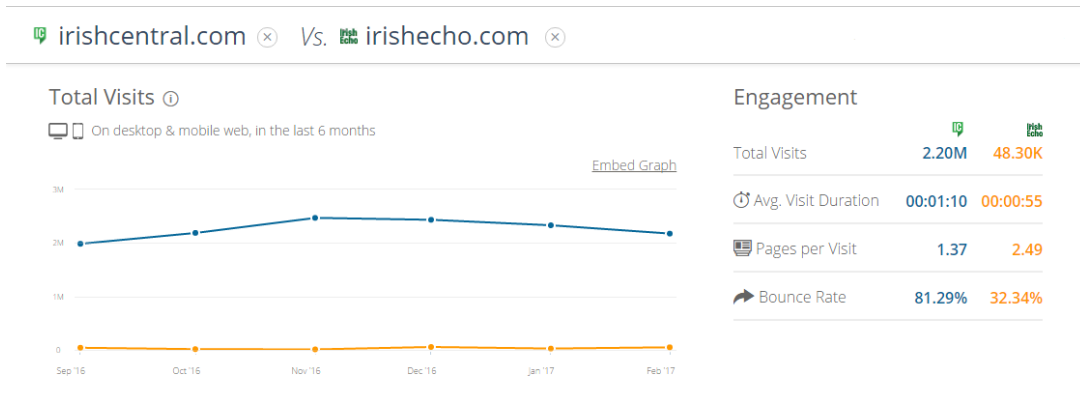


Figure 4 Irish-American Press web traffic 2016–2017

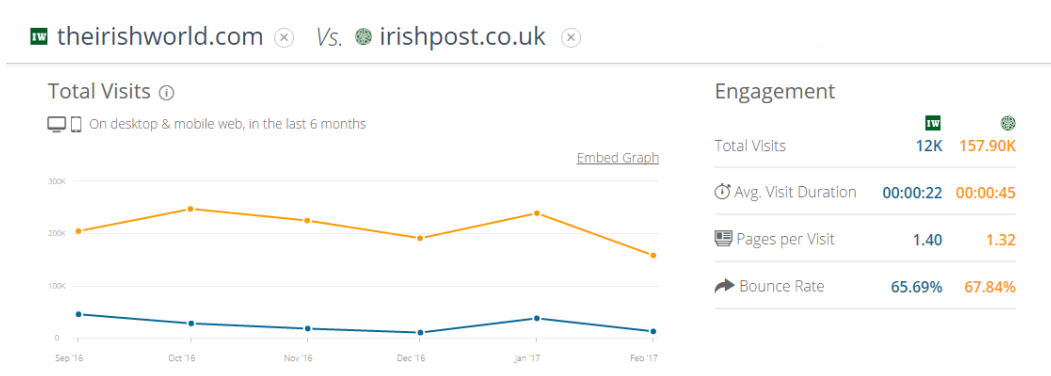


Figure 5 Irish-British Press web traffic 2016–2017

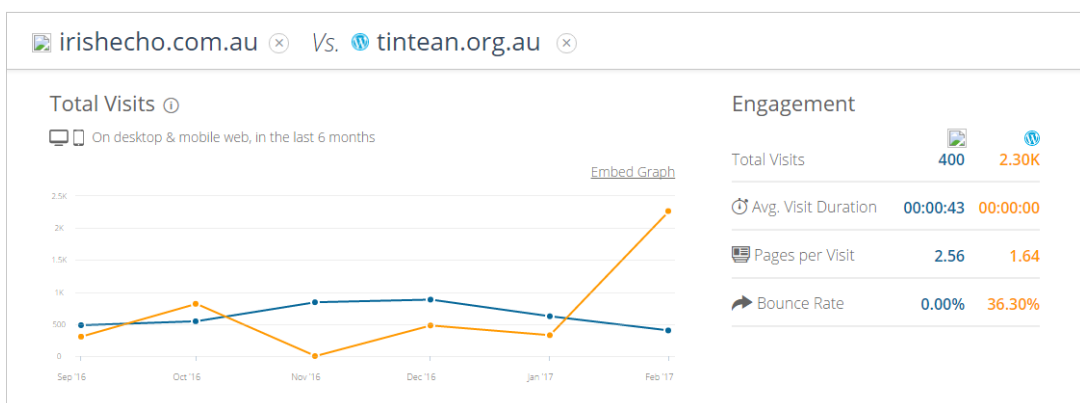


Figure 6 Irish-Australian Press web traffic 2016–2017

This is important in terms of the political economy of the diaspora titles on two fronts: firstly, the practical limitations imposed by available resources, and secondly, how the available resources can shape the editorial agenda regarding the content

produced. None of the digital diaspora titles are behind paywalls; each of them is free to access online without restriction although each of the titles also publishes printed weekly or monthly newspapers or magazines based on the content that was published online. All the websites carry advertising, as do the newspapers, which is an essential source of revenue for all free-to-access digital media organisations – and the higher the levels of engagement (or the larger the audience that advertising will reach) the more a news organisation can charge. While the imagined audience might shape what stories are selected and how Irishness is represented, the engaged audience can shape the available resources. The financial viability and resources available to a news media organisation influence what it is possible to achieve in a newsroom or if it is possible to do anything at all (Davies, 2008; Siaper, 2010; Kperogi, 2011; Kirk *et al.*, 2016).

The *Irish Echo Australia* online website was down for a time during the period of data collection. While it continued to publish a monthly printed newspaper the news articles were published on Facebook Instant Articles – a function of the social media platform that allows news organisation to publish articles in full on Facebook and earn money from their distribution within Facebook. This impacted the volume of articles that could be collected from this region. It also meant that in terms of diaspora journalism in this region a title that presented more hard news about Ireland was no longer present. The flows from Ireland to the diaspora press were then dominated by one publisher, *Tintean*, that had a more limited news agenda because its mission is more aligned with Irish culture than modern Irish society. However, the *Irish Echo* has since resumed normal operations, publishing to a website and posting links on social media. Nonetheless, this raises concerns about the sustainability of the Irish diaspora digital news titles and the impact of their closure on the audience. Diaspora media reflect the hybridity of diasporic culture and provide and prioritise information that is absent in national media of the homeland or the hostland, and the loss of titles results in a more limited, centralised range of information available in this region.

However, there have been some conflicting findings that should be addressed. There is some work coming from researching diaspora press from Ethiopia and Nigeria and the impact of translocation on their professional values and relationship with the homeland. Skjerdal in 2011 examined the professional self-identity of the Ethiopian diaspora online journalism community in relation to current affairs of the homeland – in particular, whether they become more ‘activist’ or retain objective

professional standards. He found that the editors largely adhere to professional norms, in particular the idea that the news should be objective; however, this does not explain the differences in the treatment of homeland topics in the news sites. He argued that translocation did not impact professional standards, but the wider cultural content of news production was not examined. The design of Skjerdal's research is flawed owing to the limited approach taken to the study of journalism production, focusing only on professional standards, which, although they are an agreed-upon set of ideals, do not encompass the broader context in which news is produced. Professional norms are not a main determinant of how the homeland is processed in the diaspora press, and when studying diaspora journalism it is necessary to look to the wider set of conditions in which news is produced and account for the whole process of production in order to find explanations for the differences in treatment of topics and representations of the homeland.

This section established the broad historical development of Ireland's digital diaspora press, the centralisation of the digital diaspora press and the current readership and typologies. The following chapter outlines the research design and methodological approach to identifying the resources and production norms in more detail, how the news flows were collected, and the regional news agendas determined, as well as how Irish identity is represented in diaspora news.

#### **4.5 Irish Immigrant Identities**

This section outlines the complexity of the Irish migratory experience to offer some context for and insight into the imagined audience and community which the Irish diaspora press serves. It addresses transnational Irish cultural identity, highlighting the evolution of how Irishness has been conceptualised, and discusses the complexity of migration patterns and resulting diasporic communities. It also notes some of the efforts of diaspora media to mobilise the Irish abroad on homeland affairs.

On occasion, Irish national media can perpetrate a reductive or essentialist metanarrative of the Irish migratory experience, historically as victims of the Famine but more recently as skilled professionals seeking opportunities (Kirk, 2019). Recent research from Irish studies has sought to address simplistic narratives regarding Irish identity and offer a more authentic, complex and nuanced view of the "hidden codes

of Irishness” (Harte and Whelan, 2007, p. 3). The start of mass emigration from Ireland is often associated with the Great Famine and the famine ships, but large-scale migration from Ireland began earlier than the 1840s and was not just directed at the closest island neighbours of the UK and America. There was a long-standing and complex migration pattern from Ireland associated with colonial movements, religious persecution and affinity, fleeing starvation, seeking opportunities and effective exile (Walker, 2007). More recently Irish historians, geographers, social scientists and humanities scholars have examined the Irish diaspora to challenge essentialist representations of the globally dispersed Irish, revealing the complexity of the Irish migration patterns and experiences of leaving, travelling and resettlement over the past five centuries. However, as yet there is no dedicated research into the Irish diaspora news industry, or comparative research into the representations of Irishness in the media of the diaspora.

#### **4.5.1 Ethno-Nationalism to Diasporisation**

This section examines the evolution of approaches to Irish migrant identities over time to highlight how it has been constructed historically and evolved to the understanding of the Irish diaspora that exists today.

During the early colonial period the Irish in Ireland and abroad were conceptualised as a defined, racialised ethnic group, but over time capitalised on their whiteness and Europeanness to exploit the racialisation of other colonised countries and become part of the dominant class, particularly in America but later throughout the empire (Ignatiev, 1995). Nonetheless the discrimination persisted and the Irish were an ‘othered’ ethnic community in many of the countries and cultures where communities were established (Akenson, 1993; Gray, 2002; Hickman, 2002; Bielenberg, 2014). Historically the Irish were migrants fleeing conditions in Ireland; during the Famine or War for Independence it was flight from trauma, while during the ’60s and ’80s the Irish were leaving economic deprivation. This fits the earlier definition of diaspora which focused on the forced migration of ethnic groups (Cohen 1997; Esman 2001). This provoked political questions from new hostlands that are often addressed to new migrants, such as the extent to which they will draw on resources or reshape the hostland culture.



The use of the term ‘ethnic minority’ was more common in popular culture and in academia up to the reconceptualisation of migrant groups that occurred in the late ’80s and early ’90s. At this time the Birmingham School’s redefinition of diasporisation coincided with an evolution in how Ireland conceptualised and represented its migrants. The new school of cultural scholars argued against the earlier limited definitions of diaspora that were based on the historical materialist paradigm. They posited that older definitions had failed to take into account the ways in which English identity itself has been defined through the exclusion of a range of ‘others’, particularly populations of the former British colonies who have been forcibly denied the rights and privileges of citizenship. This critique opened a new arena of study, as the younger generation of Birmingham scholars began to consider diasporic and national culture “within the framework of a diaspora as an alternative to the different varieties of absolutism which would confine culture in ‘racial’, ethnic or national essences” (Gilroy 1987, p. 155).

These new approaches incorporated a wider range of criteria to identify or define a diaspora beyond the historical materialist approach and looked to the more complex reasons for migration and the complex ways in which migrant groups retain and negotiate links to the former homeland (Sinclair and Cunningham, 1993; Esman, 2001). This provoked a reconceptualisation of the Irish migrant experience in academia (Akenson, 1993; Gray, 2002; Hickman, 2002; O’Day, 2005; Fitzgerald, Lambkin and Fitzgerald P., 2008) as well as in Irish society. Over this period, Ireland emerged from colonialism and the Troubles to a post-conflict society, engaged with Europe and the wider international community, and redefined Irish migration from a ‘tale of woe’ to one of ‘contribution and celebration’. This is exemplified in the landmark address to the Dail and the Seanad in 1995 by the then president of Ireland, Mary Robinson, entitled ‘Cherishing the Irish Diaspora’, which instigated a new, consciously positive approach to the transnational Irish identity:

“The more I know of these stories, the more it seems to me, an added richness of our heritage that Irishness is not simply territorial [...] It can be strengthened again if we turn with open minds and hearts to the array of people outside Ireland for whom this island is a place of origin. After all, emigration is not just a chronicle of sorrow and regret. It is also a powerful story of contribution and adaptation. In fact, I have become more convinced each year that this great

narrative of dispossession and belonging, which so often had its origins in sorrow and leave-taking, has become – with a certain amount of historic irony – one of the treasures of our society. If that is so then our relationship with the diaspora beyond our shores is one which can instruct our society in the values of diversity, tolerance and fair-mindedness.” (Robinson, 1995)

While framing Irish migration as something positive and beneficial, Robinson alludes to the problem of viewing the Irish migratory experience as a simple tale of sorrow. Irish migration is multi-directional, multi-generational with push and pull factors and experiences of resettlement differing from generation to generation and hostland to hostland. The contemporary Irish diaspora is culturally, politically and socially highly complex. Such complexity directs attention to questions of representation: firstly, whose ‘public interests’ do the modern diaspora media organisations represent? and secondly, how does the diaspora press negotiate the re-presentation of homeland and the homeland national identity to their diverse audience? Because the focus of this study is the cultural influences on the diaspora news production process, it is essential to understand the cultural context in which the titles developed.

Historian Donald Akenson (1993), in striving to define the Irish diaspora, concluded that “it is necessary to discard a metaphysical definition of Irish identity and to look to an operational one. The concept has such a broad spectrum that it can only really be regarded as ‘anyone who lived within the social structure that is the island of Ireland’” (p. 4).

While this definition acknowledges a range of different cultures and identities, research into Irishness within Ireland has found it to be not wholly encompassing of multiculturalism, or that such complexity among the globally dispersed ‘Irish’ has not been largely accepted. The discursive construction of Irish identity is predominantly based on white, ethno-nationalist discourses (Ignatiev, 1995; Gray, 2002; Conway, 2006; Lentin, 2007; Mitchell, 2011) so that this “weak multiculturalism precludes the inclusion of racialised others” (Mitchell, 2011, p. 6). There are systems of subordination and exclusion of some ethnic groups in Irish culture and it has been argued that even Irish state anti-racism policies can feed into an essentialist ethnocultural discursive construction of Irishness. Similarly, diaspora communities have been argued to play a role in the racialisation of Irishness. Lentin (2007) and

Ignatiev (1995) both posit that Irish colonial migrants had a seminal role in the white ethno-nationalist construction of Irishness as they came into contact with a range of racialised ‘others’.

When treating Irishness as a transnational identity it becomes necessary to determine whether the same ethno-nationalist discourses that dominate in Ireland (Lentin, 2007) are transplanted to diaspora communities. There is much work to be done to understand the discursive ethno-nationalist construction of Irishness outside of Ireland and to determine the extent to which the Irish diaspora can also dissolve “entrenched positions and identities within the Irish state” (Hickman, 2002, p. 12).

#### **4.5.2 Collective Memory and Diasporic Cultural Identity**

This section addresses critical moments in Irish history that shape the collective memories in Irish identity and culture.

Collective memory is generally defined as a social process “through which collectivities—families, groups, nations—recover the past, conceptualize it through narrative structures, and memorialize” (Prager, 2001). It is discursive and mediated through the communications between various groups and institutions comprising the collectivity and at times for creating a collective or national identity (Hobsbawm 1983). It involves symbolic struggles by member groups in the collective struggle over the definition of the past (Prager, 2001) – the purpose being to bind the individual members together, strengthening the collective. Among the transnational Irish, the Famine, for example, is a central site of symbolic struggle regarding Irish cultural identity with regard to negotiating boundaries over how various media should be used to represent it today (Kirk, 2019).

Associated with collective memory is collective forgetting. The act of ‘forgetting’ or the obliteration of the past has been noted as one of the classic cultural cohesion tools following periods of conflict (Gibbons, 2001). Forgetting, or historical error, was vital in the maintenance of communal solidarity (Judt, 1996). The revisionists of Irish history, in their efforts to reveal the truths of the past, perpetrated a negative view of nationalism and those who seem to embody it. When the resurgence of protests began in Northern Ireland in the ’60s, the response of the Republic’s government was to reconcile the nation’s violent history and outspoken origins with its struggle with militant nationalism in the North. The stance of a positive,

constitutionally based state-formation narrative emerged, which facilitated a state-centred and statist historiography (Regan, 2013). Representations of collective memory and cultural identity raise questions about how the present influences the reconstruction of the past and the ways in which historical events and circumstances impinge or intrude on the present. The cultural legacy of Ireland's traumatic past is a force weighing on present-day values and practices. Geraldine Moane notes, in particular, a weak sense of identity and a strong sense of inferiority are the most common in the Irish context (Moane, 1994). Moane goes on to note that "the manifestations, present in the Irish context, [...] can be seen as creating serious psychological and social problems and may be deemed to be cultural pathologies" (Moane, 2001).

In terms of more recent collective memories, the peace that was brought about by the Good Friday Agreement, followed by the economic boom of the Celtic Tiger and then an acute recession, mean that for some generations the Troubles are not a memory but a history and they do not view the formation of the state or nationalism through the prism of discomfort. The building blocks for their cultural identity are different from those of previous generations, and their source of tension and trauma is more likely to be rooted in modern global financial structures such as the IMF and the ECB.

In 'The Past in the Present Versus the Present in the Past', Schudson (1989) argues that the past imposes itself on the present memory. The process of historical reconstruction through the politics of memory, where various groups offer differing narratives of the past, forms a sort of rhetorical structure to social organisation (Schudson, 1989). One of the main arenas in which these narratives are played out is in the national media and the wider media ecology, including the diaspora media that mediate current affairs to the diasporic audience. However, the fact that Irish diaspora live their day-to-day lives in the hostland, in which there is both affinity and tension, must also be considered.

#### **4.5.2 Migration, Memory and Snapshots in Time**

This section discusses how the process of migration may impact on the collective memories of the Irish diaspora over different generations. It considers, following the migration of substantial numbers from Ireland and the establishment and repopulation

of diaspora communities abroad by new generations, how Irish migrants conceptualise Irishness and what their relationship with Ireland is.

Harte and Whelan (2007) describe how, in America, the New York Famine Memorial is a totem of the rural, famine-stricken Ireland that the Irish-American ancestors left behind, a ‘snapshot’ of the homeland.

“The Irish community in this country is a group distinct from the people that remained, they share a common heritage but evolved into two different people. One group continues to experience the landscape on a daily basis, actually using and changing the landscape [...] the other group left the moment that is frozen in their mind because that’s the event, their departure, it’s a collective memory it’s *an idea* of place that is suspended between these two worlds. It exists as an imaginary thing here.” (p. 195)

Over time the historical sources of identification in Ireland, and among the waves of migration from Ireland to different parts of the world, have evolved and there are fundamental changes to the Anglo-Irish relationship, from antagonistic to cooperative; and it natural that there are different lenses through which the Famine is viewed in space and time among the Irish in Ireland and abroad.

However, questions about how the construction of Irishness encompasses the diasporic still remain. Hickman (2002), examining Irishness beyond national boundaries, argues that because much of the discourse to date is based on dichotomous definitions (for comparison), there is a reinforcement of the primacy of the nation-state and its concerns which fails to explore a range of experiences and social realities. She notes that when a more encompassing, multi-generational, globalised, interconnected perspective is taken both the disruptive and inclusive qualities of diasporic cultures can be seen; this perspective has the power to undermine the primacy of nation-state identities. This idea is supported by Gray (2002), who notes that embracing diaspora as part of the national identity “means [...] trans nationalising the very meaning of the nation” (p. 11) and “the denaturalisation of ethno-nationalism” (p. 13). Hickman (2002) too points out the fractured nature of the Irish diaspora and, citing Doyle (1994, 1999), the need to better understand the differences in experiences of resettlement between sites of relocation including the US, the UK and Australia.

The Irish diaspora press inherently includes the diaspora as part of the conceptualisation of ‘the Irish’ but it is necessary to understand what aspects of Irishness are raised in salience and what the contextual forces that shape this might be. Irishness is being represented and performed by a highly complex group on a transnational scale. It is almost impossible to meaningfully represent the experience of multiple generations of Irish people in multiple regions of the world; the processes of resettlement, assimilation and retention of new and old cultures into negotiated hybrid identities are always in the process of reconstruction in relation to developments in home and hostland in the news media. However, despite this the news media, through selection and omission and framing, do represent some aspects of Ireland and Irishness. Irish diaspora news media are some of the nodes that exert cultural power in this transnational network of Irish people and institutions. This research is concerned with how this cultural power is expressed in the case of Irish diaspora news media. Crucially, it is vital to understand whether Irish current affairs and the associated social and political issues are the same in different sites of Irish migration and to understand what differences in the representation of Ireland and the transnational Irish might mean.

#### **4.5.3 Current Make-Up**

This section describes and contextualises the current constitution of the Irish diaspora based on the material available in the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs Diaspora Policy Report from 2016 and discusses this in relation to the established literature on diaspora studies.

The recent waves of recessionary exiles are unlike those before in that they consist of both boom-time professionals and entrepreneurial emigrants, followed by the recessionary migrants seeking better opportunities. This is a new demographic of modern Irish migrants. They are young, with the main emigrant age group being 15–44, with a large number in the 25–44 bracket. There is a slight gender imbalance: the migratory group from 2008 to 2014, 58 per cent are men and 42 per cent women. They were not, as they rarely are, from the poorest demographic in Ireland; they were skilled workers and professionals, part of the perceived ‘brain drain’. They had funds to uproot and resettle: 47 per cent were in full-time employment when they left, considerably fewer (22 per cent) were unemployed and 15 per cent were students, which paints a picture drastically different to the early perception of Ireland’s poorest

and most vulnerable being forced from the homeland. However, what makes this group unlike any before is that many of them retain tangible interests in Ireland. A fifth of them have mortgages in Ireland; this is not just an ideological link, it is a financial ball and chain tying them to Ireland. They have vulnerable legal and financial interests in the Irish economy.

We see another aspect of diaspora here that is worth noting – that not all migratory movements produce focused diaspora communities. While Canada has seen the highest growth of Irish immigrants it has a less organised diaspora in terms of establishing centres to sustain Irish identity; despite numbers now being larger than in Australia, it has not developed any media centres or defined large community hubs. This is something that the Irish government in its report has stressed should be overcome, at the risk of losing the Irish diaspora in Canada.

Figures from the report show migration is slowing but still remains high. The recent national diaspora policy, 2015, tells us that the Irish diaspora and the continuous flow of peoples to the diasporic communities, there and back again, has become part of the fabric of Irish life, society and culture. Their affection, you might say, is being reciprocated, and this will have important implications for the retention of Irish identity abroad and the inclusion of a new community in the national discourse.

Diasporas have trilateral relationships and their identities are tied into their country of origin, the host country, and the hybrid diasporic. This trilateral identity is at the core of what makes diasporas materially important. Diasporas are the drivers of multi-billion-dollar economic flows throughout the world. Their retained attachments and identification with the homeland drives huge economic flows (Wu, 200, 2003). In Ireland the Gathering (2013) caused major debate about the integrity of using the Irish diaspora as a source of tourism revenue; Gabriel Byrne described it as a “scam” and “shake down for loose change” of the very people worst affected by the failings of Irish political regimes, and the Taoiseach publicly defended it as “very credible” (*Irish Times*, 2012). It saw 250–275,000 overseas visitors in 2013; it cost €13 million and made €170 million in revenue. The government report said, “The Gathering has delivered a social dividend with a very positive impact on communities”, and recommended that it take place in five-year cycles, but it did not occur again in 2018 (DFA, 2016).

In March 2014 the *Irish Times* published an in-depth report into the multi-million-dollar financial support received by Sinn Fein over ten years from their supporters in the USA. They listed 15,000 donations amounting to €10.7 million, which is unmatched by any other Irish party, who have succeeded in raising only tens of thousands in the USA, largely having given up on the US market for political donations and concentrated their efforts elsewhere. The economic flows are not always commercially orientated, and this underlines the real-world impact that the diaspora newsmakers can have in how they represent current affairs in Ireland to the diasporic audience. Indeed a great deal of the most recent research on the Irish diaspora has come from the commercial marketing sector or as part of government initiatives. The Irish diaspora economic forum and the Global Irish and Global Ireland initiatives were launched by the Irish government in 2015 in an effort to extend the Irish business network entrepreneurs to the diaspora and vice versa, canalising on the cultural links that were already in place.

#### **4.6 Summary**

This chapter described the historical contexts of migration and the development of the digital diaspora press, and discussed the specific conceptualisation by and of the Irish as migrants. While by no means comprehensive, it addresses some of the headline issues that should be considered to appropriately analyse the finding from this study and to better address the research questions. The following chapter outlines the research design and methodological approach to identifying the resources and production norms in more detail, and detailing how the news flows are collected and the regional news agendas determined, as well as how Irish identity is represented in diaspora news.



## **Chapter Five: Research Design and Methodology**

### **5.A Research Design**

To understand the production of digital diaspora journalism through the lens of the circuit of culture model, this study conceptually divides the process into stages. The first stage examines the contexts of production or space where the news artefact originates. The second stage identifies the processes of producing the cultural text, by examining the news flows and the transnational mediascape, and the third stage examines representation through establishing how Irishness is framed in different diaspora regions. This chapter begins by discussing the approaches to the mixed-methods comparative analysis of journalism produced in different countries and by different diasporic groups. It outlines the benefits of adapting news flow analysis to understand the culture (Appadurai, 1996) or information flow (Castells, 2010) and how framing analysis can establish the central organising idea regarding Irishness. The methodology section outlines how the contexts of production were identified, then details how the news flow analysis was conducted to establish the regional news agendas regarding Ireland; how content analysis for frame building was used to establish how Irish identity is represented; and finally, how the interviews with editors were conducted.

The core aim of this research is to understand the Irish diaspora news industry, to establish the journalistic and cultural influences on digital diaspora news production, and to compare the representations of Irishness across different regions. To examine how national homeland identity is ‘translated’ or mediated by diaspora news outlets it is necessary to be interdisciplinary and utilise analytical frameworks and methodologies from cultural studies, journalism studies and international relations to build up a comprehensive understanding of the diaspora news production process. The interspectival and multidisciplinary nature of diaspora journalism studies requires researchers to use mixed methodologies and take care that concepts and methods ‘fit’. Because of the potential conceptual and operational pitfalls of adapting theories from different disciplines, there have been focused efforts by academics to explain how these borrowed goods are most effectively utilised in the field of research and to develop systematic approaches. The systematic approach to addressing each of these issues is outlined below, with the primary research goal established by answering and synthesising the subsidiary questions.

The circuit of cultural production model suggests that it does not matter what stage of the process it begins at or what ‘direction’ around the circuit is taken, only that the flow of the circuit is followed (Hall *et al.*, 2013). However, as noted in chapter two, journalism studies have established that the political economy of journalism can shape the news production process and, because of that, it is necessary to understand the environment in which the circuit of cultural production originates. The methodological approach to addressing the research questions begins with investigating the antecedent conditions of digital diaspora news production, followed by recording and analysing the texts as news flows, examining the representation through a framing study, and then interviewing diaspora newsmakers to determine what shaped the production process. This chapter outlines the methods used to address each of these issues in turn. Addressing the research questions requires a three-stage process. The first step is to map and investigate the Irish diaspora journalism industry, the second is to examine the information that circulates around it, and the third addresses how Irishness is represented within it.

RQ1: To address the antecedent conditions outlined in chapter two, the first set of research questions asks what the contexts of producing Irish diaspora journalism are and how the context shapes what is selected and represented in diaspora news.

RQ 1.1 What are the material factors that shape news production and what was the impact of digitisation on the Irish diaspora press?

RQ 1.2: What are the organisational factors that shape the production of diaspora journalism?

RQ 1.3: How do cultures of journalism in different hostlands shape how Ireland and Irishness is represented in the diaspora press?

To answer these questions requires research into and investigation of the news organisations themselves. There is a certain amount of information that is available from various primary sources, including what is made available by the news organisations to advertisers and business regulators. However, interviews with diaspora news workers are required to facilitate insight into the production of diaspora news, and into how resources are deployed and why.

RQ 2: To understand what stories about the Irish are told by diaspora newsmakers, the second set of research questions addresses what news stories about Ireland are selected and prioritised for representation.

RQ 2.1: What is the composition of the news flows regarding news categories, topics and stories about Ireland that flow to the diaspora press?

RQ.2.2 Are there differences in the news that flows from the homeland to diaspora news media in different regions?

RQ 2.2: To what extent do diaspora news media bypass the homeland and represent the current affairs of other diasporic groups?

To address these questions requires a collection and analysis of diaspora news media texts. News flows are conceptualised as a type of cultural flow which describes the editorial agenda of the diaspora news media. Additionally, news flows can be easily compared across regions, and this is regarded as the most suitable method of detecting and comparing how Irish current affairs are mediated.

RQ 3 Addressing the production of cultural texts and symbolic representations of Irishness within the news flows, the third set of research questions asks how Irishness is framed in the diaspora press.

RQ 3.1: Is Irishness framed in the same way in different regions?

RQ 3.2: To what extent are different representations disruptive of the hegemonic representations of Irish identity?

To address these research questions requires the collection and analysis of news texts regarding specific cases where Irish identity is represented. To understand the symbolic representations and how Irish identity is characterised, a process framing analysis, which incorporates what precedes the production of a frame, fits neatly into the circuit of cultural production model. This approach can offer insight into how Irishness is discursively constructed around a central organising idea.

## **5.1 Mapping Ireland's Digital Diaspora Press**

This section describes the suitability of the Irish digital diaspora press as a case study and explains the criteria for selecting the news titles in the sample.

The Irish diaspora media is a highly suitable case study for a number of reasons. The Irish diaspora is one of the largest global diasporas with high levels of concentration in some hostland countries which have developed commercially successful news media to serve the informational needs of the diaspora community.<sup>15</sup> While there is a range of diaspora publications that communicate news about Ireland on digital media such as blogs and social media pages, this research focuses on the diaspora journalism industry. As such, the criteria for selecting news titles were designed to ensure that the outlets were professional news businesses: (1) that it should be a media business, SME or larger; (2) that it should be online, and that the online website should be comparable to a standard professional national news website; (3) that it should consistently produce original content immediately recognisable as journalism (as opposed to aggregating Irish news through links or a blog); (4) that there should be a substantial online readership; and (5) that the content should be published in English.

*Sample*

<b>Country</b>	<b>Company</b>	<b>Website</b>	<b>News Style</b>	<b>Readership</b>
USA	Irish Central	<a href="http://www.irishcentral.com">www.irishcentral.com</a>	Newspaper	2,200,000
	Irish Echo	<a href="http://www.irishecho.com">www.irishecho.com</a>	Newspaper	48,000
UK	Irish Post	<a href="http://www.irishpost.com">www.irishpost.com</a>	Newspaper	158,000
	Irish World	<a href="http://www.irishworld.co.uk">www.irishworld.co.uk</a>	Newspaper	12,000
Australia	Irish Echo	<a href="http://www.irishecho.com.au">www.irishecho.com.au</a>	Newspaper	1,000
	Tintean	<a href="http://www.tintean.com">www.tintean.com</a>	Magazine	2,500

<sup>15</sup> It is necessary to set criteria for selection of the most suitable diaspora to use because in an N=1 case study the researcher should identify the case that will offer the best results. Traditionally in cultural studies, the major independent explanatory variables are often controlled for by focusing on individual or cross-comparison case studies. Media production is a highly diversified field of practice and it can be difficult to make legitimate claims about a universal state of journalism or journalists without them being undermined by the degrees of disparity between certain conditions, such as nationality, press freedom, styles and approaches, as well as modes of production and dissemination. These explanatory variables for differences in media output and production are so well established and acknowledged to be so powerful that since their foundation it has been necessary in researching the media to mitigate these differences. If they are not sufficiently controlled for, research can be immediately undermined because any findings of influence of another element could be potentially attributed to one, some or all of these overriding factors. For these reasons it is best to focus on one cultural case study that has sufficient similarities to control for these differences while being diverse enough to illustrate the differences.

*Table 2 Sample Websites. Notes: Dated September 9, 2016. In Argentina, there is the Southern Cross, but the English language version ended before this research project began and it does not have a news website. In the USA there are magazines but not online news websites and not producing news. In Australia, the new titles were not as consistent in terms of output, but diaspora news production was erratic in the region at the time.*

Each of the diasporas in the USA, UK and Australia are serviced by important, leading online news organisations: in the UK, the *Irish Post* and the *Irish World*; in the USA, the *Irish Central* and *Irish Echo*; and in Australia the *Irish Echo* (unaffiliated with the *Echo* in the USA) and *Tintean* magazine. All are leading news providers targeting the Irish diaspora news market in their locations. In terms of qualities for cross-case comparison, Brady and Collier (2004, p. 125) underline the need to select cases carefully, so that they parallel each other sufficiently. To observe any differences in influences on production among diaspora journalism in different regions, the media organisations in the sample must be sufficiently similar to facilitate appropriate comparison. Ireland's diaspora news media have suitable qualities for examining the process for diaspora journalism. All of the news organisations are registered media businesses, and the composition of the staff and their professional formation is similar to that of other news organisations, with editors, journalists and advertising departments. Moreover, the outputs – the news websites themselves – use similar layout and design to those of the digital editions of national news media. They produce high volumes of content organised in categories that overlap with those of national news titles, thus providing more comparable data to work with and in turn more robust observations. They have large readerships and have expanded their reach through digitisation and social media distribution. Also, because this diaspora industry is so advanced, successful and profitable, it can be viewed as a prototype for developing and future amateur diaspora news industries. Thanks to these points of comparison, differences and similarities and the interaction of influences on the diasporic news production process will be more easily observable.

Additionally, such was the concern with Irish migration and the recognition of the large volume of Irish people living outside the nation-state, an Irish national newspaper, the *Irish Times*, has also developed a diaspora news section. Responding to the wave of migration following the recession in 2008, the *Irish Times* developed Generation Emigration (now Ireland Abroad), a section of the website that is for the Irish diaspora.

To address the first research question in this study and in line with previous research on diaspora journalism, and the theoretical framework of the circuit of cultural production (Hall *et al.*, 2013), chapter four outlined the Irish diaspora news industry. It described the complexity of the multi-generational and multi-directional migration and provided insights into the development of Ireland's digital diaspora news organisations. Building on this to address the political economy regarding the material resources and how they are managed, this research used a series of primary sources that businesses submit to the government or public bodies to gain insight into the finances, ownership, business networks and general resources of the diaspora press. Government policy documents and reports concerning the Irish diaspora were also used. Each of the news titles sells advertising, and the media packs that are given to prospective advertisers contain a wide range of details about the news organisation's operations, audience and distribution strategies. Additionally, interviews with editors address how such resources are deployed in the newsroom and reveal any challenges to the political economy. Some secondary sources were also utilised, such as the information on websites for diaspora business networks. By doing so, it was also possible to address some of the research questions, such as those regarding the material resources, organisational structures and cultural contexts of each of the news titles in this study. There is a range of sources that provide information on the material resources of the Irish diaspora news media that can help direct interview questions. As registered businesses, many are required to submit information and declare profits, losses and any developments in the media output that could affect the broader media environment regarding plurality and competition. Furthermore the interviews with editors, informed by the information regarding their resources, are able to address questions and fill gaps that cannot be tackled by other means, as well as provide insights into the motivations and thinking behind how resources are deployed, how the media outlet is organised and what influences both of these.

## **5.2 Identifying News Flows and Regional News Agendas**

This section outlines how by establishing the news flows between Ireland and Irish diaspora media in Britain, American and Australia the regional news agendas regarding Ireland can be revealed. News flow analysis can determine what Irish current affairs are represented in each region and then news agendas can be compared.

The ‘news flows’ from Ireland to the diaspora sites are not just a description of the cultural artefact’s migration. Because they have been generated by diaspora journalism’s recognition of an event’s newsworthiness, they are also representative of the editorial agenda regarding home. They are the news stories about Ireland that are selected and presented as most salient by the diaspora newsmakers. In terms of the circuit of cultural production, this is part of the process of representation which establishes how diaspora newsmakers present ‘what to think about when thinking about Irishness’.

News flows tend to be analysed from two main perspectives. One approach comes from journalism studies and examines the news flow of one story among many news titles over a short period, such as election news coverage. The other is at the global level, with International Relations scholars examining the flow of state and regional news across national boundaries to establish how much coverage developing nations receive in developed nations, and vice versa. Scholars such as Östgaard (1965), Hanitzsch (2008) and Segev (2014) have sought to establish the factors that affect the flow of news between different nations, finding that national identities, proximity (geographically how close countries are) and established relationships such as economic ties can shape how much information flows and what types of information flow from one country to another in journalism. Wu (2000) sought to determine the underlying structures that shape international news flows or, to put it another way, to establish what are the main characteristics of news about another country that mean it is more likely to be featured in another nation’s news media. Based on a range of 24 potential news values (Wu, 2000, 2003), he finds that while cultural, economic and geographical proximity are important, the overall impact of the news, how important a story is regarded to be to the audience, is a critical factor. Nossek (2004) established that journalists and editors could apply a ‘national frame’ when covering news from other countries, prioritising the interests of the nation in which they are based and shaped by the culture. Within diaspora media studies Matsaganis and Katz’s (2014) work on the diaspora journalism in the USA indicates that the national news culture of the hostland, professional identities and how editors manage the newsroom’s resources shape the production of diaspora journalism.

As noted in chapter three, diaspora journalism can be conceptualised as a type of foreign news coverage, and news flow analysis can establish what news about a

homeland appears in the news agenda of the diaspora press in a new hostland. Once the news agendas are established in a region, it is then possible to determine what forces shaped the selection of news about home by examining the how resources are deployed and how newsmakers conceptualize their professional or cultural identities. Because news flow studies can quantitatively compare the new agendas of different regions, it also facilitates comparison between the representation of news about Ireland in diaspora presses located in different countries around the world.

While it is useful to consider how resources are deployed, it is established in chapter two that the political economy can shape the production of journalism and establishes a need to consider what resources are available (as opposed to how what is available is managed). While scholars have examined the effects of ethnic news producers as gatekeepers (Cottle, 2000; Ndangam, 2008), it is necessary to establish the newsgathering techniques and sources to understand where news stories originate and if there are limitations to what diaspora newsrooms can represent. In this study, this is done by analysing the content of production that can shape what news sources a journalist can access with the resources available.

Regardless of whether research is examining a single story or comparing how regions represent each other, the process of collecting and quantifying news stories to establish the news agenda and what shapes it is much the same. News article must be collected from appropriate sources (usually leading news titles) at regular intervals, with the regions where they originate indicated, as well as a range of metadata or characteristics of the articles to facilitate analysis. The volume of coverage that different types of news receives can then be quantified and compared across regions.

Previous scholarship by Wu (2008) and Kautsky and Windholm (2008) used the Regular Interval Content Capture method (RICC), which establishes guidelines for the collection and recording of news flow data to determine news agendas in different countries or news publications. Two main rules guide the collecting of data: they should be collected at regular intervals, usually every 15 minutes, and they should be automatically recorded in a spreadsheet to facilitate quantification. The coding of the news article, however, depends on the nature of the research questions, which in this case seek to establish what categories, topics and specific stories about Ireland flowed. Wu (2008), Kautsky and Windholm (2008) and Segev (2014) used specially



developed software technologies to automate the collection of articles and recording of metadata. This approach is particularly useful for collecting a large volume of online news articles over a long period.

Kautsky and Windholm (2008) used web scraping software to track how news flowed during the presidential speeches in the 2008 US elections and establish specific conditions for which the data needs to be collected in order both to achieve quantitative research and draw out case studies for examination. This process means that the record of collection and the dataset itself achieves the high standards of transparency and replicability that are required when working in the quantitative field. They advise:

1. Web pages should be logged in the time sequence order in which they appeared and stored in a way that is keyword searchable.
2. The metadata of the web pages should contain the webpage link, headlines, date stamp, keywords and ID stamps.
3. The data can also be stored in such a way that it is keyword searchable so that specific cases can be more easily drawn out.
4. The researcher must not allow the automation to do all the work but should take an active role in curating the data as it is collected. This ensures there are no technological failures. They also advise that where manual coding is required, it is easier to deal with it in smaller batches of say a week or two as opposed to coding six months of articles at once.

Researchers who have used similar RICC methods, such as Kautsky and Windholm (2008), Wu (2000), and Segev (2014), experimented with JavaScript webpage scraping software written for their specific projects. A similar script was written for a pilot test in this research project but failed during the pilot testing (see Appendix A for more details on the JavaScript pilot test). Journalism researchers have, on smaller scales, used Really Simple Syndication software (RSS feeds) to record and aggregate digital news content, and new integrations with marketing companies with RSS feed software have enhanced their capacity as a large-scale content collector, recorder and organiser (Lan and Sie, 2010; Segev, 2014; Mitchel *et al.*, 2016). RSS feeds capture the details of articles published on multiple web pages where content changes at unpredictable intervals, making it a more accurate capturing method than the strict RICC method or software which would rely on scheduled checks every five

to fifteen minutes, in which time the volume could fluctuate. This offers a more refined and accurate representation of the news content, recording the website's changes on an ongoing basis and capturing content and the necessary metadata as it is being generated.

More recently, RSS feed providers are offering increasingly advanced options for ease of organisation and recording of digital data, such as creating multiple categories of feeds, as well as recording the metadata automatically into digital spreadsheets. This is a recent development that offers the opportunity to create a large and well-organised dataset that would not only facilitate the building of the quantitative data needed to determine the salience of news stories, but would also be easily searchable for case studies and later data visualisation opportunities. The Feedly RSS feed aggregator service offers all of the above and is used by leading journalism research institutes.

By organising the categories of feeds appropriately, it is possible to record the necessary data and allow for a simple quantitative analysis of the volume of news that flows to the diaspora. Each of the homepages and a number of the individual category news pages, such as Irish news, local news, politics, sport, opinion, business and culture, can be recorded in the diasporic sites by country and counted by any time scale measure – daily and weekly being the most applicable here.

During pilot testing, the RSS feed approach that can collect and record news articles and the relevant metadata was successful, and this method was adopted (see Appendix A for more details on RSS pilot tests).

### **5.2.1 How the News Agenda is Determined from News Flows**

This section describes how the news agendas are established from the news flow analysis. The simple frequency/volume determines the salience or newsworthiness of a news topic or event equated to salience, as used by McCombs and Shaw (1979) and others (Wu, 2000; Pavlik, 2003; Kautsky and Widholm, 2008). The details of the news articles that appeared on the homepages of the diaspora news websites were recorded in a spreadsheet, and those articles that are primarily about affairs within the Irish state

are regarded as one unit of cultural flow.<sup>16</sup> For example, in the case of political news from Ireland, if on one day the diaspora news in the UK produces five articles or units, in Australia zero units and the USA twenty units, it offers a sense of the different levels of interest in political news during that time.

This method also facilitates the identification of patterns and case studies which are reviewed on an ongoing basis, which is an application of McCombs and Shaw's algorithm (1979): quantitative frequency + qualitative content analysis = salience of news story. A news story that appears regularly and prominently in both domestic and diaspora media, whether over a short or long period depending on its life in the news cycle, would be viewed as being a newsworthy issue, whereas those that appear irregularly or infrequently are not as newsworthy. The news agendas are expressed as a percentage of the total from each region to regulate for the disparity in volume which could be associated with resources. For example, from the early pilot study, if Conor McGregor's UFC title win is the topic in four out of twelve articles published in the UK on one day, it would correspond to 25 per cent of the total for that region in that period. The coded dataset can then be used to generate tables that compare the quantity of news dedicated to a news category, topic or story in different regions.

This approach facilitates the selection of relevant case studies from among the most salient news topics and stories. However, while the specific case studies cannot be entirely determined until after the data is collected, this method is argued to be among the best for eliminating random errors in data collection and analysis. It is, however, susceptible to a software systematic error and selection bias and so awareness and vigilance is required on the part of the researcher. Scheduled news events were monitored closely because of their special links to the national cultural identity of the Irish, in particular the celebration of the centenary of the 1916 Rising – a deeply divisive cultural and political event in Irish history.

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<sup>16</sup> While many of the article have some link between the diaspora and Ireland – the definition of the news as from Ireland is based on the primary news event being reported taking place in the Irish state.

## 5.2.2 Guidelines For Selecting Case Studies

The most appropriate case studies were identified from among the most pervasive or popular news categories and topics. However, pervasiveness alone cannot be the sole determinant for the selection of case studies. The news flows reveal a variety of potentially appropriate cases, and so it was necessary to establish some basic relevant criteria by which the most suitable cases can be established. In examining digital diaspora, Jennifer Brinkerhoff in *Digital Diasporas and Identity Politics* (2009) and Ruxandra Tradafoiu in *Diaspora Online: Identity Politics and Romanian Migrants*. (2013) provide comparative investigations which inform the research by establishing points of comparison and departure. Adapted from previous work in news flows, the cases should have the following qualities (Östgaard, 1965; Wu, 2000; Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2008; Kautsky and Widholm, 2008; Watanabe, 2012):

- The life-cycle of a story/case should take place within a workable, definite and logical time-frame for analysis and be a clearly defined issue. For example, a criminal court case or the 1916 Centenary celebrations that take place within a few months would be potentially apt, but a topic as long and broad as the application of austerity politics by the Irish government would not.
- They should be leading stories that originate in Ireland and are picked up in the diaspora news as leading or as minor stories.
- The issues should be polarising, tending to provoke strong reactions, positive or negative, based on affirming or challenging the cultural values of the newsmakers.

However, apart from the volume of news coverage dedicated to a topic, the case study should also be suitable for unpacking the discursive construction of Irish identity. Where a story or topic was predominantly about Irish identity or contained an underlying discourse about Irish values and behaviours, it was considered for analysis. The characteristics of the specific topics and stories selected for case studies are detailed in section 5B Methodology.

## 5.2.3 Framing as a Process of Representation

This section describes the suitability of framing analyses for comparing the representations of national identity in journalistic texts. It explains how content

analysis is used to establish frames and the arguments for the conceptualisation of framing as part of a process of production, which addresses the process of representation in the circuit of cultural production model. Vliegthart and van Zoonen (2011) advise the need to distinguish between framing effects and frame building; to clarify, this research is focused on the analysis of frame production (framing) rather than frame effects. To understand frame building, it is necessary to establish the preceding conditions to the production of the news texts, which in this case is addressed by establishing the news flows and the factors that shape newsgathering and news selection.

The news flows from Ireland to each of the diaspora news titles is representative of the editorial agenda regarding Irish current affairs. They can tell what news stories about Ireland were told by diaspora newsmakers during a given period. Because the regions where the news is produced are also recorded by the news flow method, the quantity of news dedicated to different news categories, topics and stories can be compared, revealing similarities and differences in what was prioritised. The news flows are generated by the selection of topics to be reproduced and are a critical part of the representation process.

However, news flows can only describe what about Ireland is represented; the discursive construction of Irish identity occurs within the content of the articles. This requires a complementary method to analyse the discursive construction of Irishness: the messages and meanings that are encoded into news articles. This complementary method must offer an insight into how representations of Irish identity are carried in news text, and must facilitate comparison between regions where the dominant messages about Irishness can be analysed for differences.

The news flows that are established in the quantitative part of this research serve as the foundation and inform the framing analysis. McCombs and Shaw (1993), Entman (1993) and others perceive framing as an extension of agenda setting. Because the flow of news involves the selection of some news stories from a more extensive resource and discarding others, it is inherently involved in representing some topics of news as more salient than others. The selection of stories about 'home' by diaspora journalists is the first stage of representing Ireland. The news flows are evidence of the broad issues, stories and meanings about Ireland that are elevated in salience by

newsmakers, and provide insight into the antecedent conditions in their formation. The frame analyses interact with the news flow study in that the case studies are derived from pervasive news stories across multiple regions. In this regard, news flows and the factors that shape the selection of news topics and stories precede but are part of the process of framing.

Because framing involves interrogating texts for the ways in which an idea is discursively constructed and presented, which includes the rhetoric, word choices, descriptions and characterisations and messages, it is highly suitable for addressing the representation of national identity (Matthes, 2009). Similarly, because it is often conceptualised as a process which requires inspection of the antecedent conditions (here, news selection), it is highly suitable for addressing representation in the circuit of cultural production model (Schudson, 1989; Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Benford and Snow, 2000; Van Gorp, 2005, 2007; Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007; Cacciatore, Scheufele and Iyengar, 2016).

#### **5.2.4 Content Analysis for Frame Building**

How has previous scholarship used framing to identify the construction of identity and culture and to compare the framing of the same topics in different regions? Any research using or analysing frame theories must acknowledge that there is no widely held definition, methodology or method of framing analysis. Any approach is centred around the concept that frames have the power to direct attention towards one interpretation of an event or events over another through use of a wide range of culturally specific ideas, language, technical devices, rhetoric and analogies in news discourse (Marais and Linstrom, 2012).

The aim of framing analysis is to identify what ideas dominate others, how one dominant frame directs attention to some aspects of an event at the expense of others, and if any frames challenge the dominant frame (Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Marais and Linstrom, 2012). The dominant frame is largely agreed to be a central organising idea that places the news events in an editorially predefined context (Entman, 1993; Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Marais and Linstrom, 2012). Challenging frames are competing with the central organising ideas in that they have a similar level of distribution within the texts. They emerge from the content analysis where a concept that is an opposite or establishes a counter-narrative to the dominant frame has a high level of

pervasiveness. These conflicting frames disrupt the homogeneity of the messages carried in the case study. The frames here are representations of Irish identity or the central organising idea about Irishness, and the challenging frames represent alternative ways of thinking. Secondary frames are subordinate frames that contain supplementary organising ideas which support the dominant frame, and the remaining nodes can be conceptualised as themes (Marais and Linstrom, 2012, p. 30).

Researchers using process framing analyses have adopted this practice and have blended different methods and concepts to approach the different processes of framing, such as content analysis (deVreese 2005; Schonhardt-Bailey 2005; Esser 2009), theory of effects (Scheufele 1999), critical discourse analysis (Hope 2010) and discourse analysis (Pan and Kosiki 1993; D'Angelo 2003).

However, of this range of approaches, a content analysis is systematic, suitable for a large body of texts, and facilitates both inductive and deductive approaches, where some frames and themes of a case study are recognised before coding while other emerge from patterns of representation identified through multiple readings.<sup>17</sup> Content analysis that describes the volume of coverage is a transparent process for establishing how frames are derived from the linguistic and discursive devices in the texts. Reviewing the multiple approaches to framing from previous scholarship, Matthes (2009) establishes a number of guidelines for researchers. He advises that quantitative approaches to analysing texts are most suitable for large bodies of text while qualitative frame building is more suitable for smaller samples of single case studies (Matthes, 2009, p. 351). Content analysis that establishes the volume of coverage dedicated to a particular idea or theme is most suitable for those case studies which are selected from the news topics that have high volumes of coverage in the diaspora press.

Matthes (2009) and Matthes and Kohring (2008) also advise researchers to be aware of whether the development of frames is inductive or deductive; they do not suggest that they have to be either one, only that the researcher should be aware and

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<sup>17</sup> Because the researcher was based in Ireland during the time the data was recorded there was an inevitable awareness of salient news events in Ireland that could flow, and in approaching the analysis of text some potential themes that appeared in Irish national news were recognised and inspected for in the diasporic texts. See Appendix Two, coding book, which states which themes were inductive.

transparent about which approach is taken to how different frames are established and ensure that they are mutually exclusive. Matthes (2009) also advises that it should be stated whether the coding is manual or computer-assisted and whether data reduction techniques were used. This research adopted quantitative content analysis, coded the texts manually and did not employ a data reduction technique.

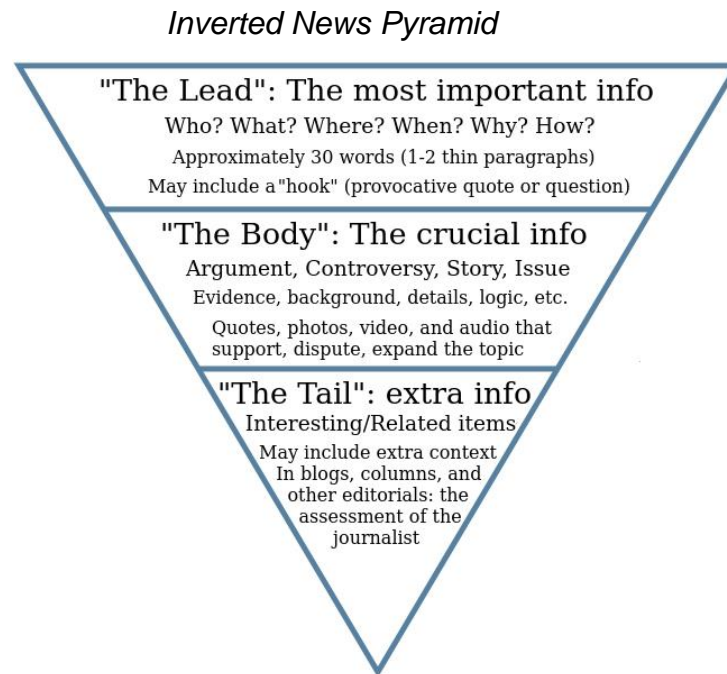
Content analysis for framing analysis is a process that requires multiple readings of the sample articles. Alozie (2005, p. 66) suggests the following: Phase 1: General multiple reading of the articles while taking descriptive notes about the content; Phase 2: A second reading to identify certain recurring themes, frames, values and topic categories; and Phase 3: In-depth interpretation of the articles. It is important too for researchers to test that the frames are legitimate and “not a figment of a researcher’s imagination” by ensuring that each frame has “identifiable conceptual and linguistic characteristics” (Alozie, 2005, p. 66).

Frames can be identified using technical devices such as headlines, subheadings, photo captions, leads, source selection, quote selection, and concluding statements and paragraphs (Entman, 1993; Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Reese, 2009; Marais and Linstrom, 2012; Ogunyemi, 2014); rhetorical devices, metaphors, exemplars, depictions (Gamson and Lasch, 1983); and syntactical thematic and rhetorical structures (Pan and Kosicki, 1993, pp. 59-61) which are identified by analysing how language is clustered within the unit of analysis (Entman, 1993).

In short, content analysis for frame building involves coding the passages of news texts, which can be as short as one or two words or as long as a paragraph, into conceptual or thematic groups, which can be established before coding or can emerge deductively from researchers recognising patterns of representation regarding their research questions (Esser 2009; deVreese 2005; Schonhardt-Bailey 2005). In NVivo, the qualitative software tool used in this study, these codes are organised into nodes, and the volume of coverage of each node within the full corpus of articles analyses can be calculated. NVivo also facilitates the classification of articles to facilitate comparison across different classifications, which in this study will be regions. However, this approach is slightly problematic because it does not recognise the technical devices of journalism which help organise ideas, such as headlines and leads. A concept cannot be fairly described as a central organising idea or frame if its position



within a news article is frequently at the end or in conclusion. In journalism texts, the news is presented with the most critical information at the top and the least critical at the bottom, as represented by the news pyramid (Schwartz, 2013).



*Figure 7 News pyramid (Schwartz, 2013)*

Pan and Kosciki's (1993) approach to content analysis for frame building is particularly useful because it recognises the position of linguistic and discursive elements in the news text as important. When a discursive or linguistic framing element is used in a headline, nutgraph or leads – anywhere towards the top of an article – it is regarded as having a stronger capacity to frame the issue (Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Matthes and Kohring, 2008; Matthes, 2009). This requires a degree of flexibility on behalf of the researcher and a process of going over and back between the nodes and the articles to identify the position in the text and determine the capacity of an idea to frame an issue during analysis. However, it is necessary to recognise how journalism presents information to readers to authentically identify the dominant frames.

Esser and D'Angelo describe this approach to framing as inordinately complex and remark that it is challenging to accomplish a standardised frame analysis with large text samples. Additionally, they suggest that "it remains a bit unclear how all

these features are finally woven together to signify a frame” (2003, p. 624). The limitations of this approach must be recognised, and the effort to make the approach as transparent as possible must be detailed. Another criticism concerns the subjectivity of the researcher, with Van Gorp suggesting that “it is extremely difficult to neutralise the impact of the researcher in framing research” (2005, p. 503). By contrast, journalism researchers such as Berkowitz (2011) suggest that in analysing cultural production the immersion of the researcher within the culture is beneficial because they can recognise cultural touchstones that an outside observer might overlook. There are inevitably limitations in adopting qualitative research methods. Detailed explanation of how content analysis was conducted and how the thematic groups came to be regarded as frames, visual representation of the distribution of frames, subframes and challenging frames, as well as a codebook that details the full range of themes that were coded is required to mitigate such limitations (see Appendix C).

Content analysis for framing was adopted for this research because of its value in recognising the position of discursive elements in the news texts, which offers a more authentic determination of how Irishness is represented in diaspora news media. Scholarship has argued the merits of framing analysis as an approach to analysing news discourses because it facilitates examination of the text, but also the processes that produce it (Entman, 1993; Pan and, Kosicki, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; D’Angelo, 2002; de Vreese, 2005; Berkowitz, 2011). Frame building corresponds to at least part of the process in the circuit of cultural production regarding representation and identity. The process of analysing framing mirrors the ideal process of examining any cultural output which also requires analysis of the process of production, here examining the cultural production process of the news artefact from story identification, selection, re-presentation through until publication and distribution (while consumption is accounted for in the data analysis feedback). Once established, the frames are analysed to extract the messages, the meanings embedded, in order to attain an in-depth insight into how the homeland is presented. This section of the research is not merely descriptive of the product of mediation, it offers insight into the production process and offers a reliable reference point that can be examined in in-depth interviews with editors and journalists. The interviews were guided by the analysis of the data during the quantitative and framing analysis, and follow the analysis of each frame to explain best the processes that produced it, and what shaped those processes.

The identification of the dominant frames in each region facilitates comparison which can reveal differences or similarities between regions in how Irish culture in the homeland is depicted. News selection and framing in newsrooms occur as a process with interlinked stages of development to produce the finished article. The collection of news flows can identify the editorial agenda in addressing what news topics about Ireland are selected; framing analysis of suitable case studies can address how Irishness is characterised.

### **5.2.5 Context Through Interviews**

This section addresses the need to conduct interviews with managing and senior editors to fully understand the production process. In order to determine how and why certain stories about ‘home’ gain traction or are picked up and reproduced by diaspora newsmakers, researchers should examine the antecedent conditions: the process of production as well as the news content.

Because this is the first research that examines the diaspora news production as a process and aims to understand how resources are deployed in newsrooms, observation and reliance on established work from mainstream news media studies are insufficient to establish the interplay between different factors, nor does this offer insight into decision-making processes. As noted by Ritchie, Spencer and O’Connor (2003) in discussing focus groups and interviews, interviewing can be particularly beneficial when working with professionals and where there is already data gathered to better interpret the results. Incorporating interviewing into this study facilitates better understanding of the motivations of the processes behind production and better interpretation of findings from the news flows and case studies, as well as more precise and meaningful analysis.

To address the components of the circuit of cultural production within a hybrid media system that has not yet been studied, researchers must use a method that facilitates the examination of the contexts of production as well as looking at the representation of Irish identity in the text, in order to establish the influences on the process. Only so much insight can be achieved from an external observation of practices, process and products. As noted by Qu and Dumay (2011), even when interviews are not the primary data being analysed they are an important component of the methodological approach for placing other data collected in the appropriate

context for analysis. To understand the contexts of production, the resources, how they are deployed, the organisational factors such as the newsrooms ideology, values, production norms and any barriers to accessing news sources, it is necessary to speak with the newsmakers, who are constituents in the communities they are reporting to.

Interviews have been incorporated into a range of studies on journalism and diaspora media production to determine the thinking and motivations that underpin news production processes. These include examining newsroom culture (Berkowitz, 2011; Reese, 2011; deVreese, 2005) and the process of framing news (Entman, 1993; Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; D'Angelo, 2002), as well as the motivations and challenges of diasporic news production (Kperogi, 2011; Ogunyemi, 2014).

In this research, which combines quantitative and qualitative analysis, interviewing editors can provide insight into how material, organisational and cultural factors interact in newsrooms. As noted by Berger (2000, p. 113), interviews are “the most widely used and fundamental research methods in communications”. To get the most precise insights from interviews it is beneficial to have completed research into the news flows and frames so that the established outcomes can be meaningfully addressed through more direct questioning.

This research project conducted semi-structured interviews with both diaspora and domestic news producers.<sup>18</sup> It is acknowledged in studying journalism that it can be challenging to encourage journalists and editors to speak on the record about their practices, as noted by leading journalist Nick Davies who struggled to get on-record responses when he researched tabloid production in the UK: “We don’t dig in our own backyard” (2008, p. 1). Furthermore, the pressures on editors and journalists in a working day can mean that the amount of time available to give to researchers is limited. In this context the interview questions were formulated to be direct and address the preliminary research on news flows and case studies.

A number of potential complementary methods that can be used to determine journalistic influences which shape news production were considered. Surveys sent to

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<sup>18</sup> Structured interviews could frustrate time-pressured journalists and editors by asking questions that are not specifically relevant to them and can lead to some repetition depending on what issues are covered in earlier questions. Semi-structured interviews are more focused and can solicit more direct responses. For reasons of time and brevity interviewees were given specific topic areas to talk about.

journalists have been used by some researchers to support findings from content and ethnographic studies. The *Organisational Cultural Inventory* (OCI) and the *Organisational Effectiveness Inventory* (OEI) were adopted by the Readership Institute in 2004 to solicit responses regarding attitudes and influences on how newsroom employees create content. It is long and highly in-depth but can be adapted to make it more suitable for application to a smaller industry and more focused research. However, surveying such a small sample of newsmakers could be problematic, and some of the richness that can be achieved when there are opportunities for more probing questions could be lost. The ethnographic approach was not feasible as each newsroom in each location would be required to accept a researcher's presence for a prolonged period of time and this was not possible in the timeframe. However, because there was primary data analysis from the news flows and case studies to guide interview questions; because of the value of one-on-one interviews in achieving depth of understanding of different aspects of the production process; and because of the substantial limitations of employing other methods that do not directly engage with diaspora news workers and, as such, cannot establish the motivations behind practices in depth, it was considered crucial to incorporate interviewing into the design of this project.

In particular, the research design of this project offers the opportunity to establish not just the determinants of the news that flows, but also the characteristics of news that does not flow. The data will illustrate omitted cases, prominent stories in Irish current affairs that are not represented prominently in all of the diaspora news regions. As yet there is no research identified during the literature review that seeks to establish why certain cases are omitted in the reproduction of current affairs. This may have been due to the challenge of conclusively recording omission to the standards required for academic inspection; it is difficult to research what is not there. However, because the data on the Irish media will also be analysed and reveal prominent stories that do not gain traction in the diaspora news, newsmakers can also be questioned about the influences that caused them not to reproduce parts of Irish current affairs – something which has not yet been examined.

The interviews from the three diasporic sites will be compared and analysed with regard to the cultural specifics of each of the news cultures. When the three

diaspora regions were compared, it illustrated how the context of migration shapes how Ireland is represented, as well as shedding light on other journalistic factors.

### **5.2.6 Research Design Summary**

This research design will address each of the necessary components in the process of production within the circuit of cultural production in such a way as to facilitate cross-national comparison to determine the contexts of production, the textual representations in the news agenda about Ireland, and to demonstrate the specific meanings of Irishness as represented. Investigating the nodes or organisations, the production norms and the political economies can offer some insight into the resources and business models of the diaspora press. A news flow analysis facilitates insights into each region's editorial agenda as well as regional comparisons, while the framing analysis can determine how Irishness is represented. The conceptualisation of news as a process requires methodologies that can offer suitable insights into each part of the process of cultural production. Additionally, interviews with newsmakers can help address what cannot be deduced from external analysis and provide insights into the thinking behind the news production process.

## **5.B Methodology Applied**

This section describes how the contexts of news production were established, the application of the comparative news flow method and analysis, followed by a description of the applied comparative framing analysis and the interview process.

### **5.3 Production Resources**

To build a picture of the contexts of production in each of the regions a range of primary and secondary sources were used, both in chapter four and to inform and direct the interviews in chapter six. To establish the resources available to each of the newsrooms, which helps address the first set of research questions, publicly available tax returns as submitted and published by the respective tax authorities in each region were used. The descriptions of the corporate and business networks from the individual news titles' 'About' sections, advertising sales packages, corporate websites and advertising sales packages were also used. To fill in any gaps on the political economy of diaspora newsroom, interviews with the editors were used to describe resources and how they are deployed, and the organisational networks.

Statistics published by the Irish, British, American and Australian governments regarding Irish diaspora communities were utilised in chapter four and to guide interview questions. Ireland's Department of Foreign Affairs and the Office of the Minister for the Diaspora also provided some information regarding Irish diaspora and diaspora media. Over the past eight years, the Irish government published a number of reports and proposals regarding the development of policies to better engage with and facilitate the Irish diaspora, which were also used to address the study of the contexts of production.

Academic literature from Irish Studies and, to a lesser extent, news articles about the Irish diaspora from the Irish national and diaspora press were the secondary sources used. Additionally, the information available from a number of Irish diaspora business networks, such as Diaspora Matters or Global Irish, were also used to address the contexts of producing Irish diaspora journalism in each region.

## **5.4 News Flows**

This section addresses the second set of research questions concerning what news about Ireland flows to each of the diaspora regions and how to establish and compare the respective news flows and news agendas regarding Ireland in each region. It explains the specific application of the news flow analysis which established the news agenda in each region.

To apply the RICC news flow method meaningfully, researchers must develop a process of collecting and coding news articles in a spreadsheet so that they can be quantified, and the results compared by categories, topics and stories. On February 9th, 2016, Feedly RSS feed began recording the digital content and associated metadata of every news article published on the homepage of the Irish digital diaspora news websites, two websites in each of three different locations: in the USA, [irischcentral.com](http://irischcentral.com) and [irishecho.com](http://irishecho.com); in the UK, [irishpost.co.uk](http://irishpost.co.uk) and [irishworld.co.uk](http://irishworld.co.uk);

and in Australia, [irishecho.com.au](http://irishecho.com.au) and [titean.com](http://titean.com). It also collected the [Irishtimes.com/generationemigration](http://Irishtimes.com/generationemigration) homepage for the section.

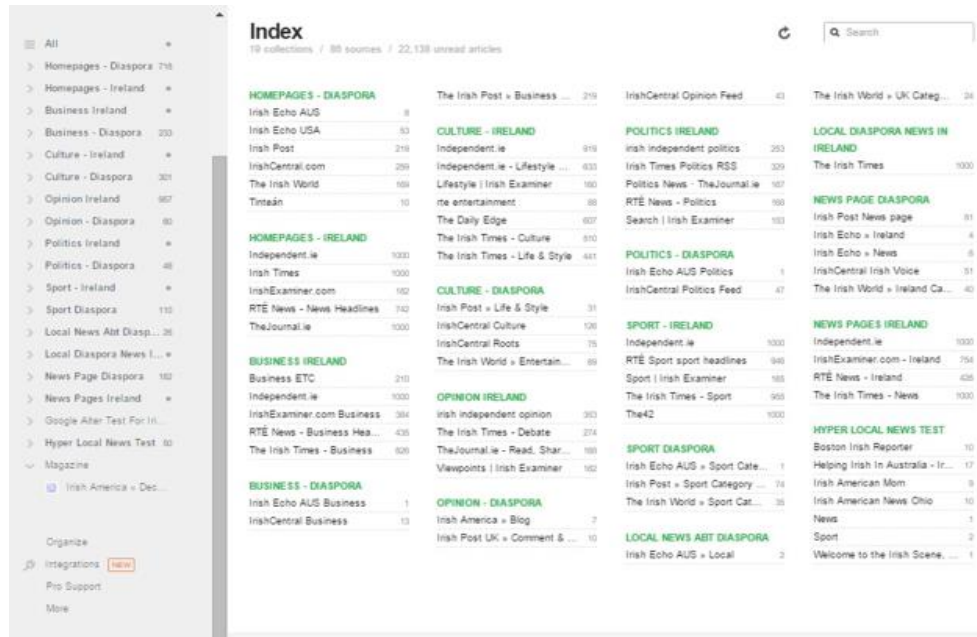


Figure 8 Feedly interface

The volume of data that was collected is large across all categories, and it became necessary to focus this research on the most salient representations of Ireland, those on the homepages and news pages. It is here that the newsmakers have highlighted the most relevant news or the most important cultural artefact, which, in terms of journalism, would be those stories with the respective highest news value reflecting the editorial news agenda.

As each news article was published it triggered Feedly to collect the article and the metadata associated with it in a Google Sheet, which was facilitated by the integrated applet Zapier. The content was then recorded and organised in digital spreadsheets, coded for news category and country of origin, with searchable keywords as outlined by Wu (2001) and Segev (2014). The newsworthiness of news categories, topics and stories was calculated with a frequency test which indicates the salience, which is expressed as a percentage of coverage given to each category, topic or story that appears in each of the regions over the period. Each article equates to one unit, from which the frequency of appearance of news categories and primary news topics can be determined using simple frequency distribution tables.



Data Publi	Stream	Title	Category	Subject	URL	Summary	keywords	Country	Overlap in	CultFlowFi	Contra flow
February 1	Irish Echo	A more innr	C	HISTORY	<a href="http://irish">http://irish</a>	A Garda di	This Irish /	US	n	n	n
February 1	Irish Post	The Jockey	S	RACING	<a href="http://irish">http://irish</a>	JOCKEY I	Sport.com	UK	n	n	n
February 1	Irish Post	Irishman le	S	SOCCOR	<a href="http://irish">http://irish</a>	AN IRISH I	Sport, Char	UK	n	n	n
February 1	IrishCentra	13-year-olc	SC	BULLYING	<a href="http://www">http://www</a>	By Frances Mulraney		US	n	y	n
February 1	IrishCentra	De Blasio	B	NYC	<a href="http://www">http://www</a>	By Irish Voice Editoria		US	n	n	n
February 1	IrishCentra	North Caro	SC	CRIME	<a href="http://www">http://www</a>	By Casey Egan	Friday	US	y	n	y
February 1	IrishCentra	Irish dance	SC	REFUGE	<a href="http://www">http://www</a>	By Frances Mulraney		US	n	n	n
February 1	IrishCentra	Big US em	B	J1	<a href="http://www">http://www</a>	By IrishCentral Staff	V	US	n	n	n
February 1	IrishCentra	Dame Hele	C	FILM	<a href="http://www">http://www</a>	By Debbie McGoldric		US	y	n	n
February 1	IrishCentra	Student ch	C	MUSIC	<a href="http://www">http://www</a>	By IrishCentral Staff	V	US	n	y	n
February 1	IrishCentra	Director of	C	FILM	<a href="http://www">http://www</a>	By Debbie McGoldric		US	y	y	y
February 1	IrishCentra	More strife	SC	CRIME	<a href="http://www">http://www</a>	By Casey Egan	Frída	US	y	n	y
February 1	IrishCentra	Irish drivers	B	NYC	<a href="http://www">http://www</a>	By Debbie McGoldric		US	n	n	n
February 1	IrishCentra	Trump's ar	P	AP16	<a href="http://www">http://www</a>	By Niall O'Dowd	Friday	US	y	n	y
February 1	The Irish V	George Clk	C	FILM	<a href="http://www">http://www</a>	Germany's	Celebrities	UK	n	n	n
February 1	The Irish V	Barry Mani	C	MUSIC	<a href="http://www">http://www</a>	Barry Mani	Celebrities	UK	y	n	n

Figure 9 Zapier and coder spreadsheet

The metadata recorded by the Zap included:

- Article Published At (the website)
- Article Title (headline)
- Article Content (text of article)
- Article URL (HTTP...)
- Article Personal Boards (this refers to the specific RSS feed title)
- Article Categories (as indicated by the publisher)
- Source Title (the website URL)
- Source URL (the full URL in hyperlink format)
- Timestamp (second, minute, hour, date of publication)
- Webpage ID (an individual code generated in the metadata of HTML that records the publication of a webpage if it is removed or changed)
- Summary of the article (a summary of the content, often the nutgraph)

A pilot test ran for a week before the primary dataset was recorded, from February 2nd to February 9th, 2016, and returned a reliability test result of 100 per cent. The main dataset was also subject to a reliability test on the articles collected from February 9th to February 16th and found the same result with no problems, and this method was employed as the primary form of data collection for this study. (See Appendix A for pilot tests.)

By recording the total number of individual articles about Ireland featured in the diaspora news websites, and coding each news article by news category, topic and story, it was possible to determine the character and volume of news stories that flow from Ireland to the diaspora press in a given period. The total volumes under each news category, topic and story were compared, as was the level of attention given to categories and to selected topical stories about Ireland. By comparing the results under

these criteria, it is possible to observe any differences in the flows that indicate fundamental differences in the cultural flow from Ireland in terms of news categories and topics.

#### **5.4.1 The Dataset and Coding**

This section describes the composition of the dataset, and how the data (articles) were coded to identify and quantify the frequency of news flows to each region, from which the regional new agendas regarding Ireland were established. On a weekly basis the volume of articles produced by the Irish diaspora news titles was counted and coded for the primary location of the news event – either homeland or hostland – and those stories where the primary news event was located within Ireland or Northern Ireland were coded as one unit of flow.

The main dataset consists of all the articles published on the homepages of the six digital diaspora news publications within the recording period of six months. The diaspora press dataset began recording by switching on a Zapier zap on February 9th, 2016, and was planned to run for a minimum of seven months until September 9th, 2016. Over the course of data collection, a total of 4,539 articles, as well as the associated metadata, was recorded from Feedly RSS and automatically inputted into an online spreadsheet in Google Sheets by the Zapier application (see Figure 9). At the end of data collection, the entire dataset was then downloaded from Google Sheets in a .xls format and transformed into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet because Excel offers a wide range of simple statistical analytical tools as well as data visualisation facilitating better interpretation, analysis and reporting of results. In order to develop the dataset for a frequency and salience analysis, each article had to be coded and placed into standardised news categories, primary topics and the individual news story.

The news categories were derived from the list of news categories indicated by news websites and with reference to the list of news categories in the annual Reuters Digital News Reports (Newman, 2017). The news categories in each title are listed at the top of the website, as illustrated in Figure 10. However, not all websites have the

same format, and in the case of the *Irish World* and the *Irish Echo* the news categories were listed in a drop-down menu under ‘News’.<sup>19</sup>

### Types of News Categories and Topics

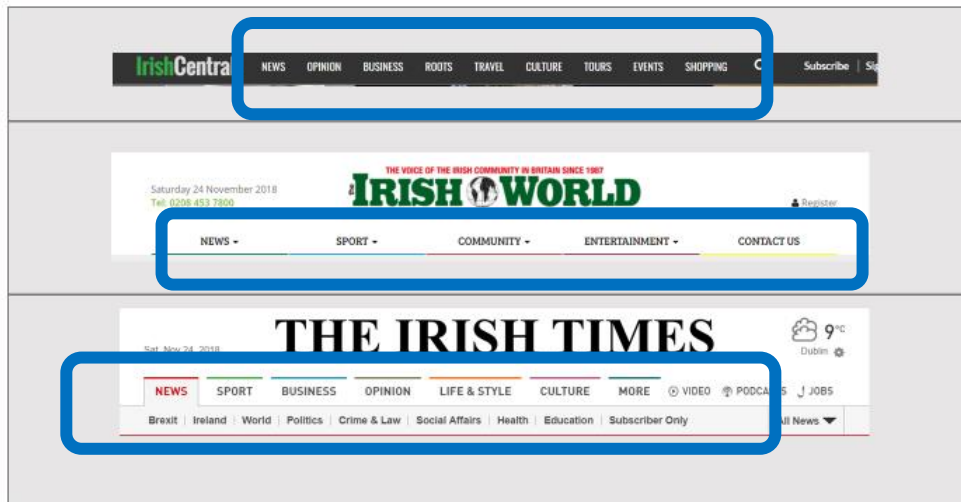


Figure 10 Examples of news categories and topics in online newspapers

### Coding Schedule Homeland/Hostland

Region	Newspapers	Total Articles	Articles home	Articles hostland
USA	Irishcentral.com Irishecho.com	2,157	1,143	1,014
Britain	Irishpost.com Irishworld.co.uk	2,272	1,223	1,049
Australia	Irishecho.co.au Tintean.com	120	63	57
Total		4,549	2,249	2,120

Table 3 Coding Schedule and Sample

<sup>19</sup> Initially weather was listed as a separate news category. During early coding the regularity with which it appeared and the focused nature of the coverage, in that it does not seek to explain the events in weather stories on any other level such as, social, political or environmental, qualified it for a news category of its own. However, when the total volume over six months was examined it was too small for a separate news category and was placed within social affairs because the purpose of the category is to help readers on a day-to-day basis.

*Coding Manual*

<p><b>Region</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. America</li> <li>2. Britain</li> <li>3. Australia</li> </ol>	<p><b>Articles about homeland</b></p> <p>Primary news event reported, investigated or featured occurred in Ireland</p>	<p><b>Articles about hostland</b></p> <p>Primary news event occurred in the hostland</p>
<p><b>Categories</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Politics – Irish politics or government</li> <li>2. Business – Economy or business</li> <li>3. Social Affairs – Life in Ireland, immediacy</li> <li>4. Sports – Sports events and investigations</li> <li>5. Culture – Arts and some entertainment</li> <li>6. Lifestyle – Beauty, fashion, going out</li> <li>7. Crime – Justice system and policing</li> </ol>	<p><b>Topic</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A list of news topics from the Irish and diaspora news titles was listed.</li> <li>2. Where the news titles indicated the topic, this was the topic adopted, e.g. /politics/general election – the topic was recorded as ‘general election’.</li> <li>3. Where the topic was not indicated by the news title, the article was read and analysed for the primary topic. For example, a story about a hospital would serve as ‘health’ while news about a school would be ‘education’.</li> </ol>	<p><b>Story</b></p> <p>Deductive</p> <p>It identified the primary subject matter of the individual story about Ireland. For example, where a political news story about the general election was about an election campaign this was coded according to the specific news event, such as an ‘election campaign’ or ‘abortion referendum’.</p>

*Table 4 Coding Manual*

The articles about Ireland in the diaspora press were recorded as an ‘outflow’, those about the diaspora that appeared in the homeland press were recorded as ‘contraflow’, and the flows between the diaspora regions were recorded as ‘overlap’. From this, it is possible to establish the volume of cultural flow from Ireland to its diaspora (Britain, USA and Australia), the contraflow from the diaspora to Ireland, and what news flows among the diaspora: crossflow or overlap. Statistical analysis and tests can be conducted using the data by taking the spreadsheet into STATA.

The news articles were coded for the primary news category, news topic and individual story profile, which were deduced from the analysis of the content or URLs. For example, if the new category were Politics, a news topic would be ‘the general election’, and the news story might be about a political party’s campaign. Similarly,

where the news category was Sport, the topic might be ‘soccer’, but the news story could be the results of a game or club news. Where the news titles had self-identified the news category in the article, this was the category imposed.

Some methodological complexities must be addressed here. While some news categories such as Business and Sport were the same across most diaspora news websites, others were not. Some titles do not explicitly cover specific categories of news in dedicated sections of the websites. Only the *Irish Central* and the *Irish Echo* in Australia have dedicated politics sections on the website, and neither *Tintean* nor the *Irish Central* carries a sports page. However, that is not to suggest that they do not carry any of these news categories, only that there is not a section of the website dedicated to them and that the new titles categorise them as ‘general news’. This data required special attention to ensure that each article was relabelled with the correct news category.

#### **5.4.2 Relabelling Categories**

As noted above, the new titles in the USA, UK and Australia do not apply the same formats to the categorisation of their news in the article webpage URLs. To overcome this, all the new categories that were featured in the diaspora news titles were listed and compared. News categories are conceptually organised as per the Reuters Digital News Reports (Newman, 2016, 2017), which compare audience engagement with various news categories to facilitate comparison across regions. However, unlike mainstream national media where there is a standardised set of news categories such as Politics, Business, Crime, Culture and Sport, diaspora newspapers did not have a standardised set of news categories. There are many categorical similarities in the diaspora newspapers, but in order to compare the frequency of news categories across all of the news titles conceptual news categories should be consistent throughout the dataset.

General news articles were inspected and placed in a news category that reflected the content. From the corpus, it was clear that where the news titles labelled the articles as news, they could be about politics in Ireland or the Irish economy or reporting on crime or court reporting, categories that were not explicitly indicated by the publisher. In these cases, the article content was reviewed, and the article then coded to the most appropriate category. Keywords were also a feature of the metadata,

and this provided the guidance for categorisation and coding of news topics where the publisher did not identify either a category or topic, and where necessary the article content was also inspected. In each case a codebook of shorthand references corresponding to the news category, topic and news story was developed.

While many of the diaspora newspapers have some comparable news categories such as Business, Politics and Sport there are some differences; for example, the *Irish Central* has a category called ‘roots’ that looks exclusively at Irish-American history and heritage. Another anomaly is in the term used to describe the news categories of culture and lifestyle news. The cultural news was sometimes categorised as ‘arts’ or ‘entertainment’ and lifestyle news sometimes ‘lifestyle’ or ‘life and style’ or ‘beauty and fashion’. However, despite the different terms used to identify news categories and topics, the content of the news articles is similar and what is required is a standardisation of category terms to compare the frequency with which they appear.

*Chart of How Each News Category in Each Publication was Recategorised*

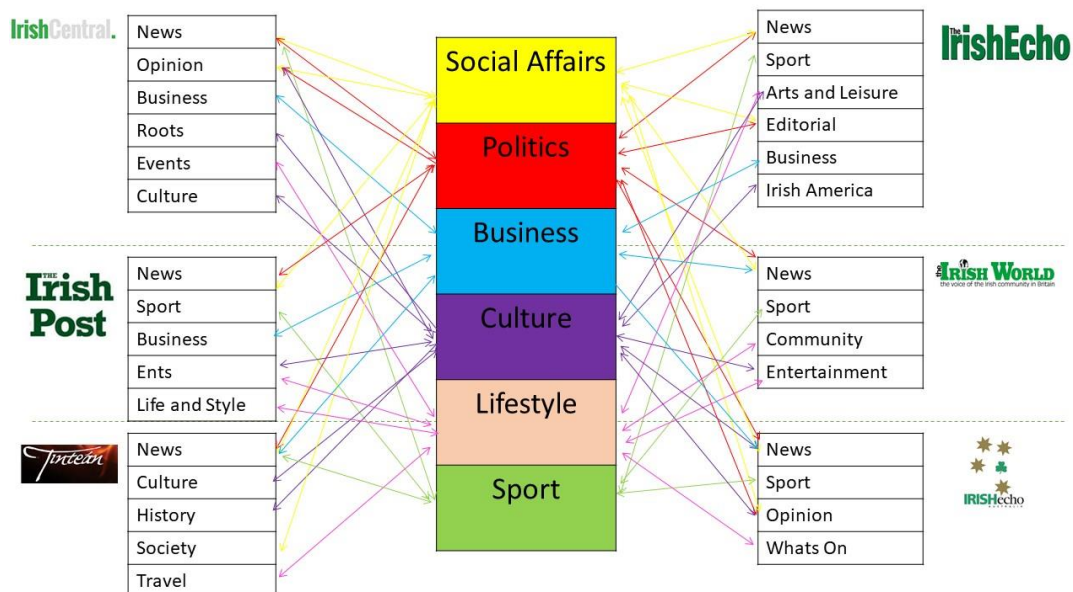


Figure 11 Standardisation of news categories

### 5.4.3 Topic and Story Coding

While the coding of news categories was largely inductive, using the above list of established news categories that were present in each of the news websites, news topics could not be approached in the same way. The topics were established with a

mixture of inductive and deductive coding. Some news topics were identified from the topics attributed to the news stories by the diaspora or Irish news titles, which can be seen either under the category drop-down lists or within the URLs of the specific articles. For example, the drop-down lists can be seen in the image of the *Irish Times* website in Figure 10, and the URLs are formatted along these lines: [//www.irishecho.com/artsleisure/music](http://www.irishecho.com/artsleisure/music). A table of the news categories and topics that were established before the coding began is given below:

*News Topics from Mainstream and Diaspora Media*

Sports	Social Affairs	Lifestyle	Politics	Crime	Business	Culture
Soccer	1916 Centenary	Age	Adams	Abuse	Advertising	Adventure
Rugby	Abortion	Animals	Austerity	Anglo Irish Bank	Apple	Archaeology
Golf	Bullying	Beauty	Brexit	Arson	Auctions	Architecture
GAA	Deaths	Birthdays	Dial affairs	Assault	Awards	Art
Hurling	Education	Cars	Climate Change	Attacks	Banking	Books
Racing	Environment	Celebrity	Diaspora Senator	Berkley deaths	Careers	Choir
Olympics	Family Affairs	Childcare	Embassy news	Courts	Closures	City of Culture
Paralympics	Housing	Dating	Enda Kenny	Defamation	Economy	Comedy
Cycling	Homelessness	Fashion	Health	Deportation	Enterprise	Comics
MMA	Missing Persons	Food	Mayor	Drink/Alcohol	EU	Craft
Boxing	Research	Heritage	Migration	Drugs	Income	Dance
Camogie	Royal Visit	History	Ministers	Fraud	Investments	Documentaries
Darts	Terrorism	Language	NI Elections	Gangs	Jobs	Eurovision
Gymnastics	Water Charges	Lotto	President	Gardaí	Leaders	Film
Surfing	WW1	Novelties	Seanad Elections	Guns	Media	Games
Tennis	Youth affairs	Quizzes	Sinn Fein	Harassment	Money	Museums
		Travel	Social Welfare	IRA	Networking	Music
		Weddings	Troubles	Kidnapping	Philanthropy	Photography
				Peru2	Profit/Loss	Podcasts
				Prison	Property	Poetry
				Theft	Rich List	Rose of Tralee
					Tax	St Patricks Day
					Technology	Theatre
					Work Life	Titanic
						Tourism
						TV

Table 5 List of pre-established news topics derived from the diaspora and Irish news websites

However, while coding the diaspora news article, it became clear that not all news topics or stories fit neatly into the prescribed categories or topics. The news is inherently unpredictable, and some concessions had to be made to recognise this. The news topics were approached as non-exhaustive, and for a portion of the dataset the primary topic was identified through deductive reasoning. Technical devices such as the headlines, leads and nutgraphs were used to establish the main topics of news articles. For example, 'social media' was not a primary news topic identified by news organisations specifically; such articles were primarily about viral news trends on Facebook or Twitter. However, on analysing the dataset the frequency of this type of news was evident, and it did not fit comfortably into other topics, such as 'technology', where the articles were about the business of technology rather than light-hearted novel news events on digital media. In such a case the researcher established a new topic under the title 'social media' and applied it to the relevant news articles. In total there were 192 individual news topics across the three regions. For the full list of news topics, and topic per region, please see Appendix B.

Individual news stories were not identified by news organisations in either drop-down lists or in URLs, which after indicating the category, and topic, would follow with the article headline. However, they were often a feature of articles' digital tags. The identifying of the primary subject matter of individual news stories for each article was deductive: the articles were read and analysed, again with respect to journalistic technical devices such as headlines, leads and nutgraphs, where the primary subject matter is indicated, as well as tags. This coding was highly specific and focused on the individuals that were the subject of the articles, or on the specific news event. In the case of individuals, for example, for a news story about Conor McGregor winning a fight, the category would be coded as Sports, the topic was coded as 'MMA', and the story was coded as 'McGregor'. To take another example, if the story is about a concert in Ireland the category would be Culture, the topic 'music' and the story coded as 'Adele' or 'Boyzone' or the whoever the respective artist or performer was. In the case of news events, the code was applied similarly. For example, in the case of a 1916 Rising event, the topic was coded as '1916 Centenary' and a specific news story about auctioning memorabilia was coded as 'auction'. Another example is under the news topic of 'TV', where the individual news story



would refer to the specific television show and would be coded as ‘Game of Thrones’ (GoT) or ‘Top Gear’. In total there were 683 individual news stories categorised across the three regions. Please see Appendix B for the complete list.

The full dataset of news about Ireland, comprising 2,249 articles, was read, reread, analysed, and coded according to this scheme. The number of articles (units) that are coded in each category, topic and story can then be counted to establish the frequency with which they appear. This establishes the volume of news under each category, topic and story about Ireland that flowed to the diaspora press, and the frequency tables describe the news agendas regarding Ireland in each of the regions. These news agendas can then be compared to established differences in how much news under each category, topic and story is reproduced in each of the regions.

The dataset was collected and coded in an Excel spreadsheet. However, for more in-depth statistical analysis the software programme STATA was employed. STATA is a better software programme for exploring large datasets where each row is a unit of measure, and the columns are variables. The Excel spreadsheet is imported into STATA via a function in the software and is unchanged during the process. Where Excel is useful for simple tables and for creating a strong visual representation of the data, STATA offers the capacity to view large-scale frequency tables that can be easily analysed to identify patterns of ordinary and extraordinary volumes of coverage. Using STATA, simple statistical frequency tests were carried out on the total number of articles to determine the overall presence of each category, topic and story in the diaspora press over the total period. STATA allows for the easier generation of frequency tables across multiple categories and the filtering of information to create the most relevant hierarchy tables. The output is presented in the findings.

STATA also facilitates the tracking of how the data was analysed, recording the exact commands (including the precise formulas) that were used. Any results can then be easily transferred back to Excel to produce the correct reporting formats and visually clear and appealing graphs. This record also ensures transparency because the process of generating the statistical analysis results was re-coded in a log which is easily reviewable and replicable.

## 5.5 Framing Ireland

This section addresses the application of the framing analysis of the three cases studies to establish how dominant, secondary and challenging frames, as well as the themes within these frames, were established and compared across the three regions.

The criteria for selecting case studies was guided, firstly, by the descriptive statistics that establish quantity of news articles regarding a topic or news story, with those higher on the news agendas in the three regions demanding the most attention from a researcher because they were the stories that newsrooms dedicated the most resources and publishing space to. In other words, it should be a pervasive story high on the news agenda in three or two of the regions. The second factor that guided case selection was that the news story should be closely associated with the issue of Irish national or cultural identity. Additionally, the case studies should not all come from the same category of news, so as to achieve a wider understanding of how Irishness is represented across the range of news categories. If all of the case studies were derived from only one category, for example Sport, which was the most prevalent, the analysis would only address Irish sporting identity rather than achieving a more rounded understanding of how Irishness is represented across the diaspora press. Furthermore, it is important to select case studies from different genres to establish whether there are differences between how Irishness is represented in different areas, such as culturally or politically. In this way, how Irishness is framed across news categories, rather than in one aspect of news, can be established broadly while achieving deeper understanding of the most pervasive news topics through more in-depth framing analysis.

The first case study selected was the news topic ‘1916 Centenary in Ireland’, chosen because it was the topic highest on the news agenda of the Irish-American and Irish-Australian press, as well as being highly pervasive in the Irish-British press. As a topic, it is inherently about how Irish people today choose to remember a significant milestone in Irish history and addresses aspects of national identity regarding historical remembering and collective memory. It utilises many of the discursive ‘building blocks’ of national cultural identity, in particular ideas of a shared history, myths of fraternity, historical reimagining and discussions about how the collective remembrance of the Centenary should be marked. As well as being high in the news agenda, it is inherently about Irish collective memory and how the present represents

the history of Ireland from which the framing of Irish identity and culture today can be distilled.

The second case study was selected on the basis of requiring news topics and stories that are of critical importance to Irish diaspora communities, and that can offer insight into representations of the community relationship with Ireland. The topic of ‘migration’ and news stories about Ireland’s relationship with its diaspora were featured in the top twenty topics and stories – and because the content can offer insights into how diaspora journalism discursively constructs Ireland’s relationship with its diaspora (and vice versa) it was selected for more in-depth examination.

The prevalence of Sports as a news category and ‘soccer’ as a news topic formed the basis of selecting the third case study. While there was a range of possible topics under ‘soccer’, the Euros 16 was a pervasive topic and associated with this was a news story closely related to the representation of Irish identity: the Irish fans at the Euros 2016. The news coverage of the Euros 16 went beyond regular sports reporting of match previews, reviews and performance reports of the Irish team at the games. The news coverage also included a substantive focus on the behaviour of Irish fans attending the games. There are likely to be some subtle ways in which national identity is represented in standard sports news content. However, the specific news story of Irish soccer fans was almost exclusively dedicated to describing Irishness and Irish culture. This makes it a valuable topic for addressing how the Irish diaspora press represented Irish identity and culture in the European games, and for detecting any differences in representations between regions.

### **5.5.1 Frame Building with Content Analysis**

This section describes how content analysis was applied to identify the central organising idea or the dominant frame of news articles in each of the case studies.

The coded spreadsheet contained every URL for articles published under the news categories, topics and stories. Each article was accessed through the hyperlink provided.<sup>20</sup> The articles were saved with a function of NVivo called NCapture that

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<sup>20</sup> On occasion, but very seldom, the URL was no longer functioning and a Google search for the article headline gave results for the updated URL of the webpage.

records the entire webpage in a format that can be imported into NVivo so that it can be more easily coded for content analysis. NVivo is software programme for qualitative analysis that allows researchers to organise information into nodes (themes, discourses, frames) which can be analysed to establish the volume of coverage of each node within the total dataset in each case study.

### 5.5.2 Case Study Data

Region/Case	1916 Centenary	Irish Fans at Euros	Migration
Irish-American Press	138	5	33
Irish-British Press	88	35	17
Irish-Australian Press	9	0	5
<b>Totals</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>55</b>

Table 6 Case study sample data

NVivo facilitates the analysis of large volumes of text dedicated to each node. Each of the articles was recorded as a case and given a case classification. Here two classifications were needed: the location of the story and the typology of the story as either hard news (hn), which refers to news reportage articles, or editorial (ed), which refers to opinion and feature articles. Classification allows the volume of coverage of each node to be presented as a percentage of coverage in each location or by story type, although the latter was not relevant for this research.

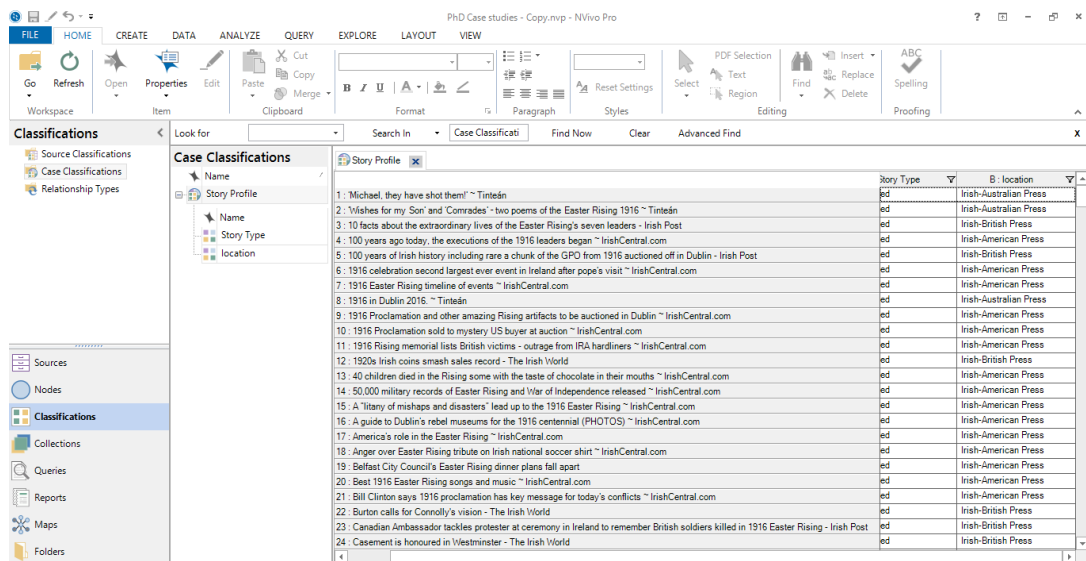


Figure 12 NVivo Cases and Classifications sample

The analysis of the text and the categorisation and development of the nodes were both inductive and deductive. The basic process for analysing all the cases was the same. Each of the articles was read and coded for what themes or discourses were repeated in multiple texts, which allowed the conceptual categories of information to emerge. During the first round of reading, passages of text that explicitly described a particular idea regarding Irish culture or national identity were highlighted and recorded in a node that was labelled to describe the idea presented in the text. The types of information the researcher sought to identify in the text consisted of word choices such as adjectives, broader descriptions of events or people, and rhetorical devices.

The passages of text were highlighted using a function in NVivo and recorded in the respective node that corresponded to the idea contained in the text. Given the variance in how news was written by various authors, passages were sometimes as short as one sentence, which was most common in hard news articles. They would be approximately 30 words long. In opinion and feature articles the passages could be a paragraph between 70 and 100 words long.

The first round of coding in each of the cases resulted in a wide range of ideas, themes and discourses regarding Irish identity and culture. The second round of coding reevaluated the text to ensure that the passages were appropriately categorised in their respective nodes and to ensure that any text that was not coded, but referred to a node that had previously been omitted, was included. The third round of coding analysed the nodes and organised them into hierarchies depending on the volume of coverage. NVivo facilitates the easy reorganisation of nodes into hierarchies by aggregating the references in 'child nodes' (in this case secondary frames or themes) into parent nodes (in this case the dominant frames.) This allows researchers to see the precise discursive composition of a dominant frame to establish what sub-frames or themes support it. Because this is content analysis for frame building, this approach also facilitates testing a hypothesis that is central to the research question. For example, by recording references to the religion of the Irish, it was possible to identify the extent of representations of modern Irish people as Catholic.

Intercoder reliability testing was conducted to ensure that the categorisation of the nodes and the representations of themes and frames by the primary researcher was

accurate. A sample of 15 articles was selected at random from the case studies. In the case of the 1916 Centenary, because of the volume of nodes and the time available from the intercoder, the most relevant nodes were selected for testing. The intercoder read the article and coded them, finding two occasions where passages of text regarding the representation of the Centenary was commemorative and celebratory that were missed in previous rounds. These were incorporated into the analysis. Some disagreement arose over the representation of the rebels in 1916 in that the intercoder felt that on two occasions representations were at times neutral rather than overtly positive or negative. However, the primary coder felt that there were clear descriptions and contextual factors that meant they were not neutral but could be coded as either positive or negative.

Similarly, in the case of the Irish fans at the Euros, there was disagreement regarding a representation of hooliganism, where the intercoder felt that there were some passages of text that showed more examples of this, but the primary coder was conservative in this regard. And finally, there was a disagreement over the representation of migration as challenging, where on two occasions the intercoder felt that where the primary analyst coded migration as either psychologically or practically challenging, it could be regarded as both. The test returned a validity score of 94 per cent.

The following section describes how the nodes were developed in each of the cases and the criteria used for placing information in a respective node.

### *1916 Centenary*

Given the themes that were part of the official 1916 Centenary events in the past, some issues were identified before coding began. These included descriptions of the 1916 leaders and the participants in the rebellion, characterisations of the violence, descriptions of the purpose of the Rising and the legacy, the number of deaths, who caused the deaths, the role of British colonialism, and the impact beyond Ireland. The text was analysed to identify descriptions, characterisations and adjectives concerning 1916. In total 62 individual themes emerged which were then organised with respect to the central concept that was being discussed or described into 23 categories of information (see codebook in Appendix C for more details). Not all of the informational categories were relevant to identifying representations of Irishness with

respect to the 1916 Centenary. Some, such as ‘media’, were simple descriptions of what materials were made available to the public either online or in museums. The content that most explicitly described Irish cultural identity, and particularly articles that discussed the issue of how Ireland today was remembering the past, was the focus of attention.

The nodes and criteria for placing text in a category of information regarding Irish identity and culture that emerged were:

- Broad descriptions of the 1916 Centenary – using word choice and adjectives describing the memorial events.
- British colonialism – where text identified the role of the British army, government and representations of British colonialism. This facilitates the identification of representations of how Irish people should interpret the role of British colonialism.
- Deaths caused by the Rising (specifically who was killed: Irish civilians by Irish rebels, Irish rebels by British soldiers and particular innocent victims such as children). This facilitates the identification of who was at fault for these deaths and discourses around the legitimacy of the rebel leaders.
- Irish identity – explicit descriptions of how the Irish are responding or reacting to the Centenary events.
- Legacy – passages of text that described the legacy of 1916 and its impact on Ireland today. This facilitates the identification of whether the Centenary events were appropriate given the outcome of the Rising.
- Leaders – text that described the goals, the purposes, the characters, the reputations of the leaders of 1916 Rising to understand the extent to which they were represented as legitimate in their actions and whether the Irish today should view them as heroes, villains or something more nuanced.
- Nationalism – explicit references to the impact 1916 had on the Irish nation, positive or negative, and how Irish people should interpret this in reference to the nation-state.

### *Migration*

This case study was more complex than the two previous case studies. The topic of migration was selected to establish the representation of the relationship between the diasporas and Ireland in the diaspora press. As before, the word choices, rhetorical devices, adjectives and descriptions of the relationship between the diaspora and Ireland were inspected and categorised. These articles often dealt with multiple issues regarding the relationship with ‘home’ and required very close reading and analysis to ensure each passage of text was set into the appropriate informational category. The analysis of this text was both inductive and deductive. Issues that have emerged in

diaspora studies such as ‘push and pull factors’, experiences of resettlement or return, and the impact of migration on homeland and hostland were categories established ahead of coding. Similarly, concepts related to the discursive construction of national identity were established ahead of coding, including language, arts, myths of fraternity, shared history and shared futures. However, this list could not be exhaustive, and a range of other issues emerged upon analysis of the texts. In total 47 different informational categories emerged. (Please see codebook in Appendix A for more details.) Upon further reading and analysis, four main categories emerged that described significant issues for Irish diasporas and described the relationship with Ireland.

The nodes and criteria for placing text in a category of information regarding Irish identity and culture that emerged were:

- Institutional representation – passages of text that described or referenced a need for, or enhancement of, formal connections with Ireland and official political representation in the Dail or Seanad.
- The process of migration – passages of text that describe the practical process of migration, such as the expenses, the physical and mental health of migrants, the impact migrants have on homeland and hostlands, and retention of links with family.
- The Irish diaspora – passages that describe characteristics, values and behaviours of Irish diasporas over multiple generations.
- World migration – passages of text that describe issues related to other migrant groups moving into Ireland or Ireland’s response to the refugee crisis which began in 2015. Here representations of Irishness with regard to how Irish people and the Irish state should treat other migrant groups were analysed.

### *Irish Fans at the Euros*

Because this case study was specifically about the behaviour of Irish fans during the European Championships in 2016, the content of the articles in this case study was much more focused on representations of Irish identity and culture. The researcher was aware of this phenomenon because it was a highly salient news item at the time. In approaching these texts for content analyses to identify how Irish identity was framed, the researcher was aware that the broad representation of the Irish fans was positive. However, the question here related specifically to what characteristics of Irish fans’ behaviour diaspora journalism prioritised for representation and sought any counter-narratives to the positive representation of the fans. Most of the articles in this



dataset where shorter hard news articles, with some feature article but few opinion articles. The texts were given a preliminary reading to identify descriptions, word choices, adjectives, descriptions of events and rhetoric, from which 17 themes emerged. As with each of the case studies, the texts were subject to multiple readings to ensure no omission or false categorisation. The volume of coverage dedicated to each of the information categories was analysed using NVivo and organised into conceptual categories in the nodes. ( See Appendix C for codebook.)

The nodes and criteria for placing text in a category of information regarding Irish identity and culture that emerged were:

- Alcohol – the Irish as big drinkers or problem drinkers is a stereotype and texts were analysed for any representation of the Irish fans in this regard.
- Brexit – this emerged from reading the texts and was categorised because although Brexit as a political issue was seemingly unrelated to football it was nonetheless repeated in the articles.
- Craic – this adjective emerged from coding readings. It is a stereotype, and the term was used to describe both the characteristics of people and the situations/ environment that they created.
- Good Europeans – this category emerged from reading with the theme of the Irish as part of the European community. It emerged in reference to other nations being described negatively within the context of the games as bad participants in Europe.
- Failures or embarrassments – this was an inductive code to check whether there were descriptions of the Irish behaviour as harmful.
- Friendly – this was an adjective that emerged from coding for descriptions of the behaviour of fans which was repeated in multiple articles.
- Funny or humorous – these were adjectives that emerged from coding for descriptions of the behaviour of fans that was qualitatively distinct from being friendly.
- Hooliganism – this category of information emerged from the coding and was developed in reference to the descriptions of the Irish as having positive relationships with other European teams, while other teams such as England and Russia were described as having a bad or violent relationship with other teams or fans.
- Praise – this emerged from a reading of the texts where the Irish were frequently represented as receiving praise from non-Irish sources such as the French hosts of the games or other fans and teams.
- Pride – this category emerged from the readings and referred to instances where the Irish fans were described in the text as something that Ireland or the Irish should take pride in or be proud of. Either the term itself was used, or a synonym for pride was used.

- Security – given the representation of hooliganism, the texts were analysed to identify if there were any descriptions of the Irish behaviour as a security risk.
- Sportsmanship exemplar –This category described instances where the behaviour of Irish fans was described as aspirational or represented as that of ‘the best fans in Europe’.

### **5.5.3 Framing Irishness**

The volume of representation for each of the nodes within the total body of articles informed how the dominant and challenging frames were established. The purpose of this frame analysis was to identify and compare dominant frames, secondary frames that support the dominant frame, and conflicting frames that disrupt the homogeneity of the messages carried in the case study. NVivo was used to describe the volume of representation of each of the nodes and the most pervasive descriptions of the cases were analysed with regard to the frequency with which they appeared but also with respect to journalistic technical devices that frame news articles.

So, while the passages of text within the nodes were analysed to identify specific discursive constructions of Irishness, where this information is contained in the news article was also considered. The central organising idea or dominant frame of an individual news article is positioned at the top, in headlines, nutgraphs and leads. As noted in the research design, this process of moving back and forth between the journalistic technical devices and the thematic or categorical units derived from content analysis creates a bridge between the two methodological approaches. In other words, how many times or how much attention a particular theme received in the content and where the idea was most frequently positioned within the news articles established how Irish identity was predominantly described in each case study.

## **5.6 Interviews**

In order to fully understand the forces within the diasporic newsroom that shape editorial agendas, it is necessary to interview the diaspora news editors and journalists where possible. The main issues that were addressed were the political economy (including the organisational structure, the resources available and the impact of digital journalism on transnational news-making), the news culture (including newsgathering practices and news values) and the thinking behind the specific news agenda (which can inform the results of the news flow analysis). While the sample

size of interviews is too small in each region for a meaningful comparative analysis, the insights from editors offer some understanding of the inner working of diasporic newsrooms and the forces at play in them.

A list of 14 broad interview questions that covered the political economy, newsgathering and production norms, and news values were devised (see Appendix E). In line with the ethical requirements, the interview questions and plain language statement about the purpose of the research and the collection of data and communication strategy were approved by the university ethics board. The editors either signed a consent form or provided oral consent. Each of the newspapers was contacted requesting interviews with the editors.

Journalism is an industry that works to daily deadlines, and the online transitions have increased the pressure and time constraints on working journalists and editors. A period of about 20 minutes was set because immediate feedback indicated that anything more might not be possible to schedule into a busy news day. Six diaspora editors were generous with their time and knowledge but nonetheless there were limits to what could be discussed within the time frame of the interviews, which lasted on average 30 minutes. The interviews were anonymised by removing the names and titles of the newspapers, and the experiences were analysed collectively (see Appendix E for interview details and transcripts).

One of the interviews was conducted via Skype, one by phone, another via email exchange, and three were in person. The quality of the interviews via Skype or on the phone was not reduced, yielding similar depth and insight to the in-person interviews, while the email exchange resulted in more limited insights as there was less opportunity for probing. The questions were designed to cover as broad a range of relevant issues as could be expected, and in most cases all of the topics were addressed. Because many of the issues were interrelated, some topics were covered from different perspectives depending on the question that prompted the response, and sometimes answers were given before the question was asked. Each of the questions was designed to address one particular aspect of news production directly, for example asking why some news topics were published more than others, or what motivated newsgathering and distribution on social media.

The six interviews with diaspora editors were transcribed and analysed thematically in NVivo. The themes corresponded to responses to questions that addressed the news values, newsgathering, news cultures, political economy, digital and social media and, where discussed, the approach to specific news categories and topics.

## **5.9 Summary**

To address the three main research questions – 1. Describe the Irish diaspora mediascape; 2. Determine and compare what news flows from Ireland to the diaspora press; 3. Reveal and compare how Irish current affairs were framed and how Irishness was represented – this mixed-methods approach is most suitable. The investigation and mapping of the mediascape can offer insight into the material resources and organisation of the news titles. The quantification of the news flows offers insight into the regional editorial agendas and what about Ireland is represented. Framing analysis can provide insight into how Irishness is discursively constructed. Moreover, the interviewing process can identify the thinking, ideologies and motivations within diaspora newsrooms, providing a comprehensive approach to the production of Irishness in diaspora journalism.

The following chapter, chapter six, addresses the first part of the news production process – the antecedent conditions and the contexts of production – by reporting the responses from interviews. This is followed by the comparative news flows and news agendas analysis in chapter seven. The process of representation in the news texts is described in chapter eight, which addresses the discursive construction of Irish identity through case studies.

## **Chapter Six: Resources, Organisational and Production Norms in the Irish Diaspora Press**

This chapter reports the results of the interviews with editors regarding the political economy, as well as the organisational and cultural factors shaping Irish digital diaspora journalism. As well as research into the resources, structures and networks that exist, it includes explanations by Irish editors of the deployment of resources, the motivations and influences on the news production process and how the audience is conceptualised. The following sections examine the political economy in terms of material and human resources, the ownership structures and corporate networks, the cultures of journalism and production norms. The chapter concludes with the discussions with editors on representations of Irishness.

### **6.1 Political Economy of Ireland's Digital Diaspora Press**

This section documents the factors related to the political economy of the diaspora press. As noted in chapter two, the profit orientation, ownership structures and distribution channels are essential parts of the material context of diasporic news production. The resources available to a news organisation or in a particular region can affect the volume of content produced, and the resources that are dedicated to certain types of news stories. For example, investigations or in-depth reporting requires deep pockets and a willingness to direct personnel to work for days or weeks without producing content to publish; meanwhile less-well-resourced newsrooms may gravitate towards cheaper, lower-quality content (for example, republishing PR material) or produce less content but maintain high standards. In the interviews, the editors were asked directly about how resources in the newsroom were managed and what influenced the thinking behind decisions, but also referred to these issues in other areas of questioning. The following sections present the analysis of the interviews with regard to how diaspora editors think about the ownership structures, profit orientation and management of newsrooms resources, and how advertising shapes their production norms.

## 6.2 Owner and Organisational Structures

The ownership structures among the organisations in the Irish diaspora press vary from a corporate structure in the *Irish Central* and *Irish Echo* in the USA to more SME operations like the *Irish World*, *Irish Echo* Australia, while *Tintean* is run by a group of academics and writers.

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**Organisational details of the Irish diaspora press**

<b>Paper</b>	<b>Owner</b>	<b>Staff</b>	<b>2016 Op Profit</b>
Irish Echo US	Belfast Media Group	12+	\$1.3 million
Irish Central	Irish-American investors	22+	\$988,053
Irish Post	Elgin Loane	32+	€124k
Irish World	Paddy Cowan	12+	NA
Tintean	Irish-Australian investors	10+	NA
Irish Echo AUS	Billy Cantwell	2+	NA

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The *Irish Central* is owned by a group of Irish-American investors and is part of a wider company. It has four other media and events sister companies that are specific to the Irish-American community, such as business magazines and annual awards events that celebrate the Irish in America. According to Buzzfile, it has been operating for eight years and is estimated to generate \$988,053 in annual revenues with 22 employees (Buzzfile, 2018). As part of the wider organisation, the *Irish Central* runs a series of community events and awards to honour the Irish community's contribution in the USA.

The *Irish Echo* corporation in the USA is owned by the Belfast Media Group, which is based in Belfast, Northern Ireland, and has three other Irish local newspapers in the organisation. It has been operating for approximately 90 years. Irish Echo Newspaper Corp. is estimated to generate \$1.3 million in annual revenues and employs approximately 19 people at this single location (Buzzfile, 2018). The *Irish Echo* also hosts a series of awards and events for the Irish community in America, and the editor provided some of the thinking behind this:

“We have the Law and Order, First Responders, 40 Under 40, Labour, the Champion of Business Awards; then there is New York to Belfast. And then there’s Golden Bridges in Boston. [...] This is one of the big changes that has taken place in the sense that you have to reach out and pull people back in. We are not just the purveyor of news and opinion anymore, we are active in acknowledging the community and the efforts of people and what they do.”

The *Irish World* in the UK is owned by an individual, Paddy Cowan, and is not part of a more extensive business structure. While it does not have sister companies, it is the media partner for the London GAA, which should be factored into the findings of the news flow analysis as the formal partnership with the GAA indicates that Gaelic games (the indigenous sport to Ireland) is a topic of specific interest. It is also the only title in the Irish diaspora press in this study that is a member of a press regulator, IMPRESS, which is an arbitrator in the UK for press complaints, but also implies that there is a strong dedication to the application of regulation and adherence to the code of ethics.

The *Irish Post* was purchased in 2013 by Elgin Loane, an Irish-born but London-based businessman with a range of media interests in magazine and niche publications, after the original partner company, Thomas Crosby Holdings, went into liquidation following years of financial difficulties. After a public campaign to save it in 2013, the news title relaunched as a digital-first website with a weekly newspaper. In the corporate structure, there are a number of business-related publications as well as event companies such as the annual Irish Post Awards designed to celebrate the Irish in Britain. Company listings in the UK show that Elgin Loane is the sole shareholder of the *Irish Post*’s trading name, The Color Company (TM) Ltd, which in 2016 posted a 50 per cent fall in operating profits, from £256k in 2015 to £124K in 2016. The company is listed as having total assets of £3,211,518.00, liabilities of £2,231,385.00, with a net worth of £1,672,833 and approximately £80,142 in cash, with €76k going to the director. On LinkedIn, the company is listed as having 32 employees, primarily based in London (LinkedIn, 2018).

The annual financial statements for the Irish-Australian organisation, which include information about company revenue and assets, are not publicly available from the Australian Securities and Investments Commission (ASIC) the companies register

of Australia. Smaller companies' financial statements are not required to be made public in Australia. In this regard jurisdictional differences is one of the challenges of comparative analysis and while it means that specific information is not as accessible as elsewhere, it does not preclude analysis of the ownership and company structures and identification of points of similarity and difference.

The *Irish Echo* in Australia has been owned by Billy Cantwell since 1992 and is a private company trading as the original name for the paper, the Irish Exile (Pty Ltd.). However, the newspaper states on LinkedIn that the size of the organisation is between two and ten people. It is a small business and would be classified as an SME.

*Tintean* magazine is run by a group of people – academics and writers with a specific interest in Irish culture – with an editorial structure but group-level decision making with regard to the business. It is more of a magazine than a newspaper, publishing less frequently online than the other titles in this study. Moreover, it is not competing, in the business sense, with the *Irish Echo* Australia for advertisers or digital ad revenue from the website. Both of these organisations are smaller and less corporate in their structure and resources than the Irish diaspora titles in the USA or UK.

This comparison illustrates that there are fundamental differences in the resources available to the newsrooms in the Irish diaspora press. However, it also highlights the extent of the formalisation of this part of the Irish diaspora media industry; these are registered media businesses. They are not amateur efforts but, mainly, fully fledged media organisations. They can be subject to the same rules as national media organisations. For example, when the *Irish Post* sought a merger with assets from Irish TV in 2017, it was considered to be a media merger, which required review by the UK's Competition and Consumer Protection Commission to ensure media plurality and prevention of a monopoly in a specific sector before it was officially approved. This also draws attention to the importance of transparency in the media regarding ownership, political affiliations and business affiliations, as well as regarding finances, assets and ownership, and, depending on the legal requirements around publishing accounts or transparency around competition, public interest and wider structures of media in different jurisdictions, this may or may not be available. However, while the Irish diaspora digital press is more similar to professional



corporate media, the editors and owners are all stakeholders, ideologically and financially, in Ireland.

Three news media organisations in this study have advanced corporate structures with multiple branches, either in other media production such as business magazines or event hosting and management. Two of these are based in the USA, the *Irish Central* and the *Irish Echo*, while the third is the *Irish Post* in the UK. In these cases, the corporate structure does not contribute to shaping the typology in that the larger transnational organisational structure does not lead to targeting a larger, transnational audience for news. The *Irish Echo* in the USA is part of regional media group where each of the news titles is community focused while the *Irish Post* and *Irish Central* are marketed to the global Irish.

### **6.2.1 Profit Orientation and Content Production**

All of the Irish diaspora news organisations' business models are run for-profit as opposed to publicly funded as a national service or as a non-government organisation (NGO). Public-service journalism is usually fixed with a requirement to inform in the public interest about critical issues and does not need to create content that is designed to be more beneficial for securing advertising revenue (Bakker, 2012; Pavlik, 2013; Viner, 2017; Hofseth, 2018). None of the digital news websites are behind paywalls, and so the revenue is derived from selling advertising space and through 'clicks'. This has an important role in shaping the news content that is produced and for the audience, who can access the news for free and provide data in exchange.

News organisations with paying subscribers have dedicated audiences which provide a revenue stream and are often also supplemented by selling advertising space, which also boosts resources. Paying customers will not pay for long if the quality of news is low or can be easily accessed elsewhere. This shapes the focus of attention of the news agenda on more specialist beats and topics, while the free-to-access titles are appealing to a much wider audience to get as many clicks as possible and will tailor their content to appeal to what is popular in the data analytics reports.

This is a feature of the news choices of the Irish diaspora press, with some of the editors describing analytics as a consideration, noting that this is a form of the audience 'talking back' and a useful metric for the demand for types of content which they want to meet. What drives the news agenda and what is represented in the

diaspora press are also shaped by the digital consumer's engagement with the website through engagement data that describe the most popular content, and through participation in the news through metrics on social engagement such as liking and sharing. While this research does not examine audiences consumption, the diaspora news producers do imagine their audience and have access some demographic information. The data analytics from the websites, as well as the social media distribution analytics provided by platforms like Facebook, offer often detailed information about the use of and response to news articles by users.

Diaspora journalism is not a form of cultural production that creates unfettered transnational or national discourse. While it is guided by the interests of national hybrid cultural identity, it is also shaped by the business model which includes the incorporation of the needs of advertising and also feedback in the form of audience metrics of interest on specific topics.

The difference between broadsheets and tabloids in the national press is a helpful framework for comparing the form and style of diaspora new titles. Broadsheets tend to be more serious in tone and style but have more limited audiences compared to the popular press or tabloids, which tend to have larger audiences but tackle less serious news in more sensationalist style. Most of the new titles in the Irish diaspora press are more comparable to broadsheets than tabloids except *Tinteán*, which is more similar to a magazine in form and style.

Because diaspora news organisations tend to be smaller, they report being careful with how they distribute their resources but are aware of the need to plan and recruit for an increasingly digitally immersed future. From analysis of the interviews, what emerges is that what can be achieved by diaspora news organisation in terms of the volume of output and how it is distributed is influenced by the make-up of the people in the newsroom. In discussing the deployment of resources, editors described a need to take care with their limited resources and not “chuck all their resources in one department”.

In particular, generational differences in newsrooms were described as impacting the level of engagement with social media as a resource for newsgathering and as a channel for distribution. The editors who discussed how social media were used in newsrooms indicated that the workforce was organised along generational lines, where younger members of staff were reported to be given roles related to social

media newsgathering while older members were less engaged in user-generated content (UGC) for newsgathering. One editor reported: “Usually that [social media gathering] means you have [a woman in her twenties] down the end of the office here. We have Facebook and Twitter and all that stuff, but we leave that up to her. Look at me. I’m old school in that sense.” Irish diaspora news media that do not have this skill set in the workforce were aware of the ongoing need for social media skills to ensure the sustainability of organisations, and they incorporate this into the recruitment process.

In the absence of a staff member well versed in digital or social media scanning processes, the news organisations have limited access to news stories that develop and trend on social and digital media and so are less likely to produce them. By comparison, many national news organisations have social media editors and social media writers who help extend their reach through these powerful distribution channels. The larger, better-resourced news organisations, however, are better positioned with larger staff resources and a more diverse range of skills to draw on. The capacity to not only gather and produce content that works well on social media but to have access to, interpret and respond to the analytics that offers information on how to better target content to audiences, is an important one for modern newsrooms. However, this is dependent on the human resources available and the ability to invest in digital newsgathering practices and content which facilitates the engagement with trending topics.

The make-up of the staff in newsrooms was also explicitly described by diaspora editors as influencing the topics and, in turn, the news categories that are covered. The subjects of expertise or field knowledge, both in-house and as part of the contributor network, were also an influence on shaping what topics or ‘beats’ about Ireland are covered by the digital diaspora press. “It’s about expertise [...] we’ve all got kind of back of the teeth areas [of expertise]. We have an Irish language person. So that’s well covered. We have people who are very comfortable doing a lot of history,” said one editor.

For example, some editors report having access to academic experts on Northern Ireland or Eurovision or native Irish speakers who can better engage with news from the Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking areas of Ireland) or new Irish-language initiatives. The interviews revealed that, to different extents, networks of individuals who can offer insight, commentary and explanation to developing news situations are

also a factor that shapes what content can be produced. This can, however, change over time as workforces in newsrooms evolve, with journalists moving on to new jobs and new recruits bringing in new sources and covering different beats.

From analysis of the interviews, the question of access to journalistic resources in Ireland was a consideration that many of the editors discussed. “I think we would publish posts on these topics (politics, economy, education) if we had someone on the ground in Ireland.” While all of the news titles have an interest in Irish affairs, not all have journalists based in Ireland. Although each newsroom stated that there was contact with journalists or contributors in Ireland who can provide “regular input from the other side of the ocean”, some of the larger organisations such as Irishcentral.com have employed journalists in Ireland who have more direct access to Irish current affairs and those involved in them. However, the extent to which this access or communication is in person or via the same channels of communication as journalists outside the Irish state (phone and email) is unclear. Nevertheless, it results in a reporter being immersed in Irish current affairs and having an awareness of how people in Ireland are responding to them. However, it is not the case that the diaspora editors and journalists are wholly removed from Ireland. Although travel may be more challenging and less frequent from farther regions such as Australia, Irish diaspora editors in the US and the UK say that they themselves and many of their staff were born in Ireland, emigrated and travel over and back regularly. Travel between Ireland and their new homes by editors was described as being for both work and family reasons, and because of this, the diaspora newswriters maintain a real-world connection and regular immersion in Irish society.

By contrast, the *Irish Times* Generation Emigration initiative, which is diaspora journalism produced in Ireland for export as part of a more extensive organisational structure, is completely immersed in Irish current affairs but has a smaller news team than stand-alone diaspora news organisations. The project does not have a separate budget for commissioning content and relies on the network of Irish diasporans who have signed up to the database of contributors to provide insight about events in different hostlands or the experience of migration from Ireland or returning home. In this regard, Generation Emigration has a large body of citizen contributors that is curated by an editor in Ireland and supported through content production by some *Irish Times* journalists. As mentioned in chapter four, not long after the research was conducted, Generation Emigration received funding from the Google News Labs Fund

to develop the project over two years, and was retitled Ireland Abroad. With this, they extended and enhanced the database, and implemented various engagement projects such as virtual voting. Finally, they acquired a marketing budget to raise the profile of the section which they said was deployed on social media platforms, largely Facebook.

The professional human resources available to Generation Emigration included journalists, editors and other departments at the *Irish Times*. On the other hand, the editor of Generation Emigration indicated that the project was limited by the need to be within the newspaper's mission and goals and must work as part of the wider company structure as opposed to autonomously. A consequence of this is that Generation Emigration does not cover topics that other departments in the *Irish Times* would cover as part of their beat or desk mission. Where the newspaper is covering the Irish sports team abroad, this would be a topic for the sports desk. Similarly, if an Irish dignitary was on an official visit, this might be covered by the political reporters. In this regard, Irish diaspora journalism produced in Ireland is not autonomous in terms of the topics and stories that it can cover.

### **6.3 Advertising and Distribution**

In the online environment, the revenue streams from advertising and distribution are part of the same system, and because of this it is necessary to address them together. The range of human and financial resources that can be directed towards digital distribution by diaspora newsrooms is influenced by the demographics of staff in the newsroom and the overall funding available to invest in analysing engagement metrics and tailoring content for digital distribution strategies. Social media marketing is an area of professional expertise and capacity to distribute online depends on the skills and resources in the newsroom.

Diaspora news organisations largely distributed news via both print and digital editions. This is also how advertisements that have been purchased by various companies are distributed; it is a revenue stream. The size of the audience that any advertisement will reach tends to correspond to how much a news title can charge for advertising space. Put simply, the larger the audience a news title has, the more they can charge advertisers. Journalism industry research has noted a steady decline in advertising revenue over the past 15 years, with social and search giants such as Google and Facebook taking increasing shares of the ad market (Horgan, 2015). While

it is not possible to access the commercially sensitive details of news organisations, it is essential to show audience reach, distribution channels and the thinking behind distribution in newsrooms to establish the context in which the news is selected, framed and distributed as part of a process of news production. This also offers a snapshot of where the Irish diaspora press is placed in terms of the evolution of digital versus print distribution.

Most of the Irish diaspora news organisations publish in both print and online, with a co-publish (saving some articles for print and publishing online at the same time) or digital-first policy and distribution across three main social media channels – Facebook, Twitter and, to a lesser extent, Instagram. This is much the same format as national Irish news organisations, which are predominantly digital-first and distributed through social media and search engines (Kirk *et al.*, 2016). Newsletters are also an important distribution channel for news organisations in 2016, as they directly link news outlets with their audiences. Newsletters saw growth in 2016, particularly among younger audiences, following years of falling popularity attributed to the rise of social media distribution (Fagerlund, 2016).<sup>21</sup>

While the focus of this research is on digital news websites, it is worth noting that *Tintean* magazine ended print publication in favour of online exclusively in 2015, the year before this data was collected, a move which the editors report as having a positive impact on the growth of digital engagement with the website over the period. The costs of print distribution are increasing, and the revenue from the sale of advertising space in newspapers is in decline, while digital engagement is growing. In the national press, analysts have predicted the demise of print for some time and questioned the impact on journalism of this (Slattery, 2016; Benton, 2018). In this respect, diaspora newspapers are comparable to Irish regional news titles, which tend to be both online and publish weekly, with some having moved exclusively online.

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<sup>21</sup> To offer some context for digital engagement with news by country, in 2016 73 per cent of people in the USA got their news online, 72 per cent in the UK, 78 per cent in Australia and 84 per cent in Ireland, but of these 35 per cent of people in the USA got their news via social media, 25 per cent in the UK, 36 per cent in Australia and 34 per cent in Ireland (Newman, Fletcher, Levy, and Kleis Nielsen, 2016).

### *Irish Diaspora Digital Distribution*

	<b><i>Irish Central</i></b>	<b><i>Irish Echo Us</i></b>	<b><i>Irish Post</i></b>	<b><i>Irish World</i></b>	<b><i>Tintean</i></b>	<b><i>Irish Echo Aus</i></b>
<b><i>Print</i></b>	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly	No	Weekly
<b><i>Co-publish</i></b>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
<b><i>Online</i></b>	Digital	Digital	Digital	Digital	Digital	-
	First	First	First	First	Only	
<b><i>Newsletter</i></b>	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly	Monthly	Weekly
<b><i>Facebook</i></b>	617k	2k	853k	13k	No	26k
<b><i>Twitter</i></b>	36k	7k	19k	7k	No	2k
<b><i>Instagram</i></b>	25k	346*	8k	304*	No	No

Table 7 Digital Distribution. \*No content posted. Number refers to number of followers as of September 2016.

It is worth noting the differences in the social media distribution styles of these organisations as a snapshot of how Irish diaspora news organisation circulate their material. Social media distribution can influence the type of content that is produced by new titles and can impact the resources that are available to them in the form of advertising revenue. For example, in interviews, while editors discussed the need to cover some stories of high news value, they also alluded to the need to produce content that would gain traction on social media platforms. The sentiment expressed regarding having to tailor some content for social media at the expense of harder news was not enthusiastic and was mainly seen as a concession to the needs of the business.

The *Irish Central* in the US and the *Irish Post* in the UK have a high level of social following across the two main sites for news distribution, Facebook and Twitter, frequently posting throughout the day with links to articles that are hosted on their websites. In this regard, social media drives traffic to the website, and the clicks correspond to cash, albeit with a cut going to the platform. The *Irish Central* generally only posts links to articles from the website, while the *Irish Post*, which has a larger following, posts a mix of content from their website, other social media sites and viral content from other digital news websites. Although it is not clear how this might impact the traffic back to the website, a newspaper's reach on social media is an important selling point when advertising space is marketed.

Instagram, which does not facilitate linking back to websites, does not have as much concentration in terms of following or content-posting as the other platforms.

However, the use of Instagram is linked to photojournalism, which in turn is dictated by the resources, copyrights and licence agreements that each of the new titles has with either photographers or photo agencies.

*Irish Echo* Australia at one point during the research phase moved to use Facebook Instant Articles as their online presence, a service on Facebook where news content is published directly to the Facebook platform and not linked to the newspaper's website. While Instant Articles could increase the visibility of an article, it results in no traffic being driven back to the newspaper's website. Many news titles that began using the service when it launched in 2015 have abandoned it and so too has the *Irish Echo* in Australia, which returned to hosting news content on a traditional website and posted links to articles on Facebook for distribution (Tran, 2018). This shows that diaspora media are subject to the same choices and opportunities for digital distribution but can also suffer the same consequences when such experiments by social media platforms do not succeed as hoped.

The traditional revenue streams for newspapers were advertisements, classifieds and notices, as well as the price of the printed newspaper. However, the mass move online has caused acute problems for news media's traditional revenue as fewer advertisers choose to use news media to access audiences and prefer to use Facebook and/or Google to distribute promotional material. For example, the editors of the community-focused titles in the sample suggest that they continue to have stable revenue from notices such as classifieds and death notices. The community orientation, as well as the level of engagement with print from older readers who are not as digitally immersed, has to some extent sustained the revenues from print sales and the advertising that comes from them.

However, the digital transition was described as having been felt by all to different extents. The impact of falling print sales and ad revenue and competition for digital advertising on the free-to-access titles in the Irish diaspora press has been mixed. Those titles that ran at a low cost and did not rely heavily on advertisers reported not being as severely affected as those who did. Some comments from diaspora editors illustrate this point: "I do not think that affects us as much because we are in a niche market in that respect." Another states: "I consider it [news outlet] journalistically considered as mainstream, but in terms of advertising we would have



the benefits of niche.” While another who did not find the impact so acute noted that the organisation could run on the “the smell of an oil rag”.

To some extent, the editors reported feeling that the impact has not been as acute as it is for mainstream media because of the niche audience that is of specific interest to some advertisers. Some editors describe stable funding streams from Ireland, particularly big Irish brands seeking to target the readership, such as Guinness, Aer Lingus or Failte Ireland, as an important source of revenue.

On the other hand, some editors said that they found that Google and Facebook are “hammering them” and “gobbling up revenue”. “They are devouring the ad revenue and to a large extent, and they are consuming it, passing on the content for free as well.” Moreover, the solution to the problem for diaspora newsrooms was described as far from easy. As suggested by one editor, “nobody seems to be able to solve this issue. So what hope do we have in terms of monetising content? It’s difficult.”

## **6.4 Government Funding**

One of the questions that was put to Irish diaspora editors concerned their views on the Irish Diaspora Media Fund, an initiative by the Irish government to support diaspora journalism. While the fund itself was poorly executed, in that it was limited to publishers in Ireland and excluded the diaspora press, there are arguments for the need for governments to financially support diaspora journalism. However, the Irish diaspora editors were not persuaded and viewed this as a potential threat to their journalistic integrity. Those editors who were aware of it rejected it, and others who were mostly unaware expressed caution regarding the extent to which it could impose on their freedom. When asked if Irish government funding was something that appealed to them, the responses were largely negative.

“No, even remotely. Especially given the quality and calibre of some of the diaspora ministers. And the fact you’d have to be beholden. And given the experience of some of the media in Ireland with the government Communications Unit, to just stick advertorial in, it would take away. We are small, but we are independent. And we can tell the Irish government what to do with themselves.”

“We value that independence, but I am just saying that this has been a change of policy or a change of direction and we don’t know what it means for us into the future, we’ll just see.”

However, the negativity was not ubiquitous, as one editor suggested that the diaspora news titles could to some extent be understood as a public service and could be funded from public money. “If we were a Swedish newspaper you’d be giving us money because you know that we perform a function and are valuable, just simply by our existence.” In discussing the possibility of funding from the government, editors expressed a preference for indirect support through the purchase of advertising or sponsorship of events or awards. Similarly, editors expressed discomfort with relying on government funds in terms of sustainability and dependence. Some discussed looking to the successful business models of national news titles like the *Guardian* and suggested the better way was to appeal to the will of the readership to pay for news while continuing to publish all content free to access.

## **6.5 News Selection, Agendas and Values in Diaspora Newsrooms**

This section addresses the conditions of news production and how Irish diaspora editors described going about identifying and gathering news from Ireland, as well as the news values that inform this process. Diaspora editors were asked broadly about where and how they source their news about Ireland. This section also discusses what influences the news agenda for the Irish diaspora newsmakers and the characteristics of news they identify as most newsworthy.

### **6.5.1 Newsworthiness**

In describing the types of news that are of specific interest to them, Irish diaspora editors discussed the need to prioritise news topics and stories that have an immediate impact on the Irish community in the respective hostlands, particularly issues related to migration reforms that could impact on Irish people. However, because Irish migration is also multi-directional to nations with different immigration laws, processes and attitudes to migrants, the specific critical issues which emerge as topics and stories related to migration may not be the same in each region. Although the editors described news that is of immediate impact, they do not tend to engage in producing breaking news stories. Breaking news was described by some editors as the

role of mainstream national news organisations, while they see their role as interpreting the impact on Irish communities or identifying the association Irish people have with important news stories.

Additionally, there were descriptions of the need to incorporate the needs of multiple generations of migrants that are part of their readership. Some editors spoke about the differences in the generations of migrants in reference to ‘The Troubles’ in Northern Ireland, or historical abuses by the Catholic Church. They expressed awareness that among their readership there are those who were directly affected by events in Ireland and others who were not. However, when it came to choosing to cover potentially polarising subjects, the editors expressed emphatically that they took a professional journalistic approach. They selected news on the basis of its newsworthiness, its impact, its immediacy, and its relevance to the audience.

All of the editors expressed similar approaches to news identification and selection, such as the need to go for the current affairs, the big stories of the day that are of critical importance. While not describing the characteristics in the form of Galtung and Ruge’s list (1979), editors described newsworthiness in terms of a story’s immediacy, prominence, impact on the audience (either acute impact on some or broad impact on all) and proximity in terms of linking the two nations.

The news value of ‘proximity’ or geographical connectedness was described as a characteristic of a story that would render it of acute importance to diaspora newsmakers. News stories that inherently link the two nations and identities of homeland and hostland were expressed to be of highest priority, more so than either homeland or hostland affairs, but the stories must have to something that will grab attention. As one editor noted, “I mean there are countless stories where you can connect [redacted] and Ireland, but you know there has to be a certain specific kicker [i.e. a ‘hook’ or angle or characteristic that will grab attention].” Some diaspora editors described focusing their human resources such as journalists and photographers to cover such stories intensively.

Human-interest stories were also reported to be of interest: “we are very interested in human-interest stories from Ireland. They’re very good.” Editors discussed the importance of stories that diasporas can relate to, which would shape the type of content about Ireland and how Irish culture is presented. The types of human-

interest stories described by editors to be of particular interest included stories of people returning to Ireland, either older generations of diaspora going for the first time or returning for family occasions such as marriages.

Editorial judgements in diaspora media are made in much the same way as in any news title, in that editors can only deal with the daily news events and stories that come up, and not all are scheduled news events such as book launches or political visits. “You know there are certain things that you know it is almost ‘on the seat of your pants’ editorial judgement, something that jumps out and says that this would be of more interest to our readers. Or sometimes I’ll make sure country names [homeland and hostland] will be in a headline because that will eye catch as well, things like that.”

The diaspora editors also broadly discussed the idea that some news must be published and prioritised because it is of such importance that it was unconscionable to omit it. For example, one editor suggested that some stories “get in automatically, because they have to”. In describing editorial judgements regarding polarising subjects related to Ireland, each of the editors described the approach as journalistic, in that they prioritise high-impact stories and present the information in order of the relevance to or impact on the audience. For example: “Treat them normally, very straightforward, just say what we think. We have to let it stand on its own merits or fall.” However, this was not a universal approach to all types of news stories. In describing the approach to stories about Northern Ireland, some editors said that they treat the topic as they do any other, while others said that it was a subject that they treat very carefully and avoid any overt political commentary or raising issues that could anger members of the readership.

### **6.5.2 Newsgathering**

Interviews with editors also offered an insight into the newsgathering practices which shape the selection and omission of content in the news production process. The process of newsgathering is similar in each of the titles. Most editors describe relying on a range of sources for identifying newsworthy stories, including the Irish national press, hostland and international press, and direct contact with other institutions in the form of press releases and political communications, as well as being alerted to stories through the readership. Editors describe the newsgathering process as a systematic review of multiple sources at the beginning of the day and regular checks on new material or communications throughout the day. Newsrooms report scheduling or

‘diarying’ prearranged news events of specific interest to the diaspora audience such as Irish political visits to the hostland or vice versa. For example, one editor describes the morning review in detail:

“I would go through all of the primary Irish news sources as well as primary UK news sources ranging from online applied providers such as the *Journal* or *Broadsheet*. We have subscriptions to all of the Irish newspapers. RTE would be less important as a news source for us and, say, things like the *Irish Times*. Their coverage of the UK would not really be important to us because we would be getting the same stuff from the same sources they are, and we would have our own contacts.”

“We have additional resources so, for example, we subscribe to the *Financial Times*, *The Times*, the *Guardian* and we would listen to the [BBC] World Service.”

“Basically, we, you know, we have a list, we go to the Irish media stories that are of impact that involve an **American**. A lot of them will be relatively run of the mill.”

However, as noted by one editor, the primary determinant of how much news about Ireland is produced is the resources, human and financial. “In Ireland where there are plenty of stories that we know of, it is just a question of resources.”

Irish diaspora journalists do have the benefit of seeing what is salient in the Irish news media and trending on social media to select their stories of interest. Most of the editors describe using some digital technologies to identify stories that are trending on social media, and from this they can select the stories that they think will be of most interest to their audience and omit stories that they think will not gain traction. Social media trending lists and software that tracks trending stories or topics on social media were used to varying degrees in diaspora newsrooms. Some editors described getting younger members of staff searching and identifying viral trending content on social media. Some specialist software applications are used in other newsrooms: “We take a look at Newswhip [a company that tracks popular news stories on social media from which newspapers can identify issues they might want to cover].” However, social media in general was not a resource for news in all newsrooms. “I try to stay away from that type of content. There is so much you could drown in it. I mean, we have our contributors and our other writers,” said one editor.

The movement of journalism online has opened up access for diaspora news producers, making newsgathering easier and faster. “These days it’s instantaneous. I go on my laptop here and read the *Irish Times* or *Independent* or *Irish News*.” However, while the editors describe the internet facilitating significantly more and faster access to stories and people in Ireland than in the print journalism era, they also state that challenges in newsgathering persist.

Diaspora editors described some barriers to gathering news and challenges in covering stories as rigorously as they would like. The two main challenges editors described were the demographic distance of the newsroom’s main human resources and the lack of access to local journalists. However, these also tend to be barriers to newsgathering experienced in mainstream news organisations and in this regard diaspora press cannot be interpreted as different to mainstream news. The diaspora editors say that the process of finding and producing original news stories about Ireland can be difficult in the absence of relationships with journalists who can research, investigate and produce news.

“We do have a reporter based in Belfast. We’ve had a couple who sort of cover Ireland from north and south from there, so we have an input of stories every week from Ireland. Usually a couple from the north and a couple from the south. We can also fill in the gaps to a great degree as well.”

Distance or geographic disconnection was discussed in terms of not having people on the ground to go and get specific stories that would be of interest to the diaspora audience, and that mainstream media are not reporting heavily on. One editor described a case of a story from Ireland that was of high news value, but there was scarce detailed information available from the Irish news media, either in print or on local radio. “Ideally, I’d like to have sent someone there or use a local freelancer, but I couldn’t find one to actually do the story.” The *Irish Times* Abroad project editor also discussed the same idea only in reverse. In seeking news about the Irish diaspora in the hostland they said, “The biggest challenge is not having that commissioning budget and so not having the ability to go to people on the ground we can go to in terms of professional journalists.”

Some Irish diaspora editors also expressed that part of the new agenda was approached in reference to what the Irish national media already cover. For example,

one editor explained that they were aware that there were significant stories in the mainstream national news of both home and hostlands that they do not address because they do not directly affect the Irish community and because the national media are already giving them a lot of attention.

However, as we have seen, there are many challenges to covering homeland current affairs in the Irish diaspora press in that they lack direct access to individuals and events. The capacity to self-generate stories about Ireland is more challenging when journalists are removed from the location where the news is happening. Moreover, while this can be overcome to some extent by phone calls and emails, the one-to-one interviews and on-the-ground live reporting from events are more difficult.

## **6.6 Cultures of Journalism**

This section addresses the influences on journalism cultures as described by Irish diaspora editors – the interaction of values, practices and logics of diaspora newsrooms or the “whole ideological atmosphere” (Schudson, 1989, p. 279). Among the factors that shape newsroom culture are the professional identities of newsmakers and the regulation mechanisms of journalism. These factors shape how journalists think about what they can and should do (Deuze, 2005; Hanitzsch, Hanusch and Mellado, 2010; Hanusch, 2016). The interviews revealed that both of these broad forces are also factors for Irish diaspora newsrooms. Again, because these two influences interact in newsrooms to shape how journalists think of themselves and what they should do, they will be discussed together.

As noted in chapter two, there are national differences in the cultures of journalism that are shaped by differences in regulatory environments. The Anglo-American press, which includes the Australian press, is regarded as having strong similarities in terms of the values and practices expected of journalists and editors (Harcup, 2009; Schudson, 2011, p. 149). While some professional values, such as a public interest focus, impartiality, independence, immediacy and accuracy, are broadly shared in each of the countries, there are differences in how these values are interpreted in each region (Hanitzsch, 2007). The editors in this study largely described themselves and their staff in terms of professional journalism that adheres to normative expectations of the industry. This emerged in particular in the expression

of the idea that there are some stories that there was an obligation to cover in a timely fashion, regardless of the potential engagement; it was expressed as a professional duty.

The news titles in this study are all embedded in the North Atlantic/liberal model (Hallin and Mancini, 2004), which has shared values and practices around fairness, accuracy, privacy and other hallmarks of ‘good journalism’. Editors expressed the need to deal with topics in as “fair and even-handed way as we can” and to take care when dealing with polarising or sensitive topics such as when dealing with “a culture that we think we understand but we may not”, and all editors shared the “aim to present facts about an event and considered balanced opinions”.

During the interviews the Irish diaspora editors discussed issues related to their sense of professional identity in their respective newsrooms, and although not asked explicitly, described how they negotiate between the needs of an ethno-specific audience and the demands of the profession. While the responses from Irish diaspora editors are not unanimous or uniform, the discussion from the interviews supports Skerdal’s (2011) case that, in many ways, diaspora journalists largely adhere to professional norms. “We are a small title with limited resources, but we do take [ethics] seriously,” said one editor. Another expressed their approach to journalism as being more akin to mainstream news: “I don’t consider ourselves to be ethnic media at all. Irish-America is too broad-based and too big. Ethnic implies you are off in a corner somewhere, but we are far more mainstream than that.” Tied to these ideas are the perceptions of editors regarding the types of news they should cover, particularly the idea that some stories have to be covered regardless of the audience interest (expressed as a duty of the profession) and also that polarising subjects should be treated with care but not distorted so as to prevent potential flack. In some newsrooms there are other considerations at play, and the alignment to the expectations of mainstream news is not universal. For example, one editor described their self-perception as an advocate who was still fair and balanced regarding journalism: “I think of myself as an activist-editor, and the greatest compliment for me would be that I am even-handed.”

However, professional identity is only one aspect of journalism culture. The British and Australian press are regulated with similar codes of ethics which are highly



detailed about each principle. In contrast, the American press is not regulated by a state-supported independent body; its press is self-regulated, with organisations and networks of organisations making their own codes on top of the legislative restrictions.

The limitation placed on production by regulation interacts with the issue of freedom of expression. While the press regulators in Ireland, the UK and Australia<sup>22</sup> detail the value of freedom of expression in the preambles of the regulatory codes that place clear boundaries of acceptable behaviour, in the USA freedom of expression is an inalienable right protected by the Constitution. This right sets much wider limits to what topics and stories can be reported on and the discourse that can be used in one of the press regions.

The culture of journalism imposes limits, and one of the established influences on the boundaries of acceptability is the regulatory framework. Irish diaspora editors discussed the need to work within legal and sometimes press regulation guidelines: “We really only worry about the law, you know, whether we are doing things within the defamation and slander laws.” The *Irish World* is an elective member of the Impress, a press regulator in the UK: “We are a small title with limited resources, but we do take it seriously,” said the editor.

In this regard, there was one notable difference between the press regions. The press culture in the USA is heavily influenced by the First Amendment to the American Constitution establishing the right to free expression, a fundamental right that does not exist in other regions in this study. While the Irish diaspora press in the UK, Australia and Ireland are limited by the regulation, in the USA there are fewer boundaries on what can be said and views that can be expressed, which facilitates more aggressive journalism that is largely focused on holding authorities, political and business, to account. Moreover, to an extent this can be seen in editorial approaches to journalism in the USA, which supports Matsaganis and Katz’s (2013) contention that diaspora or ethnic media are shaped to an extent by the hostland media industry.

“That’s what the First Amendment teaches you. You let everybody speak. [...] Whatever they say as long it’s not directly offensive or libellous in terms of individuals, run with it.” The Irish-American press is described by editors as

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<sup>22</sup> The Australian press is more detailed about its role and the high value placed on freedom of expression than either the UK or Irish press regulators.

“unashamedly outspoken on a host of issues”. This point of difference becomes particularly relevant when there are complaints from audience members or the press in Ireland regarding stories that are published in the diaspora press. The editors in the Irish-American press described taking an open approach to allowing multiple perspectives even regarding polarising topics. Instead of removing content that some people find contentious or object to, it was suggested that people with a problem with a story should submit an article that refutes it and highlight a counter-narrative, and that they would be happy to publish it. The sentiment expressed regarding the idea of removing an article that was found to be contentious was negative.

Research into diaspora media has found that where there are national differences in press freedom, such as if the homeland is more restrictive and the hostland more liberal, diaspora news can cover issues in a more adversarial way than homeland media (Kperogi, 2011). In the case of Ireland, the diaspora press is located in three different nations. While the World Press Freedom Index 2016 finds that each of these nations is categorised as high on the press freedom index (with Ireland recognised as the freest or safest place to practice journalism), there are national statutory and regulatory differences that affect the production of journalism. The Irish-American press benefit from the First Amendment that protects the right to free speech, while no such protection exists for the press in the UK, Australia or Ireland. The news media in these countries is regulated through press regulation and/or through legal mechanisms such as defamation and privacy laws. In Ireland, the Defamation Act of 2009 is regarded as highly restrictive of the topics that can be covered and how they are presented. This is something that some diaspora news titles can capitalise on. Some of the editors spoke about the capacity to cover stories that the Irish media could not. One editor described an example: “There was one huge story [...] which a paper in Ireland couldn’t publish, but we did. There is a little bit of that.” In this regard, the regulation differences can create opportunities for diaspora newsrooms to address high-impact news stories of relevance in Ireland or other diaspora communities.

## **6.7 Representations in the Irish Diaspora Press**

The role of the media introduces concerns about essentialism, representation and identity, but in diaspora media these issues becomes more focused around ideas of

ethnicity and nationalism. The production of news is a cultural evolution on a micro-scale, but not every aspect of Ireland is presented in the Irish national press nor is every aspect presented in the Irish diaspora press. The current affairs that are of importance to the Irish, such as political concerns, social issues and cultural developments, are symbols with which the globally dispersed Irish can identify and mobilise around.

The development and sustaining of diaspora media implies that there is a stable core culture in the community that can be expressed, represented and communicated with through the media outlets. However, this is often not the case because ethnocultural groups are diverse, and Ireland is not socially, politically or culturally monolithic. For example, in the context of the Irish in the USA, the Protestant-Irish community was not represented in the media as Irish. It was specifically the Catholic-Irish that were seen as representative of Irishness because the Irish Protestants were not conceptually regarded as being Irish (Akenson, 1993). In another context, Siapera (2010) questions the extent to which the Muslim Press in the UK can be considered as representative of the entire Muslim community. These are important questions in cultural representation that warn against the presumption that a diasporic media outlet is representative of the entire group, and care must be taken when making claims about the production and representation of national cultural identity. However, lack of uniformity does not imply a lack of sufficient similarity; the nation and the nation state are still one of the primary and most successful forms of self-organisation on a large scale (Castells, 2010).<sup>23</sup>

As noted in chapter four, scholarship in Irish studies has questioned the extent to which the construction of Irishness in Ireland encompasses the diasporic and the fractal nature of transnational Irish identity and culture (Hickman, 2002; Gray, 2002; Harte and Whelan, 2007)

However, as seen through the lens of transnationality, the Irish diaspora press inherently includes the diaspora as part of the conceptualisation of 'the Irish'. These contentions are challenged by the very existence of the *Irish Times* Generation Emigration project and the existence of the diaspora media fund. The approach of the

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<sup>23</sup> As part of his pragmatic approach, Castells notes that while ethnicity is a major source of self-organisation the nation states constructed by the boundaries of colonialism, for example, never coincided with the cultural roots of their people.

*Irish Times* indicated that there was no conceptualisation of the Irish migrants, particularly recent generations, as an ‘other’ to the Irish. The section editor said:

“It started in 2011 with a blog called originally Generation Emigration, which is what it was called until 2016 when it was changed to the *Irish Times* Abroad towards the end of that year. It started as a blog that we thought would only run for a couple of weeks. But it became a rolling project. And the idea was that these people leaving the country all of the time, how was the *Irish Times* going to respond to that? And the idea would be instead of having a journalist sitting here in the office talking to people on the phone – we had a very limited number of correspondents based in the big locations that people were emigrating to – so why not let people have the opportunity to tell their own stories?”

With regard to the project based in Ireland, the diaspora is very much conceptualised as part of a digital community. The editor repeatedly described the audience as an Irish community: “it is very much a community-based project” and “it is still very much kind of a community platform for people to share their own stories”.

The Irish diaspora press does not report shying away from negative representations or tackling difficult topics that could reflect negatively on the Irish or Ireland, whether it is failures of the health service, poor governance, or abuses by the Catholic Church. Editors said that the primary drive is more about doing good journalism than it is representing Ireland in any particular way. “Of course there are certain stories that get in automatically because they have to.” Irish society and culture are not presented particularly positively – the Irish diaspora audience would not buy such distortions.

“Because a lot of our readers are of a generation that would have been affected by the Mother and Child homes or in some cases abuse, whether sexual or bad treatment, we do have quite a few people who are either directly connected or have family, so we would go into those issues screaming them from the rooftop.”

The interviews with diaspora editors suggest a conscientiousness concerning how Irishness is represented through good quality journalism, and articulate the sentiment that to favourably distort Irishness would be a violation of the journalistic principles of authenticity:

“We would want to avoid paddywhackery. We really hate paddywhackery and sentimental ‘Irishry’. We want to do real stuff; you know, stuff with a slightly harder edge. Some members of our collective would worry about alienating people by going too far down the edgier line. You know there will be a ton of debates about what the limits are.”

Another editor explained that the diaspora audience is complex and that there is an implicit need to reflect this:

“A household [can be made up of] someone that people in Ireland would not normally think of as Irish or part Irish. The Irish identity here is a lot broader and wider than people in Ireland necessarily credit it with.”

Moreover, another articulated awareness of a lack of sensitivity to complex identities and how they manifest in social and political movements. Referencing St Patrick’s Day parade controversies, one editor said:

“It’s a Catholic thing not an Irish thing. And there’s a difference – a profound difference. And people in Ireland miss that completely.”

Assimilation and retention were also explicitly and subtly discussed by some editors who recognised the challenge of claiming Irish identity by later-generation migrants and the power of the press to help people know what is available to identify with. This was discussed both in reference to general news coverage and in relation to specific topics that have high news value, like the Gathering, the 1916 Rising and annual events like Bloomsday (dedicated to James Joyce).

In discussing how they represent Irish identity regarding controversial, polarising or difficult issues, editors report taking a journalistic approach that does not seek to obscure negative representation or distort the representation to something more positive. In discussing the approach to polarising stories such as Ireland’s abortion referendum,<sup>24</sup> which was taking place during the interview period, editors suggested that it was a big story, and polarising, but that the approach would be to treat it like any other news story. “Treat them normally, very straightforward, just say what we think. We have to let it stand on its own merits or fall. We don’t not engage. On the

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<sup>24</sup> At the same time the campaign for the removal of an amendment to the Irish constitution that prevented abortions being performed in Ireland was underway.

Eighth Amendment, we were writing editorials supporting its decisions [government support for removing the amendment and allowing abortions].” For example, where the editors and the majority of the newsroom might have a particular position on a polarising subject, this does not mean that the counter-arguments will not be published. Diaspora editors expressed the need to represent a range of perspectives regarding Ireland.

Additionally, they provide a platform for the diaspora community to self-represent their views..” At the time of the interviews, there were two significant news stories in Ireland, the cervical check<sup>25</sup> scandal and the abortion referendum. Many of the editors discussed the need to negotiate these stories sensitively and to show a range of Irish people’s views on the matter. Nevertheless, in the interviews it transpired that both issues were regarded as failures of the Irish state and Irish society to provide adequate health services for women.

In the interviews with the diaspora editors, there were also references to a sense of commonality and solidarity with other migrant groups: “So, they [Irish and other former colonial migrants in Britain] are directly analogous in terms of age, in terms of experience, of socioeconomic background, in terms of that emigrant identity, the two identities [based] here but with family identity elsewhere. So that migrant experience.”

However, along with this came a level of sensitivity to the differences in experiences of migration and the treatment of the Irish as white compared to other ethnocultural groups. One example given by a diaspora editor helps illustrate this point. A hostland government was considering changes in migration policy that would affect all migrants, but acutely effect Afro-Caribbean migrants. While the editor said that there was a potential impact on the Irish community, it was not an appropriate angle to take because it would equate the experience of the Irish community with that of the Afro-Caribbean community, who were more acutely affected by the policy change. In this example, the angle taken was not the potential threat to the Irish but Irish support for the more acutely affected Afro-Caribbean groups. However, this was not a universal position in the Irish diaspora press, as one editor described the need to

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<sup>25</sup> In 2018 it was revealed that a government-backed free cervical smear testing had failed a number of women who developed terminal cervical cancer.

allow other migrant groups to work for their own interests and to work together when there were mutual interests.

Some editors discussed the issue of representing contemporary Irishness and changes in Irish society.:

“We would aggregate stories from Ireland ranging from the quirky to something that might actually change. Without overstating it, demonstrate to the readership just how much Ireland has changed. [...] things like marriage equality or policy on gender changes or things that would have been ‘beyond the pale’.”

“Like modern Ireland but some of the quirkiest elements of it.”

Referencing how the Irish national news media represented Irishness, the diaspora editors saw the opportunity to present a wider range of views than they saw in the Irish press. Similarly, regarding how the news is presented and the need to present a range of views, some editors spoke about what they view as the limitations of Irish national journalism:

“I find that Irish journalism is incredibly predictable and just lefty commentary even though I am left myself.”

“They are so safe.”

“We’re going in to tear strips off [to aggressively tell authorities what they have done wrong].”

There were a number of other themes that emerged from interviews that were not explicitly in reference to Irish identity or the representation of Irish culture that should be noted. For example, the Irish were portrayed as being overtly political and outspoken in this regard by some of the editors: “I mean, if you look at the things that Ireland is good at, journalism, nursing, teaching, writing and politics. Politics is huge.”

The Irish were also discussed as having deep roots and a long, rich and complex history. Irishness in this regard was presented as experienced in the world in general and this was seen as a positive attribute: “You look at any of these guys, and they talk about their Irish heritage very proudly.” Moreover, “The Irish helped build this country”. However, the diaspora editors did not refer to the problems that Irish

migrants could cause in hostlands. For example, illegal Irish migrants were described as an issue that needed to be addressed through legitimisation in the hostland as opposed to focusing on the illegality and fraudulent manipulation of public systems to maintain residency.

Additionally, there was a range of references to a view of the Irish as bookish or literary. This may be associated with Irish publishers' promotional campaigns to get their books reviewed, but most of the editors discussed some aspect of Irish literary history or modern-day publishing. Associated with this were references to Irish sports or the Irish as active sporting people; for example, this was seen in the need to prioritise the GAA in the news agenda that was expressed by some editors.

The final subtle theme that emerged was that of the Irish as Europeans, either as part of historical European migration to America and Australia or with regard to the current obligation in the European Union or, more light-heartedly, the Eurovision Song Contest.

## **6.8 The Imagined Audience**

This section describes how Irish diaspora editors conceptualise their audiences, both as news consumers and as Irish migrants. While the imagined audience of Irish diaspora news is inherently a national cultural community that directs the type of content produced, i.e. Irish-American as opposed to Irish-Australian, the digitisation of news has broadened the potential reach for diaspora journalism and placed new demands on editors. This section begins by addressing how diaspora editors described shaping their news content to engage the audience more broadly, before detailing how the audiences are considered in each of the regions, so as to fully explore the influence of multidirectional migration and differences in experiences of resettlement and integration on news content.

Irish diaspora news editors do not just think of their audience as a cultural group but also as consumers or a target market. The demands of producing and presenting news media content require a 'hook' or some device that will grab readers' attention and shape how a story is presented. As one editor explained, "There are other considerations coming in. You have to sell the product, you have to market the product. So, what are the quality triggers, what are the eye catchers? So, you know, I will think in [those] terms." The quality triggers described by diaspora editors include



the use of local imagery and the inclusion of Irish localities in framing devices such as headlines. This suggests that although a story may be about Ireland, this is not enough by itself to draw audiences in and a more specific geographical location resonates with readers. As one editor described, “So, geographies of the place in the headline. Just because we have readers from there. So, judgements like that, marketing if you will.” Localities rather than individual Irish people, for example, are prioritised by the diaspora editors, indicating that they consider the audience’s link to Ireland to go beyond a broad interest in the nation and to be more specific, which requires that they offer more detail to the readers. This underlines both the importance of and the challenges in accessing more regionalised news content, as described by editors above.

Diaspora editors also reported thinking of their audience in terms of mediums, and discuss differences in content production and distribution between the print and digital audiences, as well as the differences in content provided to each. Diaspora editors report that the more newsworthy stories about Ireland are prioritised for the printed newspaper. While these stories are also published online, there are more stories on the websites than in the printed newspaper because the excess stories that do not go into print will then be published online. Additionally, they suggest that while the printed newspaper is tethered to the physical locations where it is distributed and sold, and largely targeted at older news consumers, the digital edition’s audience is younger and anywhere in the world.

The conceptualisation of the audience shapes what news stories are presented and how. This goes beyond cultural identity and includes important journalistic considerations such as marketing and mediums. Any analysis of news content must recognise that such journalistic demands and the cultural interests co-occur in newsrooms to shape representation in content. This underlines that as well as the audience being considered with respect to commercial factors and journalistic distribution, which shaping the framing of stories, regional cultural identities of the audience are important. The following sections examine the responses from each of the regions to more meaningfully address how the historical contexts of migration and contemporary diaspora cultures guides the representations of Irishness.

### **Irish America**

Diaspora editors in this region expressed the idea that they do not think of their news outlets as a type of ethnic media because the audience base is potentially so large. With around 2.2 million readers, this market is substantial and comparable to the Irish national news market in size. The historic and contemporary levels of migration from Ireland to the USA are so high that diaspora editors view their audience as broad, diverse and complex. For example, one editor says, “Irish America is too broad-based and too big. ‘Ethnic’ implies you are off in a corner somewhere but we are far more mainstream than that.”

Another example of this highlights how expansive the imagination and conceptualisation of the audience is in this region: “Our readers here are obviously Irish and Irish-American, both. So that might be our emphasis. And then there are just people who are neither Irish or Irish-American who are just interested. So, we have people who look after the arts coverage and that is a very broad base interest in terms of Irish arts and stuff like that. You don’t need to be Irish to take an interest in that. So, we try to reach out to anybody who has an interest.” The substantial audience base, and the idea that Irish-America is too big and broad to tailor content to, means that there is no specific image of an Irish person or community other than those with an interest in Irish current affairs. Consequently journalistic devices such as a regional ‘hook’ are more inclined to shape the representations. In this region the content is produced to address a general audience, in much the same way as national news media would address a general population.

Diaspora editors’ descriptions of the Irish-American-Catholic identity underline the plurality and potential for misrepresentation. One editor said that while they were aware that there was a demand for this type of content, it did not fit in with their brand, which was for a much broader audience. “You know we don’t veer into Catholic stuff, we’re not a Catholic newspaper. Our readers would tend to be, so they have an interest.” Another editor expressed frustration with the conflation of Irish-American identity and Irish Catholicism that ignores the diversity of Irish-American groups and the plurality of values and opinions:

“For years the St Patrick’s parade was the symbol of Irish America. And the resistance to gays marching was what we were getting plastered with. And that just wasn’t true. There was a small group people who had control of a parade.

I think that for them it is one big day and all they wanted them to do was pay homage to the Cardinal and their Catholic heritage. It's a Catholic thing not an Irish thing. And there's a difference – a profound difference. And people in Ireland miss that completely. It was about Catholicism, not everybody in the Irish market liked it.”

### **Irish Britain**

The Irish in Britain are described by editors as having a distinct identity that is comparable to that of other migrant groups. For example, “I would argue that our readers have a distinct British-Irish identity or Irish-British identity, just as you would have British-Jewish people, British-Asians, British-Africans and British-Poles.” However, diaspora editors in this region were acutely aware that Irish communities in Britain, while having suffered some forms of discrimination up to recent times, are no longer subject to such abuses. One editor described their view of the Irish as akin to other colonial migrants such as the Windrush Generation, who “are directly analogous in terms of age, in terms of experience, of socioeconomic background, in terms of that emigrant identity, the two identities [one based here] but with family identity elsewhere. So that migrant experience.”

However, they also expressed the idea that the Irish were not as negatively affected by dramatic changes in English immigration policy or in terms of public attitudes to immigrants as other migrant groups. Additionally, they described the sense of solidarity that the Irish felt with this community when their status as citizens was threatened in 2016. While there was a perception that the same changes to policies that threatened some communities in Britain, such as Afro-Caribbeans, could have affected members of the Irish community, it was not considered appropriate to compare the two groups as equally affected. The diaspora editors here suggested that the solidarity that Irish communities had with more acutely affected people was a more appropriate way to approach a news story. Furthermore, editors also described the Irish as having bonded with and married other migrants and formed multicultural households and communities. “A household [can be made up of] someone that people in Ireland would not normally think of as Irish or part Irish. The Irish identity here is a lot broader and wider than people in Ireland necessarily credit it with.”

### **Irish Australia**

Editors in this region described their view of the Irish-Australian community as that of an historically ‘othered’ community, but also one that largely assimilated, with fewer retaining their sense of Irish identity, and often ideologically distanced itself from the problems Ireland has faced. For example:

“We have a strong appreciation that Irish Australia is a very different beast from Irish America. But the Irish in Australia always assimilated. They didn’t form ghettos and that makes it a lot harder to pass on the legacy than in the United States, where ghettoisation was more of an issue. The norm in Australia was keep your head down and almost hide your Irishness because of the discrimination that was done, or quite capable of being exerted. It was easier to blend into the mainstream.”

The diaspora editors in Australia said they faced challenges while trying to practise Irish diaspora journalism. One editor described family and friends as being “horrified” that they had an interest in studying and writing about Ireland. “It was really hard because they thought it was better left alone. They have negotiated the sectarian divide successfully and that was their take on it. And that is a common Australian orientation,” they said.

The Irish diaspora community is described by editors as more diffuse than elsewhere, and they in turn face challenges in growing their readership and also their resources. Perhaps because of this, and the history of discrimination, they are sensitive to ideas around representation and highly embracing of the diversity of Irishness. One editor said that assimilation “makes it harder to claim an Irish-Australian identity. We very aware of that and you know for us, Irish America is sort of sentimental, and overly stereotyping. You know what, we like the complexity [of the Irish identity].”

### *The Imagined Irish Diasporic News Audience*

The responses from editors regarding the readership and consumer base for Irish diaspora news shows that they think about the readership in terms of journalism and building readership through ‘marketing and distribution’, as well as considering the cultural background of the communities in each region. This underlines the fact that the representation of Irishness and Irish culture in the diaspora press is not unfettered by the realities of producing journalism. It must be selected, constructed and presented

in such a way that consumers will either click on it online or buy it in print.<sup>26</sup> It also shows that editors balance the demands of journalism values and practices with the needs and interests of the audience, but one does not override the other. This theme is also reflected in the discussion on news selection above; it is not only that some stories are published because they ‘have to be’ but also that there is an awareness that subgroups among the Irish diaspora are not made to be representative of the whole community. For example, diaspora editors described deprioritising the interests of some readers where it did not fit with their view of their values that speak to a diverse audience. For example, in the discussion regarding Irish Catholicism in America, one editor said, “You know we don’t veer into Catholic stuff, we’re not a Catholic newspaper. Our readers would tend to be, so they have an interest.”

The diaspora editors in each region describe their audiences quite differently and face different challenges in producing journalism for them. This is shaped by the fact that the resources available to newsrooms are influenced by the size of the audience, which is not dictated by the number of migrants from Ireland but rather the number who engage with their Irish identity and Irish diaspora news. A large audience shapes the commercial sustainability of the news organisations. More consumers leads to more income to reinvest into the media business and produce more, and more diverse, content.

In this regard, the history of migration, resettlement and integration of Irish people in the news regions are important factors. The shape of the community shapes the media that addresses it. The Irish in America, like many other migrant groups, were free to retain their cultural identity and specificity, but this was more challenging historically for the Irish in Britain and Australia, where the communities were more commonly treated as an ‘other’ (Cottle, 2000; Hickman, 2002; O’Day, 2005). This raises questions regarding the capacity of diaspora media in different regions to inject alternative narratives into the transnational discourses of Irishness. While the diaspora news media in Australia face challenges in growing their audience because of the lower levels of engagement with Irishness, resulting in a lower volume of content, in the USA there is a large readership with a sense of the acceptability and assertion of

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<sup>26</sup> Additionally this underlines the need to incorporate the important framing devices into the research process. How news texts are presented is driven by very specific rules.

Irish identity. It indicates that the environment in the USA for the Irish diaspora media is more suitable for the mobilisation of the community for specific political interests, or ‘touchstone issues’, than, say, the Irish media in Britain or Australia.

## **6.9 Summary**

This chapter outlined how diaspora news editors described their wider company structures, the organisation of the newsrooms, how resources are managed, and the process of producing and distributing news. The editors also revealed how they conceptualise their professional identities and revealed some differences between how journalism cultures can shape editorial judgements.

Much of the newsgathering process is shaped by a host of internal and external structural forces whereby there is ease of access to some resources and barriers to others. The ability or inability to access news stories is revealed to be a critical component in shaping what content is selected and what is omitted from the news agenda. When interpreting the representation of national, ethnic or homeland cultures in diaspora news media, what access news organisations have to homeland resources must be considered. As a rule, on any given day there are more news stories and issues than can be processed, and editors have described a host of issues, such as access to some events, lack of access to others, and the newsworthiness of some stories, as factors that shape the news identification and selection process. Human resources and the network of contributors and expertise that newsrooms have access to are described as other significant influential factors, and the interpretation of any diaspora media output should incorporate the structural forces that shape the selection and rejection of what is represented.

Additionally, this chapter established how Irish diaspora editors think about how they represent Irishness and Irish identity. The interviews show that there is an acute awareness that diaspora journalism represents Irish identity and not simply publishing news. The editors’ discussions show a sensitivity to the fact that what they publish says something about the Irish community. However, there was no effort to distort representations to present the Irish in a more positive light. The approach to news was largely journalistic; stories were regarded as important according to their merits of newsworthiness not representativeness. This fact is associated with how

diaspora editors conceptualise their imagined audiences: while in the USA the audience is big, broad and engaged with their Irish heritage, in Britain it is less condensed and community-orientated, and in Australia more diffuse. But in all cases diaspora editors expressed the idea that the diaspora communities were diverse and representing them as such was a priority.

Now that the contexts of production have been established and there is an insight into how the political economy, organisational and cultural factors operate in diaspora newsrooms, it is necessary to inspect the texts that are produced. The first part of this process is the comparative analysis of news flows – which correspond to the news agendas in each region – followed by an analysis of how Irishness is represented within these flows.

## **Chapter Seven: News Flows and the Diasporic Editorial Agenda**

This chapter presents the results of the quantitative news flow study aiming to address the broad research question of what types of news about Ireland flow to the diaspora press. Additionally, this section will compare what is prioritised in the news agendas of different regions. It includes the descriptive statistics on the news flow of each region, a comparison of the top twenty topics and stories, and responses from editors regarding the motivations and approaches taken. The comparison of the news about Ireland that flows to the diaspora press in each region will help highlight the influences on the process of representation of Irish identity by establishing regional differences in the news diaspora journalists prioritise. These results can help determine the extent of the differences and similarities between the representations of Irish culture and Irish identity in diasporic locations.

These results show the overall frequency of representation where the number of observations of a news category, topic and story corresponds to the level of salience in each of the diaspora locations. The percentages here are reporting the relative frequency of a category, topic or story in relation to the proportion of total observations that fall into that category, topic or story. To determine the flows from Ireland, news about the hostland was omitted, and only news that is primarily about Ireland was analysed. The types of news flows were determined with a simple count of the number of observations under a category, topic or news story.

### **7.1 Total News Flows**

This section presents the findings of the total news flows from Ireland to each region. It describes the total volume of stories published in the Irish-American, Irish-British and Irish-Australian press from February to September 2016. This section addresses the total volume of news about Ireland that flows to each of the regions compared to the volume of news about hostlands featured. The subsequent sections address only news about Ireland to establish the categories, topics and stories about home that are present on each of the regional news agendas.



<b>National news flows from Ireland to the Irish diaspora press</b>				
	Irish-American	Irish-British	Irish-Australian	Total
About hostland	47%	46%	48%	47%
No. of articles	1,014	1,049	57	2,120
About Ireland	53%	54%	52%	53%
No. of articles	1,143	1,223	63	2,429
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
	2,157	2,272	120	4,549

*Table 8 Total news from Ireland to the diaspora press by region.*

Table 8 shows the total of 4,549 news articles that were recorded from the homepages across the three regions during the six months of data collection. Articles where the primary news event that took place was in the homeland or hostland were recorded, as outlined in chapter five. It shows that in total just under half of the news was about the hostland (47 per cent) and a little over half was news about Ireland (53 per cent). The volume of news that flows from Ireland to the digital diaspora press is similar in each of the locations. In each diaspora news site, more than half of all the news produced was about Ireland: UK 54 per cent, USA 53 per cent, Australia 53 per cent. These findings offer insight into the mediation of Irishness, but also reveal the degree of situated hybridity among the Irish digital diaspora press in each of the locations.

The situated-hybrid nature of the diasporic identity was discussed in chapters two and three through scholars such as Appadurai (1996), Hall (1997), Gillespie (2006) and Castells (2010). From this, the culture and cultural output of the diaspora would similarly be expected to be hybrid, mediating or encompassing both homeland and hostland cultures. Even though there is direct access to Irish national news online, and much of news produced in Ireland is free to access, the diaspora press prioritised representing news about Ireland slightly more than news about the hostland. These findings indicate that in the Irish digital diaspora press neither of the two cultures between which the diaspora press is positioned dominates over the other in any location because there is a similar level of representation of both.

Because the focus of this inquiry is about news from Ireland flowing to the digital diaspora press, articles about the hostland were omitted from the following analysis. The focus on news from Ireland is warranted because it corresponds to the concept of the editorial agenda regarding home. The total volume of articles analysed in each location is indicated in the ‘About Ireland’ section of the table above.

## 7.2 Category News Flows

This section presents the volume of different news categories in each region to offer an overview of the types of news content that are most prevalent in each region. These results offer broad representations of the Irish as political or sporting, for example. As discussed in chapter five, the categories of news were derived from the list of news categories identified by national and diaspora news organisations, as well as the annual Reuters Institute Digital News Report (Kirk *et al.*, 2016). There is a range of different ways to categorise news; the Irish Reuters Oxford Digital News Report which examined national news industry lists twelve. However, depending on the type of publication, the number and combination of these may vary (Kirk *et al.*, 2016). How the news categories in the digital diaspora press were standardised for comparison is outlined in chapter five. In total, seven news categories were common in all three regions, and their distribution in each region is listed below.

<b>News categories flows from Ireland to Irish diaspora press in % of coverage</b>				
	Irish-American	Irish-British	Irish-Australian	Total
Business	6%	6%	6%	6%
Culture	30%	19%	51%	25%
Crime	5%	6%	0.83%	6%
Life and Style	9%	14%	0%	11%
Politics	17%	5%	3%	11%
Social Affairs	28%	21%	26%	24%
Sport	5%	30%	13%	18%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 9 Frequency of news category flows from Ireland to the diaspora press regions, N=2,429.

Table 9 compares the volume of articles under each general news category in each region to highlight the differences in broad interests in stories about Ireland. It shows that some news categories such as Business and Social Affairs have much the same level of coverage in each region, while other topics such as Politics see a wide

variation among the regions: USA 17 per cent, UK 5 per cent and Australia 3 per cent. While such similarities and variations need to be explained, the general news categories, as inherently broadly encompassing a range of topics, offer only broad insights.

To provide some context and gain further insights into the meaning of these distributions it is necessary to provide an overview of the main news events in Ireland during this period that may have affected the volumes of different categories of news. However, that is not to say that these events are extraordinary – all news is, by definition, information that news media deems to be out of the ordinary and of high public interest – only that these were the events at the time of this study that may have contributed to the distribution of news during the period.

The Irish General Election campaign began in January 2016 but this story, inherently political, ran on long beyond the national vote on 26 February 2016, due to difficulties in forming a government. Negotiations between Irish political parties lasted for 63 days after the results of the election were announced, an unprecedented amount of time in Irish history. 2016 was also the year of the hundredth anniversary of the 1916 Easter Rising, which was celebrated on a local, regional, national and international level throughout the year, but with most of the largest events held during March and April. The representations of Irishness in this news topic will be explored in the following chapter. Two substantial international sporting events also took place during this time, in which the Irish national team participated; the first was the 2016 European UEFA European Championships and the second was the 2016 Rio Olympics.

### **7.2.1 Category News Flows and News Agenda Analysis**

As seen in table 9, Culture and Social Affairs emerged overall as the two main categories of news about Ireland that flowed to the diaspora press, and individually they were the two dominant flows to the Irish-American press and the Irish-Australian press. Social Affairs are issues that are highly associated with the day-to-day life of Ireland; the category includes stories about missing people, traffic, the health services or personal tragedies. The range of topics in this news category are diverse, but what they all have in common is that they are very much about immediate events taking place that impact Irish individuals or non-political or business organisations such as

churches or communities in Ireland. They are issues related to news events that have recently affected people and how Irish society shapes people's lives. The theme that human-interest stories, often falling into the Social Affairs category, were of particular newsworthiness was addressed in the interviews with diaspora editors. Examples of this included health stories, environmental stories and coverage of Irish people moving to Ireland or returning 'home', which editors described as an issue that diaspora audiences could relate to. The need to engage with the life in Irish communities and to cover issues that affect their everyday life, including birth, deaths, marriages, local events and the achievements of community leaders, were mentioned as important factors for diaspora readers. Again, these ordinary stories often fall into the Social Affairs category. "So that might be somebody having something on his birthday or a 'GoFundMe' for somebody's family going to difficulties or a tragedy. And so that will be on the front of the paper," said one editor.

Cultural news is associated with arts and media as well as historical remembering through the production (or reproduction) of cultural artefacts. As noted, the 1916 Centenary took place during the research period, and there was a dedicated effort during this time to produce a wide range of cultural products such as theatre, TV shows, museum exhibitions, digital content and commemorative events. Chapters two and three established that cultural identification through the shared imagined produced by media (culture) and historical remembering is an important discursive means in the formation of national and diasporic identities. However, perhaps some broader forces may be at play here, because it must be acknowledged that many news organisations find that 'soft news' has higher levels of engagement than harder news (Boran, 2013; Horan, 2013) and this may also contribute to the high levels of representation of Irish culture across the diaspora press. Cultural news is a very broad category and refers to a wide range of cultural output. This presents the question of what types of Irish culture the diaspora press represent most frequently. Are there differences in the types of cultural news that flow to the diaspora press in each of the locations? These are questions that are addressed in the topics news flow.

The interviews revealed a number of factors that can influence the level of representation of culture, including audience factors: "that [Culture] is a very broad base interest. In terms of Irish arts and stuff like that, you don't need to be Irish to take an interest in that. So, we try to reach out to anybody who has an interest." Cultural

coverage was also linked to the coverage of entertainment events of interest to the diaspora community and new initiatives in Ireland. The informal connections are also a factor, with book publishers often providing a large volume of Irish publications to newsrooms to review and report on. Similarly, the academic network and access to new research about Irish history is another ongoing and easily accessible source of news about Ireland.

Political news was notably low in the Irish-Australian press and notably high in the Irish-American press. One of the facts that shapes this is the character of the news titles themselves. There was no explicit Politics category in either of the Irish-Australian digital news titles. This is not to say that there was no political news, but that there was no page on either website dedicated to politics, either homeland or hostland. *Tintean*, one of the two Irish-Australian news publishers, carried neither politics, business or sports sections and the editorial agenda is largely occupied with Irish culture and society. This might explain the comparably higher levels of stories about Irish culture (51 per cent) compared with the low levels of flows of Irish politics (3 per cent). This presents the question of why there is a notably higher representation of Irish political affairs in the Irish-American press (17 per cent) compared to elsewhere.

Irish diaspora editors in America help explain in part why political news about Ireland is more prevalent there than elsewhere. In these discussions, two key points emerged: the first is the nature and history of the Irish diaspora in the USA and the second is the idea of political mobilisation around causes to affect change for Irish migrants.

On the history and nature of the diaspora, one editor said, “There’s a natural tendency. I mean, if you look at the things that Ireland is good at, journalism, nursing, teaching, writing and politics. Politics is huge. We invented politics in this country. Here, we’ve got Clintons, the Kennedys; they were the giants of politics in this country. Obama was interested too.” Another discussed the idea that “Irish America is big, significant and ‘will be heard’. And it is a constant producer of news.” The issue of covering political developments in Northern Ireland and Ireland was discussed by Irish diaspora editors. Ireland as a site of political and religious violence was presented as implicitly newsworthy: “it’s interesting because it’s very interesting,” said one

editor. And, while the focus of this study is on political events in Ireland, the editors said that there is also a strong focus on US politics seen through an Irish lens and how it might impact on Ireland.

“A lot of our political stuff is associated with Irish America and Irish-American politicians in Washington. Doing something that would be normal in Ireland. However, we also covered the Presidential election 2016 in some detail; we had features and op-eds and all sorts of stuff.”

The second set of issues that emerged in discussions on the news category of Politics involved mobilisation and impact. For example, one editor discussed the idea that Irish demographics when mobilised “can influence things”. Another described the efforts of the Irish, historically and currently, in lobbying for immigration policies in the USA with much success, providing the examples of, the extension of visas to Irish people in the 1990s and current efforts to mobilise for the extension of voting rights in Ireland.

The Irish diaspora and in turn the diaspora news media are engaged heavily by Irish-American politicians who operationalise their Irish identity to garner support at every level, from local to federal. “Two of our leading players [Irish American Politicians] are members of Congress, [...] and who are producing stuff all the time,” said one editor. These mobilisations include calls for action in Ireland or between the two states, for example through the Relatives for Justice in Northern Ireland initiative, or through calls for the reinstatement of an Irish diplomat. Irish-American editors describe an Irish community that is known to be politically active, wealthy and willing to donate, and thus obvious targets for politicians seeking to build support.

However, this is not to suggest that the Irish in America have a particular left or right wing, liberal or conservative, leaning regarding politics either in the USA or Ireland. Editors describe the Irish in America as too broad and big to be regarded as falling on one side or the other and see support for political and social issues across the spectrum.

The editors in the USA were agreed on the idea that the Irish in America could be politically galvanised and had a tangible impact on both homeland and hostland affairs. Some editors commented that the lack of political touchstones in the UK has left the Irish living there without a cause to mobilise around. The Irish-British press

has been operating at the epicentre of, historically, Irish or Northern Irish communities under the UK Terrorism Act and, more recently, Brexit and the UK–Irish border – and report taking a politically neutral approach to the situation. Northern Ireland as a political issue is covered heavily in the mainstream media of both the UK and Ireland but considerably less so in American mainstream media. The idea that diaspora media tend to cover issues that are not heavily represented in the mainstream is illustrated here. These findings support the idea that attention is given to a topic by a diaspora publication because it would not have been covered extensively elsewhere. Awareness of what mainstream news covers and how the diaspora press can fill in the gaps for the audience, was also present in the interviews with editors.

The interviews did not render much detailed information about coverage of business, crime or sports – which, when they were discussed, were described as fixtures of the newspaper or categories of news that are covered as part of normal journalism production. Business and economics were described as of particular interest not just because of the efforts to celebrate the Irish entrepreneurs who export overseas but because of differences and developments in economic and trade policies in each of the regions. Irish diaspora editors discussed the role of diaspora newspapers in communities as important in acknowledging the work of Irish business people, and many of the news titles host annual awards to celebrate them. Moreover, the potential impact of changes to customs borders between Ireland and the UK and the USA, in the face of Brexit and Trump respectively, were also mentioned when business coverage was alluded to. However, there was little insight provided about these categories directly.

### **7.3 Topic Flows**

This section presents charts showing the total distribution of news topics about Ireland that were published in each of the diaspora press regions, representing the overall volumes of topic news flows from Ireland to the diaspora press in each of the regions. News topics are a more focused way of describing the subject matter of the news article. For example, where Politics might be the news category, a referendum campaign would be a specific news topic. By identifying and analysing the quantity of coverage under news topics, it is possible to establish and compare more precisely

what types of information about Ireland appear on the regional agenda of the digital diaspora press. Each of the regions' topic news flows is presented individually, and the charts here include only the topics where the frequency of the news flows was above 0.4 per cent (see Appendix B for full list).

The following graphs and the graphs that illustrate the stories that flowed describe the variety of news topics and stories on the diaspora news agendas in each region. The Irish-American and Irish-British press show a large variety of individual news topics and stories, while the Irish-Australian press is more limited in range. There were a total of 132 individual news topics in the Irish-American press, 151 in the Irish-British press and 21 topics in Irish-Australian press. To highlight similarities and differences among the pervasive topics about Ireland that are represented, the top twenty most frequent flows are compared at the end of each section.

The following graphs illustrate the range of topics in each region and the differences between what topics are prioritised and deprioritised during the period. As noted in chapters three and five, specific topics can be addressed from more than one general news category. The graphs show the distribution and range of the most pervasive topics, more than 0.4 per cent of total coverage during the recording period in each region. While only some of these topics are used as case studies for deeper understanding of how Irishness is presented, it is important to show what topics about Ireland are presented and to get a sense of what specifically about Ireland is considered most newsworthy in each region.

The most pervasive topics, the top fifteen in each region, are compared in the subsequent section for a deeper insight into what shapes the editorial agenda in each region.



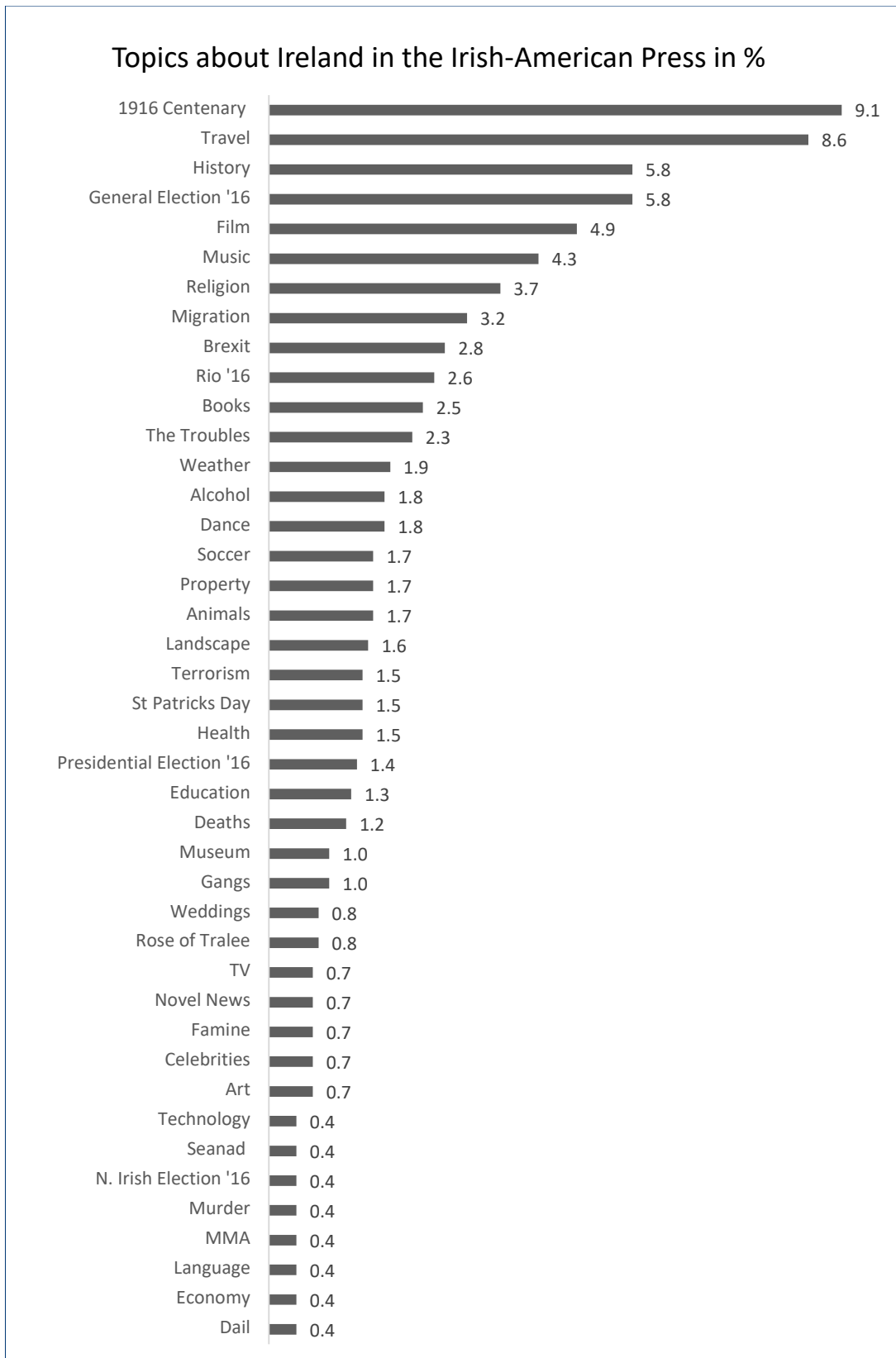


Figure 13 Topic flows to the Irish-American press, n=1,143.

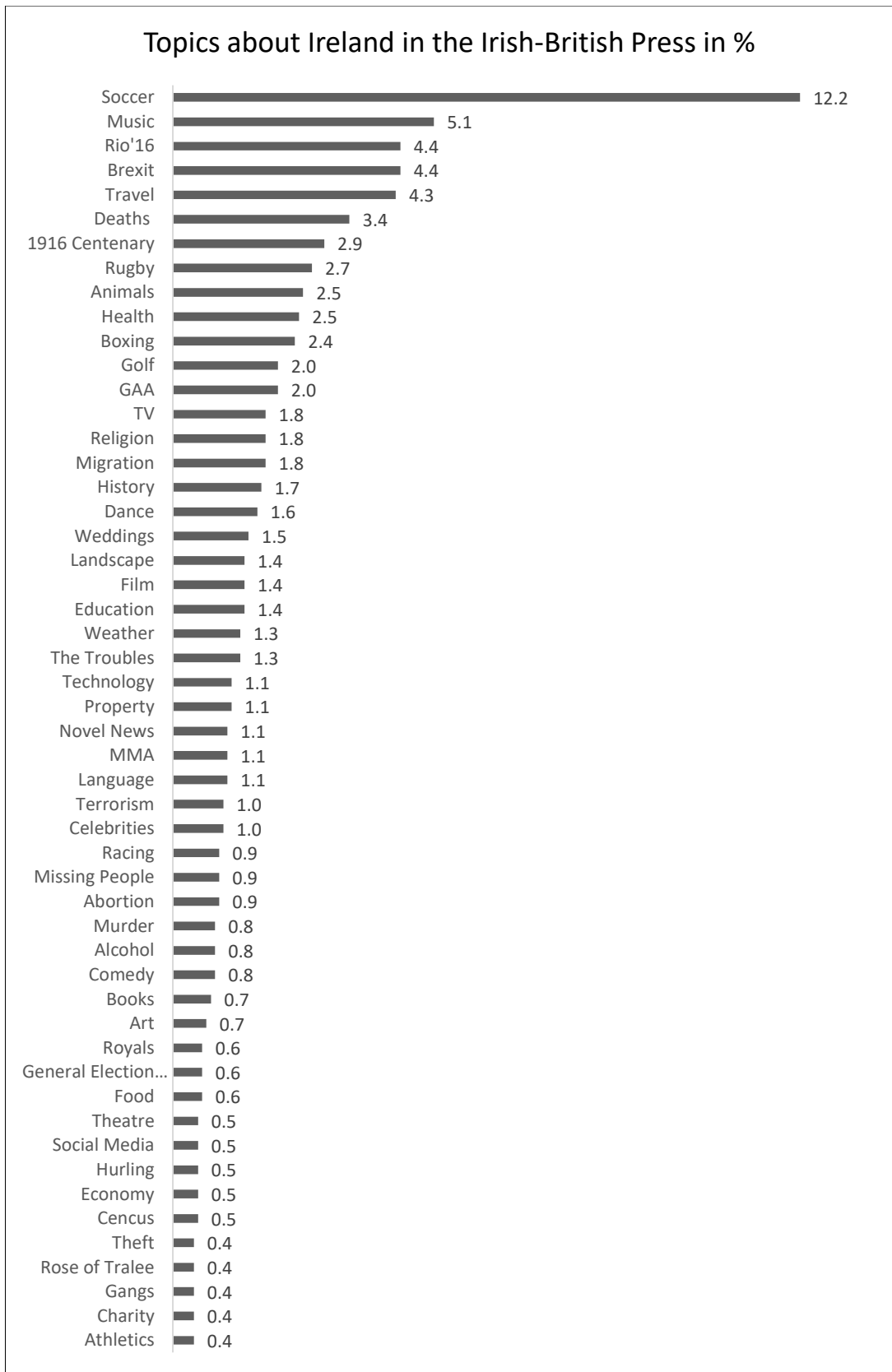
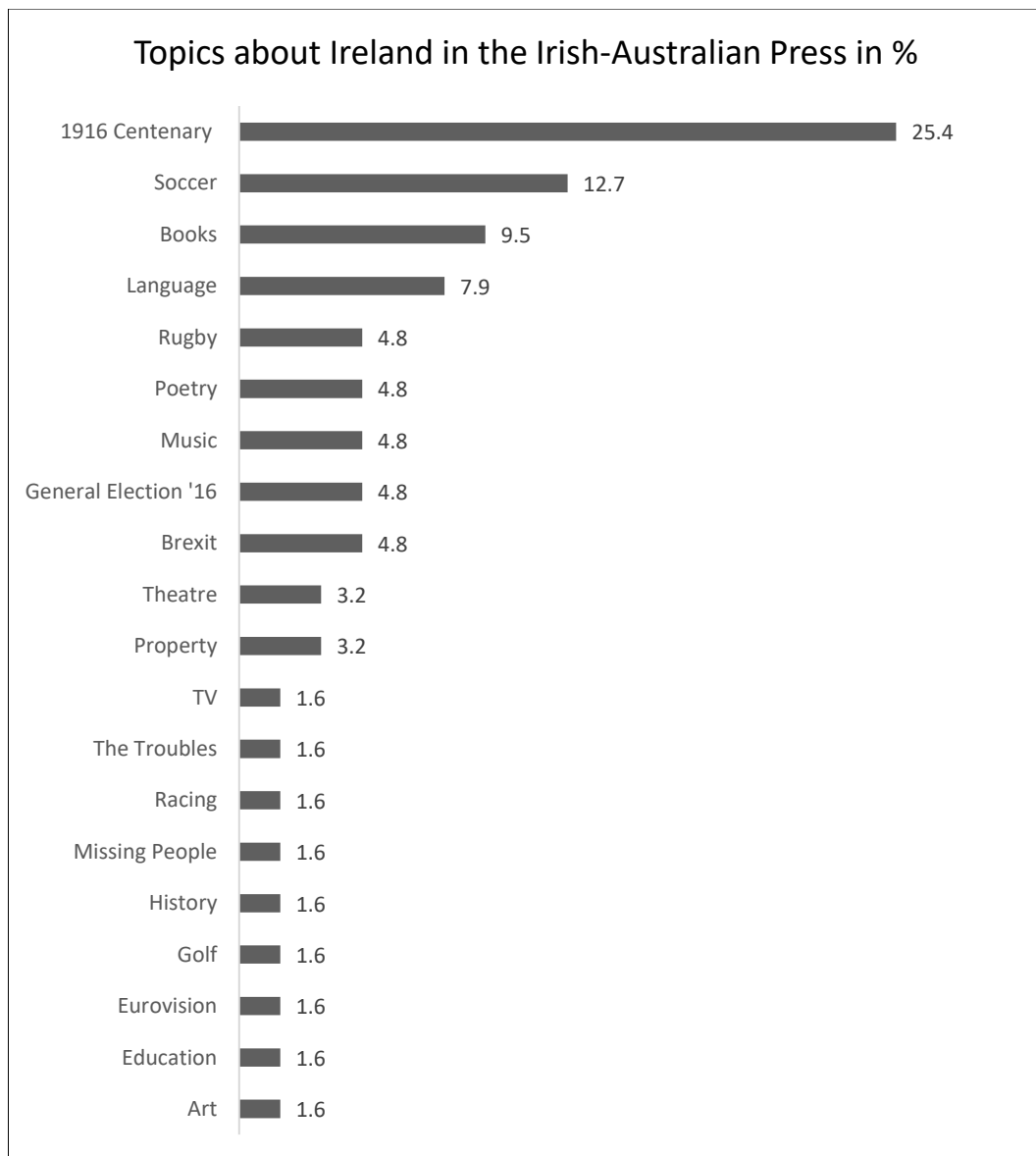


Figure 14 Topic flows to the Irish-British press, n= 1,223.



*Figure 15 Topic flows to the Irish-Australian press, n= 63.*

The breakdown of the volume and frequencies of topics in each of the press regions shows that there are different ranges and priorities in each region. Some news about Ireland dominates over others: five topics are above 5 per cent in the Irish-American press, two in the Irish-British press and nine in the Irish-Australian press. However, while there was a notably less diverse range of topics published overall in the Irish-Australian press, the topics that are present are more evenly distributed through the content on Ireland. As noted in the previous chapter, one the title website was not live, but continued to publish in print and maintaining a Facebook page which shared links

from Irish national news sources.<sup>27</sup> This meant that the topics about Ireland that flowed to the Irish-Australian press were more limited in scope than in other regions.

The implications of the businesses' decisions and for the sustainability of news organisations were discussed in the previous chapter, but this also has implications regarding the representation of Irishness in the region. In this case, it meant that there was less news about Irish culture and identity represented by the diaspora press in this region. Additionally, it disconnected migrants who had returned to Ireland or those who had migrated to other parts of the world from a news resource about their former community.

### **7.3.1 Selected Topic Analysis**

#### *1916 Centenary*

Interviews with Irish diaspora editors provided some insights into their approaches towards some topics. The 1916 Centenary was one of the most pervasive topics across the diaspora regions. The Centenary was celebrated throughout months in Ireland and provided a large number of topic-specific news events, from commemorations to historical exhibitions, hidden histories coming to light and a large volume of books and materials. “There was huge energy around that. As you know, the Irish government was supporting many events and I am involved with Bloomsday. So we do theatrical events, we have three 1916 events which were extraordinarily well attended,” said one editor. The level of interest in the Rising beyond the Irish diaspora audience was also indicated as a factor in the salience of the 1916 Centenary. This case study will be looked at in more detail in the next chapter. The Irish government produced a large quantity of material for the press and public as part of the Centenary commemorations, which should be recognised as a material reality of producing the volume of stories about it.

#### *Brexit*

Specifically, the impact of the UK leaving the EU common travel and customs area on Ireland, politically and in terms of trade, was also discussed. The Irish diaspora press in the UK was on the forefront of the issue – so much so that the *Irish World* was “the first print title here to put the term ‘Brexit’ on the front-page headlines.

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<sup>27</sup> As noted, the *Irish Echo* in Australia continued to publish in print but the focus of this study is on digital news and its role in a transnational digital news ecology.

Moreover, this was before the referendum.” It was a highly salient topic across all regions, with a pervasive frame that Britain leaving the EU was a bad move. However, there are few details beyond this from the review of the articles and the interviews because at the time it was unclear what the nature of the repercussions of a UK exit from the EU would be, as the details would only be formalised after the referendum passed.

One editor describes trying to cover the Brexit referendum: “Because it’s very confusing as to who’s an expert and who you can talk to. Because you know it’s going to have a huge impact. You’re just not sure [what] the actual steps towards that impact are.”

### *Religion*

The approach to covering the topic of religion and how religion plays a role among Irish diasporas was discussed to some extent in the interviews with diaspora editors, and the commentary is worth noting, particularly in reference to popular perceptions of diaspora media. The Irish diaspora press, particularly that in the USA, is often regarded as being inclined to promote Catholicism. However, the interviews and reviews of the articles show that the coverage of religion in Ireland is highly critical of the Catholic Church in Ireland and Catholicism in general.

One editor addresses the need to consider the audience and demographics of the diaspora in how they approach religion:

“Because a lot of our readers are of a generation that would have been affected by the Mother and Child homes or in some cases abuse, whether sexual or bad treatment, we do have quite a few people who are either directly connected or have family, so we would go into those issues.”

Another editor discusses the courage of the investigation of abuses by the Catholic Church in Ireland: “In the past, we’ve had good hard new stuff, we’ve had some terrific articles. At the time of the Ryan Commission and Cloyne we had someone here – a legal expert – who was pretty passionate about following that.”

In discussing the St Patrick’s Day parade in New York and the objection of the committee to LGBT communities participating, one editor described it as more about Catholics in America operationalising their Irish identity than Irish people celebrating their Irishness. The editor felt that sentiment among the broad-base audience was that

much of the Irish-American community did not support the decision and that the diaspora press was vocal in the campaign for LGBT inclusion. “All they wanted them to do was pay homage to the cardinal and their Catholic heritage. It’s a Catholic thing – wasn’t an Irish thing.” Although the popular perception can be that the diaspora news titles might be more favourable to Catholicism, the interviews show that the topic is approached in much the same way as any news story and there is no inclination to present it favourably or defend it as part of Irish culture.

### *History*

History is a highly salient topic among the Irish diaspora news media, which can in part be attributed to the news values of the diaspora press, which taps into the migratory history of the Irish of interest to the audience and the network of experts and contributors that feed into the newsgathering. One editor notes:

“Irish studies is being taught in two universities, and it was as many as four. That’s quite amazing really. [...] there’s still a lot of historical stories that turn up that have not been heard, and people are interested to hear. You know we got easy access to that because of the academic community that exists and because we’re getting a lot of solid stories that we’re able to capitalise on.”

The interest in migratory history among the diaspora audience is significant, but adding to this is the broader context of hostland histories and the depiction of shared histories with the hostland. “There seems to be almost an insatiable appetite to explore and investigate the Irish migration experience – any article about convicts or refugees from the Famine is sure to be a hit,” said one editor. 2016 was also the centenary of many events around the First World War in which the USA, the UK and Australia fielded armed forces and were commemorating events nationally. Diaspora editors discussed the interest in reviewing Irish soldiers’ role in WWI while part of the British Empire as part of this, which would contribute to the high presence of history articles at the time, and again underlines the role of hostland affairs in shaping the diaspora news agenda.

### *Travel*

Some characteristics of travel stories were discussed directly and indirectly during the interviews with diaspora editors, including the importance of return-home stories,

tourist experiences and initiatives, human-interest stories and practical information for the audience.

Almost all the editors discussed the idea that stories about people returning to Ireland for various reasons tended to be big hits, examples including returning for family funerals, travelling for weddings and visiting family. The Gathering in 2013 – an initiative to encourage the diaspora to travel to Ireland – was mentioned as a potential booster for the level of interest in travelling to Ireland among younger members of the audience who traditionally may have waited until later in life or after retirement to go.

Practical information and information that is critical to audiences' needs was also mentioned as an important news value, and there is a large demographic of the Irish migrants in the UK and the USA who would be mobile or commuting between destinations for work. One editor explained why travel stories are of editorial interest: "stories that might be out of the ordinary or [that] people would have an interest in because of their tie to the country or [because they] are back and forth all the time – commuters." The types of travel stories included flight information, such as sales and strikes, changes in travel companies or pricing.

### *Books*

"We get lots of books in from Ireland, all the time, and we do our best," said one editor. Indeed, the offices of the Irish diaspora newsrooms that were visited for interviews are dotted with piles of books sent from Irish publishers and writers. It is not just books to review that are a source; the content of non-fiction literature was also a source, with one editor describing how a recent publication on the ecological impact of industrialisation in the Shannon spawned multiple stories, from environment and agricultural stories to stories about trade tariffs and regulations.

### *Language*

"I don't consider ourselves to be ethnic media at all. [...] Ethnic implies you are off in a corner somewhere, but we are far more mainstream than that. The reason is that we publish in English." The fact that the Irish diaspora press in this study publishes almost entirely in English has been an advantage in that while a shared distinct language is one of the important factors in the construction of national identities, it also limits the accessibility to that content by non-native language speakers. In

discussing the challenges that other diaspora media producers have, one editor underlined that the survival of diaspora press in many ways requires the capacity to reach the multiple generations that have assimilated into the hostland, as well as new migrants.

The audience of the Irish digital diaspora press in this study is not segmented by language barriers, and the news content can be disseminated among the globally dispersed Irish and those back in Ireland. The lack of a language barrier has been of benefit to the sustainability of the Irish diaspora press. One of the articles on language discusses the topic of English as an advantage in migration explicitly. Similarly, many of the articles on language are not directly about speaking Irish but about issues related to it, such as lists of popular Irish names, tech companies misunderstanding Irish names, the use of Irish in other media or Irish accents.

### *Social Media and Viral Stories*

Different approaches to the topic of social media or user-generated content (UGC) emerged from interviews with diaspora editors. As noted, the level of engagement with social media for newsgathering was dependent on whether there were human resources in the newsroom with the necessary skills, but also on whether the stories were a success with the audience. While some titles do not use UGC because it does not fit with the editorial focus and there is already enough content to work on without it, others do delegate the social media beat to journalists in the newsroom: “We have Facebook and Twitter and all that stuff, but we leave that up to her. Look at me. I’m old school in that sense.”

Many of the editors who did engage with UGC discussed the challenge of managing the high volume of content: “We try and split off the silly ones from the good ones. Sometimes on the internet, they just put anything up.” Another said: “There’s so much you could drown in it,” and another warned, “you have to be careful about how you engage in that because you can end up as part of a mob to some extent.”

### *Other Topics*

The presence of Eurovision can be attributed to the composition of the newsroom staff, with either experts on hand or contributors pitching articles. The presence of some of the more novel topics on the news agenda, including Eurovision, were discussed by editors.



“We had somebody extremely well informed on Eurovision and passionate about it, so we used their expertise basically. And she kept us well posted. Because I know in Ireland it [Eurovision] is something that is derided, but this woman actually sees it as a way of understanding geopolitics in Europe.”

The topic of ‘The Troubles’ was discussed similarly. The topic was highly salient in each of the regions, and some of the editors described workers who had expertise or interest in historical and current Northern Irish situations.

### 7.3.2 Comparative Topic Agendas

This section compares the most salient news topics in each of the regions with the aim of determining the character of the different topic news flows and addressing the questions that arose during the comparative analysis of the news categories.

Topic news flows from Ireland to the Irish digital diaspora press in %					
Irish-American		Irish-British		Irish-Australian	
1916 Cent	9.11	Soccer	12.18	1916 Cent	25.4
Travel	8.58	Music	5.07	Soccer	12.7
GE16	5.78	Brexit	4.42	Books	9.52
History	5.78	Rio16	4.42	Language	7.94
Film	4.9	Travel	4.33	Brexit	4.76
Music	4.29	Deaths	3.43	GE16	4.76
Religion	3.68	1916 Cent	2.94	Music	4.76
Migration	3.15	Rugby	2.7	Poetry	4.76
Brexit	2.8	Animals	2.53	Rugby	4.76
Rio16	2.63	Health	2.45	Property	3.17
Books	2.45	Boxing	2.37	Theatre	3.17
Troubles	2.28	GAA	2.04	Art	1.59
Weather	1.93	Golf	2.04	Education	1.59
Dance	1.84	Migration	1.8	Eurovision	1.59
Drinks	1.84	Religion	1.8	Golf	1.59
Animals	1.66	TV	1.8	History	1.59
Property	1.66	History	1.72	Missing	1.59
Soccer	1.66	Dance	1.64	RAC	1.59
Landscape	1.58	Weddings	1.47	Troubles	1.59
Health	1.49	Education	1.39	TV	1.59

Table 10 Table comparing the top twenty news topics about Ireland by region.

Table 10 presents the top twenty news topics about Ireland in terms of the flows to each of the diaspora press regions. There are some similarities in the news agendas of all three Irish diaspora press based in the USA, the UK and Australia, with five topics common to the top twenty in all regions: the 1916 Centenary, soccer, Brexit, history and music. Although these topics have different levels of salience, they are the common topics of the Irish diaspora press news agenda and thus the topics

about Ireland that are ‘thought about’. The 1916 Centenary was a landmark national state event in Ireland and it was expected that the diaspora newspapers would dedicate space on their websites for it, but it received different levels of attention. The main contextual difference here is that the relationship of Ireland with the USA and Australia is with the colonised, whereas the relationship with Britain is with the former coloniser and now close national associate. The relationship between Ireland and Britain is now cooperative, but the issue of the 1916 Rising, and the subsequent executions, was historically a national grievance in Ireland.

Irish soccer emerged was highly represented in both the Irish-British press and Irish-Australian press, but less so in the Irish-American press. It is the most pervasive topic in Britain, and this was perhaps shaped by the Euros 2016, in which the Irish, Northern Irish and English national teams participated, making it highly salient in all three press locations – although this was only for one month. However, more insights can be gained into this by examining the specific news stories associated with it.

There are similarities between the Irish-American press and the Irish-British press, with ten topics common to both regions, the five mentioned above and five that are common to the two regions: the Rio Olympics, travel, migration, religion and animals. There are nine similarities between the Irish-American press and the Irish-Australian press, with three topics about Ireland common to the two regions: property, books and the Troubles. There are also four similarities between the Irish-British press and the Irish-Australian on top of the five topics common to all areas rugby, golf, TV and education.

This indicates that there is a minor commonality between the representation of Irish culture in the three regions, with 25 per cent of the top twenty news topics represented in all three regions. The similarities between two press regions are stronger, with 50 per cent similarity between the Irish-American and Irish-British press and 45 per cent similarity when comparing the Irish-American with the Irish-Australian, and Irish-British with the Irish-Australian.

What might be shaping the similarities in the news agenda in different regions of the world? The two topics of golf and rugby were common in the news flows from Ireland to the Irish-British and Irish-Australian press. Rugby is a popular sport in both the UK and Australia, where it could be described as native to both lands. Both the

national teams of Britain and Australia participate in numerous international and regionally organised events, such as the rugby World Cup and Six Nations, and rugby it is not as popular a sport in the USA, which would explain its absence from the top twenty most popular topics and its common presence elsewhere.

As well as understanding the degrees of similarity among the Irish diaspora press in each region, it is essential also to unpack some of the differences and what this can tell us about the unique attributes of the news agendas.

Landscapes, weather, film and drinks are exclusive to the top twenty topics presented in the Irish-American press, and unlike elsewhere, there are few flows about Irish television to this region. This appears to be related to the priorities of the hostland culture. For example, film may have been a prominent topic because during this period the Oscar nominations and Academy Awards took place in the USA and there were several Irish nominees and winners. These topics can all be described as soft news, and the topics that are exclusive to the Irish-Australian press's top twenty are similarly soft: language (Gaelic), poetry, theatre and Eurovision. Ireland's participation in Eurovision may seem out of place in Australia, but again this is in part related to the hostland culture, because in 2016 Australia also participated in the Eurovision song contest and it was a novelty in news agenda of the Australian national press, but it was also due to the expertise available in the newsroom, as noted above.

In the Irish-British press, there were also four topics exclusive to the top twenty flows, two sports – boxing and GAA – and two topics associated with everyday life in Ireland – deaths and weddings. Because of the proximity of the Irish-British diaspora, the migration between the two countries is high, and the connections the diaspora has with home are often more regular than those of other diasporas. In reporting marriages, weddings and deaths in much the same way as the Irish national press, the Irish-British press offers a representation of everyday life in Ireland – not the outstanding moments but the ordinary human experiences. The type of news should also be considered here. Weddings and deaths, while reported in the national titles, are inherently local events that impact communities in Ireland and abroad – which implies that stories of acute local interest are high on the news agenda of the Irish-British press as well as those of national interest. .

The topic of deaths and obituaries is high on the editorial agenda in each of the locations and from the interviews this can be attributed to the typology of news and the need to serve the community: “And because of where we are situated we would have people coming in to put in a memorial notice or an anniversary notice or a death notice. It is part of the business. It is where we still function as part of a local paper.” The need to have a purpose for the community is also reflected in the presence of stories about local events taking place, local charities and services or products that are interesting to Irish people.

This section address the issue of what topics about Ireland flow to the diaspora news titles. The graphs above provide an insight into the range and newsworthiness of individual topics in each region, while the comparative table illustrate similarities and differences between the flows. This section shows that the news agenda of the diaspora press in each region is not homogeneous and that the ways some topics are prioritised over others are linked to what is of high news value in the national press of the host culture at the time.

## **7.4 Story Flows**

This section presents the news stories about Ireland that flowed to the diaspora press in each region during the period. As noted in chapter five, news stories are a more specific description of the news event being reported under different news topics. For example, where the topic might be ‘soccer’ the news story might be match reports of The Irish squad in the Euros or how a local team is performing in the League of Ireland championships. It offers a more detailed insight into what specifically about Ireland was on the news agenda of each region and how much coverage it received during the period. The variety of news stories can also be seen in the graphs below. There were 330 different news stories about Ireland published in the Irish-American press, 457 in the Irish-British press and 34 in the Irish-Australian press. Given this, the Irish-British press is shown to have a more diverse news agenda regarding news stories than the other regions.

While it is not possible to inspect every news story, story flows allow more precise insights and analysis. For example, in the Irish-American press, under the topic of migration, stories about Vice-President Joe Biden’s visit to his Irish ancestral home

was popular during the period. This can be attributed to the combined news values of the facts that the Vice-President is a political public figure, the high level of interest in political news in this region, and it is a 'return story', which editors noted to be of particular interest to their readers. It also illustrates the role of the hostland news agenda in shaping what stories about Ireland are considered newsworthy in the diaspora press. Again, looking to the Irish-American press, the presidential campaign in the USA was underway during the data-collection period. Donald Trump at the time was a candidate and owned business interests in Ireland, which were a salient news story in this region.

The following three graphs show the specific news stories that were highest on the editorial agendas of each region, followed by a comparative table of the most popular news stories. These graphs help offer a more detailed answer to what stories about Ireland are most pervasively presented in the diaspora press. While topics flows show the travel information in general is considered newsworthy, the specific type of travel most newsworthy in the US and UK is 'tourism' to Ireland. Similarly, in political news it shows that under the topic of the Irish general election 2016, the discussion of the two parties that would form a government 'Dail formation' was more newsworthy than the 'election results'. This simply provides a more detailed view of what stories about Ireland are considered most newsworthy in the diaspora press in each region.

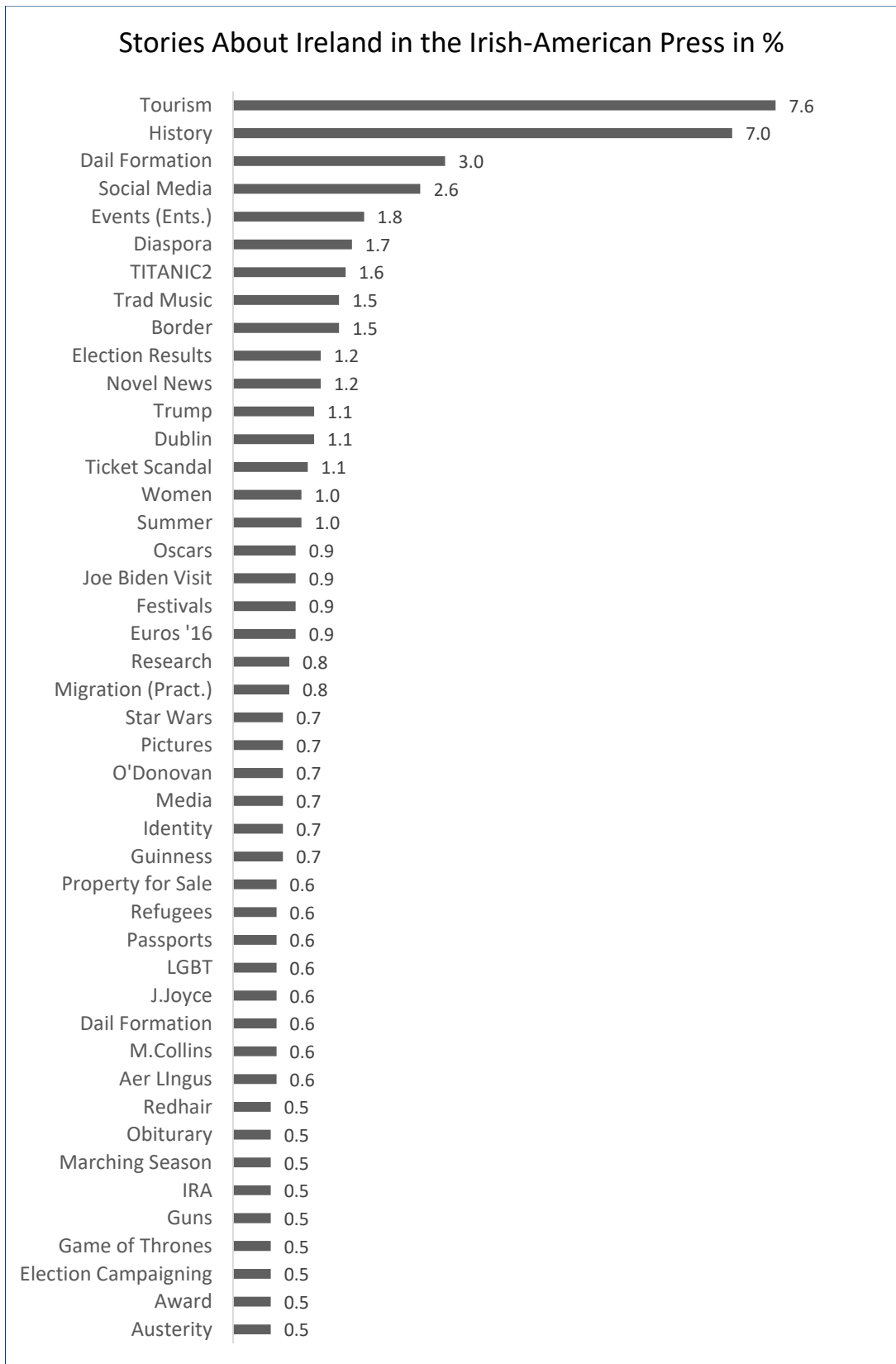


Figure 16 Story flows to the Irish-American press, n=1,143.

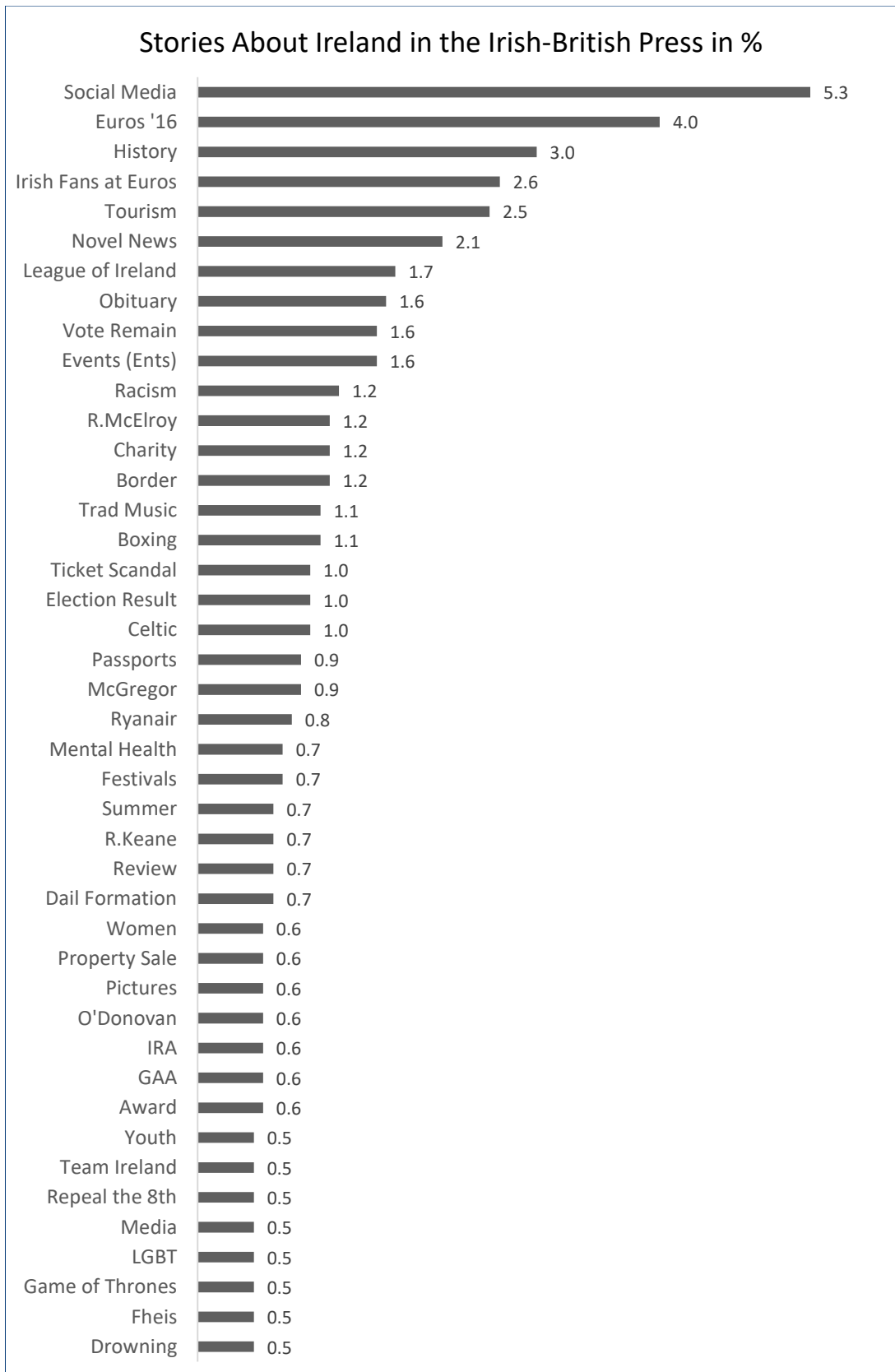


Figure 17 Story flows to the Irish-British press, n=1,223.



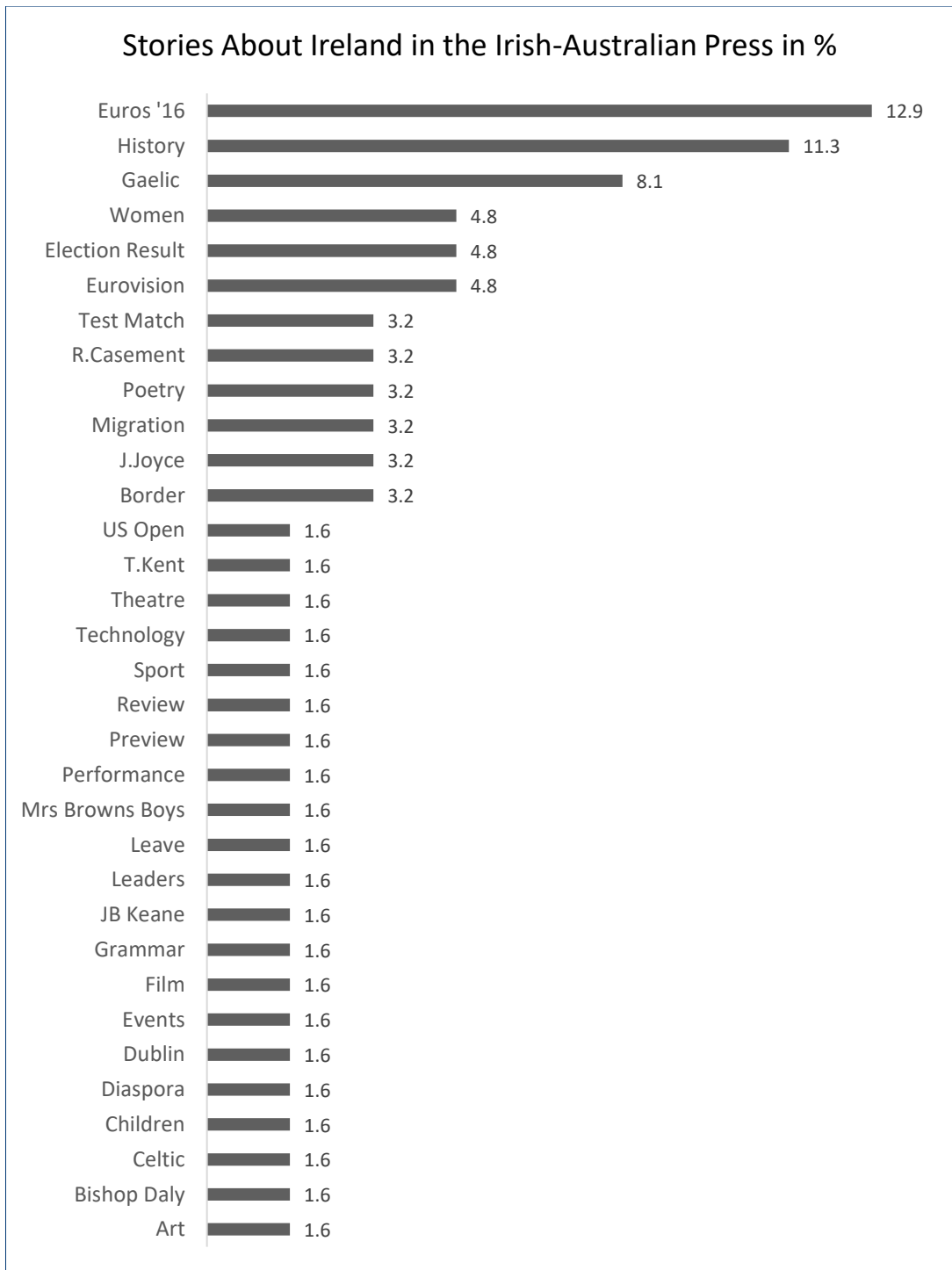


Figure 18 Story flows to the Irish-Australian press, n=63.

### 7.4.1 Comparative Story Agendas

Story news flows from Ireland to the Irish digital diaspora press in %					
Irish-American		Irish-British		Irish-Australian	
Tourism	7.62	Social media	5.33	Euros16	12.9
History	7.01	Euros16	4.02	Irish history	11.29
Dail formation	2.98	Irish history	2.95	Gaelic language	8.06
Social media	2.63	Irish fans	2.63	Eurovision final	4.84
		Euros16			
Ents events	1.84	Tourism	2.54	GE16 results	4.84
Diaspora links	1.67	Novel news	2.13	Women – life	4.84
Titanic	1.58	League of Ireland	1.72	Irish border	3.23
Irish border	1.49	Obituaries	1.64	J. Joyce	3.23
Trad music	1.49	Ents events	1.56	Migrating	3.23
Novel news	1.23	Vote Remain	1.56	Poems	3.23
GE16 result	1.23	Racism	1.23	R. Casement	3.23
Dublin town	1.14	Irish border	1.15	Test match	3.23
Trump	1.14	Charity	1.15	Art	1.61
Rio ticket scam	1.05	R. McIlroy	1.15	Bishop Daly	1.61
Summer	0.96	Boxing match	1.07	Celtic club	1.61
Woman	0.96	Trad music	1.07	Children	1.61
Euros16	0.88	Celtic FC	0.98	Diaspora	1.61
Festivals	0.88	GE16 results	0.98	Dublin town	1.61
Joe Biden visits	0.88	Rio ticket scam	0.98	Ents events	1.61
Oscars	0.88	C. McGregor	0.9	Film	1.61

*Table 11 Table comparing the top twenty news stories about Ireland by region.*

In examining the specific stories about Ireland that were published in the digital diaspora news the impact of newsgathering methods emerges as a force shaping the flows and what stories about Ireland are represented in the digital diaspora press. Social media news is the most pervasive set of stories about Ireland in the Irish-British press. These were stories related to user-generated content (UGC) that had gone viral on social networks, predominantly Twitter, Facebook and YouTube. Social media is an important resource for any news producer, national, niche or diasporic, and the Irish-British press rely on it heavily for content. However, viral social media news is

also high on news agenda because of the inherent ‘virality’ of it; this is content that Irish readers are already highly engaged with and spread around social networks by sharing. This raises the question of whether the diaspora journalists and editors in Britain place viral social media high on the news agenda because it is proven to be of interest to their readers.

Additionally, it is unclear if UGC content is not published as much elsewhere because of editorial choices to avoid UGC because, as detailed in chapter six, there is an aversion to it by some editors, or because social media stories about Ireland do not go viral in diasporic communities. Interestingly, despite the cynical attitudes many diaspora editors expressed in the interviews regarding UGC and viral stories, they nonetheless appear frequently in the diaspora press of both the UK and the USA. Irish diaspora editors described an aversion to having to wade into social media and detect the signal of valuable news from all the noise, but also discussed the idea that this type of newsgathering was left up to younger, newer members of staff.

Social media was particularly prominent in the Irish-British press, which can be attributed in particular to the business model of one of the titles in the region, which publishes much content from social media and similarly uses social media for distribution. The *Irish Post* is highly active on social platforms, and the content is not always linked back to the website. It is transnational in orientation and publishes a high volume of light-hearted viral news stories. According to this research, UGC is a substantial source of news for this title, for example, the antics of Irish fans attending the European Soccer Championships, detailed further in below.

In terms of sports stories, these results describe what types of sports events and personalities are important in the editorial agenda in each region. The prevalence of Irish soccer is seen again in this table. While soccer was a pervasive topic, the story of particular interest in the Irish-British press was the Euros 2016, including match previews and reports, and associated with this, how the Irish fans who travelled to the tournament behaved, which emerged as a distinct story about Irish culture in its own right. The results here are complex; neither the USA nor Australia were in the Euros, yet both display a level of interest in them.

Although the Euros 2016 only took place for four weeks during the data-collection period, the results from matches were among the most dominant news

stories in the Irish-British press and high on the news agenda in the Irish-Australian press, and although in the top twenty in the USA, not as dominant. The increased attention in the Irish-British press can be attributed to the association with the hostland news agenda. The participation of the English national team, and the fact that the Euros were high on the national news agenda in the UK in general, would elevate this topic in the diaspora press in Britain.

Another salient story in the Irish-British press from the Euros 2016 that is associated with the hostland news agenda is the Irish fans attending the soccer tournament ('Irish fans at Euros'). Fan behaviour was a highly discussed topic throughout the Euros in the UK because of clashes between English fans and fans from other participating nations. This supports the idea that hostland national news agenda and proximity news value has some impact the homeland news that is selected for representation. This particular news story points to some complex negotiations of Irish identity in relation to British and other national cultures and is a highly suitable case for unpacking the discursive construction of Irish identity.

Looking at the specific news stories that flowed to the Irish-American press, politics again emerges as a high on the news agenda. The results of the General Election in Ireland ('GE16 results') and the formation of the Irish government were elevated in the USA more than elsewhere, in line with the higher representation of Irish politics as a news category in this region. The preoccupation of the Irish-British press with Irish national politics was associated with the political content of Britain's referendum to leave the European Union, ('Brexit'). The vote Remain campaign ('Vote Remain') was an official position and campaign undertaken by the Irish government to encourage the Irish in the UK who were eligible to vote to choose to remain in the EU. Vote Remain campaign stories were not dominant flows from Ireland to the other regions because this was not an issue with impact in those hostlands.

Brexit was an important topic in all three regions, but in the USA and Australia the specific story of interest was the issue of the Irish border. Some editors in these regions discussed having both interest and staff expertise in this area. In Britain, the mobilisation of Irish people who could vote to choose 'Remain' was a higher priority during the lead-up to the referendum than the potential consequences for the Irish-UK

border if the UK voted to leave. The border issue at the time was speculative, and the contours of the repercussions were unclear, making it a less appealing news story in some respects.

Proximity is also a factor in shaping the news agenda of the digital diaspora press. Stories about tourism in Ireland were dominant flows to both the Irish-American and Irish-British diaspora press, the two most proximate and more accessible (regarding transport and costs) but not to the Irish-Australian press, the least accessible. However, the political economy of the news media must also be considered, and the level of promotional material that is provided for new tourism initiatives is relevant. Failte Ireland and other Irish tourism initiatives advertise with diaspora newspapers and provide easy-access information on events taking place in Ireland which regularly feature in both the Irish diaspora and Irish national press.

In Ireland, the diaspora press can sometimes be subject to criticism over the representation of home as overly nostalgic or sentimental and distorting (Clarke, 2016; O'Doherty, 2016). However, the link between newsgathering practices and promotion of new initiatives by PR campaigns must be recognised. The image of Ireland as pastoral, peaceful and full of history is a part of the national branding strategy for tourists through initiatives like Ireland's Ancient East, the Wild Atlantic Way and Discover Ireland, who supply the diaspora press with information in press releases and images for promotion. National branding regarding Ireland and the representation of Irishness by different business organisations from sport (O'Boyle and Kearns, 2017) has been explored in reference to tourism initiatives. Foley and Fahy (2003) found that although the representation of Ireland in tourism material was not a 'pre-colonial' depiction of donkeys, turf bogs and red-haired locals, it was largely represented as associated with nature, wild landscapes and friendly locals. The source of these representations is not derived from within the diaspora but from within Ireland and exported to the diaspora press as part of the promotion of tourism.

It is also useful to examine the stories through the lens of news quality – hard news and soft news – with the news stories about Ireland that appear in the USA having a notably harder edge than those elsewhere. This is partly because of the editorial focus – cultural in Australia and community-based in the UK, while political news gains more editorial interest in the USA. However, this has implications for the

representation of Ireland and Irish culture with the Irish diaspora press in the USA depicting more serious issues about Irish politics and society than elsewhere – but not by much. The story profile of the digital diaspora press over the six months shows that the representation of Ireland is a mixture of positive and negative stories, hard and soft, and international and community. It is a complex representation of Irish culture and society.

## 7.5 Cross-Diaspora Flows

This section outlines the news featured in the diaspora press that is about another diaspora or is about a topic/story so broad that it incorporates multiple diasporas. Only 98 of 4586, 2.1 per cent of the total articles featured in the homepages of the diaspora press, could be characterised as being about another diaspora. This offers insight into the diasporic process of representing Ireland through the selection of stories that become the news agenda regarding other diasporas, and how well or poorly connected via the diaspora news media the regions are by comparison to their connection to the homeland. The table below shows the total volume of news about other diaspora communities that appeared in each region.

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### Total cross-diaspora news flows to each region

Country	Freq.	%
Irish-Australian	1	1.03
Irish-British	36	37.11
Irish-American	60	61.86

*Table 12 Total cross-diaspora news flows.*

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### Category cross-diaspora news flows

Category	Freq.	%
Politics	30	30.61
Social Affairs	24	24.49
Culture	18	18.37
Sport	10	10.2
Crime	7	7.14
Business	5	5.1
Lifestyle	4	4.08

*Table 13 Cross-diaspora category news flows.*

Table 13 shows the categories of news that are most commonly shared among the digital diaspora press. Because the subdivision into regional representation results in a small sample it is not useful for comparative analysis, but it is still beneficial to understand what types of news about other diaspora communities is prioritised. It shows that the most common category of news that the diaspora press prioritise about other Irish communities is political. Figure 19, below, depicts the most pervasive topics about other diaspora communities, and both categories and topics are analysed in the subsequent section.

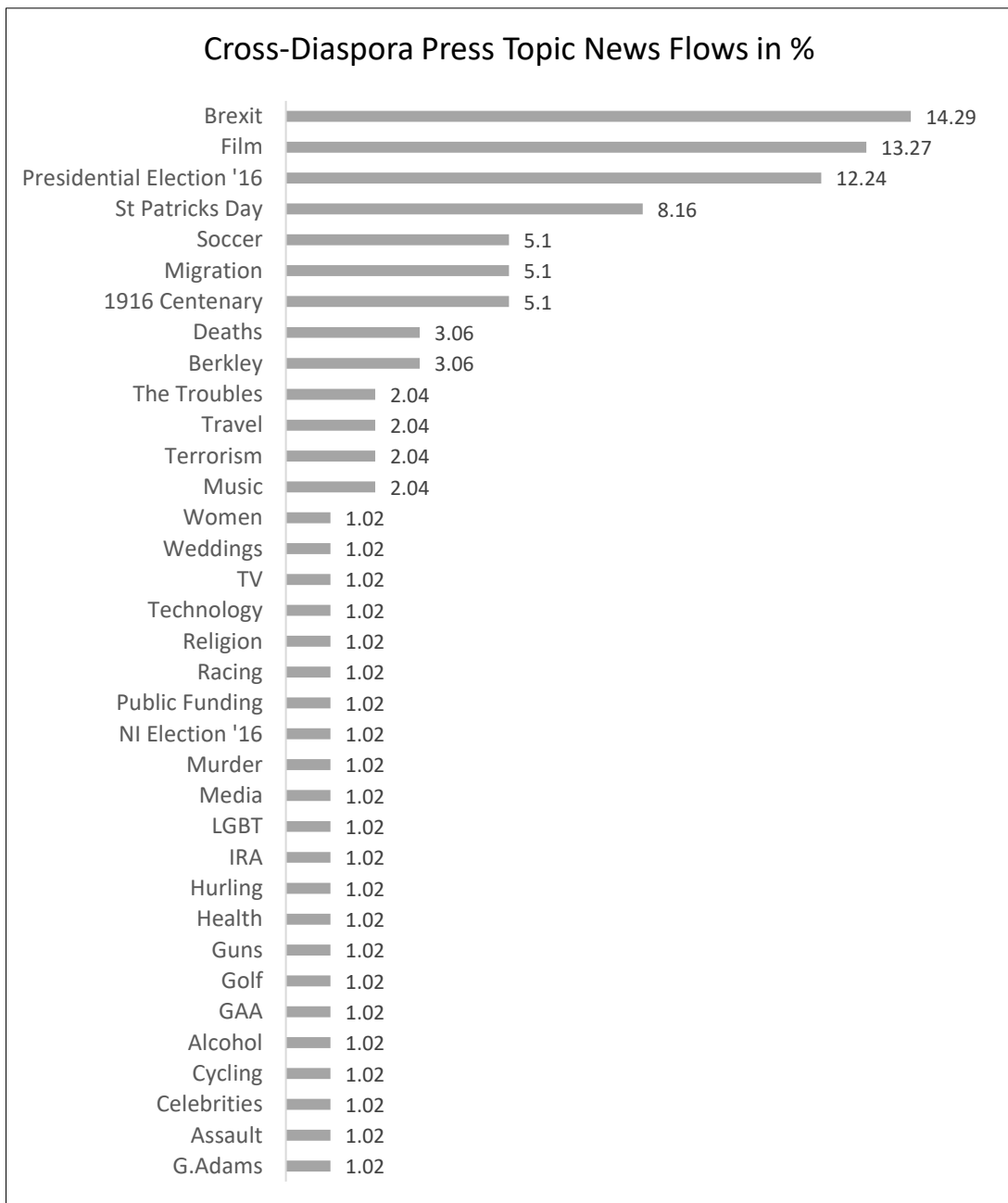


Figure 19 Topics of news about other diaspora communities in the Irish digital diaspora press.

Figure 19 shows the volume of topics about other diaspora communities that were of high news value. Both the categories and topics of news that were more commonly shared among the diaspora news organisations were related to Politics or Social Affairs, the two more serious news categories. In terms of news topics, the most salient were those issues that were having or had the potential to have an acute impact on an Irish diaspora community. This is reflected in the coverage of Brexit, which was impacting the Irish-British diaspora, and in the coverage of the presidential election in the USA, where one of the candidates, Donald Trump, was threatening to enact much stricter immigration laws. The elevation of these types of topic indicates that where there is an acute threat to the wellbeing of another diaspora community, it raises the topic in salience among other diaspora news titles. This points to the presence of the hostland political agendas in shaping the diaspora news agenda, not only in their country but also in other diasporas.

The second group of topics that were inclined to be featured in multiple diasporas were the cultural events related to sport, history and the arts – subjects that are designed to transcend boundaries and connect. The cohesive cultural topics included Ireland’s national holiday. Much of the cross-diaspora coverage of St Patrick’s Day celebrations were of events around the world and stories about how Irish diasporas in other countries celebrate. Similarly, the topics of soccer, where teams and fans travel to matches all over the world, and the 1916 Centenary proved to be important and relatable to all diasporas. The topic of ‘film’ was another popular one across the three regions, and during this time the Irish director Lenny Abrahamson’s film *Room* was nominated for and won some Academy Awards (Oscars). The Irish diaspora press celebrates the achievements of other diasporas as well as covering the threats to them.

Additionally, there were some ordinary day-to-day life stories about other Irish diaspora communities, as illustrated in the representation of deaths in other diaspora communities. In particular, the Irish-British and Irish-Australian press covered the deaths of several Irish students in Berkeley, California. The untimely deaths of six young Irish people on J1 visas was an issue that touched other Irish migrant communities. The story has many qualities that are considered to be of news value – the cultural proximity, the unexpectedness, the negativity – all of which have been found to elevate a news story (Galtung and Ruge, 1979).



Diaspora journalism also connects the regions through coverage of the topic of migration. This illustrates a clear interest in the experiences of other Irish migrants, and it is notable that diaspora news media in different regions pay attention to situations other Irish migrants are facing.

## **7.6 Generation Emigration**

### **7.6.1 Homepage Data**

As well as the dedicated space on the *Irish Times* website, the Generation Emigration section sometimes appears on the homepage of *irishtimes.com*. During six months of collecting data, 164 articles from the Generation Emigration section were published on the homepage of the *Irish Times* website. While Generation Emigration was situated within the Life and Style section of the *Irish Times* website, the content of this section is not as ‘light’ or ‘soft’ as the other types of news, such as beauty and fashion, that would traditionally fall into this category. The editor of Generation Emigration explained that the placement of the project within the Life and Style section mainly came about because of the historical development of the project, firstly as a short blog series with a community focus, which was overseen by the Life and Style features editor. The initiative later developed into a more extensive ongoing project by the *Irish Times*.

Generation Emigration is not limited to dealing with topics that would be expected to be found under Life and Style. It includes stories from the diasporic perspective on a range of hard news topics such as elections, Brexit, Trump, terrorism, crime, health, sports and business. In this regard, the project resists easy categorisation within traditional news categories or within the established frameworks of diaspora journalism. As noted in the previous chapter, Generation Emigration’s newsgathering tends to be sourced from reader-contributors, and the editorial focus is to understand experiences of Irish migrants about a range of news events in hostlands, which results in much of the content being presented from the human-interest perspective.

Although the diaspora journalism in this project is produced in the homeland, the sense of representing the in-between-ness of diasporas is present and pronounced. The geographical focus of attention in the articles in Generation Emigration is divided between the homeland and the hostland, but not evenly. Far more attention is paid to

the diasporans’ experiences of resettlement than to their views on home or the return home.

It is not surprising that the return experience would have lower news value, given the low numbers of returnees to Ireland compared to those who migrate more permanently (one third), but also because the aim of the project is to understand the lives of diasporans in new locations, particularly Irish perspectives on current affairs of the hostland. The table below shows the number of articles about Ireland or a diaspora community (hostland) in Generation Emigration.

<b>Number of articles about Ireland or a hostland</b>	
<u>Focus of story</u>	<u>No. of articles</u>
Homeland	53
Hostland	116
N/A	3
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>172</b>

*Table 14 Home and hostland news in Generation Emigration*

*Notes: N/A articles refer to fact sheets or administrative articles that are not primarily about anywhere.*

### **7.6.2 Regional Diasporas Represented in Generation Emigration**

Many of the articles combine a range of perspectives from Irish diasporas across the world. Examples of this type of news include where the project has taken polls on issues or proactively sought feedback from members of the network, which are then combined, analysed and written about by a journalist in Ireland. These tend to be stories about Irish current affairs that the diaspora was asked to provide some insight on or response to. This is the most popular type of article in the sample of Generation Emigration articles. The fact that it is based in Ireland but is seeking the input of migrants in multiple locations is a unique feature of the project. These articles contain a range of perspectives – culturally, socially and politically influenced opinions on one topic related to Ireland – while articles from the diaspora press tend to be only perspectives from the specific region, either the US or Australia or the UK. In Generation Emigration the stories that contain a range of diasporas’ views are aggregated and presented alongside each other.

The combination of multiple viewpoints, sometimes conflicting, renders the representation of Irishness as heterogeneous and complex. It does not seek to homogenise or to essentialise. It conscientiously seeks to illustrate that diasporic views

of ‘home’ and how they respond to social and political developments in Ireland change with migration and resettlement. This project actively seeks Irish diasporas’ views, and experiences of social, cultural and political changes in their hostlands, and this can be seen in the range of topics that are published under Generation Emigration, providing real-time insights into effects on Irish communities.

The Generation Emigration section also examines many human stories about life in different cities around the globe. As well as many stories from the metropolitan centres in countries that have commercial diaspora media organisations – New York in America, London in Britain and Sydney in Australia – it also represented stories from other countries or cities beyond the diaspora media centres – in Europe: Liverpool, Hungary, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Barcelona, Netherlands, Italy, Moscow, Pamplona, Paris, Brussels, Greece; in Oceania: Perth, Fiji; in America: Florida, Idaho, Los Angeles, Alabama, Vancouver, Montreal, Newfoundland, Guatemala and Mexico; in Asia: Hong Kong, Dubai, Qatar, Nepal and Japan; as well as from South Africa. In this regard, this project as an example of diaspora journalism shows more diversity in the range of voices and experiences represented than diaspora journalism that is regionally centred. However, some concession must be made to the fact that the dominant centres of diasporic representation remain in the USA, the UK and Australia.

<b>Location of Irish diaspora communities featured in Generation Emigration</b>	
<b>Row Labels</b>	<b>Count of URL</b>
Mix of locations	35
USA	30
Australia	28
Europe	25
UK	25
Ireland	15
Asia	6
South America	3
Oceania	2
Africa	2
Canada	1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>172</b>

*Table 15 Number of articles that feature diaspora communities in different countries and regions of the world.*

### 7.6.3 Topics and Stories in Generation Emigration

Table 16 shows the number of articles about a specific news topic that was featured in Generation Emigration during the period. The topics were determined in the same way as described in chapter five, either the topic as indicated on the webpage through tagging or in the URL. Where this was not clear, the article was read, and the primary subject matter deduced and the article categorised.

<b>Topics and Stories in Generation Emigration</b>	
Row Labels	Count of URL
Irish language	15
Settling down	14
Daily Life	13
Poll	12
Right to vote	12
Brexit	11
Returning home	11
Leaving home	10
Sport	8
Distance	7
Links	7
Irishness	6
Anniversary	6
Accident	5
Nostalgia	5
Culture	3
Tax	3
Minister	3
Jobs	3
Terrorism	2
Community	2
Politics	2
Facts	1
Food	1
Health	1
Crime	1
Trauma	1
Passport	1
Racism	1
Undocumented Irish	1
Missing person	1
Music	1
Weather	1
Women	1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>172</b>

Table 16 Number of news articles about a specific news topic in Generation Emigration.

The editorial agenda of the Generation Emigration project is not as ‘top-down’ as it is elsewhere in the Irish diaspora press, as the editor explains:

“I suppose because we are guided so much by our reader interest in that, as I was saying, 90 per cent of content will be written by the readers themselves, and they set the agenda when it comes to what they want to write about. And we are guided by that.”

While Generation Emigration is based in Ireland, the newsgathering process relied on responses from Irish contributors abroad, which results in hostland current affairs shaping the topics featured. The editor explains how this works: “So, if something happens – if there is a natural disaster in Texas and we can say ‘Tell us, being on the ground,’ it is a really good resource for breaking news situations.” If a news event occurred the news desk in the *Irish Times* could contact people they knew or email diasporas for responses. “People are very eager to contribute their reactions and opinions and thoughts and if there’s a terrorist incident in such and such place...” The project evolved and expanded the database of contributors in 2016, near the end of the data-collection period and since then the influence of hostland events on diaspora journalism has become more acute.

It should be noted that the topics in this project and those in the diaspora press abroad are not a simple direct comparison. This is because this journalistic project is focused exclusively on migration. Hence, where the topic of migration was a stand-alone issue elsewhere, here all articles are about the topic of migration from one perspective or another. The editor of the section also explained that there is a host of topics, such as sport, that they do not attempt to report on because they are covered by other sections of the *Irish Times*:

“I think it is different from the likes of the *Irish Central* or the *Irish Voice* or [...] the *Irish Post* in the UK, in that we’re not covering Irish news stories so much, we are looking for the diaspora reaction to those stories sometimes. [...] we have other journalists in other sections [of the newspaper] that will be covering that [national news such as Sports, Politics, or Culture].”

The type of content is somewhat more casual in tone than the hard news agendas of the regional diaspora press, the main focus being on assimilation into daily life and the negotiation of new cultural practices of the hostland and old cultural practices from home. The editor describes how the focus of the news agenda has changed over time:

“And that goes right back to the idea for the project back in 2011 which was to give people a platform in order to share their views. So while the topic is not just immigration anymore or the act of moving away, it’s about their lives overseas and what they are doing or hearing, what’s happening in the country they have made home now, and it is about maintaining that connection. And they still want to contribute so we are happy to facilitate that.”

The broad evolution of the editorial agenda was described as driven by the experience of the audience, particularly recent migrant generations, which when the project began in 2011 was reported to be driven by a sense of anger and resentment towards Ireland for having to leave. This, it was explained, later shifted to a sense of nostalgia for “Tayto crisps and Barrys tea” and more recently towards more practical discourses on resettlement, assimilation and everyday life in new hostlands.

The Irish language is a highly salient topic in this section – and this is also reflected in the most salient topics in the diaspora newspapers. Irish is not spoken universally in Ireland, and there are only a few enclaves in Ireland where it is the dominant language spoken. While there is a requirement that much of public life in Ireland must be able to be conducted through Irish if so desired (courts and engagement with state bodies), it is rarely the primary language used across Ireland on a day-to-day basis. Interviews with editors did not yield much insight into why the Irish language was a salient topic, but language has been identified as one of the core building blocks of national identities, so much so that the British colonial efforts to anglicise the Irish during the occupation of Ireland saw the use of the language banned (Cahill, 2007). Editors do discuss the idea of there being touchstones of particular interest for the audience, and it seems that although not in popular use, the Irish language is a favourite topic among the diaspora audience.

Stories of return to Ireland were also an important news topic for this section, and the editor explains why:

“There is huge interest in anything about moving home, anything that anybody who has done it already is interested to read about other people’s experiences. Anybody who hasn’t done it yet might be thinking about it. Other people here in Ireland who have relatives or friends that they would want to come home would be reading it; it is one of the hot topics at the moment.”

Although Generation Emigration is largely focused on softer topics and responses to news events, some critical political issues are still among the most salient news. Examples include the issue of migrant representation at home in the form of the right to vote and the introduction of public representatives, such as the diaspora senator, and the incorporation of the diaspora into government ministries. The presence of jobs as a pervasive news topic was also explained by the focus on assimilation in new hostlands: “Editorially we are focusing on not just return but also what people who are living overseas are interested in. We have a lot more careerist-focused content.”

What emerged from the interview was that the editorial agenda of Generation Emigration, being driven so heavily by the topics of interest to readers, is evolving in relation to the lives, experiences and interests of Irish migrants:

“We have moved on from the homesick, lonely emigrant wanting Tayto crisps and Barry’s tea kind of stories, which were really popular at the beginning. I think that’s not really where that cohort of emigrants who left at that time and are still overseas are. They’re not interested in those articles any more, and there is a bit of fatigue.”

## **7.7 Summary**

This section described what about Ireland is represented in each of the diaspora regions and explored some of the reasons why there are differences in the news agendas related to the political economy and the organisation of newsrooms, as well as cultural factors such as hostland news agendas and conceptions of Irishness. As well as addressing the question of what categories, topics and stories about Ireland flow to the diaspora press, on analysis the comparative tables also provide some insights into what shapes the news agenda in each of the regions. From examining the topics and the news stories, what is emerging is, in some cases, a link between the

news agenda of the hostland and the types of news stories about the homeland that the diaspora media place high on their news agenda.

The categorical news flows offer an insight into how Irishness and stories about Ireland today are represented in each of the regions. They show that while there are differences in some categories, such as Politics and Sport, categories like Social Affairs are of high news value across all of the regions. These are stories about everyday life in Ireland, such as missing people, births, deaths and marriages and other events that happen to people or communities. The prevalence of this type of news indicates that in reporting the news from 'home' the diaspora press presents a picture of Ireland and Irishness that is grounded in everyday events. However, the differences in political news about Ireland, particularly in Australia, raises questions regarding how engaged the editorial agenda is with critical changes and debates in Irish life. In this region there is a lower level of representation of the political evolutions in the Irish state that have implications for the representation of Irishness globally – issues such as the referendum on the removal of restrictions on abortion or blasphemy from the Constitution, which was symbolic of a fundamental change regarding Irish religious identity.

The topic news flows show a diverse range of issues discussed in the Irish diaspora press in Irish America and Irish Britain, but less so in Australia. Although the interviews from chapter six indicate the recognition of diversity among the Irish, the more limited range of topics that are published in this region implies that there may not be as much room to represent a wide range of ideas, opinions and practices by comparison with other areas. However, this is also tied in some ways to the resources available and the audience. The lower levels of engagement because of what editors described as the habit of assimilation and hiding Irishness in the region, leads to fewer resources to invest in more and more diverse content.

The inclusion of viral social media stories in the news agenda illustrates that the diaspora press are part of the hybrid media system. Additionally, they are hybrid in their cultural identity. The role of the hostland news agenda is also visible in the topic news flows concerned with issues like Brexit and vote Remain or Trump's business interests in Ireland, and the types of sports are aligned with the more popular sports in each region. This underlines that news values and news agendas of the



diaspora press in each region are hybrid in their cultural identity, just like the community, and both exist and represent the space ‘in-between’ Ireland and an Irish community abroad.

Critically, looking at the overall volume of flows among the diaspora press regions, these findings show that a substantial volume of news about Irishness is derived from Ireland rather than from other Irish diaspora communities. The material factors regarding newsgathering must be considered in light of this. In chapter six editors described Irish news media and traditional news sources such as PR and political communications as important resources. It is possible that similar resources are not available from other diaspora communities or, if so, not to the same extent or of the same quantity or quality. Given how little news about other diaspora communities appears in the diaspora press, this indicates that much of the representation of Irishness in the diaspora press is derived from and deeply associated with the nation state.

The following chapter will address how Irishness is discursively constructed in each of these regions in relation to some of the most pervasive topics that lend themselves to unpacking contemporary Irish identity.

## **Chapter Eight: Representations of Irishness in the Digital Diaspora Press**

Having addressed the contexts of production and established differences in the news agendas in different regions, this chapter addresses the process of representation by examining the discursive construction of Irish identity in case studies. The first section presents the findings of how the coverage of the 1916 Centenary was framed in the Irish digital diaspora press. The second section addresses how migration is framed in the digital diaspora press, and the third, the Irish fans at the Euros 2016. In each case, the dominant and secondary frames, as well as themes, are identified and discussed, and this is followed by a regional comparison to identify similarities and differences between regions in how Irishness is characterised.

### **8.1 Case One: Irishness and the 1916 Centenary**

This section identifies the dominant, challenging, and secondary frames in the coverage of the 1916 Centenary. Framing analysis establishes the central organising idea of a subject, in this case how Irish identity is discursively represented in regard to a seminal moment in the foundation of the Irish state and representations of how Irish people conceptualise its relevance today.

This topic was selected for a case study because it was the most pervasive news topic in two of the regions, the USA and Australia, and high on the news agenda of the UK. It was also selected because the Rising and how it is remembered today is an important part of how Irish people think of their shared history.. The 1916 Rising as a topic also spanned a range of news categories: Politics, Culture, Social Affairs and, to a lesser extent, Business and Sport. The volume of articles under this topic also ensures a rich insight into the themes within the coverage.

The next section outlines the critical contextual conditions in which the 1916 Centenary events took place, and the following section establishes the dominant frame of ‘commemoration’ and the challenging frame of ‘celebration’, revealing conflict in the representation of how Irish society should remember its violent past. This is followed by detailing the secondary frames and describing how different themes either support the dominant frame or disrupt the homogeneity of the representation of Irishness.

### **8.1.1 Background to the 1916 Rising Centenary**

The 1916 Centenary was the hundred-year anniversary of the 1916 Easter Rising in Ireland, which was remembered in a programme of local, regional, national and international events throughout 2016. The majority of the events took place between March and April 2016. Historians can disagree over aspects of the Easter Rising, but to offer an outline, it was a rebellion by a group of prominent Irish nationalists against British rule in Ireland following delays in the passing of the Home Rule Bill, which would have restored the centre of Ireland's political power to Dublin. It is regarded as the first major rebellion on the road to the War for Independence, which resulted in the partition of Ireland, the legacy of which remains to this day. The rebellion mainly took place in Dublin city and involved the occupation of public buildings such as the General Post Office and Customs House by a small number of armed rebels (Higgins, Holohan and O'Donnell, 2005; History Ireland and Century Ireland, 2016; RTE, 2016).

The British response to the Easter Rising is to this day the subject of much controversy. The British military was far better equipped than the Irish rebels, who could not defend against the powerful artillery fire coming from gunboats sailing up the Liffey, from where the army bombarded Dublin city centre with shells and destroyed historic buildings. The British military was also regarded as being heavy-handed in dealing with Irish civilians as they searched the city looking for rebels. After the rebellion was defeated, the rebel leaders were captured and executed by firing squad in Kilmainham Gaol. The short-term legacy of the rebellion and the response was that it turned the Irish public off the idea of Home Rule and towards a call for complete separation from Britain. Over the past hundred years this event has been remembered in different ways – in 1966 the fiftieth anniversary was not a state-sponsored event; the battle of the Somme, however, was, as at the time Ireland was seeking to join the European Economic Community and aiming to improve the ailing economy.

After the beginning of the Troubles in 1968, Ireland's relationship with nationalism and nationalist rhetoric was influenced by the violent nationalism in Northern Ireland. The remembrance of 1916 Easter Rising and the subsequent War for Independence was viewed as a difficult subject (Higgins, Holohan and O'Donnell, 2005). The Centenary commemoration aimed to readdress some issues regarding

remembering 1916 that were omitted in previous memorial events, such as writing women's roles into the narrative and understanding the impact the rebellion had on civilians, particularly children. The 'unsung heroes' and 'forgotten few' were to take centre stage while nationalist leaders and the political agenda were peripheral (Higgins, 2016). Further to this, there were heightened security concerns and fears of republican resurgences, as well as debates about whether reconciliation had gone so far as to permit the extension of an invitation to the British monarchy to attend Centenary events – ultimately, this did not occur because of concerns that the debate would be a distraction. This is the broad context in which the Irish diaspora press was reporting on the events of the 1916 Centenary.

The 1916 Rising is regarded as part of the efforts to liberate Ireland from British colonialism, and as an act of national determination it was inherently political. However, it is also part of a history of violent nationalism that never completely left the island and the threat of which, although significantly reduced, nonetheless persists to this day. This makes the Centenary a challenging event both to host and to report on in a transnational news ecology with different hostland cultures and different generational relationships between hostland and Ireland shaping the representations of remembrance.

Previous studies in Irish diaspora history have highlighted the impact of migration on the conceptualisation of Irish national identity among the diaspora, whereby the collective memory becomes suspended in time and exists between two worlds. (Harte and Whelan, 2007; Kirk 2019). For example, over time the historic sources of identification in Ireland and among the waves of migration from Ireland to different parts of the world evolve in relation to fundamental changes in the Anglo-Irish relationship, from antagonistic to cooperative. These evolutions in the cultural memory among different migrant groups result in different lenses through which important historical moments are viewed in space and time, and at times these differences in collective memories can lead to struggle over meaning among globally dispersed Irish communities over the 'correct' way to represent Irish history and how it shapes contemporary Ireland (Kirk, 2019).

### **8.1.2 Framing the 1916 Centenary**

The data analysed in this case study comprises 235 individual news articles, 138 from the Irish-American press, 88 from the Irish-British press and nine from the Irish-Australian press. As indicated in chapter four, the articles were read multiple times, the passages of text that referred to a concept or theme were highlighted, and their volume of coverage analysed. The units for analysis are passages of text that deals with one specific theme, usually a sentence or a short paragraph.

From the first review of the content, a large number of themes emerged which provided an overview of the landscape of ideas related to how Ireland remembered 1916. During the second round of coding, these themes were analysed and organised into conceptual hierarchies based on the frequency of repetition and the extent to which ideas were explicitly discussed to establish the central organising idea and the location of the idea within the articles as headlines or leads.

The dominant and challenging frames, in this case, emerged from the two core adjectives used to describe the Centenary in general or specific Centenary events. The first was ‘commemoration’ and the second was ‘celebration’. Were the Irish represented as mourning or simply marking a past event, or were they there to recognise how it benefited the country and people? These adjectives, that are pervasive in the headlines and leads and throughout the articles, overtly formed the central organising ideas regarding Irish people’s conceptualisation of the Centenary and how it is remembered today.

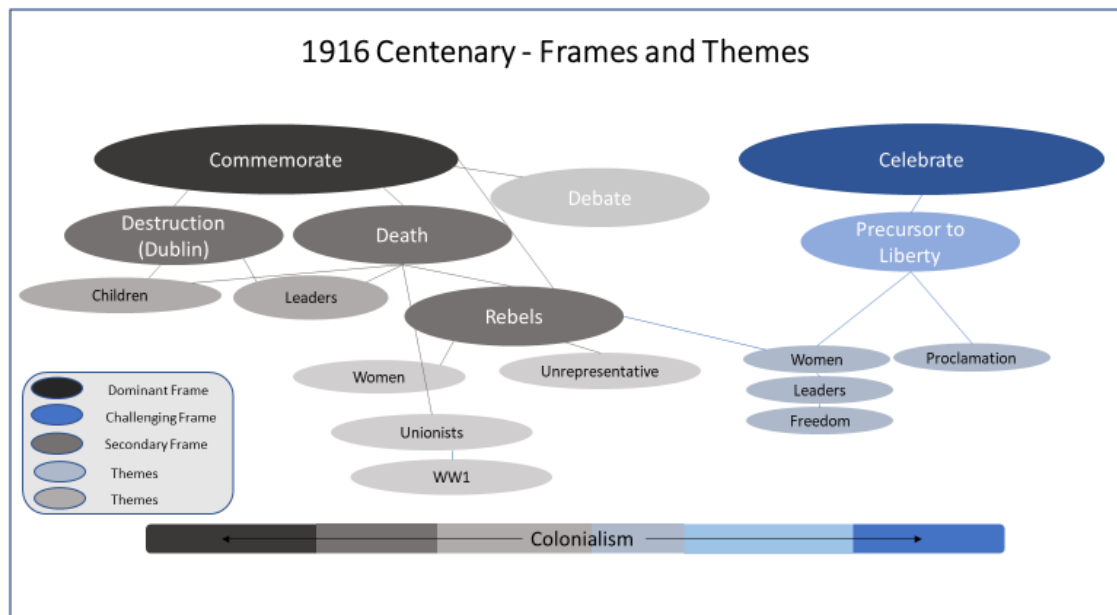


Figure 20 Conceptual map of frames and themes in the coverage of the 1916 Centenary.

The above figure (20) is a conceptual map which illustrates the organisation of the dominant and competing frames regarding how the Irish are represented as remembering the 1916 Centenary in the digital diaspora press. It shows that to commemorate or celebrate were the two central organising ideas that emerged from analysis and as such are the dominant and challenging frames that emerged from analysis. A range of secondary frames support the dominant (Destruction, Death, Rebels) and challenging (Liberty) frames, as do the different themes – Unionists, WWI Veterans, Children on the one hand and Women, Leadership, the Proclamation of Independence on the other. The issue of 1916 being a part of an anti-colonial movement was pervasive, however it was being remembered. However, the Irish remembrance was not dichotomous in the texts, and there were examples of articles where the Irish are represented as ununified and conflicted in the approach to the event.

### 8.1.3 To Commemorate or Celebrate? Regional Comparisons

The two terms ‘commemoration’ and ‘celebration’ refer specifically to how, in the modern day, Irish people chose to remember the historic event. The idea of historical remembering and how the diaspora press constructed identity through representations of myths of fraternity and shared experience are central to this case study. For example, the term ‘remembering’ has 249 references in the dataset. However, the dominant frame is not simply that Ireland was remembering, but *how* Ireland was

remembering. What and who are the subjects of prioritised focus in the representation of the national collective memory and what message does this carry about Irish identity today? In this case study, the most common way to describe how Ireland was remembering the 1916 Rising was ‘commemoration’, a term that is used in the official government literature to announce and promote the state-organised and state-supported series of public events. With the potential for the celebrations of such an event to include anti-British sentiment that could reverberate in Northern Ireland and cause tensions, if not violence, between the Republican and Unionist communities the 1916 Rising tended to be commemorated in Ireland rather than celebrated as an act of national self-determination.

There are 95 passages of text that refer to the 1916 Centenary as a ‘commemoration’ compared to 62 passages that refer to the 1916 Centenary as a ‘celebration’. These two terms describe how Ireland and its diaspora remembered and can be understood as the central organising ideas. However, because they are so different in sentiment and purpose, ‘commemoration’, with the larger portion of coverage was established as the dominant frame, while ‘celebration’, with lower coverage and because it is inconsistent with the idea of ‘commemoration’, was the challenging frame.<sup>28</sup> It is in identifying the distinction between the two that the dominant frame and challenging frame are revealed.

In cultural studies the idea of ritualised commemoration is deeply connected to the development of collective memory (Halbwachs, 1992), often focusing on the politics of what is commemorated and how. In this context, it is the use of the term ‘commemoration’ rather than the practice of commemoration that is the object of focus because it serves to depoliticise or sanitise the nationalist implications of violent resistance to the British Empire during the 1916 Rising Centenary. However, the 1916 Rising was an overtly political event. It was an act of national self-determination during which the Irish rebels published the Proclamation of Independence which declared Ireland’s political autonomy from British rule. The 1916 Rising was primarily about who governed the Irish and Ireland and aimed to establish the centre

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<sup>28</sup> This is established as a challenging frame and not a secondary frame because secondary frames are situated logically within the central organising idea and support it but do not disrupt the central message. The idea of celebration conflicts with the representation of commemorating those who died.

of political power in Dublin and with Irish people. However, the framing of the events as a ‘commemoration’ focuses attention on the destruction and deaths that were caused, and stands in contrast to the idea of a ‘celebration’ of the beginning of Irish independence, the representation of it as something pleasant involving praising or appreciating those who engaged or led it.

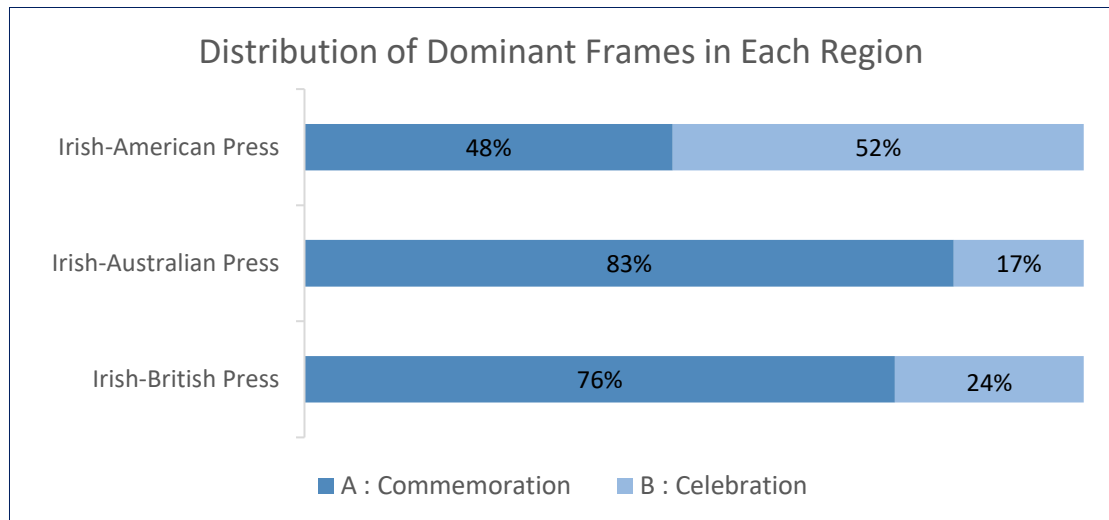


Figure 21 References to ‘commemoration’ and ‘celebration’ regarding the 1916 Centenary by region.

Figure 21 shows the percentage of references to the events of the 1916 Centenary as either commemorative or celebrative, demonstrating the frequency of the dominant and challenging frames in each region.

It is essential to recognise antecedent conditions as outlined in chapter five, such as the resources and the newsgathering process, in which official government communications are an important informational resource. The ‘commemoration’ frame was led by the Irish government, was prevalent in official literature and was the term used most pervasively overall. Governing bodies made official announcements regarding state-organised and state-sponsored 1916 events which were distributed to the media in PR campaigns. Studies have shown that national news media adopt the discourse of government publications when reproducing stories because of the use of quotes, summaries of speeches and statements made by government officials (Schudson, 2002; Davies, 2008; Collins, 2016; Herman and Chomsky, 1988).

Many of the hard-news articles are short and informational. While these articles are part of signalling whether the 1916 Centenary was something neutral, or something to celebrate, detailed feature and opinion articles are more useful for



establishing the ideology behind representational practices. There are several opinion and feature articles that explicitly discuss the modern Irish approach to remembrance and question the ideas of ‘commemoration’ and ‘celebration’.

### *Irish-American Press*

In the Irish-American press, the frame of ‘commemoration’ did not dominate as much as it did elsewhere, and the idea of ‘celebration’ was discussed more widely. The idea of ‘commemoration’ is more dominant in the articles that delve into the history of 1916 itself. These articles include lengthy individual biographies of the 1916 leaders and their deaths, the impact on the city of Dublin, the child victims and the women who contributed to the Rising and suffered because of it. Coverage in the Irish-American press that framed the Centenary as a commemoration addressed the idea that these events have the potential to stoke violent nationalism in Northern Ireland or legitimise it:

“But the most worrying part of last weekend’s heroic commemoration of the 1916 leaders without placing what they did in the wider context of the time, is the boost it gives to legitimizing violence for political ends, including recent IRA violence, when there is no popular support for such action.” (*Irish Central*, 31/03/2016)

In the hard-news articles that refer to modern day events, such as reporting government announcements of events and new resources, there was a tendency to refer to the Centenary as a celebration. However, it was not dichotomous whereby only historical articles were commemorative and others were more celebratory. There were representations of both the Centenary and the Rising as a positive moment in Irish history woven into a range of events that were covered by the press at the time. Indeed, the coverage of the two events, Rising and Centenary, are so intertwined that they are indistinguishable in the corpus and have to be examined together. Given the high density of coverage of the frame of ‘celebration’, we must ask what it was that the Irish-American press considered worth celebrating.

In the references to ‘celebration’, the Irish-American press frequently represented the Rising, its legacy and the Centenary events, as a precursor to independence, which was presented as implicitly positive, and something that the Irish people should be proud of. This is typified in the following quote: “We were ostensibly

here to celebrate the moment that led to our independence” (*Irish Central*, 14/04/1916).

However, the sentiment attached to the ‘celebration’ frame was not universally positive because at times there was explicit criticism of this approach. An argument presented in the *Irish Central* stated that, “‘We should accommodate [the Rising] – but we certainly should not celebrate it. Celebration loses focus, and it fails to distinguish between good aspects and bad aspects,’ he [the Attorney General] told The Irish Times” (13/03/2016). However, to evoke a frame cannot challenge it or replace it; it operates to reinforce it and so by introducing the idea of celebration, albeit to criticise it, it nonetheless activated it (Lakoff, 2009; Marais and Linstrom, 2012).

The Irish-American press represented some ideas that questioned the very concept of memorialising 1916 at all. For example, the *Irish Central* was the only title in the diaspora press to republish a story about the former Irish Attorney General’s criticism of the 1916 leaders and his assessment that they had ‘no legitimacy’. In contrast, there were criticisms that the Centenary events did not go far enough to acknowledge the negative impact of the Rising on innocent victims of violence. In the same article, the leaders of the Rising were compared to the terrorist organisation ISIS, arguing that, “In both cases, they had no mandate or popular support for their actions but felt what they did was justified by the higher cause they believed in” (*Irish Central*, 13/03/2016).

In the Irish-American press at times the Centenary and the process of historical remembering were represented as a complex negotiation among the Irish. The Rising and the subsequent War for Independence involved political violence against the British army who acted to secure the Irish state as part of the Empire. The need to accept that the history of Ireland securing its independence was inherently violent was represented as problematic because the legacy of this violence continued long after the Republic was established because Northern Ireland was established as part of the United Kingdom. Some of the articles that support the frame of ‘celebration’ argued for a more nuanced and positive interpretation of this aspect of Ireland’s history. One article asks, “Should there be a national holiday in Ireland to mark the Easter Rising?” (*Irish Central*, 15/02/2016), picking up on Sinn Fein’s promise for a national day if elected to government and reproducing the argument for it, unchallenged. Similarly,

the *Irish Echo* featured the then Labour leader Joan Burton's call for Ireland of today to live up to the ideals of the 1916 Rising (30/05/2016). In one article *Irish Central* specifically addresses the 'critics of 1916' and argues for the Rising to be seen not as a form of toxic nationalism that threatens democracy today, but in the context of legitimate anti-colonialism and national democratic determination. For example, "The nation that was longest subjugated by the Crown was also the first one to demonstrate that the jig was up" (*Irish Central*, 06/04/2016). It also argues for 1916 to be viewed as a victory for the underdog. "It's the sheer lopsidedness of the event, it's David versus Goliath quality, that still startles both supporters and critics alike." This argument also addresses criticism of rebel leaders lacking mandate – "With little incentive to act, with little to gain and much to lose, how quickly were they supposed to see the error of their own ways?" – and refocuses attention on the damage caused by empire-building: "If you call the actions taken by Irish rebels terrorism, what do you call the exploitation of most of the planet by the Crown Forces?" (*Irish Central*, 26/04/16).

The Irish-American press published the most content about the 1916 Centenary, resulting in the representation of multiple opinions and values regarding how Ireland should remember it. However, it is not just that there is more content, it is about how space is used to discuss Irishness that provides insights into how the Irish-American press negotiate Irish identity. While the representation of the Irish culture and identity in this regard was not so simplistic as either celebration or commemoration, there were frequent representations that the Rising, its legacy and how we remember it should be viewed as a positive milestone in Irish history. The insertion of the celebratory frame serves to re-politicise the 1916 Rising and the Centenary, although it does not so in an overtly nationalistic way, and at times it is overtly anti-colonial. It acknowledges and represents the complexity of the Irish identity and culture in relation to this event and how it is remembered.

### *Irish-British Press*

In the Irish-British press, the frame of the 1916 Centenary being a commemorative event was more dominant than in the Irish-American press. As noted, there is a powerful point of cultural difference between the contexts of representing Irish current affairs in the UK, the aggressor in 1916, and the USA and Australia, fellow former colonies. Although recent history of the Anglo-Irish relationship reflects decades of

cooperation, it can reach points of tension when it intersects over the legacy of colonialism and Northern Ireland. Like the Irish-American press, the Irish-British press published several in-depth history features that were more focused on the 1916 Rising than the Centenary. As in the USA, there were a variety of short hard-news reports about government announcements and feature articles, as well as viral social media stories, though there were fewer opinion articles.

The Irish-British press picked up on different stories coming out of Ireland about the 1916 Centenary and dealt with a range of regionally specific stories, such as those about the Queen of England replying to an Irish schoolboy's letter or the English roots of Irish rebel leaders. It was the only region among the diaspora press that had focused reportage on the problems that occurred in running cross-border events and the friction between the northern and southern Irish politicians over what and how Ireland was remembering. Northern Ireland's First Minister, Deputy Forster, declined an invitation to attend a 1916 memorial event because it was, as she is quoted as saying, "not a commemoration". The following passage from the article in the *Irish Post* highlights the fine line between when a 1916 Rising-style event was interpreted as commemorative and when it was not:

"“This event is not a commemoration of the events of Dublin in 1916 but is in line with the type of event I indicated that I would be happy to attend,’ [...] A Church of Ireland spokesperson reiterated that the event was not being staged as a ‘commemoration’ of the rebellion, but was ‘designed to mark the centenary of the Easter Rising by exploring it historically’.” (*Irish Post*, 06/02/16)

The term 'celebration' is not used, only quotes from an authority who claimed that it was 'not commemorative' which, while undermining the dominant frame, does not introduce another competing frame. Indeed, as Lakoff notes, attacking a dominant frame reinforces its message because the language 'activates frames' (Lakoff, 2009). However, the legitimacy of the commemoration was undermined to an extent in some of the articles. This occurs in the articles that report on North–South tensions and present critical quotations from political leaders such as Deputy Forster, who said that the 1916 leaders were "egotists who were only doing it to bring themselves glory". Here the challenging frame of 'celebration' is absent, and although the sentiment

associated with the dominant frame of commemorating the Rising is cynical at times, it is not effective at diminishing it.

The North–South tensions were raised again in reports about Irish President Higgins cancelling attendance at a state dinner. The event to mark both the Rising and the Battle of the Somme was to be held in Belfast, but representatives of the Northern Irish government refused to attend. Here the term ‘celebration’ is used to describe the event in both the reportage and in the use of quotes by political leaders. This story was also published in the Irish-American press, but more space was dedicated to comments by the critics of the event in the Irish-British press. Here the celebratory frame is evoked, but negatively, because the consequence of ‘celebration’ is represented as a source of tension among some communities in Ireland.

In the Irish-British press, Irish identity is represented as regarding this event as largely apolitical – in the sense that commemorating the deaths and recognising the destruction does not incorporate recognition of the political motivations behind the Rising or the outcome of Irish independence – which to some extent erases it as an act of legitimate national determination and almost presents it as something that Ireland suffered as opposed to something achieved. The frame of ‘celebration’ associated with recognising the Rising as a precursor to liberty and the Centenary as a salute to those who achieved it is largely absent in the Irish-British press. It lacks the nuance regarding the distinction between anti-colonialism and anti-Britishness of the Irish-American press although it does recognise the continued complexity of maintaining peace in Northern Ireland. This depoliticisation can be attributed to the need to recognise that the legacy of violent nationalism continued in Northern Ireland long after it had ceased in the South. Additionally, the context of the Irish community in Britain that the diaspora press serves and informs would limit the capacity to represent the Irish as victims of British colonial violence. Moreover, when the lengthy violent legacy of the Rising was discussed by the diaspora editors in interviews, there was a clear stance taken on any violent nationalism which was that it would be wholly rejected as a legitimate practice.

### *Irish-Australian Press*

The Irish-Australian press, like the Irish-British press, had a dominant frame of ‘commemoration’ and a minor representation of the idea of ‘celebration’. The Irish-

Australian press largely featured articles focusing on the history of 1916 or new cultural announcements about it. The negotiation of commemoration and celebration or questions about how Ireland was remembering were not explicitly discussed in opinion articles published in this region. The commemorative frame was pervasive and less contested in this sample than the others. ‘Commemoration’ was frequently introduced early in the article, usually in a headline and/or nutgraph, and did not appear much elsewhere and was not explicitly discussed regarding its suitability for remembering the past.

During coding, there was a range of themes that emerged, such as ‘women’, ‘children’ and ‘deaths’, around which the discourses were overtly sombre and non-celebratory. These subordinate themes support the commemorative frame. Examples of these include concentration on the role of women in the context of women’s participation having been historically undervalued (‘Rebel Sisters’), rebel families, particularly children who suffered because of the violence (‘Children of the Rising, an untold story’) and the republication of literature about the Rising such as ‘Wishes for My Son’ and ‘Comrades’, poems from 1916.

The magazine published a two-part in-depth feature essay entitled ‘Reflections on the 1916 Rising in 2016’ that examined the Centenary in detail. The first part begins by using both terms but not interchangeably: “among the many commemorative events being organised across the City of Melbourne in this centenary year in which we honour and celebrate the enduring legacy of Easter Week 1916” (Tintean.com, 06/06/16). The first part includes a detailed analysis of 1916 and political leaders of the time, contextualising the Rising and the effects it had in Australia, including extended paragraphs on religion, language, the labour movement, poetry and literature. Although not explicit, in representing the Rising as morally and politically complex with a range of actors and agendas, the article’s tone, rhetoric and use of technical devices support the dominant commemorative frame.

In the second part, the Rising’s legacy is placed in a wider global context, evoking the commemorative frame at the outset of the article. Additional subframes also reinforce the dominant frame later as the article bemoans the legacy of violent nationalism – “The 20th Century was to be a century of horrific violence” – and equates hope with peace: “And yet there was much hope for a new era that would be

characterised by peace and prosperity at the opening of the Versailles Peace Conference” (Tintean.com, 06/06/16).

The remainder of the article details Ireland’s participation in peacekeeping and peacebuilding globally and in doing this it argues that peace was the legacy of the violent nationalism of the 1916 Rising, viewing the outcome of the Rising as the creation of a nation of peacebuilders. This discourse serves to re-politicise the Rising and the Centenary to some extent. However, instead of evoking the politics of the leaders or the national determination of the day, it addresses a different political legacy – that of establishing a nation that is open, cooperative and peaceful, but experienced in oppression and willing to share knowledge.

The term ‘celebration’ was used about the 1916 Centenary in only three articles in the Irish-Australian press and was distinguished from ‘commemoration’, as found for example in the following extract: “there were signs of celebrations and commemorations” (‘1916 in Dublin 2016’, Tintean.com, 06/08/2016). Because of this, the ‘celebration’ frame does not compete with the dominant frame of ‘commemoration’ as notably as it does elsewhere.

### *Secondary Frames and Themes*

The regional differences in the pervasiveness of the dominant frame of ‘commemoration’ and the challenging frame of ‘celebration’ resulted in different levels representation of themes within the discourse on the Rising and the Centenary. The following section broadly addresses the distribution of themes across the regions to establish what themes supported the representation of the Irish as commemorating or celebrating.<sup>29</sup> The subsequent section inspects each of the secondary frames and themes in more depth.

Deaths, and the destruction of Dublin, were subthemes pervasive in the commemorative frame, unsurprising given the difficulty in rewriting civilian deaths

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<sup>29</sup> The inclusion of WWI as a theme is important – the Battle of the Somme was also being commemorated during Easter week 2016 as part of the WWI Centenary. There was a time, a long time, when the First World War was regarded not as a tragedy but as an opportunity – summarised in the famous phrase from the era, “England’s difficulty is Ireland opportunity.” Today, however, the Irish, as much of Europe, view the First World War as part of a legacy of violence and a tragic loss of young life. Ireland is now part of Europe, and part of this legacy, and has incorporated the tragedy of it into its own history.

into established history with the idea of celebrating an uprising against an oppressor. Similarly, the role of women was linked with the discourse around unionists and the British military, which reflects the government themes of inclusive commemoration and reconciliation. The ideas around celebration and commemoration, as noted, were not always clear cut, one versus the other. Some of the themes were distributed between the frames, such as the discussion of the Proclamation of Independence. The Proclamation itself and the principles for Ireland that are contained within it were at no point presented as a negative in any of the coverage across the regions. However, the rebel leaders who wrote it often were. This disassociation of the political leaders of the time from the Proclamation which they produced further serves to depoliticise 1916 Centenary in the regions where the commemorative frame dominated. The Proclamation of Independence was closely associated with the theme of the Rising being a precursor to Irish independence or a milestone on the road to independence. This, in turn, leads to a more in-depth discussion about the impact beyond Ireland and the legacy regarding national identity and nationalism.

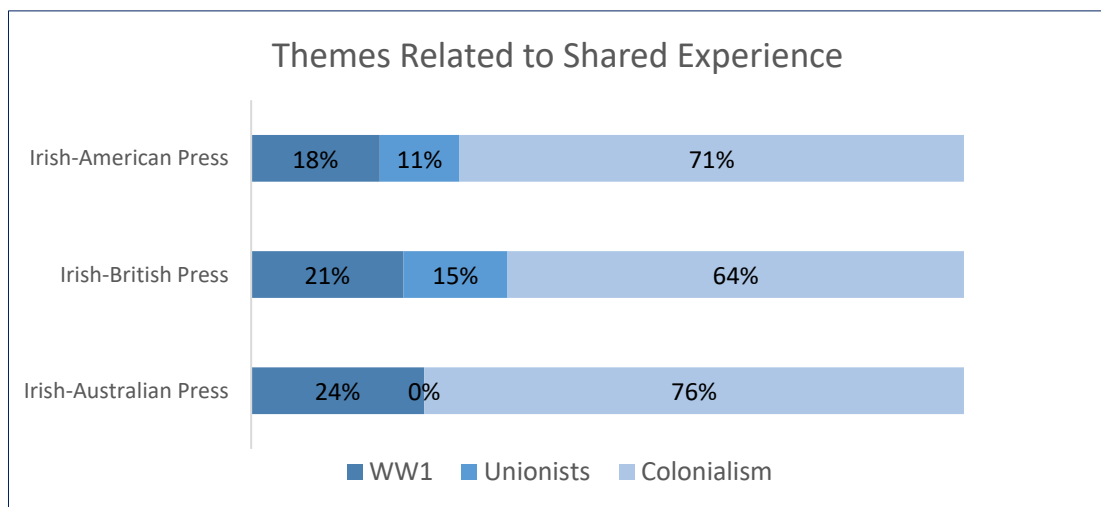


Figure 22 Themes associated with the idea of shared experience and reconciliation in 1916 Centenary by region.

Figure 22 is a bar chart showing the distribution of the themes related to the idea of a shared experience with the British across the three regions. In all cases there was unavoidable explicit broad representation of British colonialism in Ireland in discourses about the British army tactics, motivations and practices of quashing and punishing Irish rebels. While there was less focus on this in the Irish-British press than elsewhere, it was nonetheless pervasive.



The distribution of themes associated with the idea of reconciliation and the shared experience of the Rising shows that in the Irish-American press, where ‘celebration’ was a challenge to the dominant commemorative frame, there was some representation of Irish unionists. While this content discusses the association between Ireland and the First World War, in which both America and the UK participated, as well as Irish people as part of the British army, the majority of the content was concentrated on British colonialism and its influence on the Rising. The Irish-British press, which as noted was the only region to tackle problems in Northern Ireland around the Rising, showed slightly less representation of themes associated with British colonialism. Moreover, the Irish-Australian press, which was more concentrated on discussing the history of 1916 as opposed to the commemoration, did not unpack issues around unionism, concentrating on colonialism and the First World War. However, the idea of shared experience represented in all three regions implies that the impact and consequences of the Rising were shared equally by Irish, unionists and British alike. This erasure of the inequity of power between the rebels and the army, the colony and the Empire, presents a problematic representation of the purpose and legacy of the Rising, which was to secure liberty from colonialism and establish Ireland as a nation. This is a depoliticised narrative that is situated within the idea of commemoration, and contrasts with the counter-narrative of this act of rebellion instigating the process of independence, which can be interpreted as a more positive, albeit nationalistic, representation.

The chart below represents the themes associated with the government’s programme, which highlighted the role of women, the impact on the city of Dublin, and the deaths that were caused by the Rising, and illustrates that there was a different representation of each of the main stories in each region. Again, these discourses are primarily situated within the commemorative frame.

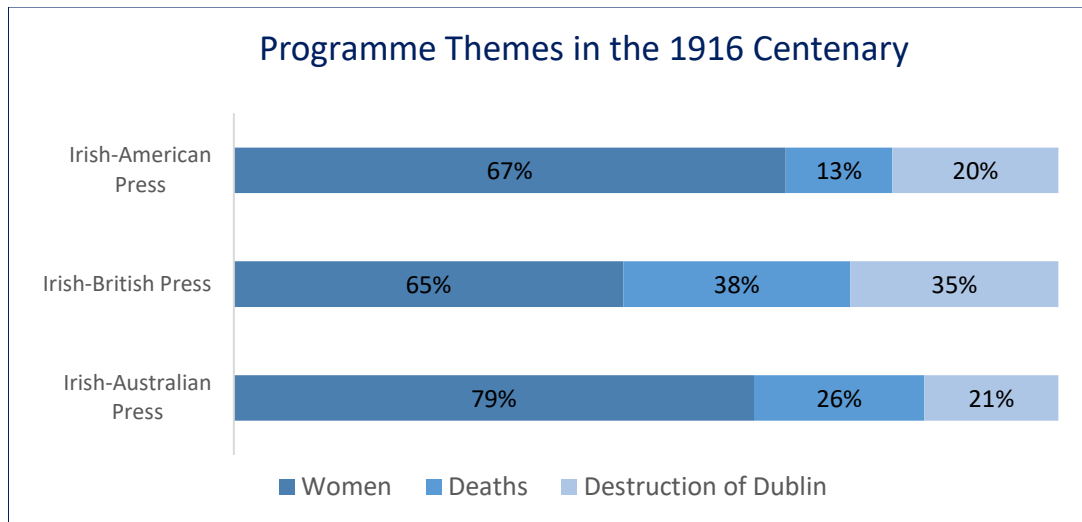


Figure 23 Distribution of official programme themes in the coverage of the 1916 Centenary by region.

Figure 23 shows the volume of coverage under different themes in each regions and establishes that most of the coverage in each region was dedicated to women in the Rising, both in terms of participating in it and the impact on their lives as victims of the events. Given that more of the coverage in the Irish-American press concentrated on the idea of celebration, it is not unsurprising to see lower levels of representation of death or the city’s destruction in this region compared to the others.

The state’s effort to stress the shared experiences and to recognise those who were often omitted from historical remembrance was largely focused on women and Dublin in the diaspora press. There was a high concentration of writing women back into Irish history in the Irish-Australian press, while the Irish-British press’s concentration was more so on the destruction of Dublin city because of the Rising. This may be shaped by proximity, as Dublin city is the main area where Irish migrants depart from and return to, and Dublin is the capital city, a popular destination for travel and tourism – which were highly pervasive topic and story news flows, respectively.

The deaths that were represented in the Irish-American press were of two kinds, those of civilians and those of the executed rebel leaders, which begs the question as to how the rebel leaders were represented in each location.

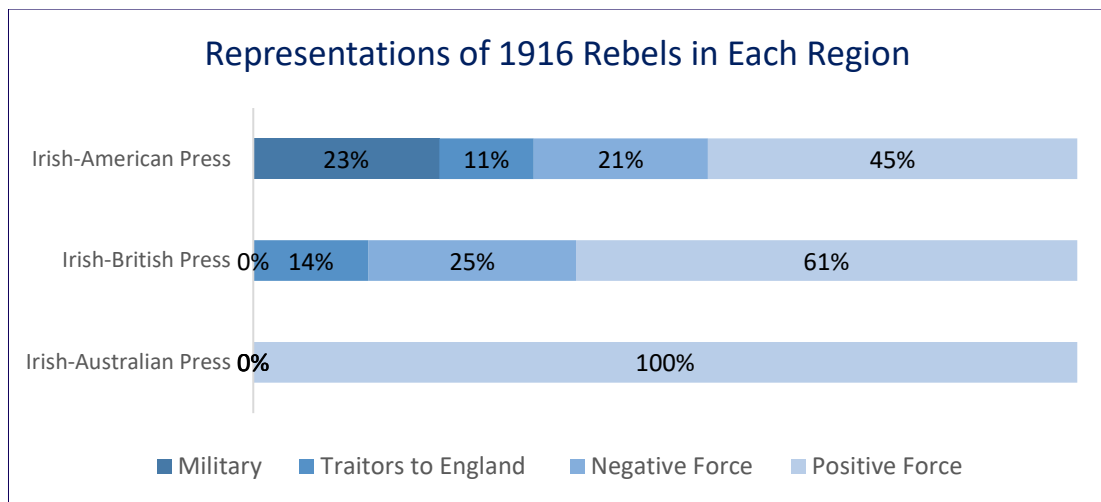


Figure 24 Representations of the 1916 rebels by region.

Figure 24 shows that the rebel leaders were represented quite differently in each of the diaspora press regions – in the Irish-Australian press exclusively as a force of good in Ireland, but in more nuanced ways elsewhere. The presence of a discourse about the rebels as a military force, removed from sentiment and discussed in terms of military efficiency, serves to legitimise or elevate the ad hoc rebellion to something more credible and organised.

#### 8.1.4 Summary

Because the ‘commemoration’ frame was active in each region, this led to the higher level of representation of the negative aspects of the Rising. Had ‘celebration’ been the dominant frame, it would have been much more challenging to introduce negative themes such as deaths and the destruction of the city, and to unpack issues around those who were affected by the rebellion. The presence of the challenging celebratory frame served to represent the Centenary as a complex event with a range of stakeholders who were impacted both positively and negatively, providing a nuanced vision of the Rising and the Centenary itself. Both what the Irish diaspora press represented about Ireland and how it did so are associated with the cultural context of the diasporic relationship with the hostland, and these differences in representation can be viewed as the negotiation and mediation of Irish history, myths of fraternity and shared experience into different diasporic identities.

However, the concept of celebrating the 1916 Rising, in the USA or elsewhere in the diaspora press, is not presented as carrying anti-British sentiment; rather the themes that support this are more concentrated on the idea of liberty and freedom.

Although British colonialism is inevitably present as a theme, it is presented in the framework of describing historic events that inherently include the British military or the British authorities. The Centenary and discussion regarding celebration of the past today was not represented as antagonistic or aiming to hold any authority to account, but emphasised the idea of a shared experience. Additionally, to some extent the hostland culture can be seen to shape the representation of 1916: the coverage in the Irish-American press was more anti-colonial in general rather than anti-British, and pro-independence. In America, independence from Britain is celebrated in the national holiday on July 4th without hostility, which is reflected in the coverage of 1916. However, this too is problematic in that there is little exposition of the idea that the violence and destruction were not shared equally and implies to some extent that the rebels fighting for independence from Britain shared the blame.

However, these fundamental differences in the collective remembering and representation of a seminal moment in Irish history illustrate both a struggle for meaning in the global Irish community over the 1916 Rising and the contested representation of Irishness in different regions. At this point it is necessary to recognise that the Irish-American press produces substantially more content than the Irish-Australian and Irish-British press on this topic and, in terms of resources for identification, is a substantial force in the insertion of counter-narratives that challenge the otherwise hegemonic sanitised presentation of Irishness as non-nationalistic and non-aggressive towards the British legacy of colonialism.

This case shows that there are explicit differences in the collective remembering of the 1916 Rising, but unlike in the case studies on the Irish Famine (Kirk, 2019) the contest for meaning did not become hostile. Nonetheless, this case shows a dynamic media system with differences in the flows and representations of Irishness that are situated in the historical contexts of migration, as well as the contemporary context of the social, political and cultural environment of the hostlands.

## 8.2 Case Two: Migration

### 8.2.1 Framing the Diasporic Relationship with Ireland

This section addresses the representation of Irish identity through the lens of the relationships between the diaspora and Ireland and the diaspora and other migrant groups. The general topic of Migration broke down into two subtopics; the first focused on Irish Migration and the second focused on World Migration. To establish how Irish identity is framed in relation to the two subtopics they must be addressed separately.

Broadly speaking, the relationship Ireland has with the diaspora, from the perspective of Ireland, has fluctuated. While historical migration from Ireland, up to the 1980s recessionary diaspora, was regarded as a negative ‘exiling’ experience; since the 1990s the relationship the Irish diaspora has with Ireland has been more positive. During the ’90s and the Celtic Tiger years and the property bubble (2000–2007), the image was that of wealthy, successful educated people leading in the world (Loyal, 2008). However, after the 2007 crash, and for some years after that, it reverted to a representation of economic exiles and lost generations whose leaving was symbolic of Ireland’s failures in the property bubble, bank guarantee and resulting state bailout and loss of sovereignty (Glynn, Kelly and Macéinrí, 2013). The migration levels were reported in the Irish and diaspora media as a measure of the impact of the recession and the recovery. Generation Emigration was named after this phenomenon and later changed to Ireland Abroad.

At the time of collecting the data, the topic of migration was on the global press agenda. The topic of migration was covered heavily in the world press following the outbreak of the Syrian War and unrest in the Middle East and North Africa. The question of how Europe, America, Australia and the world responded to the hundreds of thousands of refugees was a regular news topic in the national press of most nations during this time, with reportage of both liberal and conservative views. It also appeared as a subtopic under migration in the Irish diaspora press; the direct experience of migration and the history of traumatic migration in older generations of Irish migrants focused the question of how that might shape the representation of other migrant groups.

The data analysed for this case study consists of 55 articles related to the topic of migration, 33 from the Irish-American press, 17 from the Irish-British press and five from the Irish-Australian press. Within the total dataset, there are 26 articles related to Irish migration or Irish emigrants and 29 related to migration into Ireland, either by Irish returnees or new migrants. In total 54 themes emerged, from which the central organising ideas about the relationship between Ireland and the two diaspora communities could be identified. The central organising ideas or dominant frames regarding the representation of the diasporas' relationship with Ireland were:

1. 'Institutional representation' – arguments for or coverage of any official institutional representation of the diaspora in Ireland, predominantly from government or media.
2. 'Migration is challenging' – this was shaped by two dominant themes of Irish migration being, firstly, human/psychological impact and, secondly, practically challenging:
  - 2a. 'Human impact' – issues related to the psychological impact of migration, including historical and modern waves, identity and living in a space in-between.
  - 2b. 'Practical problems' – depictions or reportage of the physical process of migration such as issue related to leaving, crossing, arrival, settlement and return in each of the locations.

The second subtopic in this case was World Migration, which was about the arrival of refugees largely in Europe but also in other countries, and how Ireland and the Irish should respond. The representation of the Irish people's attitude to the refugees was more clear-cut:

3. 'We know the challenges and should show empathy' – the discourse here is regarding a range of issues related to the broader topic of migration that was high on the international news agenda from 2015.

From the representation of Irish diasporic relationships with Ireland, two complementary frames emerged, but no challenging frames suggesting that migration was easy or enjoyable were present. The first frame that shaped the representations was the need for a more formal relationship with Ireland, while the second addressed the experience of migration as challenging. The representation of Irish identity in this regard is complex. The diaspora press represents the relationship between Ireland and the diaspora as incomplete and the identity of Irish diasporas as authentically Irish,

which is not recognised by the Irish state. The representation of the Irish diaspora as experienced in facing challenging migratory conditions and succeeding, historically and presently, and thus different from the Irish who did not migrate, is used to inform how the Irish identity is represented regarding the approach to refugees. The framing of the Irish diaspora experience as challenging, and the framing of world migration as a call for solidarity, generates a representation of Irish identity as former refugees who suffered hardship and exile, and are in solidarity with other migrants because of it.

From the relationship between the diaspora and other migration, there was only one frame that shaped the representation of Irish identity. That was ‘we should know the challenges and show empathy’. However, there were some links between the framing of Irish migration as challenging and the framing of the diasporic relationship with other migrants because the experience of Irish migrants was used to inform and legitimise the approach to refugees.

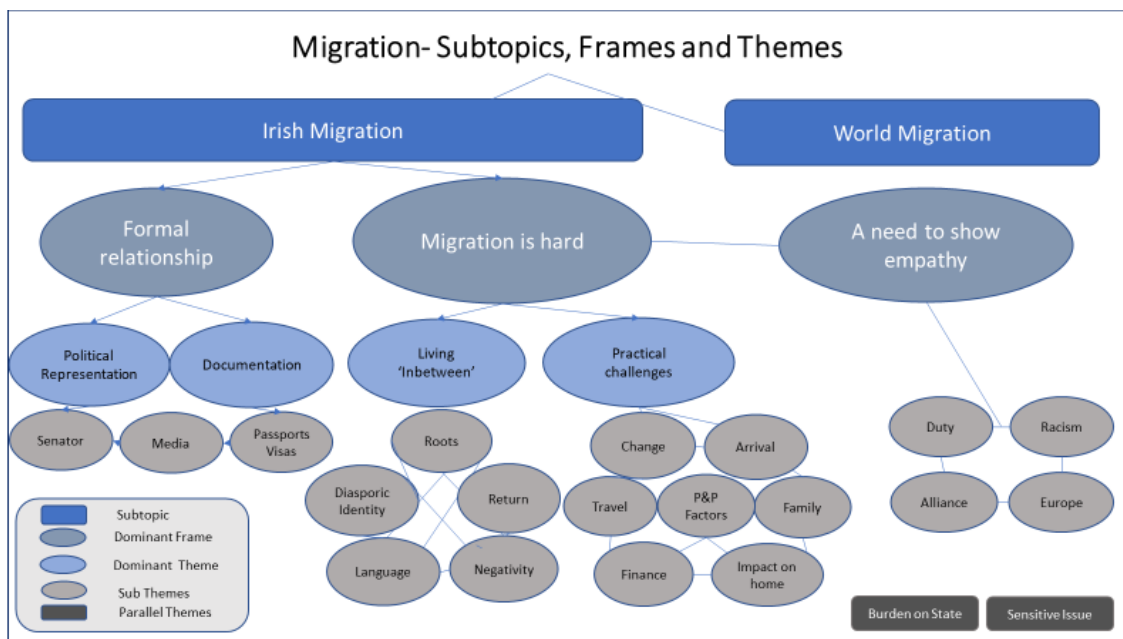


Figure 25 Conceptual map of subtopics, frames and themes in the topic of Migration.

Figure 25 shows topic, frame and thematic map of the topic of Migration. In this topic there were two main subtopics, Irish Migration, focusing on Irish migrants, and World Migration, focusing on Ireland’s or Irish people’s response to other migrants. Under these topics there were primary frames. In Irish Migration, one main frame was the lack of and need for formal representation as Irish people, and the

second was framing the experience of migration and being a migrant as challenging, both practically and ideologically. The only frame under the subtopic of world migration was the idea that Irish migrants suffered and should know better than to allow other migrants to suffer too.

Because the topic of Migration divided into two subtopics, the first focused on Irish migration and the second on the world migration, the frames associated with each were different. However, how Irishness is represented through the framing of the Irish migratory experience as challenging informs the representation of Irish values with respect to the issue of refugees. There were 26 articles that were primarily focused on World Migration and 29 on Irish Migration. However, there were frequent references (14) to the Irish experience of migration in the topic of world migration, as well as multiple positive descriptions of contemporary Irish efforts to help in the humanitarian crisis.

The following section will unpack the dominant frames in each of the regions and examine the specific representations of Irish identity through the dominant themes and subthemes.

### **8.2.2 Dominant Frames, Regional Distribution**

The subtopic of Irish migration as challenging was more prevalent in the Irish-Australian press than the Irish-American press. However, there are no significant differences in the representation of this process as challenging in any one region, with slightly lower coverage overall in the Irish-American press. This frame is supported by two dominant themes, one related to the psychological challenges and the second to the practical challenges. A regional comparison illustrates the differences in the prioritised representations of Irishness among the digital diaspora press.



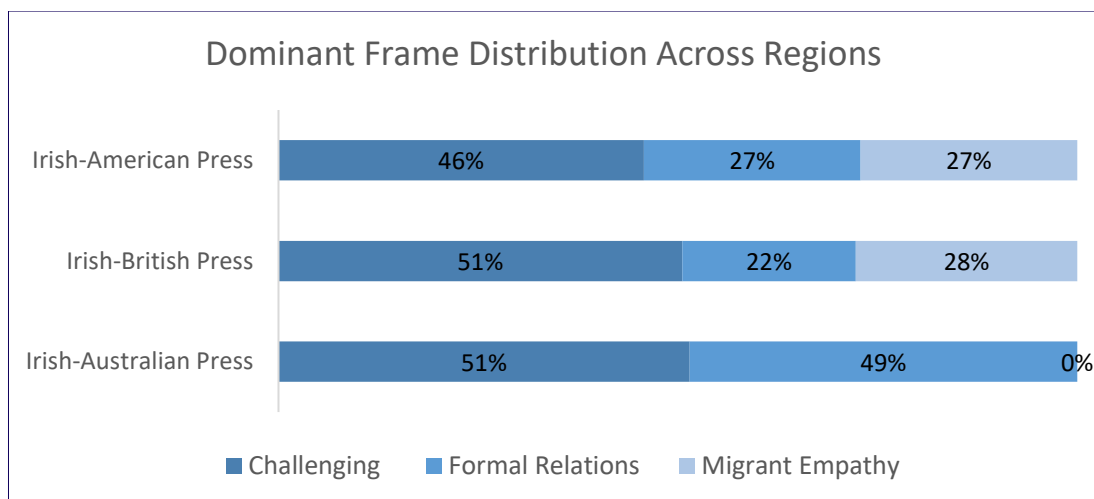


Figure 26 Dominant frames related to the subtopics of Irish Migration and World Migration by region.

The above figure shows the distribution of the primary frames associated with the two subtopics across the three regions. Because the Irish-Australian press did not cover the topic of World Migration the frame of empathy to other migrants is not present on this region. Otherwise the distribution of coverage of both topics and the associated frames under Irish migration was evenly balanced.

The theme of formal institutional representation and the frame of the need to enhance the formal relationship was relatively evenly distributed across each of the regions, with a slightly higher presence in the Irish-Australian press.<sup>30</sup> However, as the more focused regional and thematic analysis will show, the type of formal relationship envisaged is not the same in the diaspora press of all three regions.

The topic of World Migration dealt with issues related to the Refugee Crisis and the representation of the Irish identity regarding the refugees was framed predominantly as ‘a need to show empathy’. The distribution across the regions, in the US and UK and even its omission in Australia, can be largely explained by the political contexts in each of the hostlands and Ireland at the time. Europe was the main destination for refugees during this period, and the response and responsibilities of the UK and Ireland to the crisis were highly salient topics in the mainstream national news agendas in each of the countries. This focused attention on the topic from the

<sup>30</sup> The distributions displayed are across totals and the Irish-Australian press did not engage with the topic of World Migration, increasing the distribution of the other topics across the total.

perspective of Ireland's responsibilities in relation to the EU and the collective EU response. Additionally, in the Irish-British press, the topic was highly salient during the Brexit campaign as UK border controls were prominent on the political agenda. Similarly, in the USA migration was high on the mainstream national media and political agenda. Additionally, during the American presidential election of 2016, Donald Trump promised to tighten border controls if elected.

The Irish-Australian press did not engage with the topic of World Migration. This omission can be explained by three factors: 1) the specific news agenda of the dominant organisation, *Tintean*, which is largely non-political and focused on culture; 2) the lower immediacy of the impact of the Syrian War; and 3.) Australia was not facing a general election or referendum that would impact national borders at the time.

### **8.2.3 Irish Migration: The Human Experience**

This section addresses the themes within the dominant frames regarding the representations of the diasporas' relationship with home and how the dominant themes and subthemes are distributed across the three regions. It will begin by addressing the representation of Irish migration, which is conceptually divided into the cognitive experience and the practical challenges, and this will be followed by an analysis of the representation of the formal relationship of the Irish diaspora with Ireland.

Within the topic of Irish Migration the experience of Irish migrants is framed as challenging. This subtheme largely addresses the experience of migration regarding psychological issues, such as the desire to return home or perspectives on the changes in Ireland and how the diaspora explore their Irish roots. Figure 27 below shows that the distribution of themes associated with the human experience of migration in each region is not even. This reflects the experiences of Irish migrants in each region and offers deeper insight into how the historical contexts of migration shape the representation of Irishness in this regard. For example, the lack of discussion on the topic of 'change' in the Irish-Australian press is associated with how much Irish society on an everyday basis has evolved recently with the marriage and abortion referendums, as well as the technological developments of social media HQs being based in Dublin. The distance between Ireland and Australia is more prohibitive of regular travel and it is likely that these changes are less of a concern for communities who travel to Ireland less often. This is also reflected in the lower levels of discussion

around the idea of returning ‘home’ (‘return’). Conversely, in the UK ‘change’ is also not covered, but this is likely because travel between the two countries is so frequent and easy that the changes are so incremental that they do not have an impact. The discussions around ‘return’ in the UK are far more associated with the benefits of maintaining relationships that come from regularly returning to Ireland.

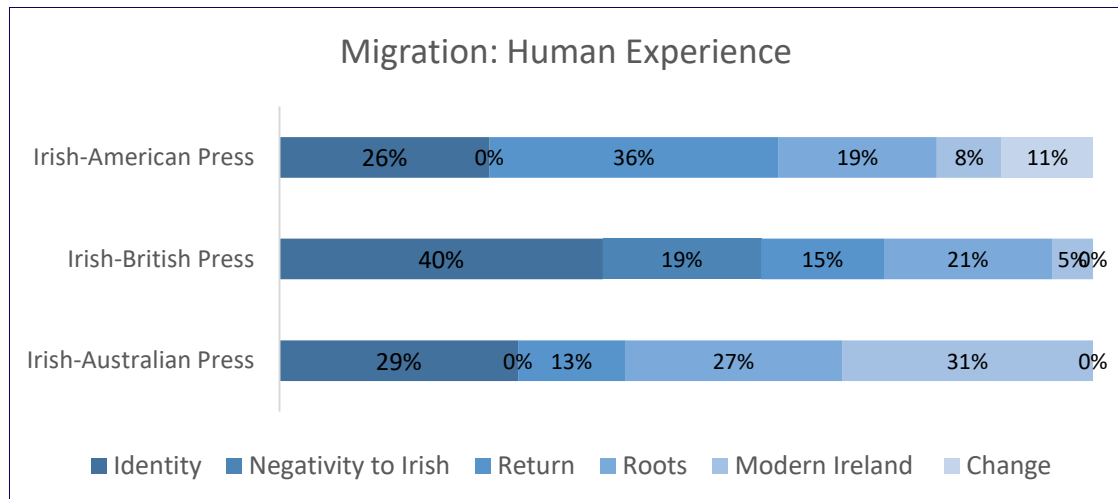


Figure 27 Representations of Irish migratory human experiences by region.

The diasporic identity exists between two or more dominant cultural or national groups and this is reflected in the coverage of the subtopic of Irish Migration. This subtopic comprised human interest and feature stories reflecting on Ireland and how it has changed, the culture, and the impact of the migration process on Irish identity. There is an explicit discussion in each of the press regions of diasporic identities, the idea of being in-between two cultures, and the retention of distinct cultural identity in the context of a more dominant hostland culture.

The overall sentiment of the coverage is that migration is negative or that, even in the best circumstances, it is still difficult and fraught with unforeseen and unwelcome consequences. When interpreting the charts above it might seem that the desire to return home is represented as being more prevalent among the diaspora in the USA. However, there is one story that may distort the average or ordinary nature of the coverage under this topic. During this time the American vice-president Joe Biden made an official state visit to Ireland. A proud Irish-American, Biden spoke openly about his Irish heritage and, during the annual meeting with the Irish government representatives for St Patrick’s Day, expressed a desire to visit Ireland and see where his ancestors came from. During the short visit, Biden met with

members of the government in Dublin and travelled to north Co. Louth and west Mayo where his ancestors came from. A lot of this coverage, particularly that of the local visits to Louth and Mayo, was presented as a return home as well as an official diplomatic mission or state event. This was an exceptional return story, one of the greatest successes achievable by Irish migration in that an Irish-American who has climbed to one of the highest positions within American society and retains a connection with Ireland has returned to experience the heritage of his ancestors.

The theme of a changed Ireland is also present in articles that explicitly discuss or describe the Ireland that migrants left as compared to the Ireland of today, with the changes in Irish society and culture presented as positive and negative. This is somewhat associated with the theme of ‘roots’, which is present in passages where the heritage and history of migrants are represented. In the *Irish Central*, Roots is a distinct news category and linked on the homepage. However, the fact that it is distinguished as a specific topic of interest does not lead to more pervasive representation of the diasporic roots in the region; the higher level of representation is in the Irish-Australian press. This can be explained again by the focus of the Irish-Australian press on issues related to Irish history and culture rather than current affairs in the more prevalent digital source in the region. The minor themes in this subtopic consist of the services and products for Irish people living abroad, which include objects or services that can be purchased.

### 8.2.4 Irish Migration: Practically Challenging

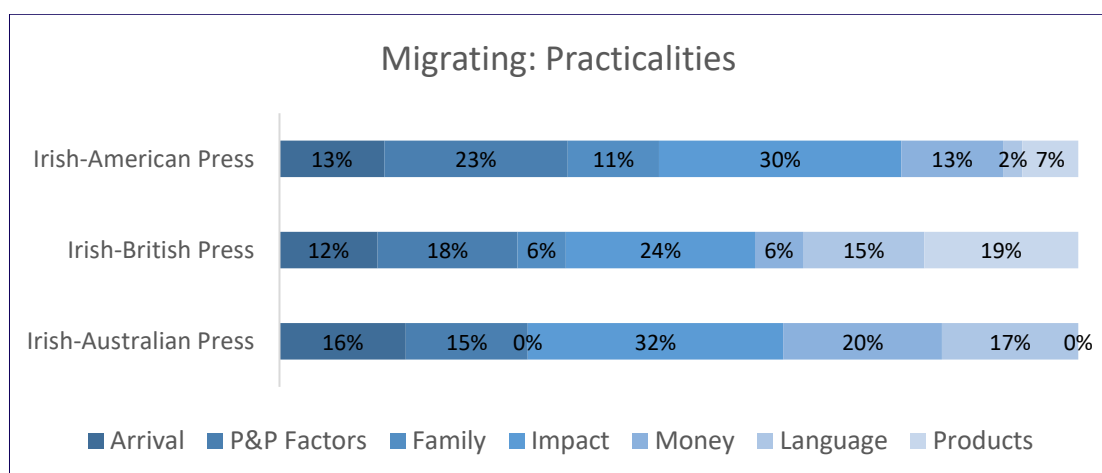


Figure 28 Representations of practical challenges of Irish Migration by region.

The subtopic of the practicalities of migration was explicit in the framing of migration being hard, difficult or challenging. Figure 28 above shows the distribution

of themes under this subtopic, with similar levels of discussion about the practicalities of ‘arrival’ in a new country, the reasons for leaving (‘P&P’: push and pull) and the financial strain of migration (‘money’). However, practical issues such as ‘language’ and ‘family’ show different levels of distribution across the regions, and ‘family’ and ‘products for Irish people’ (largely food) are absent as topics in Australia.

However, there are some challenging themes within this subtopic located in the discussion of the ideas of pull factors, and the themes of arrival and representation of the positive impact of migration on hostlands. The concepts of ‘arrival’ and ‘impact’ are disaggregated because the theme of ‘arrival’ is represented as the immediate arrival in the hostland while ‘impact’ looks to the broader issue of assimilation and influence on the homeland.

The impact of migration on either the hostland (24 references), the homeland (11 references) or the diaspora community itself (14 references) receives the most attention in this theme. Conceptually the themes of push and pull factors, crossing and arrival can be analysed together as they are associated with the journey or movement from one nation state to another.

‘Family’ is also associated with the practicalities of migration in that it is about the difficulties in retaining links and the idea of distance and detachment. It is represented in both the regions in closest proximity to Ireland: the Irish-American and the Irish-British press. The lack of representation of family issues in the Irish-Australian press would also be shaped by the agenda of the main title in the region with its broader focus on culture and history, as well as lower levels of attention to social issues and everyday Ireland. Similarly the theme of ‘products for Irish people’, largely food, was absent from this region and, again, this can be attributed to the issue of distance and also the strict rules regarding imports of food to Australia.

The theme of ‘money’ is explicit in the economic challenges that are involved with relocation to another country, particularly difficulties in becoming financially secure in the hostland for shorter-term migrants. This issue includes the necessary costs of travel, increased expenses for rent or home-ownership in metropolitan cities, and cost of applications for visas. More heavily represented among these themes are the practical challenges of migrating to Ireland for both Irish returnees and skilled migrants seeking employment in the growing tech sector, in which there is a skills

shortage among Irish university graduates. Ireland is described as a digital paradise and comparison is made with the draw of workers in the nursing sector to Australia, where there is a similar skill shortage. With this comparison of migrants moving around the globe to meet the needs of the regional economies the broad issue of migration's impact is represented, in some respects, positively. However, the challenges faced by migrants in the process of crossing is still represented, and the reduction of barriers to accessing the employment markets is presented as a pressing need.

The subtopic of the practicalities of migration is more associated with the topic of World Migration and represents Irish identities as former refugees or migrants in order to mobilise them to show empathy. The framing of the process of migrating as hard and challenging is closely linked with the challenges faced by other migrants in more dire situations. NVivo facilitates the comparison of nodes – here, frames and themes – by word association using Pearson's correlation coefficient – which revealed a closer association between the practicalities of migration and World Migration, than the experiential process of migration and World Migration.

### *Language*

Because language emerged from the news flow analysis as a salient news topic subtheme within the discussion on migration, it warrants further attention.

The Irish language was also a distinct feature under this subtheme. While all Irish people can speak English and it is the dominant language in Ireland and among the diaspora, the Gaelic language known as the Irish language as distinct from other Gaelic languages, is an integral part of the Irish identity. In national identity, language is an established feature of that which marks a group as distinct and is one of the forces that creates a boundary between a migrant community and a hostland culture. By and large, only those coming from a Gaeltacht area where Irish is spoken more commonly could reminisce about the everyday use of Irish. Practically, the experience of speaking Irish abroad is much the same as the experience of speaking Irish in Ireland: many of the wider community are not able to understand it or communicate using it. However, within the topic of Migration and the subtopic of Irish Migration it is represented as an important feature of the Irish identity and could be understood as an effort to retain distinctiveness and an identity that is different to that of the hostland

culture. This section can offer some insights into how the Irish language is presented in the diaspora media.

The language of the Irish is largely represented in the diaspora press as how Irish people speak English rather than the Gaelic language. Irish-English is the result of the blending of two languages, using Irish Gaelic names and colloquialisms within the normal framework of the English language – which can be represented as a source either of frustration or charm. Most of the focus under this topic is on modern Irish names, accents and dialects which signify the Irish abroad as immigrants and an ‘other’ within the hostland community. Articles describe the everyday interactions with hostland people unused to Gaelic phonetics as well as frustrations with hostland companies or official registrars not recognising Irish names:

“After failing to get the website to accept her Irish name, Caoimhe Ní Chathail, the Irish language speaker took to Twitter to vent her frustration. A customer service rep from Three responded with the helpful suggestion that she translate her name to English.” (Fada Fail – Mobile network Three asks woman to change her Irish name to English’ – *Irish Post*, 01/06/2016)

One of the articles explicitly discusses the idea that the fact that Irish people speak English have been an advantage for migrants, as well as the Irish in Ireland. The use of English is celebrated, and although colonialism is not represented as positive, it is pointed out that its outcomes have been utilised by the Irish to their benefit. This supports the idea presented by the Irish diaspora editors in chapter six that the use of the English language is conducive for the commercial sustainability of the news business because it allows them to tap into a much larger audience of migrants.:

“While English is the dominant language in Ireland, we’ve done our usual trick of mixing it up with our native tongue, with some devastatingly sexy results. We’re renowned worldwide for our poets and musicians, and this romanticism has bled into our language too. We use it however we see fit, and sometimes purely to play up to that romanticism and confuse foreigners at the same time. Irish sayings and phrases are a currency in themselves, particularly for Americans who seem unable to resist when they’re combined with the accent.” (‘The real reasons why the Irish move to America’ – *Irish Central*, 20/06/2016)

### **8.2.5 Formal Connections: The Need for Formal Recognition in Ireland**

The subtopic of ‘formal relationship’ was dominated by frames calling for better homeland representation, although the type of representation can differ according to the press region. This issue is framed as the need for formal connections with the homeland, which in turn implies that the Irish state and government bodies need to do more to solidify the relationship with the Irish diaspora and to actively work on their behalf, both at home and in hostlands. This call to action comes in two forms: firstly, the need for the diaspora to have a voice and a stake in Ireland, and secondly, the need for institutions in Ireland to use their voices and power to speak on behalf of the diaspora.

Formal or institutional representation in Ireland comes in different forms, from political representation to media representation, as well as the need for better relations with the formal documentation of the diaspora in the form of passports and visas. This is important because the voice of the press is cohesive across the three regions in that they are all calling for the same thing, increased formalisation, but in different formats. When combined across the diaspora press, this has the potential to apply pressure on the state to direct resources, develop policy and strategies, and incorporate the needs of Irish people living abroad into the state mechanisms. Figure 29 below shows the distribution of the more specific subthemes in each region regarding the subtopic of formal representation, showing that the Irish-American and Irish-British press largely call for political representation, while media and passport access were less prevalent. While there are no doubt Irish in Australia without visas, the Irish in America without a visa – the ‘undocumented Irish’ (the term ‘illegal immigrant’ is not used) – were represented as in need of representation or formalisation in the USA.



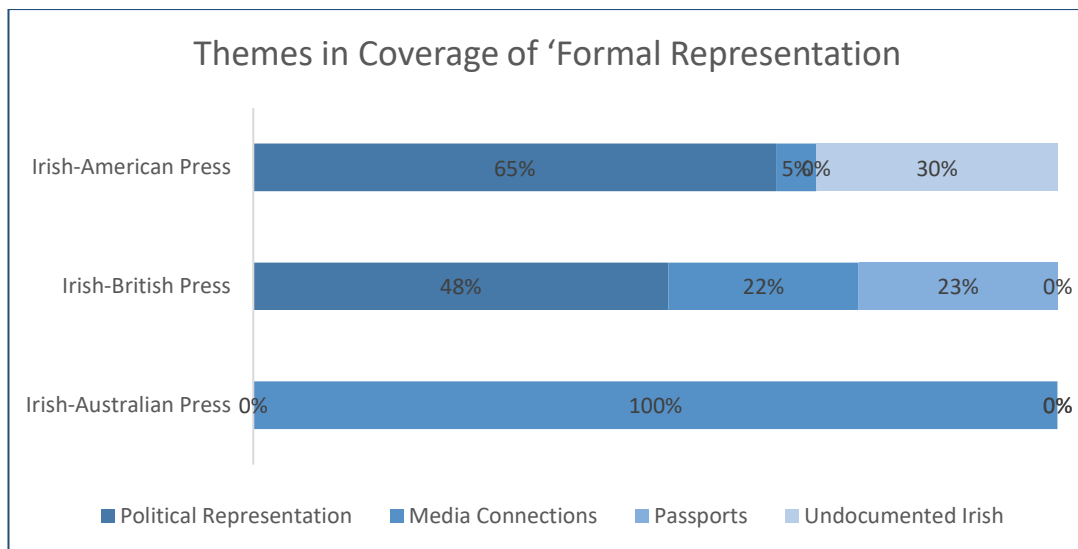


Figure 29 Themes in the topic of 'formal recognition', by region.

The theme of 'political representation' is dominant in the Irish-American press, which can in part be explained by the increased interest in Irish politics as a news category in this region. However, there are other news 'hooks' from this region that are not present elsewhere, such as the incumbent Minister for Diaspora and International Development being an Irish-American from Chicago. During this time the Irish government was in the process of formation, and it was uncertain which political parties would form a government and what the negotiation of political and social policies would be. This raised questions as to the commitment of the Irish parties and the would-be government to supporting the diaspora and the continuation of the ministerial position.

The issue of political representation is also associated with issues related to visas and the undocumented Irish in the USA, for whom there are regular calls, and reports of political lobbying by the Irish government of the American government to make the process of recognition easier. The then Irish Minister for the Diaspora, Billy Lawless, was an explicit advocate for the undocumented in America as well as a vocal activist for the extension of voting rights to Irish citizens abroad. The calls from the Irish diaspora to retain the ministerial position and Deputy Lawless as the minister were represented in both the Irish-American and Irish national press.

Another theme ran through the calls for political representation, and it was that of giving the Irish diaspora the right to vote in Irish national elections and referendums. This issue was explored in Ireland during a series of government-initiated public

consultations called the Constitutional Convention, which explored a series of topics regarding changing the Irish Constitution, one of which was the possibility of extending the right to vote to Irish people living outside the state. This would give Irish migrants a stake in Ireland's future and the capacity to shape how it is formed, and it was articulated as the most important move the Irish government could make to enfranchise the diaspora.

A softer form of formal representation was also outlined in the calls for better mediation; related to this was the opening of EPIC, the Irish Immigration Museum dedicated to the Irish diaspora, funded by the Irish government and launched by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Diaspora Minister. This event was accompanied by a number of official statements and publications that were covered in the diaspora press.

The main issue in the Irish-British press in terms of formal representation was that of the media. RTE, Ireland's public service broadcaster, was in the process of restructuring operations to cut costs during this period, and it was suggested that the long-wave radio service which is used by many Irish in the UK would be stopped in favour of digital broadcasting. However, in terms of practical application, the call for better passport services was also important.

In the build-up to and immediately after the vote on Brexit in June 2016 there were reports of increased demand from the Irish passport services in Ireland and Britain, which was associated with the impact of Brexit and the desire of people of Irish descent to be able to remain part of the European Union. The increased demand meant that everyday applications, for holidays and trips away, were delayed and caused concern for the average family with travel plans. These stories also fed into the broad discourse in the Irish-British press on Ireland's response to the platforming of the Brexit referendum, which predominantly presented it as a political and cultural error ill thought-out in terms of the Anglo-Irish relationship, and a decision that was unpalatable to many Irish people and those with Irish heritage living in the UK. For example "Could a Brexit see top bankers leaving London for Dublin?" (19/05/2016, *Irish Post*)

The bureaucratic administration of the diasporas' needs was also represented in the USA, where there was coverage given to the difficulties Irish students have

travelling to the USA under the J1 programme, an exchange programme with the US that was introduced after changes to US immigration laws after the September 11th attacks. Under the Patriot Act, there have been amendments to US migration laws that have placed increased barriers to entry to Irish students seeking to work in the USA, which has required formal negotiation.

“To counteract a possible drop in participants in 2016, the Union of Students in Ireland worked closely with Ireland’s Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and American Ambassador to Ireland, Kevin O’Malley, to create a 2016 guide offering advice to students on how to find a job, secure accommodation and make the most of their opportunity to experience the American way of life.” (*Irish Central*, 20/05/2016)

Institutional or formal connection with the diaspora is not simply calling for better documentation – it is a call for recognition of the diasporic identity as a legitimate part of what it means to be Irish and formal incorporation of the Irish identity into the mechanisms of the Irish state. The othering of the Irish diaspora by the nativist Irish identity has been recognised (Hickman, 2002; Gray, 2002) and the call for better incorporation of the diaspora into Irish life can be seen as an effort to assert the legitimacy of the Irish migrant experience.

### **8.2.6 World Migration: Empathy and Solidarity from Former Exiles**

Irish identity was more explicitly represented in the subtopic of World Migration. The news topic was framed as a humanitarian crisis and the people fleeing the Syrian War were described as refugees. This led to the central organising idea of the Irish as being humanitarians and, more specifically, that the historical Irish migratory experience was similar and so the Irish should show empathy for other migrants. For example, the *Irish World* opinion article entitled ‘Today’s refugees are like 19th century Irish’ draws a detailed comparison between the historic Irish migrants and the refugees today. Additionally, there were explicit arguments in opinion articles about how Irish people and the state should act in the interests of the refugees, as well as descriptions of the Irish navy’s efforts to save lives in the Mediterranean. For example, “The LÉ James Joyce rescued 594 migrants during the last week of July, including a young woman who named her newborn baby after the ship that rescued her off the coast of Libya” (*Irish Central*, 08/08/2016). Irish people who were helping the refugees

through activism and advocacy were also represented very positively – for example, community efforts to welcome and support asylum-seekers and a social media project that highlighted the plight of Irish migrants during and after the Famine to underline the need to approach today’s refugees with the same or better support as the Irish received. However, it was not just the Famine migrants that are represented as influencing Irish identity regarding today’s migrants because the 1916 Rising was also incorporated into arguments for the Irish to do more for refugees. An article from the *Irish World* leads with “Retired Irish judge says honour 1916 with asylum seeker amnesty”.

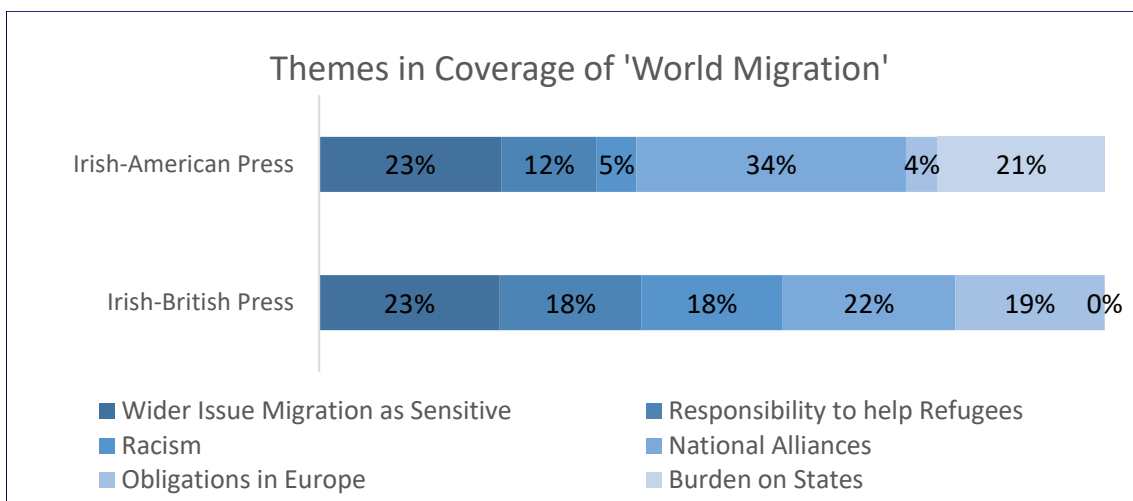


Figure 30 Themes in the topic of World Migration, by region.

Despite World Migration being a subtopic that is distinct from the others in that the main subject is not the Irish diaspora, the experiences of Irish migration are central to how this issue is framed. This subtopic has the most explicit and clearly defined frame, which is ‘based on the experience of migration we should show compassion to other migrants’. It is essential to remember at this point that this is an issue for Ireland as a homeland – how Ireland should respond to the migrant crisis, as opposed to how the hostland should respond.

In the subtopics of practical and psychological challenges, the Irish are represented as living in-between two cultural spaces and the experiences presented are those of migration – of how it was to move from Ireland to another country, the push factors, the experiences of hardship but also welcome and success. As noted in these subtopics, the main frames were that migration is a laborious, challenging process, both practically and psychologically – disrupting the interpretation of the self in

relation to the new and old communities. The two subtopics, of Practical Challenges and World Migration, were found to have the closest association, and the articles were explicit in discussing how the negative experience of the Irish should inform the approach to other migrants.

The political backdrop to this is the refugees from the Syrian War and to a lesser extent the restrictive policies proposed by Donald Trump, who was running for US president at the time – which, combined and directed towards the homeland, distilled into the question of whether Irish borders should be more open or closed. The shutting down of the border was going to make things harder for the Irish but not as hard as for the refugees or for those migrants from countries where conflict is rife. The interviews with editors brought up the idea that the insertion of Irish concerns, such as the impact of the standardisation of immigration policy in the UK or the tightening of the US border, was not appropriate in the face of the sufferings of other ethnic or cultural groups. This is reflected in the subtheme of ‘sensitivity to the wider context of migration as a political point of contention’ (23 per cent in each region). The main differences in the representation of World Migration between the US and the UK are centred on the themes of the obligation to Europe, national alliances and racism, which is linked with the theme of the responsibility to help refugees. As noted, the Irish-Australian press did not engage with the issue of World Migration. This was mainly explained by the focus of attention of the Irish-Australian press on more cultural and historical concerns and the community-level focus of the main news title, as well as the immediate impact of the Syrian war on refugees not being as prominent a story in the Australian national political or news agendas.

### *Irish-British Press*

The discourse on World Migration took place in the Irish-British press in the context of the Brexit referendum debate, with coverage of commentary on the issue by Irish public figures. At this stage, the discussion was mainly speculative because the referendum had not yet been held, nor were the terms and impact of a British exit from the EU clear, and so the discourse was largely around the ideological positions regarding inward migration to the UK. The Irish-British press paid more attention to Ireland’s obligations within the EU (19 per cent) and how EU rules might impact Irish immigration policies than did the Irish-American press (4 per cent). This theme is tied in part to the hostland current affairs, as the proposal to hold a referendum on Brexit

was in part driven by the desire for increased immigration controls. The possibility of disruption to the free flow of people between the two nations was a priority because Ireland would be forced to negotiate its position as a member of the EU and as part of the common travel zone (UK and Ireland).

One example of this focuses on comments by President Higgins on the hardship suffered by Irish migrants and the friendliness shown to them in Scotland, highlighting the shared values and communities between the two nations and expressing concerns for the disruption to this in the face of more restrictive UK borders. Another recounts the threats made to an Irish comedian after moving to London. One of the core topics in the lead-up to the Brexit referendum was immigration, and the discourse in the Irish-British press was directed at the need to preserve the open borders in Europe and facilitate a free flow of migrants around the EU. In the Irish-British press, the personal and social impact of bigotry towards others is drawn out through discourse on the negative impact of anti-immigration on the Irish and through highlighting the benefits of migration for the Irish and the countries where Irish people have migrated to, and the beneficial national alliances that have developed because of historical patterns of migration.

There is also some detailed discourse on the topic of racism, which focused on the experience of non-white Irish people in a state where the national identity has been traditionally represented as 'white'. An example of this is seen in the lengthy feature article on an autobiography called 'Black and Green', in which the experiences of racism by a black Irish man are detailed:

“As one can imagine, it would make particularly uncomfortable reading for someone who was either Irish or black. What about someone who was both? Gus was born to an Irish mother and a Biafran-Nigerian father in 1957. ‘However, I didn’t develop a mixed race identity; I developed a very black identity because it helped me survive in such a society. However, the Irish side of me also gave me a lot of strength and a fantastic insight into the concepts of race and racism’.” (*Irish World*, 06/05/2016)

### *Irish-American Press*

The Irish-American press was more focused on the issue of Ireland’s response to refugees, and this aspect of the discourse is acute because of the impact of media

agenda-setting. There is a theme of addressing the concept of whether Irish society was as “open to migrants” as it should be or whether Irish people are as open to others as they would like to think. The majority of the coverage carried a clear sentiment that Ireland is ideologically open, should be more so in terms of public policy, but is not without some problems.

The Syrian refugees coming to Europe and America were represented as comparable to Irish refugees during the Famine and the need to support and help them as the Irish were helped, is reiterated throughout the articles. Examples of this include how the refugee crisis was presented as a humanitarian crisis and the principal authority in Ireland, the President, is represented as a humanitarian leader criticising the UN and world governments for inaction and calling for more compassionate responses. His calls for the return to thinking about refugees as among the most vulnerable and the commitment to help those most in need being more than an obligation, but a matter of pride and ethics, are covered verbatim. The empathetic approach to refugees is also discussed in coverage of the Irish navy’s efforts in saving lives in the Mediterranean and bringing refugees safely to European shores. The support of refugees was represented as something overtly positive in the article that chronicled the resettlement of 86 Syrian refugees in the rural west of Ireland.

There was an explicit acknowledgement that the migrant crisis was a “sensitive issue”, a discrete way of alluding to the idea that some factions both in Ireland and America do not want to help refugees, but this type of nationalistic sentiment was presented as something negative. The advantages of migration are described in some detail within the topic of national alliances, which detailed different types of networks that were established on the basis of the success of Irish migrants abroad, such as the Ireland Fund in the USA, which was established by Irish Americans to support work in Ireland and foster cross-border activities.

However, Ireland’s approach to immigrants is not presented through rose-tinted glasses and there are acknowledgements of racism and bigotry and calls for reform where they occur. One example of this is detailed in the article headlined ‘Is Ireland racist? Many immigrants believe so’ (*Irish Central*, 06/06/2016). This issue is presented as a question, signifying that it may or may not be the case, as opposed to a statement like “Ireland is racist”. Moreover, although a statement is a more definitive

way to address the critical aspect of the issue, it is normal practice in journalism opened writing to present headlines as a question, which tends to signify ‘balance’ in approach. However, the inclusion of the stance of immigrants in the headline – ‘Immigrants think so’ – implies an answer to the question. The article presents personal experiences of racism, depicts how it occurs at multiple levels of Irish life and prioritises the voices of migrant experiences and solutions. In this piece, Ireland is represented as having endemic racism problems at multiple levels, from government structures to casual racism in everyday life.

The structures of Irish society that can exclude ethnic minorities and the detailing of experiences of racism and bigotry were presented as criticisms of Irish society, and specifically because of the continued experience of Irish migrants of the same bigotry from others. To some extent, this contrasts with some of the dominant narratives of how the Irish in America have previously represented their Irishness in relation to black Americans. However, as noted, Irish America is so big and broad that to suggest that ‘The Irish American’ is a unified demographic is unrepresentative and inaccurate.

### **8.2.7 Summary**

The Irish diaspora press in both regions represent Irish identity as empathetic and experienced. The history of Irish migration is represented as something that was traumatic, but this is presented as a shared historical experience that should inform how Irish people approach other migrants suffering similar conditions. This part of the Irish identity is also a call to act in the interests of other immigrant groups, both in terms of responses by the Irish state but also regarding the approach taken by Irish people across the world. In the topic of World Migration in particular, the Irish identity today is represented as humanitarian, but this is because of the experience of trauma of the historical Irish migration.

The capacity of the diaspora media in each of the regions to mobilise diasporans and to advocate for rights, or even just better relationship with Irish state institutions, must be taken into account. The Irish diaspora press in the USA is more vocal and aggressive in the claiming of entitlements and more forceful in the arguments for formalised political representation in Ireland. The Irish-British press is more concerned with practicalities of formalisation, such as getting access to Irish



passports more rapidly, particularly in the wake of the Brexit referendum vote. The extent to which either can influence or change the status quo in Ireland is unclear, but the Irish-American editors in chapter six view the diaspora and their role as representatives of the community as having political influence and shaping political discourse between Ireland and America. However, the issue of the ‘undocumented Irish’ has persisted over a long period of time and the themes in this region are a call for intervention, assuming to some extent that the Irish government could have some power to shape America immigration policy. While the efforts of the Irish communities in America to represent the needs of formal recognition and representation are persistent and prevalent, the extent to which they effect political change is not clear.

### **8.3 Case Three: Irish Fans at the Euros 2016**

To offer some context, the topic of Irish Fans at the Euros 2016 was an unexpected news phenomenon within this scheduled news event that began life on social media and was quickly picked up by the national, diasporic and international news agencies as a positive, viral news story. During the Euros 16, there were examples of football hooliganism and violence, as well as confrontations between the fans of some teams, with British and Russian fans drawing much of the negative coverage. Videos appeared on social media, and later in the national and international press, of violence and ordinary French people suffering from the anti-social behaviour of some fans. The problem was such that sanctions against national teams and the travelling fans were threatened by the FIFA governing body.

In contrast, the Irish fans’ participation in the Euros 16 was represented as something exceptionally positive and as an antidote to the hooliganism. Irish fans used smartphones to film their trips as they travelled through France to attend matches in different cities. The videos were then uploaded to social media and shared widely across social networks. Many ‘went viral’, which is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as a term “used to describe something that quickly becomes very popular or well known by being published on the internet or sent from person to person by email, phone, etc.” In this viral content, there were examples of groups of Irish fans engaging in large-scale sing-alongs of popular songs, random acts of kindness to strangers, animated celebrations and when property was damaged fans were filmed

apologising and atoning for their mistakes. The phenomenon received international coverage and was such a pervasive positive presence, and represented to be so, that the Irish fans received special acknowledgement for their efforts with an award from the Mayor of Paris.

There are two contextual issues that should be noted when considering the analysis, firstly regarding journalism news values and the role of social media, and secondly, regarding the broader socio-political context of Brexit.

On social media, these news stories went viral. Films of Irish fans' good behaviour towards others, largely filmed by other Irish fans, were posted on social media networks such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube, flowing between them as social content, and reposted and embedded on the websites of the news titles that published articles about them. The public shaped the placement of this story on the news agenda, and the user-generated content was licensed to news websites, often curated and republished with an article offering contextual information. 'Video' was among the most referenced terms used in the body of articles on the Irish fans at the Euros 16, with 67 individual uses of the word.

The socio-political backdrop of the coverage of the Irish fans at the Euros 16 is also worth noting. International sports events are usually decidedly apolitical and designed to overcome political tensions. However, the coverage of these events is not necessarily devoid of influence from the politics of the day. In this case, it is worth noting that the Euros 16, which took place from June 10, 2016, to July 10, 2016, coincided with 'Brexit', the UK-wide referendum on whether to leave the European Union. The Irish government was engaged in a campaign to encourage eligible Irish voters in the UK to support the 'Remain' campaign and to laud the benefits of being part of the EU. Ireland, sharing an open border with Northern Ireland and predicted to suffer economic and social upheaval on a UK exit from the EU, had at the time a special interest in representing European integration as something positive.

### **8.3.1 Framing Irish Fans at the Euros 2016**

There were 40 articles analysed in total in this case study; the majority, 35, were from the Irish-British press while five were from the Irish-American press. By the time of the Euros 2016 the Irish-Australian newspaper the *Irish Post's* dedicated website was not accessible and articles were published on social media, where it shared some of

the viral videos; *Tintean* does not deal with sports as a news category. There was no coverage of the Irish fans at the Euros recorded as published on the Irish-Australian diaspora news websites during the period. As before, the units of coding are passages of text, sentences or short paragraphs that were organised into conceptual nodes and analysed.

From the first review of the content, a total of 16 themes emerged, and as with the previous case study, during the second round of coding these frames were refined and then organised into conceptual hierarchies based on the frequency of repetition and the extent to which ideas were explicitly discussed. The approach to identifying how the Irish were represented in this body of text was derived from the main adjectives used to describe the behaviour of the fans, in turn establishing the dominant frame – that the Irish are ‘good craic’.

In analysis of the word choices and rhetorical structures in the documents, two themes emerged ahead of all others: that of ‘being funny’, which was referenced specifically 35 times in 22 articles, and ‘friendliness’, which is referenced 56 times in 22 articles. The technical framing devices in this case study are largely the headlines and the social media content, which is presented as implicit evidence of the Irish being ‘good craic’.

The idea that the Irish are fun and friendly can, in the context of culture, be described as the framing of the Irish as being ‘good craic’. The Oxford English Dictionary defines ‘craic’ as an Irish noun denoting an “enjoyable social activity; a good time”. The idea of the Irish being ‘good craic’ is not trivial; it is the foundation of million-euro tourism initiatives, marketing campaigns for Irish products or services and a range of cultural outputs. Specifically, it is related to the idea that the Irish are fun, friendly and jovial, and offer “cead mile failte” (a hundred thousand welcomes) to all those that visit the country and that this spirit travels with the Irish abroad.

The term ‘craic’ is referenced less often than ‘fun’ and ‘friendly’ but most frequently in headlines and nutgraphs/leads. However, conceptually both ‘fun’ and ‘friendly’ are terms that are used to describe the broader term ‘craic’. In this case, the idea of the Irish being ‘craic’ is established as the dominant frame, while the ideas of fun and friendliness are secondary frames. There was no evidence of a counter-narrative or any conflicting central organising idea regarding the Irish in this case.

That the Irish create a special type of atmosphere and are affable is an important part of the story that Irish people tell themselves and others about who they are, and how they are. So, it becomes necessary to explore the composition of this frame, the secondary frames and the themes more deeply.

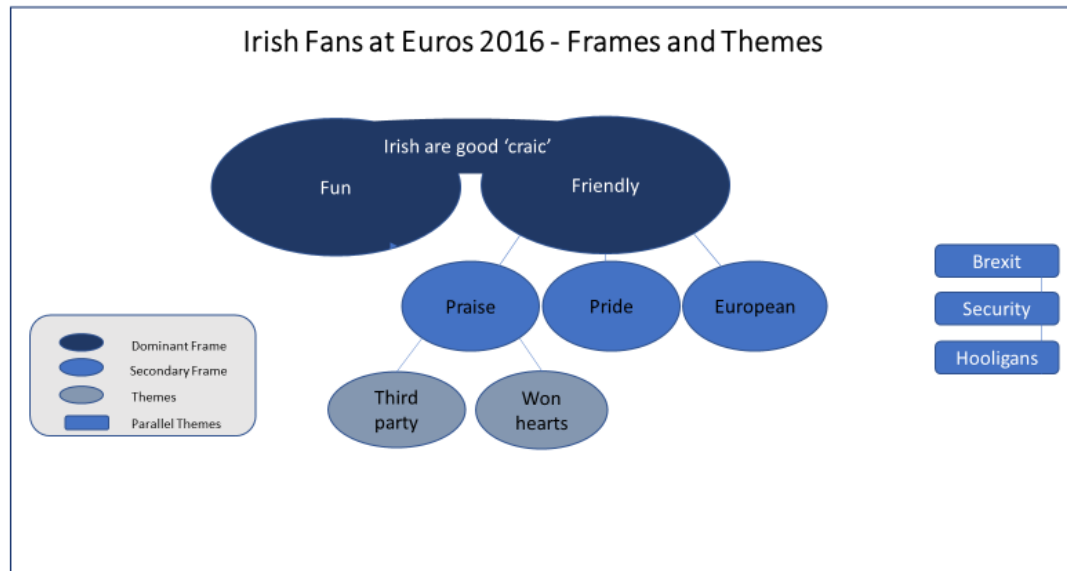


Figure 31 Conceptual map of dominant frames and themes in the case of Irish Fans at the Euros 2016.

Most articles about the Irish Fans at the Euros 16 tended to be shorter, soft-news articles that focused attention on the social media videos with some accompanying quotes from those featured in them or those who filmed the incidents, and contextual explanations. The idea of ‘the craic’ was used to describe the events that the Irish fans were engaged in. Some examples include:

“Irish fans were seen having the craic with Croatian fans.” (*Irish Post*, 15/06/16)

““It was all great craic because we were all drinking and mixing with them the night before near the Moulin Rouge,’ he said.” (*Irish Post*, 16/06/16).

“The goodwill generated, not to mention the laughter and craic, is incredible as the team tours around Europe followed by their incredibly loyal fans.” (*Irish World*, 22/06/16)

While conceptually the dominant frame is the Irish are ‘good craic’, it is generated through the combination of the secondary and supportive frames that are explicit in the content, that of the Irish being fun and friendly. These two concepts are

slightly different and warrant more detailed individual examination. The idea of ‘fun’ was represented as something experienced by the Irish fans that did not necessarily include the participation of fans from other countries. On the other hand, the idea of being ‘friendly’ inherently involved the positive engagement with others.

The idea of being ‘fun’ and ‘funny’ is a description of Irishness and the situations that Irish people created. Along with the statements about the Irish craic and fun are the humorous descriptions of the situations from the perspective of the Irish fans. The examples below show that editorial choices are describing a characteristic of the Irish as an ethnic or cultural group as being fun and funny, and that this is a quality that the Irish ‘have’ and ‘bring with them’.

“Republic of Ireland’s Euro 2016 hopes may hang in the balance, but at least the thousands of fans who have travelled to France still have their sense of humour.” (*Irish Post*, 20/06/16)

“In this one-minute clip, recorded by Sportnews Ireland and posted on YouTube, a sea of Irish football fans in Montmartre were filmed having a great time and cheering at a moving car.” (*Irish World*, 12/06/2016)

While the idea of ‘fun’ concentrates on the characteristics of the Irish, the idea of being ‘friendly’ is slightly different because it raises the question of who they are friendly to. Moreover, with whom are they striking up a friendship?<sup>31</sup>

Where the descriptions of ‘fun’ were sparse, and the humour of the situation largely presented as implicit and ‘explained’ by embedding a video in the webpage, the description of friendliness was richer and more detailed. However, regarding journalism and writing in general, it must be acknowledged that it is not good practice to explain a point of humour, as those with the cultural capital will decode it appropriately, and because of this the humour is presented as obvious. These articles

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<sup>31</sup> It is important to note at this point, and to remember during analysis, that the Euros 16 are an inherently European event featuring only European countries and the interaction between fans of national teams was limited somewhat by the format of the Euros ‘group stages’, where four teams compete to get out of the first round. The Irish diaspora press was limited to reporting the engagements with national team supporters that were in the group that Ireland was part of, other groups playing in the same cities around the same time and French locals, and so the analysis here should not be understood as reflective of Ireland’s relationship with other nations, which are omitted not because of a lack of relationship, but because of the format of the Euros.

included depictions of Irish and Croatian fans chanting and dancing together, the serenading of a French woman and French nuns, changing a flat tyre on an elderly French couple's car, singing a lullaby to a sleepy baby, singing their support for the French police, cleaning up after themselves and fixing a car that was damaged during some of the more raucous celebrations as well as stuffing it full of cash to compensate.

The friendliness frame is reinforced by the theme of 'approval', where appeals to authorities and evidence of other nationalities noticing, commenting on and welcoming the behaviour of the Irish fans formalises and legitimises the concept that the Irish are friendly and reinforces the representation of Irishness as inherently linked to 'craic'. The appeal to authority comes in two forms, one in the theme of the Irish winning hearts and praise from other fans (which had 15 explicit references) and the second in the official acknowledgement of the Irish fans' good behaviour by the footballing and French authorities (which had 29 explicit references).

On July 8th, 2016 the Irish and Northern Irish fans were awarded the Medal of Paris by the Parisian mayor, Anne Hidalgo, for their "exemplary behaviour" during the Euros, which was accepted by a young Irish fan at an official prize-giving in the capital.<sup>32</sup> The *Irish Central* in the USA quotes Hidalgo's praise of the Irish team: "In the disturbing times we live in, the acts of kindness and positivity shown by the Irish fans serve as a model and a sign of hope to all," Hidalgo said" (*Irish Central*, 09/07/16). The Irish diaspora press in both the UK and the US reported how the French sports magazine *L'Equipe* featured a two-page spread about Irish fans, how French hotel staff made a poster to thank the Irish fans, and how other media outlets had made compilation videos of the Irish fans under headings such as 'best fans in the world'.

The second type of 'appeal to authority' was to that of the French people, who were represented as having warm responses to the Irish fans, referenced 15 times in articles that focused on the social media videos as well as becoming the main focus of several articles themselves. Descriptions of the Irish winning hearts and charming locals was a common feature in many of the articles about the viral videos, so much so that it is presented as natural or assumed knowledge. For example, "It is no secret

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<sup>32</sup> The soccer fans in Ireland and Northern Ireland supported each other equitably during the Euros. While there is no doubt that they are two different nations, with separate teams, there is a powerful connection between the two and a culture that reinforces what is shared.

that Irish fans have captured the hearts of many..." (*Irish Post*, 29/06/2016), "supporters have again been charming the pants off the locals" (*Irish Post*, 21/06/2016). Examples of articles that focus only on praise included coverage of a French man's open letter to the Irish fans in which he lauded them, stating: "I love you, the Irish, and I think I am telling the truth when I say the whole France that has fallen under your charm" (*Irish Post*, 28/06/2018), and when the Irish fans received the Medal of Paris, when Hidalgo reiterated that the Irish fans had "won the hearts of the French people" (*Irish Central*, 09/07/2016).

The dominant 'craic' frame, with the supporting theme of approval, contains the theme of 'national pride', which was expressed in rhetoric around the fans being something that the country is proud of. The behaviour of fans was at times described as something emotional or positively affective for Irish people. In this way, the Irish fans are represented as accidental ambassadors. These themes serve to emphasise the representation of the Irish as charming, which solidifies and magnifies 'craic' as a dominant trait of Irishness.

Although in this case study most of the frames emerged deductively through analysis of the text and recognition of themes, in terms of cultural contextual knowledge, the idea of Irish alcohol consumption was anticipated and representations regarding this stereotype were sought out during the first rounds of readings. However, it was largely absent; the issue of alcohol was only mentioned in three articles. Stories where the secondary frame of 'friendliness' was most pervasive did not associate the phenomenon with 'alcohol'. Of the 22 stories where friendliness was pervasive, only one mentioned alcohol. The two other stories reporting on alcohol did not report on friendliness. The frame of 'friendliness' excluded representations of the drunk Irish stereotype and focused attention on more positive aspects of the Irish identity (see Appendix C).

### **8.3.2 Representations of Irish Fans**

The representation of Irish craic in diaspora newspapers was almost ubiquitous, with only three articles mentioning any negative feedback about Irish fans' behaviour. Two articles contained one sentence that indicated that the behaviour was not always well received. The *Irish Post*, when reporting a prank the Irish fans pulled, mentioned that "Not everyone on social media was happy with the lads" (*Irish Post*, 13/06/16). The

second article that carried an adverse representation was about the damage done to a car during post-match celebrations which mentioned that damage was caused by Irish fans. However, the central theme of this article was not about damage but about the efforts of the fans to fix the damage and to financially compensate the owners of the car.

Only one article was entirely negative about the Irish fans, and it evokes the dominant frame while trying to criticise it. This article was published in the Irish-American press. The headline, a technical framing device, reads “Irish fans are not all they are cracked up to be” (*Irish Central*, 22/06/16). Moreover, the article continues along the same lines, taking the same incidents that were the source of praise elsewhere, such as the sing-songs, and arguing that ‘the craic’ can be irritating and offensive. As noted by Lakoff (2009), to evoke a frame is to reinforce it, and although this article offers a different perspective by turning the idea of the Irish being ‘good craic’ on its head, it nonetheless fortifies the dominant frame while aiming to undermine the message it carries. Unlike the 1916 Centenary, coverage of which introduced different frames from the same topic, this case did not see the injection of a competing frame alongside the dominant frame, only variations on the secondary frames and the themes the frames direct attention towards.

### **8.3.3 Dominant and Secondary Frames of Fans, Regional Distribution**

This section compares the distribution of the dominant frame, secondary frames and themes across the three regions to establish whether the representation of Irishness was different in different regions. There were three contextual forces at play that should be taken into consideration when analysing the coverage of the Irish fans’ charm offensive. Firstly, there was the increased terrorist threat in France following the death of 143 people in Paris in 2015 after a terrorist attack in the city. Secondly, there was the context of Brexit and the UK departure from the European Union. Thirdly, there were ongoing problems with football hooliganism and toxic nationalism at the Euros, particularly among British and Russian fans. The amount of attention and awareness of these issues differs depending on the location of the diaspora press.

The differences between the Irish-British press and the Irish-American press are subtler than in the case study of the 1916 Centenary. There is no explicit introduction of a competing frame and the only attempt to invoke a competing



narrative to that of the Irish being good craic, while offering a different perspective nonetheless reinforces the dominant frame. As can be seen in the diagram below, the Irish-American and Irish-British press framed Irishness as ‘craic’, albeit with different emphases placed on the conceptual components, like explicit statements that they are good craic or references to humorousness and friendliness. Because of the homogeneity of this frame and the lack of a challenging frame, it is not possible to identify differences in the dominant frame between the Irish-American and Irish-British press.

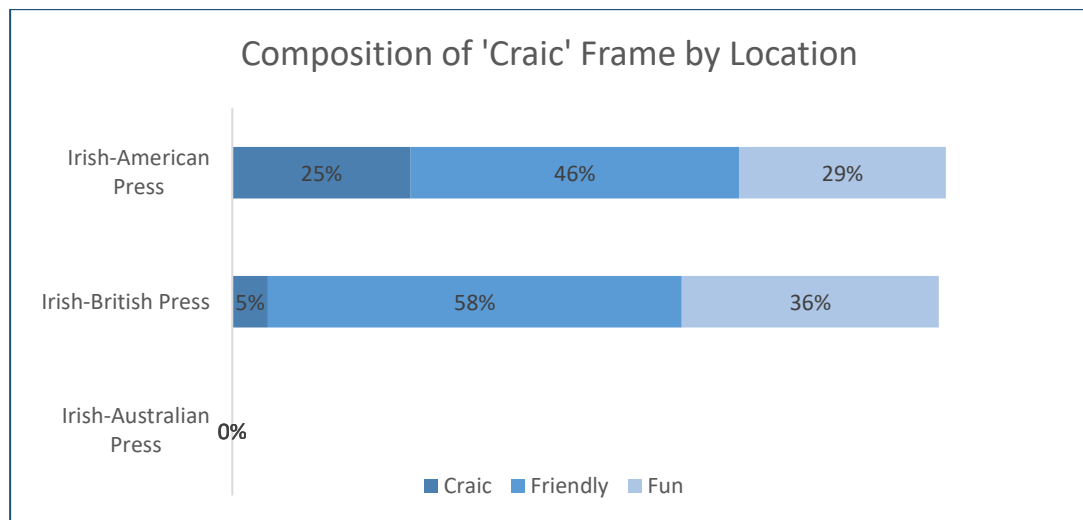


Figure 32 Dominant and secondary frames in Irish Fans at the Euros 2016, by region.

To identify differences between the representations of Irishness in each of the press locations it is necessary to examine the secondary frames and themes. The themes that emerged from the coding that most explicitly address representation of Irish identity are the theme of the Irish as ‘Europeans’ and the theme of ‘praise’ from third parties. Because the Irish-Australian press did not cover this issue, it cannot be included in the comparison. However, the editors in Australia were asked about the lack of coverage of this topic during the interview process. As well as expressing a low level of interest in the European games, the idea of representing Ireland in such an explicitly positive way was uncomfortable and “smacked of paddy-whacking”, which means it was seen as overtly sentimental and stereotypical. The omission of the topic from the Irish-Australian press on these grounds offers some insight into how Irishness is *not* represented in the region. There is no desire to present the Irish in a reductive way, and there is an overt desire to represent Irishness in all its complexity.

### *Frame: European*

The theme of representing the Irish as Europeans, and more specifically as good Europeans, emerged from repeated descriptions of the Irish as a positive part of the European community, both the footballing and the political community. This theme emerged in contrast to the representation of the other fan groups, such as the English and Russian fans, who were represented as a problematic part of the European community.

Explicit descriptions of the Irish fans developing positive relationships with other Europeans was referenced in 31 articles across the press locations.<sup>33</sup> The other Europeans are fans of the national teams that the Irish are represented as having or developing an affable relationship with. In describing the situations where the Irish were friendly, who they were friendly to were the fans of other national teams, such as the Swedish, Croatian and French. These other Europeans were represented as enjoying, participating in and supporting the Irish fans' 'craic'.

An analysis of the distribution of the European theme within the frames of 'fun' and 'friendliness' reports a stronger association between representations of the Irish as European and friendly than between representations of the Irish as fun and European. This can be attributed to the secondary frame whereby descriptions of the Irish as fun is an ingroup attribute that does not require relationships with others, and so this is a logical finding, whereas the description of the Irish as friendly inherently requires a representation of a positive relationship with other nations.

Reinforcing this characterisation of the Irish as good Europeans who get on with other good Europeans are references to hooliganism among the British and Russian fans. There were ten references to hooliganism or violence by other fans, namely the British and the Russian fans, who were represented as the antithesis of the Irish fans, engaging in disruptive, anti-social and at times criminal behaviour.

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<sup>33</sup> As noted because of the limitations imposed by the Euros the Irish fans did not interact with the fans from all the other countries but were limited representations of the other national fans of teams that were in the same group or based in the same city as an Irish game.

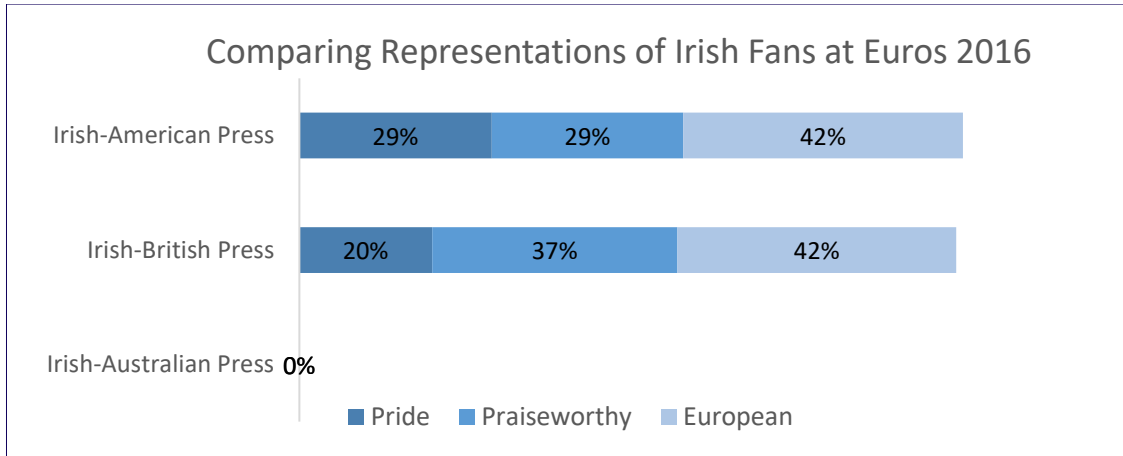


Figure 33 Themes in the case of Irish Fans at the Euros 2016, by region.

There was not a significant difference between how Irish fans were represented in the Irish-American and the Irish-British press regarding the secondary European frame or the theme of the fans being a source of pride. However, the Irish-American press did make fractionally more references to Europeanisation than the Irish-British press, while the latter was more inclined to evoke third-party praise for the Irish fans.

*Frame: Praiseworthy*

Focusing on the positive representations of the Irish fans, there was much similarity between how the two press regions described the Irish in terms of being a source of pride and also regarding the frame of ‘praise’, as well as in the themes of who was praising them. A secondary frame with the supporting theme of ‘won hearts’ which refers to third-party praise also showed very little difference in the distribution between the two regions.

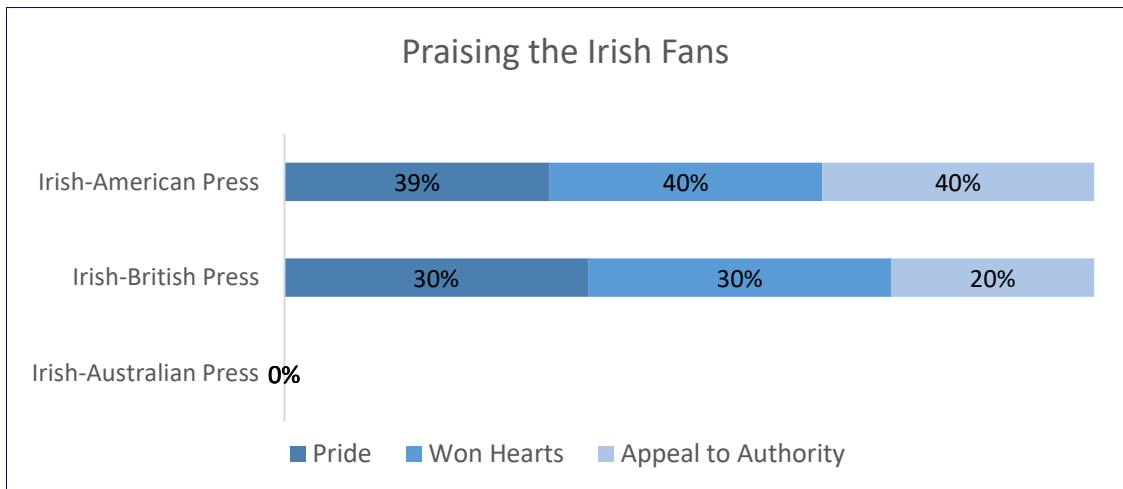


Figure 34 How Irish fans were praised at the Euros 2016.

Analysis of the texts in depth revealed an association between the dominant frame of ‘craic’ and that of ‘praiseworthy’, with only one article mentioning some form of praise without associating it with the frames of the idea of the Irish being craic, fun or friendly. All other articles that contained a discourse on praise were associated with the idea of the Irish as being ‘good craic’.

More detailed analysis to identify associations among the secondary frames and themes reports a lower level of association between the ‘fun’ frame and the theme of ‘winning hearts’ than between the ‘fun’ frame and ‘appeals to authority’. However, there are more discussions in the articles where the ‘friendly’ frame is present about the themes of winning hearts and being praiseworthy. This result is to some extent unsurprising given the more insular characterisation of the term ‘funny’ compared to the more outward characterisation of the Irish as ‘friendly’<sup>34</sup> – fifteen of the articles where the frame of ‘friendliness’ is dominant link to the theme of praiseworthiness.

Examining the association between the themes of praiseworthiness and Europeanism reports a moderately strong association between the idea of being European and being praiseworthy; about half of the articles on each frame reference the other. Understanding the nature of the associations between dominant and secondary frames, as well as the association between secondary frames, gives a sense of how cosily linked the concepts are. While the representation of the Irish as good craic is homogeneous, creating a discursive sphere which directs attention to the positive characterisation of Irishness, the secondary frames offer a sense of the how the Irish are good craic and what is associated with being this way in this situation. Being good craic means being fun and being friendly, and this, in turn, sets the stage for the secondary frames that address who they are friendly with – Europeans – and that the fun and friendly Irish identity is praiseworthy.

Looking at the distribution of the themes associated with the negative representations of others across the two regions, some differences are revealed. Brexit was equally pervasive in both regions, but there was a slightly different representation of the ‘problems’ for the Irish at the Euro. The Irish-American press was more

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<sup>34</sup> As noted, the idea of the Irish as having fun is represented as fun amongst themselves and Irish fans enjoying the games and the atmosphere as opposed to having fun with fans from other countries.

concerned with broad security arrangements, which involved issues such as terrorism and French security efforts to keep fans safe, while the Irish-British press represented the British and Russian football hooliganism as a more pressing issue. These differences can be attributed to the hostland news agendas, in that the British press during this time was concerned with covering the violence between Russian and English fans, while this was a less prevalent topic in America compared to issues regarding terrorism and security.

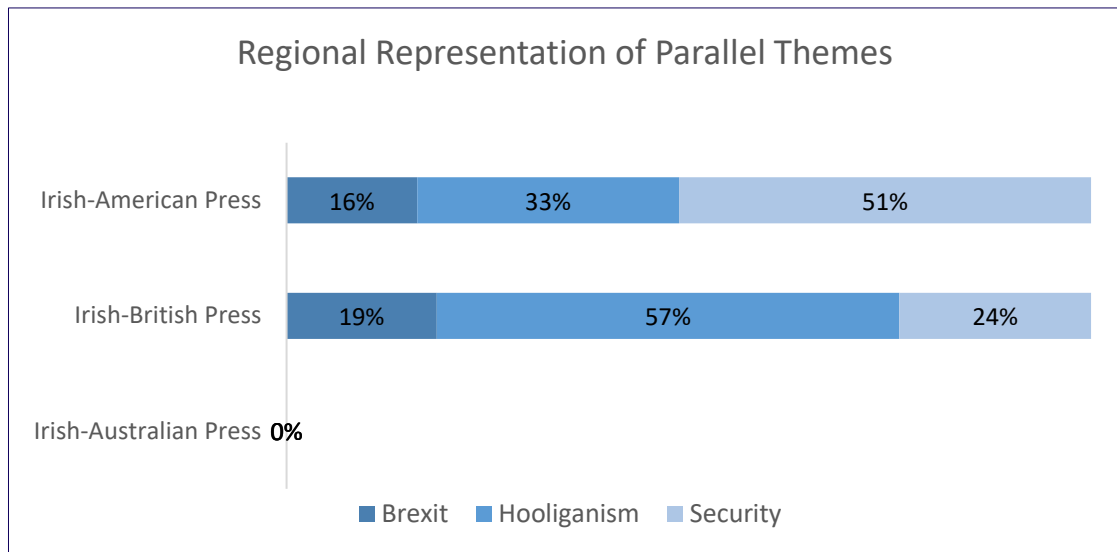


Figure 35 Parallel themes of Hooliganism, Brexit and Security.

While the analysis facilitated by NVivo does not reveal any significant differences in the distribution of frames across the regions, deeper textual analysis of the representation of Irish identity in each region is required to understand precisely how Irishness was presented.

### *Irish-American Press*

As before, it is important to discuss the types of articles published in each of the press locations. Overall there were fewer articles in the Irish-American press about Irish fans at the Euros, and much of the content was short, upbeat news articles that contained a link to social media UGC. UGC tended to be used when the story was specifically about ‘Irish fans going viral’. However, some articles compiled videos of Irish fans that contained some written commentary on each video, and there were also some opinion articles. The opinion articles about this subject carry explicit discourses regarding how the Irish fans were being represented, offering a deeper understanding of issues related to Irish identity and Irish culture.

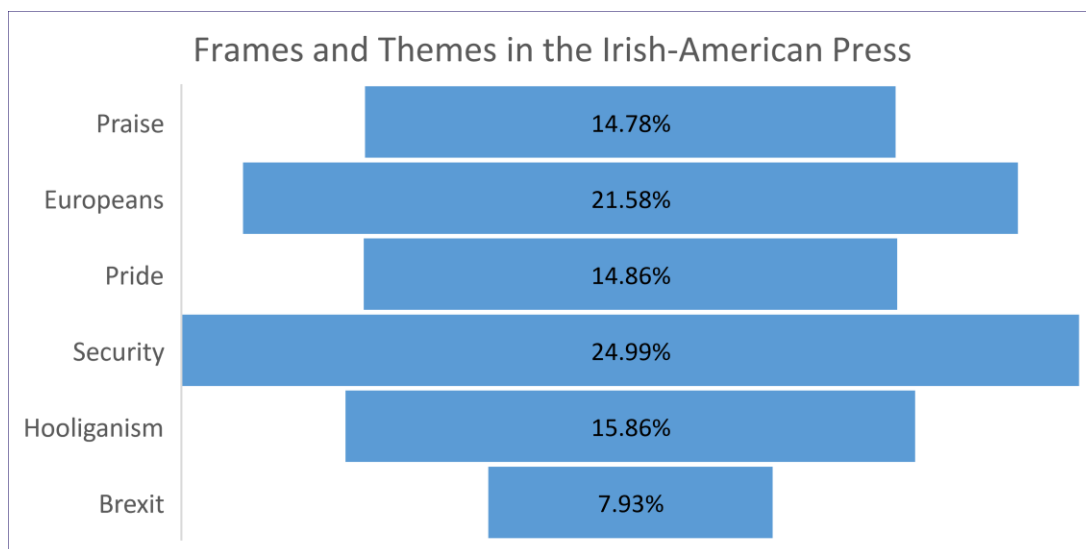


Figure 36 Frames and themes in the Irish-American press.

The article headlined “Boys in Green supporters are not all they are cracked up to be” (*Irish Central*, 23/06/2016,) tackles the self-representations of the Irish as being good craic and turn them on their head. It is the only article recorded in the Irish diaspora press during the collection period that was expressly negative about Irish culture and identity.

Although the sentiment is negative, because of the placement of ‘craic’ in the headline, an important technical framing device, and the repetition of the term throughout the article, it positions the idea as central to Irish identity and reinforces the dominant frame. However, the application of the supporting frames shows that references to the Irish being fun and friendly are linked with commentary about drinking and high jinx, which evokes the drunken Irish stereotype, meaning that it would not be appropriate to categorise this content as representing the Irish as fun or friendly. This is the only example of the Irish and drunkenness being referenced together, and this is an example of the weaker secondary frames of ‘fun’ and ‘friendliness’ in the Irish-American press. Because the fun and friendly frames are not as pervasive in the Irish-American press, the boundaries of what can be discussed are not firmly imposed and so the introduction of the frame of ‘Irish and drunkenness’ can find space.

“The Boys in Green, many of them the worse for wear, were spilling out of the bars and spilling their beers as they consulted the maps on their phones and

argued about the right way back to where they were supposed to be staying. Doorways in side streets became pissoirs.” (*Irish Central*, 23/06/2016)

This article takes the same episodes that elsewhere were represented as examples of the Irish as good craic and represents them as frustrating, irritating or in conflict with other cultural groups. Instead of charming the French locals, it describes the Irish as “marauding groups of them trying to involve the reserved Parisians in the craziness of ‘the craic’” (*Irish Central*, 23/06/2016). A passage summarises the tone of the piece:

“But a growing number of the Green Army, especially the younger recruits, insist on ‘having the craic’ in a way that can be irritating and offensive, and they think it’s hilarious pushing it down the necks of everyone around them. If you’re a tired Parisian on the way home from work in the evening you don’t necessarily want to be forced into doing Irish dancing in the street or have a leprechaun hat jammed on your head. And then there’s the amount of drink consumed. The perception that all the Irish fans are simply merry after a few beers was certainly not true in Paris.” (*Irish Central*, 23/06/2016)

However, this article was not relentlessly negative in its depictions of the Irish identity and culture. It acknowledges that many Irish people do find the ‘craic’ positive, by describing friendly episodes between Irish and Swedish fans high-fiving on the way into the stadium to compete and how a rendition of the ‘The Fields of Athenry’ “brings a lump to the throat”. The article is largely introspective, it does not rely on any appeals to authority, and there is a weak ‘friendly’ and ‘fun’ frame. There is also minimal engagement with the wider context of the Euros and the fans there, with only one mention of Brexit which in the first paragraph “parks the matter” until the results of the UK referendum are known the following week. Similarly, there is only one reference to heightened security, but it not clear what the security risk is, and it is not presented as something that is shaping the behaviour of the Irish.

This contrasts with the other lengthy and in-depth article in the Irish-American press, which describes the Irish receiving the Medal of Paris, where Irish culture and identity are clearly aligned with the frames of ‘craic’, ‘fun’ and ‘friendliness’, as well as the secondary frame of ‘praiseworthiness’. This article also contains more engagement with the wider contextual forces of terrorism, security and football hooliganism.

“She awarded the Irish fans the Parisienne medal bearing the motto ‘Fluctuat nec mergitur,’ Latin for ‘Tossed but not sunk,’ often quoted in the wake of the terrorist attack in the city that killed 148 people last year. ‘In the disturbing times we live in, the acts of kindness and positivity shown by the Irish fans serve as a model and a sign of hope to all,’ Hidalgo said.” (*Irish Central*, 07/07/2016)

It also has many references to the ‘European’ frame, including impressing the French hosts – “‘Thanks to Irish fans, we’ve seen extraordinary things,’ the mayor said. ‘We’ve seen love songs in the streets! We’ve seen baby songs in the metro! We’ve seen policemen singing with the Green Army!’” – and also having good relations with the German fans who were in the area when the medal-awarding ceremony was taking place.

To summarise, the habit of publishing more extended feature and opinion articles means that there is a more dynamic and in-depth unpacking of the broader cultural dimensions of this issue, resulting in at least one representation of the Irish identity and culture as something not overly positive. However, even in this case it is evoking the frame; it still places the idea of ‘craic’ as central to Irish culture and identity, although the supporting frames were largely inverted, to ‘unfunny’ and ‘unfriendly’.

### *Irish-British Press*

There were notably more news articles in the Irish-British press about the Irish fans at the Euros, which would be anticipated given Britain is a European country, the tournament is European, and it is high news value in the national press in both homeland and hostland. Compared to the Irish-American press, there was more use of social media content in the Irish-British press, in the form of embedded videos and pictures that were the main subject of the articles, which included additional social media commentary from Facebook posts and Tweets. Most of the articles were short, upbeat with fewer longer feature articles compared to the Irish-American press and no in-depth opinion or opinion-led feature pieces.



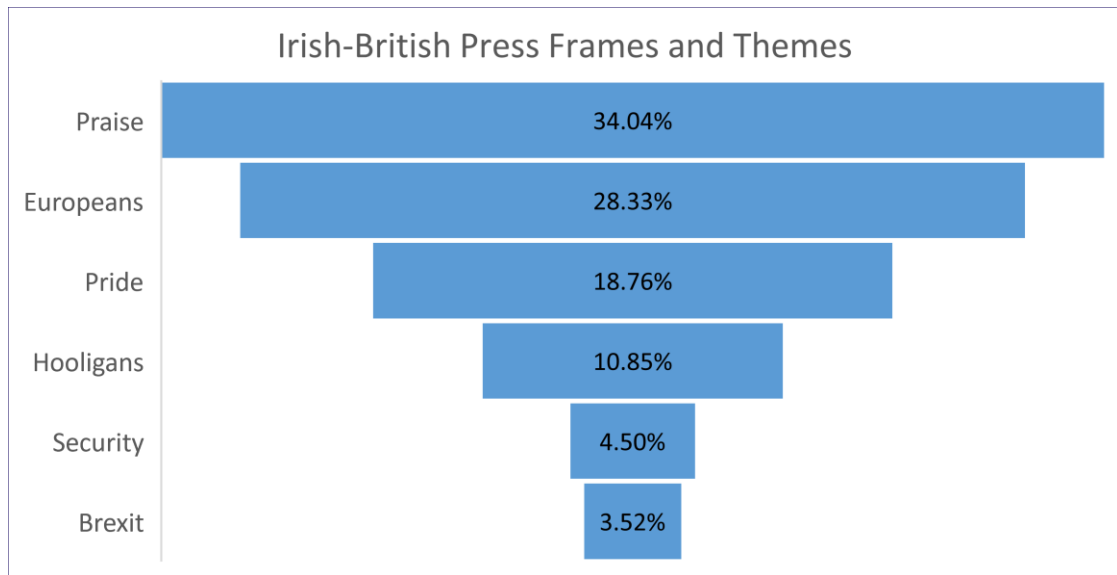


Figure 37 Frames and themes in the Irish-British press.

As elsewhere, the frame of ‘craic’ dominated without any challenge from another frame, but unlike the Irish press in the USA the supportive frames of ‘fun’ and ‘friendliness’ were far more pervasive and largely uninterrupted by negative portrayals. The only reference to a negative incident in the Irish-British press mentions the car damage that was fixed and compensated for, which was the main subject of the article. The following passage from the *Irish Post* summarises the approach.

“From what we can see, the Republic of Ireland fans and Northern Ireland fans seem to be having a whale of a time in France, with plenty of videos of their high jinx and adventures going viral on social media.” (*Irish Post*, 2016)

As in the Irish-American press, some of the articles were compilations of multiple social media videos and images containing contextualisation and commentary, so in the absence of more revelatory longer opinion or feature pieces that contained explicit discussions about Irish culture and Irish identity, these can offer some insight. The Irish-British press curated lists of the best viral videos at different stages during the Euros, which illustrate what representations were most salient in this location. The *Irish Post* published a “top five best moments so far” article in which three of the five examples were Irish fans interacting positively with other national team fans – the Croatians, the Swedes and the French – and framed the Irish as overtly friendly. The final two presented the Irish as overtly fun. The second article published at the end of the tournament had six different examples of the Irish fans’ best moments, all six of which were examples of Irish fans engaging other European supporters and French

locals. The repetition of this frame of the Irish as friendly is repeated in these feature articles where there is most room for challenging narratives, and it is similarly pervasive in the shorter news articles.

The Irish-British press were more inclined to present the Irish fans as being praiseworthy than the Irish-American press, and from this, they are more inclined to represent them as a source of pride for all Irish people. There were fifteen explicit references to Irish fans being something to be proud of or quoting an authority expressing their pride at the fans' behaviour. This characteristic of being good craic, particularly when represented together with this having a positive impact on others, is sometimes presented as deeply emotional and moving; the Irish fans were described as "heart-warming", "touching" and "moving". This is not just a descriptive characteristic; it is presented as something that should be aspired to by Irish people and something that is admired by others.

Looking in more detail at the 'praiseworthy' frame, and how the Irish are represented as charming and winning hearts, the Irish-British press was more inclined to appeal to authorities to legitimise the representation. Both press sites quoted the President of Ireland Michael D. Higgins, Irish footballers who showed gratitude for fans' support, and Parisian Mayor Hidalgo when presenting the Medal of Paris, but the Irish-British press featured more Hidalgo's comments in more detail, and the appeals to authority were more pervasive across all of the articles published. As well as national or governmental-level political authorities, there was a range of other authorities used by the Irish-British press, including other media platforms such as *La Parisian*, and the *Thai Times*, and social media posts by famous people about the Irish fans. This idea of the Irish craic as being praiseworthy, and that this is acknowledged both by normal people who were charmed and by authorities who praised it, is one of the main representations of Irish identity and culture in the Irish-British press and is much more homogeneous in its presentation.

The Irish-British press were also more inclined to discuss the 'Europeanness' frame. Some examples of how the Irish were framed as good Europeans in articles include:

"Amid the disappointing reports of rowdy fans clashing in Marseille, it seems the Irish who have travelled to France for the European Championship have been 'very well behaved', according to Gardaí. [...] 'They're very popular

throughout Europe. Over here they've been very, very well received', he said. The fans keeping it friendly with Croatian fans." (*Irish World*, 13/06/2016)

"They drew with Sweden, where the fans joyously sang 'Abba' songs with the Swedish supporters before the game, and mixed and mingled in total harmony." (*Irish Post*, 13/06/2016)

In terms of comparing how threats and violence were represented in the Irish-American and Irish-British press, the former showed more awareness of wider security issues and the political issue of Brexit, which would be reflective of the higher preoccupation with political news in the Irish-American press.

The Irish-British press also showed some awareness of the contextual issue of security threats in the form of terrorism, through depictions of the Irish fans being helpful to the French police and through quoting authorities who mentioned it while offering praise. It was not unpacked in detail and is presented in the form of context for readers, not simply to inform them but to emphasise the difficulties of the French authorities and the lack of trouble that the Irish are to host: "With tensions high on the streets of Paris, Marseille and beyond, here's hoping the good behaviour continues" (*Irish World*, 12/06/2016).

The Irish-British press mainly focused on the issue of hooliganism, differentiating the Irish culture from those of the British and Russians fans. It often represents the 'unruly' English Fans by contrast to the 'friendly' Irish:

"The tournament so far [...] has been blighted by violence in several cities across the country [...] Our Irish friends leading the way, nothing to do with the English in the areas around the stadiums." (*Irish Post*, 20/06/2016)

"The good humour and behaviour of the Irish fans has stood out in stark relief, with the beginning of the tournament marred by violent clashes between some Russian and English supporters." (*Irish World*, 23/06/2016)

## 8.4 Summary

This section addressed the representation of Irish identity through historical remembering, the relationship with home and sports.

In the diaspora press, the Irish are represented as largely commemorating and taking a solemn approach to the 1916 Rising. The deaths, destruction and damage that the Rising wrought on people and on the city of Dublin were to the fore of the discourse. However, the themes regarding the recognition of people previously omitted from Irish memorials, a stated goal of the Irish government's commemoration campaign, was picked upon in most regions, especially the recognition of women's participation. However, this was not to celebrate women's participation, but to illustrate the role they played in the event. The Centenary was largely depoliticised by these representations – it was not represented as an act of Irish national self-determination or as the beginning of the road to independence.

Associated with this is how Irish identity is constructed in relation to Britishness and British colonialism. The approach of reconciliation and reflection included remembering the deaths of the British caused by the Irish rebels. The frame of 'commemoration' and the subframes and themes did not incorporate discourse on the reason for the Rising, the need to separate from Britain or the benefits for Ireland for having done so.

However, the 'celebration' frame was not overtly anti-British and did not represent the Irish identity in relation to British colonialism but rather regarded it as a precursor to independence and a broader sense of anti-colonialism. This frame did not represent the Irish as having negative attitudes to the British but rather as being proud of the establishment of the Irish state, the Proclamation of Independence and the values of the past that should be recognised today, such as the appreciation for underdogs and anti-colonialism. In this regard, although the challenging frame represents the Irish as celebrating the Rising, it is not explicitly celebrating the defeat of the British, and Irish identity is not represented as overtly nationalistic or republican. This challenging frame emerges from the Irish-American press, where Independence Day is not celebrated in reference to the separation from the British Empire or regarded as an act of anti-Britishness. With the pervasiveness of the digital distribution of news content, it is not clear to what extent the idea of Irish culture as celebrating the 1916 Rising can disrupt the dominant representations of Irish identity remembering this as a solemn event in other diasporic sites or at home.

The case study on the coverage of issues related to migration shows that the diaspora press represents the diasporic identity as a legitimate Irish identity. However, in doing so, it also implies that the Irish in Ireland and the Irish state do not necessarily do so, and more should be done to redress this. In framing the experiential and practical challenges to migration as challenging, the diasporic identity is represented as having been through a different, negative, at times traumatic experience, compared to the Irish in Ireland. However, this experience is constructive with respect to how the diaspora press represented Irish identity in relation to other migrant groups. The message in this regard is clear – the Irish suffered the same, and should treat others as we wanted to be treated, with welcome and kindness and recognition of the trauma. Irish identity is not represented as being anti-immigrant but rather as pro-immigrant and supportive of refugees. The interaction of the historical experience and the contemporary approach to migration in this regard is uncomplicated.

The subtheme of the responsibility of Europe in the case of World Migration was not a central theme, but it is present and somewhat associated with the representation of Irish identity in the Euros 2016 as European. In this case, the representation of Irish identity was not just that the Irish are good craic, although that is explicit, and uniform throughout the diasporic regions. This idea of the Irish as craic obscures the subtext underpinning the meanings in this case: the Irish are European and, specifically, they are good Europeans who get on with other good Europeans. In this case, Irish identity was represented in relation to British identity through the representation of the British and the Russians as the cause of problems at the event. ‘They’ are not good Europeans but the Irish are exemplary. However, this should not be interpreted as a form of anti-Britishness within a sense of Irish nationalism. This event took place within the context of the Brexit debate, and it is more associated with who is and who is not European.

The specific representations of Irish identity in the diaspora press are more shaped by the cultural contexts of the diaspora community in different hostlands, while what is selected is constituted by both the cultural context and journalistic factors. The following chapter will address analysis of the representation of Irishness through the circuit of cultural production in more detail.

This section addressed the latter part of the representation process as outlined in chapter three regarding how Irish identity is represented in the text produced by the digital diaspora press. As outlined in chapter five, the frames represent the central organising ideas regarding a particular subject matter; in these cases these ideas reveal the discursive construction and representation of Irish identity.

Irish identity with respect to collective remembering of the foundation of the Irish state in the 1916 Centenary case study and how this informs what it means to be Irish today is represented as a complex negotiation of recognition of a shared violent past with the outcome of freedom and independence. In this respect, Irish identity is not presented as a simplistic dichotomy of regret for this political violence or celebration of the defeat of the British Empire. Even where celebration was the dominant frame, the Irish identity was not represented as anti-British but rather as appreciative of the Rising leaders and rebels, and the freedom to pursue peacebuilding.

In the case of the topic of Migration, the subtopic of Irish Migration gave insight into the representation of the diasporic identity as former refugees or as having suffered hardship during migration. This part of the diasporic identity was mobilised to inform the representation of contemporary Irish identity regarding the approach to other migrant groups, which was in solidarity and with sympathy.

Finally, Irish identity in the case of the Irish Fans at the Euros 2016 was represented as 'good craic'. However, the subtext in this was the representation of the Irish as good Europeans and good migrants. The following chapter, chapter nine, will synthesise and analyse these case studies, along with the interviews from chapter six regarding the organisational factors and the news flows and regional news agenda from chapter seven, to address the process of representing Irishness in digital diaspora journalism.

## Chapter Nine: Analysis of the Production of Irishness in Irish Diaspora Journalism

This chapter analyses the process of diaspora news production in the hybrid media system through the lens of the circuit of cultural production (Hall *et al.*, 2013) and synthesises the critical issues and new insights derived from the empirical process. It takes each research question in turn, explains how it was addressed, outlines the finding and discusses the results.

Diaspora news production is a process that begins with newsgathering and ends with the social, cultural and political impact of its distribution; it is influenced by and impacts on the flow of representations regarding Irishness. By taking an approach that encompasses the production process of the text, in terms of both material and immaterial, symbolic or ideological aspects, it was possible to identify and establish the factors, both journalistic and contextual that interact to shape diaspora news and the representations of Irishness. These include the material factors such as resources, which are also shaped by the audience size and engagement, the organisational factors in terms of gathering and producing news about Ireland, the cultures of journalism that set boundaries on what topics are approached and how. The specific historical contexts of migration and the influence of the contemporary hostland news agenda also shape editorial judgements regarding what stories to produce and how to present them. No one of these forces overrules others but both the journalistic and cultural factors are co-constructive in the process of producing diaspora news content that creates the culture flows which carry the symbolic meanings and representations of Irishness. In other words, it is not possible to fairly analyse the volume of representation of news topics or the contents of news articles without recognising that there are limitations and affordances to what diaspora news media can access to reproduce and the mediums they produce it for. Similarly, it is not possible to fairly analyse the representation of national cultural identity in diasporas without recognising the historically situated differences between diasporic communities and the influence of hostland news agendas on what about the homeland is considered to be most important.

## **9.1 Political Economy**

**RQ 1: To address the antecedent conditions outlined in chapter two, the first set of research questions asks what the contexts of producing Irish diaspora journalism are and how the context shapes what is selected and represented in diaspora news.**

Through interviews, this research established that diaspora news media are adapting the hybrid media system with respect to the material resources available to them. In this system there are a range of material forces that shape the diasporic news production process. These include the political economy of newsrooms regarding the resources available, the conditions in which the news is processed, such as how newsrooms are organised and digitally networked, as well as cultural factors that affect the cultures of journalism, particularly regulatory differences. In interviews with editors, barriers and affordances in newsgathering, the need for digital natives in newsrooms to utilise social media effectively for both gathering and distribution, the impact of digital and print advertising on revenue and the opportunities of differences in regulation between Ireland and host countries are detailed. However, the material realities themselves are shaped by the historical experiences of migration of the diaspora communities. The volume of migrants does not denote the size of the audience for diaspora news and the more engaged a diaspora is with diaspora news the more resources and institutional influence the news organisation can have. This section will address each of the sub research questions and how the interviews from chapter six addressed them.

### **9.1.1 Material Realities**

**RQ 1.1: What are the material factors that shape news production and what was the impact of digitisation on the Irish diaspora press?**

This research question was addressed in chapter six, which established that there is a range of material forces that shape the news production process in terms of both barriers and benefits. The main challenges editors described were the composition of the human resources, the funding available for commissioning, and the impact of digitisation. The political economy is operationalised in this research regarding the material resources of diaspora newsrooms that impact on newsgathering, which include the human resources, the transnational business and informational networks



they are party to, and the technological engagement. At this level, the political economy of diaspora newsrooms shapes newsgathering because how limited resources are managed shapes what *can be* identified on other digital platforms and from traditional news sources in Ireland.

One of the most prominent challenges in newsgathering described by editors was the demographic make-up of the newsrooms, in particular the need for younger digital natives among the workforce to tap into social media and digital news sources. Editors, all of whom who began working in the print era and then adopted new digital technologies, described leaving the responsibilities for social media newsgathering and distribution to the younger members of the workforce. This is important for diaspora journalism in terms of developing and implementing digital newsgathering and distribution strategies as well as who can best adapt to them. Where there is a lack of ‘youth factor’ or a digital native in newsrooms, editors say the conditions for engaging with new digital practices are more challenging and the audience harder to reach, which has the potential to stagnate growth. Gillespie (2008) suggests that diasporas are often on the cutting edge of adopting new communication technologies. However, news media evolutions and the capacity to meet audience adaptation of new tech are dependent on resources available to invest in and deploy new production methods and distribution channels. This indicates that younger diaspora journalists are needed for the diaspora news to better adapt to the hybrid media system.

However, the importance of human resources for adopting emerging technologies is not something specific to diaspora journalism or journalism in general. Younger generations have traditionally been quicker at adopting emerging technologies and doing so more ubiquitously than older generations. Those who grew up with digital communications technology (digital natives) are also separated generationally, to an extent. For example, Snapchat, being used either socially or as a news distribution channel, was primarily targeted at and adopted by 16–24-year-olds where older age groups more commonly use Facebook (DNR, 2016). However, with the growth of digital media platforms, there is increased pressure on news organisations to maintain the pace of technological advancement to meet audience demands, something that is much easier to achieve in larger organisations with more resources. The move online has forced most news titles to branch out and develop

content that works across traditional and digital platforms, and the same is true for the Irish digital diaspora press.

The second factor regarding the available human resources that emerged from interviews was the nature of the expertise and knowledge base of the journalists. Many of the editors described the benefits of having specialist knowledge of issues related to Ireland across a variety of topics, from Eurovision to the Troubles. Similarly, some described the lack of a knowledge base among the workforce as a barrier to covering Irish current affairs meaningfully – for example, the impact of Brexit. Although not discussed by all editors, a third factor that editors identified as critical to the capacity to cover Irish news was the availability of a commissioning budget. The less-well-resourced newsrooms' editors described the limitations of having a small or no commissioning budget when there are specific stories that they would like to cover from Ireland or other diaspora communities.

As detailed in chapter two, Gillespie (2006) underlines the need to consider how the financial and intellectual capital available to practitioners might shape the production of diaspora journalism. Such concerns regarding the material realities faced by newsrooms are also raised by Siapera (2010) and Shumow (2014), who recognise how funding and sustainability are substantial forces that shape what newsrooms can achieve in their work. This research establishes that diaspora newsrooms feel that the human resources – the need for digital natives and the need for expertise in news topics – are critical to this. Herman and Chomsky, (1988) highlight the need to establish how resources are managed to fully understand how news is produced, and this research establishes that in the same way as mainstream news, what diaspora newsrooms choose to concentrate their attention on is shaped by what human resources are available to be deployed to cover a topic. As noted in chapter two, both Herman and Chomsky (1988) and Bagdikian (2004) stress the potential for ownership to exert influence on newsrooms, but this was not an influence that was discussed by editors. Nonetheless, the business model means that resources are deployed largely to reproduce news stories about Ireland already in circulation and offer the migrant perspective rather than produce original content

While Hall *et al.* (2013) examine the process of cultural production, the origin of the process is not incorporated into the analysis; it is necessary to examine the

conditions in which texts are prepared for processing to fully understand what shapes the different stages in the circuit. Without considering this, it is not possible to establish the antecedent forces that weigh on the process or what components are selected for processing and why. In discussing the application of the circuit of cultural production, they suggest that it does not matter at which point in the process the researcher begins their examination. However, this research suggests that it is necessary to establish the conditions that preceded the production process to understand what can be done with what resources are available to appropriately identify and explain why a cultural artefact is produced how it is. The material realities influence the context in which news is prepared for processing and shapes what *can be* achieved, which is necessary to incorporate into the analysis that investigates what *is* achieved.

The political economy is only one factor that shapes news stories regarding Ireland that can be processed in diaspora newsrooms, but it is an important one because it ultimately directs how much news can be produced and where diaspora newsmakers go to gather news about Ireland. The next stage in the process, the newsgathering and news selection is addressed in more detail in the following section, which examines the organisational factors that shape the production of Irishness.

### **9.1.2 Organisational Factors**

#### **RQ 1.2: What are the organisational factors that shape the production of diaspora journalism?**

Interviews with editors described two main organisational factors that shape some of the stages in the news production process, particularly newsgathering and news distribution. While newsgathering shapes what about Ireland and Irishness is represented, distribution shapes how it is presented and what platforms it is produced for. Diaspora editors described how human resources, the work routines of journalists and the business networks of diaspora newsrooms could shape the newsgathering part of the production process, as well the distribution part of news-making. In the specific case of newsgathering in Irish diaspora news media, the problem of access was present for the journalism produced both inside and outside Ireland. All the editors described the geographical distance as a barrier: the reality of

not having people on the ground and not having journalists embedded in the day-to-day of Irish society to dig up, access information or investigate issues of importance.

Interviews with editors describe a daily process of reviewing a range of Irish news media sources as well as having an influx of PR and political communications. However, the national news media of Ireland were discussed more pervasively and in more detail by the diaspora editors. Reviewing other news sources to inform what stories should be covered is a feature of many newsrooms; for example, morning radio shows in Ireland such as *Morning Ireland* have a segment that explains what the leading stories in the newspapers are. In this regard, the diaspora press is not exceptional. However, mainstream news media have been found to be aligned with elite national interests by elevating social, political and cultural developments that are important to societies' elites, and have lower levels of engagement with topics or issues that affect minority or marginal interests (Herman and Chomsky, 1988; McChesney, Robert W. and Schiller, 2003; Ogunyemi, 2014). This study shows differences in the editorial news agendas of diaspora in each region and previous studies that show differences between diaspora news and Irish mainstream journalism (Kirk, 2019) which reveal how Irish identities represented are both hybrid (Hall, 1989) and historically situated (Appadurai, 1996). Editors expressed the opinion that the function of diaspora news is to prioritise information that is of specific interest to the regionally defined community that is not present in the national news of their homeland or hostland. If the mainstream news media overlook a topic or a story, it may not be easily identifiable as newsworthy enough to select to reproduce to a deterritorialised audience. Editors also describe how the reliance on national news media shapes how they approach a story. The reliance on other media sources and official communications that often appear in multiple news titles raises questions regarding the plurality of content and representations of Irishness. If many of the topics are guided by mainstream news media and those least relevant are omitted and the most relevant are selected for reproduction, this suggests that the diaspora news media to some extent reproduce news stories already in circulation, albeit with a different angle. This indicates that Irish national news still largely shapes what stories about Ireland and the Irish are told.

In chapter six, diaspora editors described the challenge of extracting not just the story but the details of the story that are most relevant to the diaspora audience

from news media based in Ireland. Even where a newsworthy topic is featured in mainstream or local Irish news, editors said that it might not be very detailed, and it can be challenging to access relevant information from sources or people on the ground in Ireland. The news agenda in Ireland was described by editors as often prioritising stories that have little interest to their audience, which results in less information being provided about local stories that would be of acute interest to diaspora editors and the diaspora audience. Similarly, news editors discussed the difficulties of getting reporters on the ground to cover local stories that are of specific interest to diasporas but are not featured heavily in the homeland news media. Such stories can be covered, but diaspora newsmakers are limited in what they can reproduce because the information is not readily available and difficult to access in a meaningful timeframe.

To a certain extent, the reliance on social media as a source of homeland news mitigates the limitations of reliance on the mainstream press, in that the trending topics on these platforms are driven by interest and engagement of users, leading to more of a bottom-up news agenda. As research comparing mainstream news and social media shows, there can be stark differences between what issues are prioritised by national editors and by citizens (Boczkowski and Mitchelstein, 2013). Also, social platforms can be considered to be a point of ‘direct access’ to individuals who may have more detailed information about stories. However, in relying on social media, editors say they can also run into difficulties because they sometimes cannot validate information, establish the reliability of sources and extract the ‘good’ sources of information from the extensive volume of social media posts on any given topic. However, the extent to which social media is used as a source of news was described as dependent on whether there was a digital native in the newsroom.

The organisation of the newsrooms, and how the role of diaspora journalism is conceptualised by diaspora editors, were factors described as shaping the lack of engagement with breaking news. The importance of the news cycle as outlined by Kautsky and Windom (2008), Cottle and Rai (2007) and Welbers *et al.* (2017) was discussed in chapter two. The diaspora editors describe their engagement in the news cycles as shaped by the realities of geographical distance and how they conceptualise their role in the broader Irish news ecology. The interviews that describe the daily and weekly routines of newsgathering suggest this process shapes what stories can

be identified as newsworthy enough to be reproduced, which is particularly crucial for the newsrooms so far removed from the country that they are reporting on. This is seen in the absence of Breaking News as a category because diaspora news is competing with home and hostland nationals in providing immediate information. Editors described breaking news as a beat already covered by national titles and characterised the role of diaspora journalism as interpreting the outcome of breaking news situations' impact on Irish communities and identifying the angle that would be of interest to them. This also means that news cycles have little influence on news selection: Irish diaspora titles east of the central time zone are not affected by the fact that the Irish daily news cycle does not begin for a few hours, nor is there pressure on newsrooms west of the central time zone to keep up with the news. Additionally, regarding content, it means that the diaspora press mostly deals with 'complete' stories, as opposed to providing patchwork information as situations around breaking news develop.

Pavlik (2000) describes some of the ways in which digitisation impacts mainstream news: how journalists do their work, the structure of the organisation and the relationship between organisations. In interviews with editors, they report digitisation influencing their newsrooms in these ways, in that resources must be deployed to gather and distribute news online, that the organisations developed hybrid practices that incorporate both print and digital journalism and that some news routines take place in departments run by the wider corporate organisation as opposed within the diaspora newsroom. What this research establishes is that both digital and print production coverage in the newsroom is similar to that in mainstream news media and that editors view this as having both positive and negative effects. The positive benefits outlined were the immediacy, volume and richness of news content from home available in the national news media and social media (where this is used as a news source). The centralisation of some work practices in one department in the wider corporate structure alleviates the need for the newsroom to invest in specialist skills as it can share these resources with other titles in the company.

Editors reported a range of ways in which the digitisation of news either benefited and burdened their newsrooms as the diaspora titles adopted and incorporated a range of digital practices alongside the legacy production models. The

editors described how the traditions of older and newer media are interdependent in diaspora newsrooms. For example, regarding scheduling news publication, to ensure that the revenue from advertising and sales is maintained, some news articles are scheduled to appear first in the printed newspaper rather than the news website, while other articles are digital first and only.

The balancing of print and online has also helped some diaspora news organisations with how they connect with communities. The printed newspapers have limited space and, as one of the editors noted, the number of pages in a print edition of a paper can grow or shrink depending on the time of year, with fewer pages during the summer when readers are on holiday. The limitation on space in print means that some content is omitted, which can leave some people in the community of readers unhappy with the lack of representation, mainly if there was an expectation that they or their event would be featured. The excess articles that do not make it into print can be published online, which satisfies the needs of reader and producer. “We can also just load up the story online and just leave it there on the web anyway. So that gives us extra leeway in terms of if there’s an overflow,” said one editor.

This research found that diaspora editors reported that the print–digital relationship is also crucial regarding revenue from advertising. Most of these news organisations are not wholly reliant on a ‘clicks for cash’ model, which introduced demands for content’s viral potential, extended reach on social platforms and the need to incorporate characteristics in content that would facilitate this, although some editors did describe the occasional need to consider the marketing of the paper through the news articles in this fashion. However, editors reported other revenue streams to support diaspora journalism beyond those from digital platforms, which could take the pressure off having to tailor content to reap the financial rewards of online popularity, whether it came from the sale of newspapers, the advertising placed in them or the extended corporate structure in the form of hosting events. That many Irish diaspora news organisations have multiple revenue streams is a positive situation for the quality of the content, the sustainability of the media business and the role of news organisations in communities for meeting diasporic informational needs. Another way in which some diaspora editors report the digitisation process has shaped how production routes are organised is that parts of the presentation process can be allocated to other departments in the wider organisational network.

For example, in one newspaper some parts of the pagination and news presentation are centralised in one department within the organisation, which is based in Belfast.

Siapera (2010) underlines the importance of considering the commercialisation of diaspora news in analysing the content that is produced, and Kperogi (2010) calls for how the ‘violence’ of digitisation on mainstream news has impacted diaspora news to be further investigated. This research finds the impact of advertising revenue from digital distribution was reported by some editors to be a significant challenge and they also describe a lack of control over this environment.

Chapter six outlines how editors view the impact of the need to distribute news via Google and Facebook to reach their audience even though they “gobble up” advertising revenue. Distributing news via these channels also shapes how the newsrooms are organised in that it means that some members of staff in the newsroom have to have the necessary skills to effectively present news in such a way that they will gain traction on these platforms. However, the requirement to distribute news on social media was not reported to have the same impact in all diaspora newsrooms, as other editors, particularly those who produce more community-style journalism, described themselves as more insulated from the impact of falling revenue from digital advertising because the newspaper was still an important form of distribution. The typology of news as outlined by Shumow (2014) in this respect shapes the organisation of diaspora newsroom and the revenue streams. In this regard, some diaspora news organisations report feeling similar pressures as mainstream news to invest in optimising monetisation of online content while being unsure of how because of the dependency on social media for distribution, as outlined by Bell (2016), Horgan (2016) and Uberti (2017).

### **9.1.3 Cultures of Journalism**

#### **RQ 1.3: How do cultures of journalism in different hostlands shape how Ireland is represented in the diaspora press?**

It is also essential to take account of the locations of Irish diaspora journalism in western nations when considering the news cultures and the journalistic paradigms to which the diaspora news media are aligned. While the production of Irishness is decentralised, it is still very much situated within the liberal journalistic models



(Hallin and Mancini, 2004). However, within this model, Hanusch (2009) and Esser (1998) establish that there are national differences, which opens up the possibility of cultural differences in diaspora journalism located in different regions. While Schudson (1989), Geisler (2004) and Berkowitz (2011) describe a range of factors that can shape journalism cultures, two main factors emerge from the interviews with editors, who describe their professional identity and regulation as the main influences in their work. This supports Skjerdal (2014), who similarly identifies professional identity as an important component in journalism cultures, and Kperogi (2011), who identifies regulatory differences between regions as shaping the boundaries of what can and cannot be said.

Diaspora editors define their professional identity as being similar to that of mainstream journalists and describe an aversion to distorting news, for any reason, because they value independence and ethics in their work. There is a high degree of similarity across all regions regarding how editors conceptualise their work in relation to values and practices. Indeed, the news flow and news agenda analysis in chapter seven shows a wide range of topics that can present both positive and negative images of Ireland, from tourist hot-spots on the one hand to failures in the health system on the other. These findings challenge popular ideas that Irish diaspora news organisations, as outlined in chapter one, present a largely distorted, overly romantic view of Ireland. Editors report engaging with polarising subjects and using the expertise available to treat such stories fairly, accurately and meaningfully.

The second way in which the culture of journalism shapes their work, according to some editors, relates to regulation, which applies formal boundaries regarding how news can be presented. The news organisations in this study are situated within the liberal journalistic paradigm but report subtle differences in the news cultures. Between the UK, Australia and Ireland, editors do not report any significant regulatory differences that would shape news production regarding the selection of topics and how issues are represented. The media regulation guidelines in the UK, Australia and Ireland are quite similar, in that the press regulators have very comparable sets of principles and there are powerful defamation laws. However, the regulatory system in the USA is notably different, and this emerges as an important factor for the Irish-American news editors. Irish-American diaspora editors describe the value of the First Amendment in the USA, which is a

constitutional right that prevents the government from making laws that would abridge the freedom of speech or the press. It guarantees freedom of the press and diaspora news editors report embracing this in how they describe journalism values and practices. Indeed, it was described as so important that it was “God-given” and gave them the opportunity to tell the Irish government “where to go”, if they so wished. This sense of aspiration to be free in their journalism was not echoed in interviews with editors in other regions.

The impact of this is twofold: on the one hand, there are questions regarding what it means to the respective regional news environments, and on the other, questions about the impact on the transnational Irish news environment as a whole. In one respect, it means that the diaspora news in each region is qualitatively different and that audiences are receiving potentially conflicting messages about home. At the same time, these variations mean that there is more diversity in transnational news ecology, which is fed by a range of actors with different perspectives, particularly in the online information environment, where audiences in any region can access the news.

Research in diaspora journalism by Kperogi (2011) found that diaspora news media in locations with more press freedoms have a stronger capacity to cover and investigate news and make an impact in homelands where the press freedoms are more restricted. While in the case of Ireland press freedom is not as heavily restricted as in more regressive authoritarian regimes, the Irish news media have campaigned for a reformation of defamation laws which, they argue, have a chilling effect on critical coverage. However, the differences in press cultures among Irish diaspora regions means they support a wider diversity of journalism styles in the transnational Irish media system. For example, the presence of campaign journalism, where the news media actively seek changes by the government to the administration of the state, is a feature in the UK and the USA but is not common in Ireland.

The location of diaspora news media in different press cultures does mean that each region has a qualitatively different character that emerges in the journalism, but more importantly, it is this difference that facilitates disruption of essentialist representations through the injection of diversity into the overall transnational mediascape. Diaspora journalism research that compares or measures diaspora

journalists' professionalism shows that they are shaped by the professional values of the hostland culture where they are based (Matsaganis and Katz, 2013). However, while there are shared values within the liberal paradigm, such as accuracy, fairness, balance, respect for privacy or grief, there are also subtle differences in how values are interpreted and manifested in different countries and different sectors of journalism. The differences in news cultures is not substantive, given that all news titles operate in the same media systems, as defined by Hallin and Mancini (2004), but nonetheless there are boundaries in some regions that are not present in others that need to be recognised when comparing regions.

## **9.2 News Flows and News Agendas**

### **9.2.1 News Selection**

**RQ 2: To understand what stories about the Irish are told by diaspora newsmakers, the second set of research questions addresses what news stories about Ireland are selected and prioritised for representation.**

This section addresses the textual part of the circuit of cultural production (Hall *et al.*, 2013) by examining what items are chosen to be reproduced in the diaspora press, as detailed in chapter seven, which reveal the culture or news flows discussed in chapter three. Östgaard (1965) established three phases that describe what happens during the process, the selection and the writing and publishing of news; this section addresses the selection phase, identifying the characteristics of news stories from Ireland that are considered to be most newsworthy by diaspora editors. The analysis of the news flows to each region showed that about half of all the news produced in the diaspora press during the period was primarily about Ireland. However, it also established that the news flows are not uniform and there are clear differences in what categories, topics and news stories are prioritised in the news agendas of each region.

Agenda-setting in the context of this research is not so much about understanding if, or how, the diaspora news agenda influences the public or political agenda. It is about understanding how editorial judgements about news from Ireland shape the reconstruction of Irish culture in deterritorialised communities by reproducing news that carries messages about politics, and social and cultural

developments that are the building blocks of discursively constructed global Irish communities.

The images presented of Ireland are not the same in each region, and to some extent the diaspora editors explain this. The main factor that editors describe that shapes the differences in the news agendas is the duty to meet the informational needs of their specific, regionally defined audience. The selection of news stories generates the flow of news and culture from Ireland to the diaspora communities and shapes the representations of Irishness in circulation in the transnational mediascape, which is addressed in the following section.

### **9.2.2 News Flows**

#### **RQ 2.1: What is the composition of news flows regarding categories, topics and stories that flow to the diaspora press?**

This research establishes that there are differences and similarities in the news flows from Ireland to the diaspora press in different regions and offers some insight into the motivation of diaspora newsmakers for the selection and rejection of Irish news to reproduce. As noted in the previous section, there are material realities regarding human resources that can direct the attention of diaspora newsrooms towards some news over others. For example, the lack of digital natives in newsrooms means that gathering news about Ireland via social media was reported to be more challenging or not possible in some newsrooms. Chapter three details the importance of Hall's (1983) depiction of the hybridity of diaspora identities, the existence in-between two nationally orientated cultures, which in part explains the even representation of homeland and hostland news in each region. The editorial agenda is as Irish as it is American, British, or Australian; and this implies that there is no clear leaning towards either assimilation to hostland culture or retention of homeland identity. Because the levels of engagement with both societies are mainly balanced, it suggests a balance of hybridity.

The news flows also tell us what specifically about Ireland is high on the news agenda and why. As outlined in chapter three, the suggestion that the hostland news environment can shape the diasporic news agenda is raised by Matsaganis and Katz, (2013) in terms of professional access and identity, and Kperogi (2011) in terms of opportunity to report from a more liberal regulatory regime. This study adds

to the understanding of hostland influences by finding that salient topics in the hostland encourage similar topics from home to be considered more newsworthy. Specifically it indicates that when a topic is high on the hostland news agenda it raises similar topics about home in the diaspora news agenda. Additionally, the news value of cultural proximity (Nossek, 2004; Ogunyemi, 2014) appears to explain differences in what diaspora news in different regions represents and communicates about what it means to be Irish and what the most critical issues facing Irish people might be. These forces, as well as the national cultural differences, affect how editors interpret newsworthiness and, in turn, the selection of stories about Ireland. What news organisations in different regions consider newsworthy about other countries can tell us something about the prioritised editorial values as well as cultural values of diaspora news media.

There is a balanced coverage of Irish business and economic affairs as well as social affairs and, to an extent, crime. At the same time, it was found that there are important differences between news agendas among the diaspora news media: the Irish-Australian press did not engage with these types of story, while the Irish-American and Irish-British press do, and have a similar level of coverage of Irish crime. However, what news editors in all regions describe as an essential characteristic of news regarding Ireland is that it should have some impact on their diaspora communities or be of specific interest because there is some link or association with hostland news topics that are trending at the time.

Similarly, in chapter six editors describe the thinking behind their editorial judgements; put simply, there has to be a 'kicker', which is a characteristic that means that news has a high impact on the audience. This was borne out in chapter seven, that showed that some news of specific regional interest, such as Brexit and soccer in the UK, receives more attention than in other regions. Appadurai's (1996) concept of situated identities explains the differences in how these hybrid identities shape what diaspora news organisation select to reproduce about home. Put simply, all of the diaspora news organisations display hybridisation between homeland and hostland and also display different situated news agendas to each other because they are located in different geographic locations, which have different issues that might affect the diaspora communities. Brexit has a higher impact on the Irish diaspora in

the UK than elsewhere. Similarly, the election of Trump, who has business interests in Ireland, has a higher impact factor on the Irish diaspora in America.

This research shows that during the period studied the diaspora press in different regions had distinct news agendas that were shaped by historical contexts of migration and the influence of hostland news agendas that link two nations as well as journalistic factors. An example of this was the presence of Eurovision in the Irish-Australian press; editors explained that the topic was of particular interest because Australia was invited to enter the event that year. Such differences establish that there is a degree of variation in what stories about Ireland are considered to be most newsworthy in different regions which leads to differences in the representation of what it means to be Irish today.

While there are clear differences in what about Ireland is considered most newsworthy, there is also a range of topics that were the same in the top twenty news stories of all three regions. The discursive construction of sameness (Hall, 1983; Anderson 1993) and differences (Appadurai, 1996; Said, 2003) was raised in chapter three. The news flow analysis in chapter seven illustrates similarities and differences in the regional news agendas which suggest that both of these processes are active in the Irish digital diaspora press. Regarding news gathering and selection, described in chapters six and seven, it was established that the Irish diaspora editorial agenda often prioritise the same stories about Ireland, but not always, and news outlets have distinct regional interests. The influence of the historically situated experiences of migration and often the hostland news agendas are active in shaping these differences.

The influence of the hostland news agenda, combined with Brexit's impact on Ireland affecting Irish communities in Britain, is illustrated in Brexit's prioritisation in the Irish-British press over the Irish general election. Similarly, Irish-American editors described the prioritisation of Irish politics as being associated with the capacity of Irish America to have an impact on the hostland, and diaspora journalism as a force that can lean on Irish politics to inform and effect political change in both host and homeland. The Irish-American press is a player on the political stage in America and to some extent Ireland. For example, when Irish politicians travel to the USA they are petitioned on political issues and are called to

act on behalf of the diaspora for political change at home. The Irish-American press actively campaigns for a better, more substantial stakeholding in Ireland, regarding votes for migrants, representation in the Dail and Seanad, and also encourages Irish politicians to act on behalf of Irish-American interests in the USA, such as visas for the undocumented Irish. In the Irish-British press political mobilisation regarding Ireland takes a different form, particularly around the topic of migration. While a large portion of the political content also focuses on securing political representation in the Irish government, the Irish-British press represented the need for investment in better media connections and the faster issuing of passports.

What is important is that one press region does not come to be representative of the politics of the diaspora as a whole, or that the louder political voices in the Irish-American press are not prioritised ahead of the needs of others that are less politically engaged. Similarly, the representation of Irish politics in the Irish-American press should not be understood to be representative of the politics of the Irish-American diaspora, as the news media do not represent the community as a whole, not even their own audience (Siapera, 2010).

Nonetheless, the Irish-American press presents a higher concentration of hard news, particularly political news about Ireland, which is considerably more pervasive in this region than in others. The editors in this region attribute this to the high level of interest in politics among their audience and the high level of engagement by Irish-Americans in American politics, as well as the capacity to successfully affect politics. This arises again in chapter eight, which details the representation of migration as a news topic and explores the diasporic relationship with Ireland. One of the main stories in this region is the call for increased formal political representation through voting rights, and the enhancement of political representation in the Irish government through diaspora ministers and senators. However, while the extent to which they achieve their goals is unclear and not within the scope of this research, it is noteworthy that the diaspora editors perceive their efforts as having influence and that this shapes the drive to advocate for better formal representation in Ireland.

Interviews with diaspora editors in chapters six and seven suggest that there is room for Irish migrants in America to be more politically assertive by comparison

with the Irish communities in Britain, where because of the historic Anglo-Irish relationship and the continued tension over Northern Ireland, the political landscape must be more carefully navigated, as outlined in chapter four. The Irish-British do not have the same critical pressing political issues as Irish-Americans. As previous scholarship (Gray, 2002; Hickman, 2002; Hickman *et al.*, 2011) has found, have historically been treated as an ‘other’ in Britain, and the sensitivity that is required to maintain peace in the North of Ireland has to some extent conditioned the British Irish diaspora. As one Irish-American editor suggested, there was is no “linchpin issue” that mobilised Irish communities in Britain to assert themselves in British the political discourse. That may have been true until Brexit, which is the most salient political issue in the Irish-British press. In this case, the Irish government and the Irish-British press were unified in the message in the lead-up to the Brexit vote, which was vote Remain. The issue of the British-Irish-EU nexus, however, played out between the lines of another story – that of the Irish fans at the Euros.

This representation of the Irish as Europeans, and Ireland as part of the European community, is at its most explicit in the coverage of Brexit but is more subtly explored in the coverage of Ireland in the Euros, where the images and stories of Irish fans getting on with other good Europeans contrasted with the disruptive English and Russians. Here the Irish are characterised as ‘good craic’ but more subtly as good Europeans who are well-liked and welcomed in the European community. Another aspect of Irish ‘craic’ that was more prevalent in the Irish-American press was the message that Irish people are good migrants; when they travel they improve and contribute to the countries where they reside. While the diaspora press represents the Irish as good migrants they do not do this in opposition to other, particularly vulnerable migrants, such as refugees. As depicted in the treatment of the topic of world migration in chapter eight, the diaspora press draws on the negativity experienced by the Irish to inform the need to welcome and support others.

The influence of cultural proximity news value is illustrated in the high volume of sports news in the Irish-British press compared with the lower levels in, say, the USA. To some extent this can be attributed to similarities in Irish and British sports; for example, soccer, rugby, cricket, hockey, golf and Irish diaspora GAA clubs in Britain are culturally similar to sports in Ireland. While the USA does feature



some of these sports, they are not the dominant sports of the USA, where American football, basketball and baseball are more popular.

The geographic influence on cultural proximity in the news is also visible in the Lifestyle section of diaspora news categories. This research establishes that this news value (McCombs, 1993; Agius, 2011) is of particular importance in diaspora journalism. The Irish-Australian press does not feature many lifestyle stories about Ireland which is not entirely surprising given that lifestyles in Australia are so different to those in Ireland, making it challenging to link the day-to-day experiences in the two regions. For example, when it is summer in Ireland, it is winter in Australia, and with opposing seasons and climates that shape lifestyle topics such as fashion and food, it is more difficult to make relevant, timely lifestyle links. When the northern hemisphere is turning to winter, the stories are about wrapping up warm and homely food, while in Australia they are about summer, sun, beaches and barbequing.

Differences in news flow also show internal variations in the transnational Irish news ecology that is shaped by situated hybrid identities. However, while there are clear differences in what categories, topics and stories about Ireland are presented in the diaspora press, it is only through more detailed examination of the representations of Irish identity that the capacity of the diaspora press to disrupt or change the representation of Irishness transnationally can be established. This is detailed later in the next section of this chapter.

### **9.2.3 Irish Transnational News Mediascape**

This section will address research questions 2.2 and 2.3 together.

**RQ 2.2: Are there differences in the news that flows from the homeland to diaspora news media in different regions?**

**RQ 2.3: To what extent do diaspora news media bypass the homeland and represent the current affairs of other diasporic groups?**

In chapter three Appadurai's (1996) and Castells's (1997, 2010) similar conceptions of mediascapes and information networks, respectively, were used to outline the idea that culture or information flows from one region to another, and through this flow the representations of national identity can be reconstructed and transformed. Both

scholars argue that the constructive forces of media and migration have the power to weaken the former cohesive representation of and identification with a national identity that was centralised in the nation state before globalisation began en masse. However, while Appadurai (1996) predicts continued disjuncture and difference in this regard, Castells (2010) recognises the cultural gravitas of diaspora media and also predicts that the role of the nation will be reformed and retain a substantial degree of cultural power. In the case of the Irish diaspora press, the reliance on national institutions such as news media and political communications shows a strong retention of cultural power. Appadurai's depiction of the mediascape does not fully recognise the representative impact of diaspora media reproducing national identity derived from national institutions (1996).

In chapter four, the historical and contemporary locations of the Irish diaspora press, or the nodes in the transnational news network, were described in detail, while the composition of the culture flows (Appadurai, 1996) or information flows (Castells, 2010) was depicted in chapter seven. The following sections address the nodes, flows and ties (Barney, 2004) within the Irish transnational digital diaspora news mediascape.

### *Nodes*

The visibility of the Irish diaspora press in Ireland's media ecology has been enhanced by the digital transition, which has boosted the role of diaspora journalism to assert new narratives and to contest the official, national narratives of the Irish experience. As noted by Hall (1983), Mansell (2003), Castells (2010) and Siapera (2010), the diaspora cultural networks are not exempt from concerns of power relations. What does this situation mean for the power relations among the digital diaspora press? Is each of the regions on an even playing field regarding capacity to effectively inject news voices and perspectives into the transnational discursive construction of Irishness? This can be conceptualised in two ways; firstly, in terms of how the regional media dominate over each other in the network; and secondly, in terms of the extent to which they represent each other in each of the regions.

As noted in chapter three, for Castells (2010) media is a source of meaning about national identity, and the question is then who controls the means of cultural production, or what entities dominate and contest the representations. He argues that

national identities remain stable ideological and physical constructs, which are complex and powerful, but ordered by institutions. For Appadurai (1996) national identities are increasingly becoming diluted. This research finds that in the case of the Irish diaspora press, the large volume of news from Ireland and the low level of cross-diaspora representation (chapter seven), as well as the depictions of the newsrooms' daily newsgathering routines (chapter six), implies that Irish state institutions, the national media and cultural institutions are the dominant producers of Ireland's national imagery and symbolism. This raises concerns regarding the independence of the diaspora news media within the system and suggests that to a large extent they reproduce stories about Ireland already in circulation, highlighting the aspects of particular interest to the respective Irish diaspora communities but not necessarily injecting new narratives or alternative ways of thinking.

The flows outlined in chapter seven suggest the presence of a loose network that is connected by the flow of information largely mediated through the homeland, with some interconnections that bypass nation states and connect diasporic communities, mainly when one is acutely under threat, as in the example of Brexit's prioritisation in the cross-diaspora flows. Chapter four outlined the locations of the Irish digital diaspora press, which are the nodes (Castells, 2010) in the Irish transnational network. It showed that the Irish-American press and the Irish-British press produce the highest volume of news about Ireland (and overall). This suggests that the nodes in these locations have enhanced visibility in the network, which can translate to increased power to assert critical issues regarding the Irish diasporas and insert alternative representations of Irishness.

While the volume of news may be the same, the topics of news are not, and the results from chapter seven show that the Irish-American press is more political, and the discussion in interviews from chapter six shows that there is a strong sense that the diaspora media in the USA can affect change. In this regard, and only to some extent, the Irish-American press is more assertive in making claims for formal political representation and for Irish state institutions to respond to the needs of Irish Americans.

## *Flows*

As outlined in chapter three, both media and migration are involved in generating transnational culture flows which carry the building blocks of national cultural identity, and by analysing the content and patterns within these flows, it is possible to gauge the degree of instability around the discursive construction of Irish identity in diaspora journalism. Scholars such as Appadurai (1996) and Castells (2010) were concerned with the diversity of diasporic-national identities that are produced by the development of modern subjectivities or the hybrid identities of migrant communities and questioned the potential disruption and disjuncture to traditional national cultural groups. What the analysis of this news flow in chapter seven shows is that there are points of similarity regarding salient topics from home that resonate with all diaspora news media, but also important points of difference associated with the news agenda of the hostland.

There is no doubt that the increased presence of migrant media, as well as the range of new forms of journalism that have emerged in the digital age, have significant potential to disrupt the power of the homeland national news media to control representation and narratives of political and social developments in Ireland, as well as Irishness. This was evident in the differences in news topics and stories prioritised in the editorial agendas as seen in chapter seven, and in the differences in how Irish culture is framed in the content of articles produced in different regions of the world seen in chapter eight. The transnational Irish mediascape is not a simple dichotomy of national news or diaspora news. There is a plurality of regional representations from diaspora journalism that feed into the transnational discursive construction of Irishness. It is broad, diverse and vibrant because there is a global network of news agencies organised around the concept of Irish culture and identity but with regionally distinct perspectives on Ireland and Irishness.

Broadly, this is evident whereby the regional diaspora press prioritises stories and topics that are of specific interest to its audience and through which a range of perspectives are injected into the discursive construction of Irishness. Agenda-setting theory is the idea that news media direct attention towards what to think about (McCombs, 1993; Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007) and, as outlined in chapter three, this is a point in the process of producing journalism that mediates cultural identity (Schudson, 1989) and can influence what the about the national cultural identity is

central or peripheral in the minds of the public. What this research shows is that the diaspora press in different regions can have different news agendas regarding home and the types of stories, topics and categories of information that are prioritised can produce a different set of cultural building blocks depending on the region. The culture or information flows are not balanced, in that the diaspora press is not representing the same images of Ireland. For example, the Irish-American press presents a higher volume of political news than sports, while the Irish-British press is less political but more sporting, and the Irish-Australian press prioritises cultural and artistic news. The selection of some types of news and the rejection of other omits them from the range of topics presented on the editorial agenda. In this regard, the diaspora press constructs a diverse range of the most salient characteristics of Ireland and Irishness.

However, as seen in chapter seven, just over half the news featured by the diaspora news media of each region was about Ireland, which implies the editorial agendas construct the imagined Irish community in relation to the homeland.

### *Ties*

By examining the volume of news flows from the homeland to different hostlands and comparing this to the volume of crossflows among diaspora news media, this research shows that the events that occur in a nation state have a central role in the presentation of Irish politics, culture and society in the diaspora press. Put simply, the news agenda in each region platforms significantly more stories about Ireland than about other diaspora communities. The news agenda regarding other Irish diasporas communities is low compared to the representations of the nation state, which comprises just over half of all the coverage of the diaspora press in this sample. By contrast, only 2 per cent of the total articles could be characterised as about another Irish diaspora or about something that affected all diasporas.

Furthermore, each region has a different level of representation of other diasporas, the Irish-American press with the transnationally orientated *Irish Central* carrying more stories about other diasporas than others in the study. While the overall figure of cross-diaspora coverage can be fairly described as low, the analysis of the topics shows that where there is a threat or an extreme incident that affects an Irish diaspora in another region, it will be featured. Topics or stories that are more to do

with the day-to-day life of the diaspora in other communities or about how another diaspora connects with home are not prominent in cross-diaspora coverage. However, this must be interpreted in light of the material realities of news production, the fact that resources can only be stretched so far and that the priority for news media is their own geographically defined diaspora's audience and communicating their connection with home. Nonetheless, the most prominent relationships in this network are between the homeland –and its diasporas.

Castells (1997, 2010) and Appadurai (1996) describe metaphorical ideological networks or 'scapes'. While Castells does present empirical research on economic flows, neither scholar presents empirical studies on the composition of information or culture flows to establish how interconnected these networks are. This research suggests that the centre–periphery flow of information in the Irish digital diaspora is largely centre (Ireland) to periphery (diasporas) and that the weak connection between the diasporas regarding the digital diaspora press does not challenge this.

However, while there is a diverse range of stories presented as the most salient aspects of contemporary Irish life, offering a plurality of ways to identify with Irishness, and although the connection among the digital diaspora regional news organisations is weaker than that with the homeland, there is nonetheless a large portion of content in each about Ireland. The capacity of the digital diaspora press to disrupt or change dominant representations of Irishness is contained in the representation of Irish identity in this content, but the power to disrupt can only be analysed by examining the discursive construction of Irishness to establish whether it provides an alternative perspective or if it reinforces traditional conceptualisations of national identity. That analysis is in the following section.

### **9.3 Representations of Irishness**

**RQ 3: Addressing the production of cultural texts and symbolic representations of Irishness within the news flows, the third set of research questions asks how Irishness is framed in the diaspora press.**

This section addresses the specific representations of Irishness in the case studies detailed in chapter eight, which showed the regional differences among the diaspora

press that resulted in the insertion of alternative narratives into the transnational discourse. While the news flow analysis described what was considered to be most newsworthy across different regions and ultimately what stories about Ireland are told the most, this section addresses how Irishness is represented in the most pervasive news topics across different categories. At this stage of the process of production, it is not so much the material realities that shape how news is presented as the historical contexts of migration.

The differences in the historical context and contemporary conceptualisation of the past by diaspora media in different parts of the world has resulted in differing representations of Irishness. For example, in the case of the 1916 Centenary there were diverging representations about how Irish people regard the 1916 Rising; in the case of Migration there were subtle regional differences in representations of the diasporic relationship with home; and in the case of Irish Fans at the Euros 2016, while seemingly homogeneously representing Irish identity as associated with ‘good craic’, the subtext was aligned with the political backdrop in each region. This section addresses the explicit representations of identity in the texts within the circuit of cultural production (Hall *et al.*, 2013) through frame building (or signification and identity stages of the circuit) in news topics and stories that explicitly incorporate representations of Irish identity in terms of historical remembering, the homeland–diasporic relationship and cultural practices.

### **9.3.1 Representing Irishness**

#### **RQ 3.1: Is Irishness framed in the same way in different regions?**

This section addresses each of the case studies examined in detail in chapter eight and synthesises the combined message regarding the representation of Irishness through diaspora journalism in the final subsection. Each case studies will be analysed regarding the broad representations of Irishness, and the theoretical implications are addressed in chapter ten.

#### *1916 Centenary*

In chapter eight, the representation of Irish identity regarding the historical remembrance of the 1916 Rising was found to be largely commemorative and focused on remembering the deaths and destruction caused by the act of rebellion, as well as the shared history. This was the most pervasive representation across the

diaspora press except in the Irish-American press, where there was a challenging frame with almost equal pervasiveness, that of the Irish celebrating the act of rebellion and focusing on its legacy as a precursor to liberty. Thus, this part of Irish identity is not represented in the same way across all of the regions and there is clear diversity in the representation of how this event should be conceptualised today. Additionally, the in-depth analysis of the distribution of frames and themes shows how and indicates why these representations differ between regions.

How the Irish diaspora press build frames in topics related to Ireland is not unproblematic because this is where ‘how to be Irish’ is discursively constructed and Irishness specifically represented. Additionally, it is often where points of tension between diasporas and the homeland can occur as actors contest the most appropriate interpretations and representations of Irishness. For example, the ideas of celebration and commemoration and the intersection of Irish and Northern Irish politics highlighted the level of sensitivity there is around the idea of celebrating the 1916 Centenary and most likely other events in Irish history that are associated with violent uprising against the British Empire, which over the coming years will include the War for Independence. The celebratory counter-frame and other themes could be interpreted negatively as a disruption to the cohesion in homeland Irish society, the cooperative relationship with the UK, further deepening the disconnect between Irish communities.

However, this research found the representation of the 1916 Centenary as celebratory was not that of toxic nationalism and celebrating the damage done to the enemy, but as a precursor to Irish liberty and the freedom to shape Ireland’s political and social future. As outlined in chapter four and described through the case study in chapter eight, the 1916 Rising was an act of national determination to reposition political power in Dublin, during which the Proclamation of Independence was published. In the Irish-American press there are clear examples of discourse, particularly regarding historical remembering, that asserts the illegitimacy of anti-British sentiment and centralises the concept of liberty from colonialism.

Chapter four illustrated that the Irish-British press has a somewhat more challenging environment to navigate regarding the representation of Irishness in relation to the violent uprising against the British and the issue of Northern Ireland.



The frames and themes that are most pervasive in the Irish-British press detailed in chapter eight suggest that there is a heightened sensitivity to how Irish identity is represented in this regard, not for fear of offending the British hostland, but because of the potential to stoke fears of violent nationalism in Northern Ireland.

However, it is necessary to recognise the potential for communications from government and cultural institutions in Ireland to provide information to the diaspora press and how common it is for newsrooms to adopt the discourse of official communications, as outlined in chapter three. In this case, it seems that the state's efforts to assert the idea of shared history was successful across all the diaspora regions.

### *Migration*

The diasporic relationship with home, the extent to which the digital diaspora press represented the diaspora as Irish or as an 'other' to the native Irish, and how the Irish are represented in their approach to refugees were detailed in chapter eight. The findings in chapter eight show that in this case there were differences in the distribution of subtopics across the regions, for example Australia not engaging with the issue of world migration. Additionally, the in-depth analysis of how Irishness was represented shows that it is influenced by the historical contexts of migration and the contemporary influence of the hostland news agendas.

The representation of Irish diasporas in relationship with the Irish living in Ireland was complex. On the one hand, the diaspora press described migrants as akin to the Irish living in Ireland, but politically or communicatively disenfranchised. This was seen in the calls for better formalised institutional representation in the Irish state. At the same time, the diaspora press was also representing that the Irish state does not conceptualise the diasporans as equal to the native Irish because they are not afforded the same stake in the nation. However, the diaspora press predominantly represents the Irish diaspora as 'authentically Irish' and not as an 'other' to the native Irish. In this regard, the Irish diaspora press represents the Irish identity overtly as a transnational identity. Gillespie (2006) underlines potential problems with the use of the term 'transnational' and the internal variations of transnationalism, so to clarify in this regard, Irish transnationalism is represented as an identity that is not native to

the island of Ireland and can accommodate multiple generations of migrants who travelled in multiple directions.

However, the Irish diasporans are not represented as the same as the Irish in Ireland because there is a section of the discourse that articulates the psychological impact of migration and represents the challenges of living in-between two cultural spaces. One of the areas where this is borne out is in the differences in the representation of the Irish language; the diaspora press tended to represent the Irish manifestation of the English language more than the Irish language/Gaelic. The expression of the benefits of being native English-speakers, albeit with a peppering of Irish names and addresses, was predominant within this theme. In this regard, the representation of Irish diasporic identity is that of Hall's (1989) conceptualisation of diasporas living in-between two dominant cultures and the development of a hybridised cultural identity, and with respect to the Irish colloquialism of the English language, this is represented as having made the process of being in-between easier.

Drawing on historical experiences from earlier generations of migrants, and associated with the representation of contemporary migration as challenging, the Irish diaspora press in the USA and the UK (the only regions to address the topic of World Migration) represent Irish identity as in solidarity with the experience of modern-day refugees and empathetic with their experience. In the discourse related to this topic, the Irish, native and diasporic, are represented as the same in that they can all draw from the shared historical difficult experiences of migration from Ireland and use this to inform how they treat refugees today.

### *Irish Fans at the Euros 2016*

The representation of the Irish fans at the Euros was largely homogeneous in the diaspora press in all regions. In this case, the Irish were represented as being overtly good craic, fun and friendly, but underpinning this was the subtext of the Irish as either good migrants, which were more pervasive in the Irish-American press, or as good Europeans, which was more prevalent in the Irish-British press. Both of these representations are tied to the respective hostland news agendas: Brexit in the UK and the issue of migration in light of Donald Trump in the USA. This supports the contention of Matsaganis and Katz, (2013) regarding the influence of the national news media on diaspora press, as well as Nossek's (2004) findings regarding the role

of national cultural identities shaping representations in journalism that covers relevant events in another country.

In this case, the influence of Appadurai's situated identities (1996) on the diasporic news agenda is apparent. The Irish-American press was operating in a politically charged climate regarding migrants and the potential threat of a clampdown on immigration, which seemed to feed into the representation of Irishness as a positive force. The Irish-British press was operating in a climate where the UK was preparing for a referendum to leave the European Union and the Irish government was officially campaigning for them to remain. The basic fact that the diaspora communities are established and operate in different hostland political contexts subtly shapes how the diaspora press in each region represent Irishness.

However, the representation of the Irish as good Europeans can in some respects be considered a representation of an Irish hybridised identity, in that the Irish fans are represented as being part of Ireland and part of Europe. That is not to say that it is the same representation as the space in-between of diasporic communities, but that the Irish are frequently represented as not just Irish but Irish-Europeans, and good ones.

### **9.3.2 Comparing Regional Representations**

**RQ 3.2: To what extent are different representations disruptive of the hegemonic representations of Irish identity?**

The findings from chapters seven and eight indicate that the challenging frames in the case of the 1916 Centenary, and different treatment of subtopics in the case of Migration can, to some extent, present alternative representations of Irishness. In the case studies from chapter eight there is only one example of the digital diaspora press introducing a meaningfully challenging representation to the dominant representation of Irishness into the transnational discourse, that of the Irish celebrating 1916 as a precursor to Irish independence in the Irish-American press. As noted in chapter four, the Irish-American press is better resourced, and, as noted in chapter seven, this region produced a large volume of news, and the most in the case of the 1916 Centenary, but it is not clear to what extent this frame has the capacity to disrupt the representation of Irish identity transnationally.

In considering the impact of media and migration on the cohesion of traditional national identities, both Appadurai (1996) and Castells (2010), as well as other scholars such as Cunningham and Sinclair (2001) and Andoni and Oiarzabal (2010), have argued that the presence of diaspora media presents a threat to the stability of national identities. However, the low cross-diaspora news flows shown in chapter seven, as well as the subtle differences but often cohesiveness in representations between diasporas in chapter eight, suggest that the mere presence of diaspora media is not sufficient to disrupt or overhaul the transnational representations of Irishness. Media content such as flows of information must be interrogated both quantitatively and qualitatively to find empirical evidence of the dilution of the power of the national identity across multiple topics.

The representation of Irishness in the cases of Migration and the Irish Fans seemed similar, but there were important subtextual themes that slightly altered the representation depending on the region. This is illustrative of Hall's (1989) concept of the positioning of diaspora media in-between two dominant national cultures, as well as the discursive construction of both sameness and difference in diasporic media texts. The potential of the diaspora news media to disrupt dominant representations of Irishness is not entirely clear. The findings show that there are strong counter-narratives to the messages about Irishness that are carried in the body of diaspora journalism during the period, but they do not establish the extent to which they caused any change in other media's representations or the public interpretations of Irishness.

What it does establish is that the diaspora news media do insert a range of different representations of Irishness that are shaped both by the process of producing journalism and by the historical experiences of the diaspora communities, as well as the influence of the hostland news and political agendas.

### **9.3.3 Diasporic Journalistic Representations of Irishness**

The extent to which editors think about how Irish people are represented in the news emerged as a significant difference between the Irish diaspora journalism produced in diaspora communities and the journalism produced in Ireland (Generation Emigration project) described in chapter six. All of the Irish diaspora editors expressed an acute awareness and sensitivity regarding how Irish culture was

characterised in the news, and editors depicted a conscientiousness about how Irish culture and Irish people are represented among the diaspora audience and to hostland audiences. While the diaspora news editor based in Ireland had not considered how Irishness was represented, diaspora editors abroad spoke about the ongoing evaluation of topics and stories, as well as how they are presented, to ensure that they do not misrepresent, essentialise or ‘paddywhack’ the Irish. They spoke of a desire to represent Irish culture and identity authentically, in all of its complexity and diversity. This is an important diversifying feature of diaspora journalism because it illustrates that part of the production process involves the critical evaluation of journalism at the selection and framing stages to ensure that it is a faithful or an honest representation of the diversity within Irish culture. The application of news values as expressed by Galtung and Ruge (1965) is not entirely unconscious in the Irish diaspora press because the diaspora editors describe a consciousness of what is on the news agendas and how topics and stories are presented (framed) as newsworthy, and an appreciation for how this can impact how the community is interpreted.

Comparative studies with mainstream news media can establish the differences between the two types of journalism. However, the discussion with editors in chapter six regarding the thinking behind news selection, and active awareness that the editorial judgement affect the representation of Irishness, as well as the descriptions of transnational news productions, indicates some of the factors particular to diasporic news production. Additionally, often mainstream news media’s philosophical approach is that they are telling the ‘truth’ and representing reality. In this case, however, the Irish diaspora press were aware that their editorial judgement has a hand in how Ireland is presented to the world and how Irishness featured in it is characterised. This research shows that diaspora news media should be studied regarding the internal practices, logic and ethics specific to this type of journalism to achieve precision in analysis and deeper understanding of what it produces as well as why.

Scholarship that challenges essentialist representations of national identity can be critical of the role of journalism (Anderson, 1983; Smith, 1991; Conway, 2006; Wodak, 2018). However, this research finds that the Irish-diaspora press are largely aware of this phenomenon and aim to not essentialise but stay faithful to

professional journalistic norms and seek to represent Irish identity as diverse, complex and sometimes contradictory, as expressed in chapter six and detailed in the range and differences in frames and themes in chapter eight. Siapera (2010) outlines concerns regarding the interpretation of diaspora news media as somehow compromised in the quality of the journalism produced because of the ethno-specificity of diaspora news media. However, from the interviews in chapter six, and it seems borne out in the similarities in the topics and stories about Ireland on the regional news agendas in chapter seven, the Irish diaspora news media adhere firmly to the journalistic ideals of accuracy and authenticity in the stories communicated. However, the role of the hostland news agenda and the hostland political climate are not absent in shaping the circuit of production in diasporic journalism and the differences in the news agendas and the differences in the representations of Irish identity can be at least in part explained by the situated (Appadurai, 1996), hybrid (Hall, 1989, 1992) diasporic identities.

As noted in chapter one, the Irish diaspora press is at times subject to accusations that it represents Irishness as overly sentimental or distorts the image of Ireland. However, this assumption omits the possibility that the nation may itself be a primary propagator of these rose-tinted representations, which underlines the need for researchers to consider the antecedent conditions of diaspora news production. In cases involving the topics of tourism and travel, much of the Irish diaspora press advertising and some content (text, images, video) is produced by Irish tourism and cultural initiatives such as museums and galleries in Ireland, and exported to the diaspora press. The supply of content to newsrooms and their potential incorporation into the news production process must be considered (Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Davies, 2008). Foley and Fahy (2004) outline the marketing campaigns of Irish cultural institutions that depict Ireland as pastoral, wild and welcoming. And although they have not been subjected to detailed case analysis there are clear examples in the body of articles under the topic of 'tourism' that would fit such descriptions.

However, the images presented of Ireland by diaspora journalism are not and cannot be uniform in this regard; along with the 'pastoral and green' Ireland of old, diaspora news covers urbanisation, ghost estates left from the property boom, industrialisation and environmental problems, health crises, racism and many more

negative images of Irish society. The need of Irish diaspora journalism to report news in line with how they conceptualise the profession and what about Ireland is newsworthy, as detailed in chapters six and seven, is inherently disruptive of overly nostalgic or stereotypical representations of home. In this respect do not essentialise the Irish.

#### **9.4 Summary**

This research establishes that journalistic factors, contexts of historical migration and to an extent the hostland news agenda are co-constitutive in representing Irishness in the digital diaspora press. The material, organisational and cultural factors that operate in digital diaspora newsrooms shape the conditions in which the production process takes place and can influence what is ultimately produced through the ease or otherwise of accessing information. The make-up of newsrooms in regard to expertise, either in knowledge or practical experience with digital technology, shapes the newsgathering process, what stories are selected to be reproduced and how much of the news actually appears. And this newsgathering and selection process generates the news flows where the symbolic meanings or representations of Irishness are carried.

The production of diaspora journalism was examined through an adaptation of the circuit of cultural production model, including production, regulation, representation (signification and identity) (Hall *et al.*, 2013). While the model suggests that it does not particularly matter at what point in the circuit the researcher begins, this research suggests the need to incorporate the contexts of cultural production more broadly, particularly the political economy of the producers regarding the resources available and the accessibility to them. In the case of Irish digital diaspora journalism, the impact of digitisation on revenue and the need to monetise in the online marketplace were found to be important factors on what news about Ireland could be meaningfully produced and distributed. Editors reported organisational factors such as the newsgathering and news distribution process being shaped by the digital landscape, where it afforded better access to a wide range of news sources. However, the barrier to local news or securing the details of stories that were most meaningful to diasporas was persistent. Similarly, cultural factors,

particularly differences in regulation of the industry between regions, were found to shape how diaspora journalists conceptualise their role in the news ecology. Each of these factors influenced different phases in the circuit of cultural production to varying extents, and this research argues that the contexts of production in the hybrid media system should be incorporated into analysis utilising the circuit of cultural production model to fully understand what shapes the contemporary production process.

The cultural flow (Appadurai, 1996) or information flow (Castells, 2010) from Ireland to the diaspora news media was approached as news flows (Rai and Cottle, 2007; Hanitzsch *et al.*, 2008) that are generated by the selection and omission of topics about home to reproduce in the digital diaspora press. This research establishes that during the period there were regionally distinct news agendas in each of the regions analysed and that there were both similarities and differences in the saliences afforded to news categories, topics and stories. The differences in the saliences afforded to news about Ireland seem to be largely shaped by the media, social, cultural and political development in the respective hostlands. The quantification of the news shows that the centre–periphery model of communication is still quite prevalent in the Irish diaspora press; although some circular flow does exist it is not significant. However, where there are issues of acute concern such as Brexit or the deaths of multiple Irish migrants, the diaspora communities across the world are alerted, and in these circumstances, there is potential for better connection and mobilisation between diasporas that is not brokered through the homeland.

The representation of Irishness in three case studies was compared across regions through framing analysis which established the central organising ideas regarding historical remembering in the case of the 1916 Centenary, the diasporic relationship with Ireland in the case of the topic of Migration and the character of the Irish in the case of Irish Fans at the Euros 2016. It found that there are subtle differences in the representation of Irishness but that the main central organising ideas were largely similar across the regions. The differences in how Irishness was represented in each region were associated with a range of cultural and journalistic factors, such as the historical experiences of the diaspora communities, the context of hostland news and political agendas such as the subtext of Brexit, and the newsworthiness according to editors of stories that link the homeland and hostland



communities such as the representation of absent formal relationships with Ireland. Additionally, through interviews, this study found that the diaspora editors tended to express a heightened awareness of the role of diaspora journalism in the representation of Irish identity and culture, but nonetheless adhered to professional journalistic standards of independence and accuracy.

While this chapter described how the research questions were answered and the summary synthesises how they relate to each other, the following chapter reviews the research and discusses the implications.

## Chapter Ten: Conclusion

This chapter summarises the thesis to underline how this research addressed the need to understand the production of Irishness in the Irish digital diaspora news industry in light of the shifts in journalism to digitisation, the increased global culture flow that digital distribution facilitates and the representations of Irish identity within these flows. This chapter begins by stating the conclusions that can be drawn from the empirical research and analysis, and reviews the chapters to show how the research addressed each stage of digital diaspora news production. This is followed by outlining the contribution of this work to the emerging field of diaspora journalism and established research in diaspora media, as well as addressing the limitations of this work and recommendations for future research. It concludes with recommendations for the development of the Irish government's Diaspora Media Fund.

Both material realities and the historical circumstances of migration, and in some cases the hostland news agendas, shape the representation of Irishness and the differences between diaspora news media. Producing hybrid news is a process and exists in a hybrid system in which the meaning and symbols represented in the news are not unfettered but subject to influences at each step, from news selection to presentation. In order to understand and appropriately analyse the representations in news media, it is necessary to understand the processes through which it is produced.

The material resources shape how much content can be produced, and human resources in particular shape what topics are covered and in what depth. Organisational factors such as newsgathering practices and routines are also influential, in that they limit the capacity to produce some types of news. The news selection process generates the news flows and the historical contexts of migration shape the symbolic meaning of Irishness that is carried in these flows, explicitly in cases such as Irish migrants appealing for solidarity with refugees, and more subtly in cases such as Irish fans at the Euros being presented as "good Europeans". By understanding both the flows and the representations, both what it means to be Irish and how Irishness is represented can be more fully understood. In this way, the news articles produced by the Irish diaspora press can to some extent inject alternative representations of Irishness into the transnational mediascape.

## 10.1 Conclusions and Discussion

This research sought to address three main research questions – what stories about Ireland are told in the diaspora press, how contemporary Ireland is represented, and what the forces are, both journalistic and cultural, that might shape this production process to establish the flow of news about Ireland and representations of Irishness by digital diaspora news media. It aimed to understand the role that Irish diaspora journalism plays in communicating Ireland and Irishness and what the messages that it carries might mean for the conceptualisation of Irishness transnationally.

This research found that there is a range of forces in the media system, material, cultural and organisational, that weigh on the context and different stages in the circuit of cultural production in digital diaspora journalism. In particular, the human resources are critical in terms of news topics that can be covered in depth and adopting digital methods that can be applied in newsrooms. Additionally, Irish diaspora news titles can face challenges in newsgathering and production if there is a low commissioning budget.

Organisational factors such as work routines in the newsgathering and distribution processes shape the production of news. This study found that the Irish mainstream media, Irish PR and political communications are substantial sources of news for the digital diaspora press. This raises questions and concerns around the degree to which this part of the Irish media can introduce new issues, topics or representations of Irishness that are not already in circulation. While the framing or the angle may be redesigned to address the Irish diasporic audience, the news stories being discussed are predominantly derived from the same news sources as most other media, as well as other news media in Ireland. While it shows that there is a wide range of stories about Ireland, it is not clear whether the range of stories or representations produced in news text inserts different original news stories about Ireland into the transnational news ecology, such as original investigations, given that the mainstream news media is such an important resource in newsgathering. However, according to the interviews with editors, the diaspora press tends to produce news about the connections between the hostland, the diaspora and the homeland, and this is borne out in the case studies. In this respect, Irish digital diaspora journalism

presents new perspectives on Irish current affairs and prioritises themes in news that are of specific interest to the diaspora audiences in different regions of the world.

This research found that diaspora editors see a dual impact of digitisation on their news industry; on the one hand, digital media provides a rich range of news sources to draw on, while on the other hand, it introduces pressures regarding the monetisation of news and the lower revenue from distributing and advertising on digital platforms such as Google and Facebook. The discussion with editors in chapter six indicates that adaptation to the hybrid media system depends on material realities, in particular the presence of ‘digital natives’ in the newsroom. These younger, digitally native members of the news team are particularly important for news gathering and distribution.

Other organisational factors shape the routines and publishing schedules in the production process, in that there is no engagement with breaking news. As noted in chapter six, diaspora editors suggest that they do not see this as their role in the media system and that breaking news is the domain of national news organisations. This indicates that for diaspora news media, unlike national news media, immediacy is not a concern and they do not use resources to compete with national organisations to keep readers up to date with an ongoing news event. This may help support diaspora news media’s accuracy, as they do not have to weigh the need to be right against the need to be first.

In line with Kperogi (2011), this research also establishes that regulatory differences between the diaspora press in different regions can shape how diaspora newsmakers conceptualise their work and can impose either narrower or broader boundaries on what and how news topics can be produced. However, from the interviews with editors, it finds that they mostly express adherence to traditional liberal journalism ethics and professional standards. However, the regulatory differences between countries within the same media system (Hallin and Mancini, 2004) are not substantial. It is likely that differences in the regulation of journalism that can impact on both what and how topics are treated are more substantive between more repressive and more liberal media systems and regulatory environments. Newsworthiness in the Irish digital diaspora press is associated with traditional news values, but the idea of cultural proximity is particularly important. In this regard, this thesis advances the

contention from Matsaganis and Katz (2013) that there is influence from hostland journalism and asserts that this influence goes beyond mirroring the values and practices of professionals in the hostland, and finds that diaspora journalism elevates high-impact stories from the homeland that resonate with broader news topics that are salient in the hostland. For example, the case of Trump's financial interests in Ireland (a golf course) was prevalent on the news agenda in the USA.

However, in discussing the idea of balanced news flows, this thesis argues that lack of balance is not incorrect or inherently problematic; it is the result of the multidirectional migration and re-presentation of home by a plurality of hybrid communities. What emerges from this is that the diaspora news has different editorial agendas that meet different informational needs among the globally dispersed diaspora communities. For example, soccer and Brexit's impact on Ireland were higher on the news agenda of the Irish-British press, while Trump and St Patrick's day celebrations were higher in the US. Additionally, the history of migration and its consequences for material resources is also a factor – the number and engagement of Irish migrants and later generations with diaspora news influences the human and material resources, which in turn shapes the news selected

The news values, editorial agendas, newsgathering and distribution practices, the analytics from distribution channels in terms of popularity, the need for clicks for funding, the conceptualisation of the imagined audience and the capacity of the audience to talk back via social media make this form of communication fast-paced and dynamic. It is not appropriate to be overly deterministic about how each factor shapes diaspora news and the representations of home. Rather, the current findings suggest that it may be more appropriate to understand how all these elements interact in different settings in terms of addressing what stories about the homeland diaspora news media choose to tell. For example, in chapter six editors describe balancing the need to market the content with the need to report the events.

The news agenda in each region showed a high degree of similarity regarding what topics and stories are featured, although they are prioritised differently in each region. Journalism is more successful at directing public attention towards what to think about rather than how to think about it (McCombs and Shaw, 1993 and provides the building blocks for cultural identity (Anderson, 1993). Because of the differences

in framing Ireland and some differences in what is prioritised, to maintain a sense of homeland identity it seems sufficient for the ‘big and broad’ Irish diaspora audience that regionally dispersed diaspora media represent what is happening in the homeland as opposed to carrying uniform messages about how to think about Irishness. The plurality of representations of Irish identity show differences in approach to Irish identity among the diaspora news media. This, along with the editors’ approach to the legitimacy of differences between Irish communities, suggests that there is no attempt or need to essentialise the Irish in the diaspora press in order to maintain an audience. Instead, the approach is to represent a diversity of Irishness. In chapter six, the editors in all regions expressed their conceptualisation of the diaspora as highly diverse and their frustration when this is not recognised by people or media in Ireland. In this regard, both the diaspora and diaspora media should be conceptualised in terms of their pluralities.

This research found that the flow of culture in the form of news flows among the digital diaspora press is mainly centre–periphery, with a large concentration of news about Ireland and news from Irish national resources compared to lower levels of cross-diaspora news stories. It concludes that the role of the nation state as producer of culture and supplier of media content is still prevalent in the case of the Irish digital diaspora press. However, it must be recognised that the sheer volume of institutions based in Ireland that produce communications used in diaspora news by comparison with Irish institutions in diaspora communities would impact on this.

Irishness and Irish culture were discursively constructed in the content of articles, through the framing of topics which can manifest differently in each region. These differences in frames and counter-frames are influenced mainly by the various experiences of migration and because of the situated hybridised communities’ cultures that negotiate two worlds. In this way, the diaspora news media introduce a range of concepts about what it means to be Irish and new perspectives on how parts of Irish history and culture can be characterised. However, as in the case of 1916 Centenary coverage, some of these perspectives might conflict with what Irish people in Ireland and other diasporas might consider appropriate. It is in the negotiation of these issues that Irishness on a transnational level can be challenged and perhaps transformed. A significant proportion of the representations are similar across the regionally dispersed digital diaspora press. However, similarities can obscure subtle subtextual

representations, such as Irish-Europeans in the case of the fans at the Euros, that align the representations of Irishness to the political and news agendas of the hostlands where the diaspora communities and press are located.

Generally speaking, the representation of Irishness was largely positive. In the case of the 1916 Centenary, the representation was solemn and commemorative as opposed to nationalistic or anti-British. In the case of Migration, the representation was that of former refugees or exiled migrants who draw on the experience to show compassion and solidarity with current-day refugees. In this case, the diaspora press also acted as a platform, amplifying the call for an extension of rights to vote in Irish national elections and securing ongoing representation in the government. Finally, in the case of the Irish Fans at the Euros 2016, as well as representing the Irish as ‘good craic’, the diaspora press carried subtle representations of the Irish as good migrants who improve the environments where they gather and express Irish culture.

## **10.2 Reviewing the Research**

This section briefly review the previous chapters and underline how each addressed aspects of digital diaspora journalism. The literature reviews in chapters two and three discussed the application of a modified version of Hall *et al.*'s (2013)) circuit of cultural production for analysing the process of producing Irish diaspora news. To appropriately address the different phases in the production process, this research triangulated theories from journalism studies, such as political economy, newsroom organisation and journalism cultures. Chapter three focused on two other processes in the circuit of culture, namely circulation and representation. The discussion combined agenda-setting and news values theories with globalisation scholarship from Castells (1997) and Appadurai (1996) to address the news flows generated by diaspora media. Moreover, it incorporated concepts such as Hall's (1989) hybrid identities and Appadurai's (1996) situated identities to address issues of representation in the news media located in different regions of the world.

The historical development of the Irish digital diaspora press was outlined in chapter four, which offered information to contextualise the study in relation to the Irish diaspora communities and their news media. It showed that the Irish digital

diaspora press comes from a long tradition of Irish diaspora journalism and that the news titles in this study are small-to-medium media businesses.

Chapter five outlined the research design and methods applied to each stage of the empirical research. It highlighted the application of news flows studies to understand the cultural flow and the establish the regional news agendas so that they can be compared. It detailed how this quantitative analysis can be combined with a qualitative framing analysis to examine in detail the process of representation in the circuit of cultural production. By combining these approaches, it is possible to establish both what stories about Ireland are presented in the diaspora press of each region and how Irishness is represented in each region. Additionally, the interview process was outlined, and how the input from diaspora editors could address a range of factors that shape the diasporic news production process was described.

Chapter six reported the results of interviews with diaspora news editors, illustrating how the resources available, particularly human resources, how they are managed and how the newsroom routines are organised can shape what diaspora journalism can achieve. Additionally, it reported how editorial judgements regarding newsworthiness were made, and how the editors conceptualise their sense of professionalism and their role in the Irish news ecology.

The news flow analysis was detailed in chapter seven where the news about Ireland that was selected to be published in diaspora news titles during the period was quantified and categorised. It showed that about half of all the news in the digital diaspora press is about Ireland. Additionally, it showed that the news agenda in different regions regarding news categories, topics and stories demonstrates clear differences in what is prioritised, which seems to be primarily associated with the influence of the hostland news and political agenda on the interpretation by editors of what is newsworthy.

Chapter eight contained the case study analysis, showing that there are both differences and similarities in how Irishness is characterised in each of the regions. The framing analysis established the central organising ideas regarding three case studies. The first was the 1916 Centenary, which showed a significant degree of cohesion on the presentation of the Irish as commemorating the historical event, although there was a clear challenging frame of celebration from the Irish-American



press. The case study of Migration showed that there was a commonality in the calls for more formalised recognition of the legitimacy of the diasporic identity in Ireland through institutional representation. There were, however, subtle differences in concepts of the how this identity should be recognised in Ireland, with the Irish-American press describing the need for a stake in Irish politics, the Irish-British press emphasising better access to formal documents, and the Irish-Australian press focusing on better mediation. Finally, the case of the Irish Fans at the Euros 2016 showed that the Irish were represented as good craic, fun and friendly. However, there were regional differences in the subtext, whereby the Irish-British press represented the Irish as good Europeans while the Irish-American press associated the Irish more broadly with being good migrants.

The process of diasporic news production in terms of the circuit of cultural production was synthesised and analysed in chapter nine. It established that there is a range of journalistic and cultural forces regarding the multi-directional experience of migration that shapes the production process and the ultimate representation of Irishness identified in the news texts produced by the Irish digital diaspora press.

### **10.3 Contribution to the Study of Diaspora Journalism**

This section addresses the contribution of this research to the theory and empirical knowledge of the field. The main theoretical contributions of this paper are in the emerging research field of diaspora journalism studies. Both Oyeleye (2017) and Ogunyemi (2018) argue that diaspora journalism should be approached as a distinct form of journalism and the term has recently been added to the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Journalism Studies* (Ogunyemi, 2018). Adding to the growing body of work that considers journalism as a distinct form of communication, this research addresses the production of diaspora journalism as a circuit of cultural production in a hybrid media system and shows that journalistic factors, historical contexts of migration and hostland news agenda can shape what is presented in the diaspora press about home and how the homeland identity is represented.

It achieves this by describing the phases of the process and introducing contextual factors such as material, organisational and cultural influences that shape the origin of the process. Additionally, by examining the organisational factors, it adds

to the growing knowledge on the production of diaspora journalism by addressing the fact that news is a multi-step process with different cultural and journalistic factors weighing on news gathering, selection and representation.

This research introduces the role of the political economy into the study of diaspora journalism regarding some of the material realities and organisational factors which are yet to be addressed in the field. Gillespie (2008) suggests the need to understand the challenges of producing news transnationally. This research shows that the geographical distance from the source of news events can pose a challenge to accessing information of specific relevance to diaspora journalism, particularly where there is a lack of information in the national news or difficulty contacting freelance journalists based in Ireland. Additionally, while accessing news via social media can mitigate this to an extent, the absence of digital technology or digital skillsets in newsrooms can pose a challenge to newsgathering and distribution online.

This study shows that the impact of digitisation on diaspora news media production introduced new challenges as well as new opportunities, similar to the effect on mainstream news (Pavlik, 2000, 2003, 2010, 2013). Digitisation shapes Irish diaspora newsrooms work practices and the organisation of the newsrooms in terms of news gathering and distribution; the relationships between or among news organisations through transnational production routines, and editorial judgement regarding what gets published in print or online and how news is presented. This research shows that, because of the need to meet market needs regarding digital distribution, commercial concerns about the monetisation of news content are a factor for diaspora news producers. It shows that the need to incorporate digital distribution strategies varies among Irish diaspora newsrooms, as does the investment and the revenue from print. Responses from editors in chapter six suggest that the capacity to manage digital distribution strategies is influenced by the human resources available, and most newsrooms said they incorporated social distribution. Diaspora news has developed many of the same distributions strategies as mainstream: social media, digital distribution, newsletters, as well as the weekly publication of print titles.

News selection is a critical stage of the news production process, and it is essential to understand what shapes what news is placed and prioritised in diaspora news agendas. Approaching diaspora journalism as a circuit of cultural production in

a hybrid system nuances the idea that cultural or national identities shape the representations in journalism (Nossek, 2004; Ogunyemi, 2014) by establishing the antecedent conditions to the production of representations. It shows that cultural identity is operative in the news selection process in that the news is about Ireland and for an Irish diaspora audience. News selection is the phase that precedes framing or representing and this research found that the journalistic news value of cultural proximity is of acute importance to Irish diaspora editors. At this stage of the process, the role of the hostland news agenda is operative because newsworthiness or the ‘kicker’ is often the link between hostland political or social developments and those taking place in the homeland.

The material realities are also a factor shaping the process at the news selection stage because the capacity to engage effectively in social newsgathering is shaped by the skill set present in the newsroom.

This research suggests the need to understand the antecedent conditions and the newsgathering process. It shows that in the case of the Irish diaspora press, resources from Ireland are present in the production of diaspora journalism through the supply of news through mainstream national media and political and promotional communications. Additionally, because the mainstream media can adopt the discourse of the material supplied to it (Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Davies, 2008), it suggests that homeland institutions have a role in how Irish identity is represented. This implies that research that examines representation in diaspora news media should incorporate the supply of news and the extent to which the news text adopts the discourse of the original material to fully understand the influences.

Adding to the empirical knowledge in the field, this research establishes the composition of information flow in the Irish digital diaspora press in the form of news flows and news agendas. By examining the news production process through the circuit of cultural production, interpreting news flows as culture flows and recognising that diaspora journalism’s coverage of home is a form of transnational or foreign news reportage, it quantifies and compares the flows between regions. It illustrates the representation of Hall’s (1989) hybrid identities, the situated nature of diasporic identities from Appadurai (1996) and what flows among the Irish diaspora news circuits (Oyeleye, 2017). In finding that about half of the news is about home and the

other half about the hostland in the Ireland diaspora press, it shows the negotiation of homeland and hostland identities into a hybrid identity. However, it also establishes that there are distinct regional differences which are shaped by varying situated experiences of migration, the informational needs of the respective diasporas and the influence of the hostland news agenda on newsworthiness. It argues for the need to conceptualise the diaspora news media as diverse and dynamic, and that when research aims to interpret the content of diaspora media, it should recognise cultural differences and incorporate them into the analysis. Additionally, the process establishes a theoretically grounded methodology for recording, coding, quantifying and comparing news flows and news agendas.

However, this research problematises presumptions that the diaspora news network is a circular flow (Appadurai, 1996) and supports the argument of Castells (2010) that the nation state and national identity are an important contributor to news production. Because Irish institutes are a resource for diaspora journalism, the homeland is a central node in the network. Additionally, addressing the research field of diaspora media and global news flow, it contributes by comparing the centre–periphery and intra-diaspora flows, showing that the Irish nation state retains a central role in the production of homeland identity in Irish diaspora journalism. In doing so, it challenges the concept of the dilution of the power of the nation state and supports Castells’s contention of its reformation as opposed to reduction (2010).

In examining the representations of Irishness through framing, this study adds to the empirical knowledge of diaspora journalism and contributes to the field of Irish studies by illustrating that the representations carried in the diaspora news media are shaped by the historical experience of migration and the current climate in hostlands. By comparing the representations in the news texts, it shows that there is not a native/diaspora dichotomy, but that the ethno-specificity of diaspora news in multiple regions produces a diversity of representations of Irishness around the same news topics and a plurality of diaspora communities and media.

Because dedicated research into Irish diaspora news media as a defined field has not yet been undertaken, this study contributes to the research field of Irish studies in introducing, mapping and studying the content of the Irish diaspora news sector. It provides insight into the form and shape of the information about Ireland that is

transmitted in Ireland's diaspora new media and offers insight into some of the influences and motivations of the organisations in the sector.

#### **10.4 Research Design Discussion**

The design of this research was approached with a deep appreciation that despite all of the research on diaspora media and the Irish diaspora, the combination of the two topics has yet to be explored in depth. Although more recently there have been explorations of the representation of Irish emigration in digital media, more extensive mapping and critical evaluation of the news or entertainment media as an industry is lacking. In the absence of foundational literature, this research had to be approached as an entry point into the Irish diaspora news industry and so sought to introduce some of the contexts, the production practices and the content of Irish diaspora journalism, on which future research can build.

The news flow analysis was the optimal method to establish what stories about Ireland were reproduced and to identify the types of news, categories and topics, that were considered to be most newsworthy in each region, as well as to compare regional editorial news agendas. From this, it was possible to establish that there are strong similarities regarding what is featured, but regional differences in what topics and stories were prioritised, and more in-depth analysis identified some of the contextual and cultural reasons why this is the case.

Both Appadurai (1996) and Castells (1997, 2010) discuss flows, cultural and informational respectively, as do many other diaspora media scholars. However, it is not enough to theorise or find one-off examples of flows; to truly understand the scape or the network, what its impact is on the homeland–diaspora–hostland relationship and the role and power of the nodes within it, it is necessary to understand what these flows consist of, both in volume and character. This research recognised the opportunity by utilising apt methods for unpacking and comparing regional cultural flows by combining news flows with framing analysis to gauge the volume of different types of information, political, social and cultural, and the prevalence of messages and meanings about homeland identity in the transnational ecology. It is not enough to theorise that there are flows; to understand the nature of the transnational information environment we must know their form and shape.

The mixed-methods approach facilitated identification and comparison of *what* news about Ireland was on each of the regional news agendas and framing described and compared *how* Irishness was discursively constructed, which offered the breadth and depth of analysis to identify a broader range of influences on the content and differences within it. However, to achieve precision and a more comprehensive understanding of the interplay of influences in newsrooms, analysis needed to be informed by the newsmakers. It was hoped that an ethnographic study might have been possible, which would have been ideal for establishing the day-to-day practices of newsrooms and how the culture of the diaspora journalists and editors were negotiated in the process of producing news. However, in order to achieve this, the consent of each newsroom in each region, for much the same period, would have been required, particularly for a fair comparison between the regions. Given the research timeframe and the need to collect and analyse the information gathered across multiple stages of the process, the context, production processes, news flows and representations, it was not thought that this would yield enough insight into each of the steps in the circuit of cultural production. Interviews were mainly analysed collectively to understand the contextual forces at work across all diaspora newsrooms regarding the contexts of production, while the regional disaggregation of interviews mostly addressed the news flow study. It was not possible to secure the time needed to delve into the case studies or to address more deeply other topics or stories.

The potential of a discourse analysis or a critical discourse analysis was also considered. However, this was challenging in the absence of foundational research on the industry, and other representations in Irish diaspora and journalism, to inform a discourse or critical discourse analysis that could explain contextual forces that might shape the content. Also, it was decided that there were better methods to facilitate comparisons between the regions. In this regard, it was decided that neither of these approaches was as suitable as the mixed-method news flow, framing and interview approach. The content analysis for frame building thematic was the most appropriate method for a triangulated research design because it allows for both breadth and depth – unlike discourse analysis, which focuses on depth but misses out on breadth. Attaining both breadth with depth of analysis was of central importance to this research because it required the examination of a range of cases that address Irish identity to understand the extent to which the diaspora press complement or conflict

over representations of Irishness. Comparative frame analysis was favoured for the case studies because it fulfilled all of the methodological requirements and established headline-level differences between the regions, from which further research methods can be applied to develop a range of perspectives. Framing analysis offers a secure 'like for like' comparison between the dominant and challenging frames of different regions and offers insight into the location and pervasiveness of counter-narratives in different regions. These challenging frames are essential to identify because these are the disruptors to the hegemonic narratives about home, both in the national news media and the media of other diasporas.

The interviews were used to inform and explain the findings of the news flow and framing analysis in the absence of being able to conduct an ethnographic study. Because the interview questions were drawn up after the news flow and framing analyses were complete they were quite direct and sought answers to specific questions. However, this also meant that the interviews were conducted before the entire analysis was complete and so they could not explain everything that was found in the quantitative and qualitative analysis. Nor do they go into the depth that they could have with more time. Because the time that the editors could afford to give was limited and in order to get through all of the topics that needed to be covered by each editor, at times there was no opportunity to dig deeper with editors into some of the responses.

Similarly, because the time limitations while interviewing the questions had to be quite direct, which facilitated more explicit responses from interviewees. When aiming to understand the inner working of newsrooms, the culture, motivation and thinking behind representations or responses to external pressures, at times the best route to the answer is to ask a direct question. However, because the researchers experience in journalism and as an Irish migrant, the atmosphere of the interviews was more akin to a peer-to-peer discussion and editors did not need to explain fundamental aspects of day-to-day journalism production and could go straight into addressing more deeply the critical issues.

## 10.5 Limitations of this Research

This research recognises the limitations of this study that were the result of focusing on homeland news flow and representations and not examining news production and representations of hostland news, the contraflow from the diaspora to the homeland or the representations of Irish diasporic identity in the Irish national press.

The main limitations are a result of achieving focused analysis on homeland flows and representations of Irish identity across multiple topics. This research does not examine the full range of journalistic practices in diaspora newsrooms, in particular how hostland news is processed in diaspora newsrooms. While the newsgathering practices regarding home were addressed, this research did not examine the circuit of cultural production regarding hostland or community news in each of the regions. As a result, it did not approach the subject of representations of identity concerning hostlands, for which there is no doubt a range of different issues regarding access, newsgathering and distribution practices, as well as influences on the selection and representation of hostland-diaspora news.

Additionally, because of the focus on the homeland flow and representations in the diaspora press, this research does not examine the contraflow from the diaspora to the Irish press or the representations of diasporic identity in Irish newspapers. In considering Irish identity through the lens of transnationalism, it recognises that there are no doubt representations of the Irish diaspora in the Irish press which are omitted from this research and could offer valuable insight into how the Irish press represent the diasporic identity in relation to the native Irish.

To focus on the representations of 'home' in the diaspora, this research did not examine the contents of the contraflow in depth – the stories about the diaspora that were featured in the Irish news media. To some extent, the Generation Emigration project could be conceptualised as a contraflow, but as outlined in the interviews, the primary audience for this section is the diaspora as opposed to the native audience. Additionally, this is highly limited as it does not include stories about the diaspora that are covered by other sections in the paper or by other Irish titles. Consequently this research does not examine all of the news flows in detail or seek to understand what shapes all of the information which flows among the diaspora news networks and there is more to be achieved with the dataset to complete the more detailed mapping of news



flows. Similarly, recognising the volume of research already conducted on Irish national news media, it did not compare the diaspora news with Irish homeland news agendas or representations to achieve the focus needed to fully explore diaspora journalism.

The second limitation is regarding the impact of digitisation, which arose as a result of examining the political economy of diaspora news businesses in aiming to provide contextual knowledge of Ireland's diaspora news sector, the material realities and organisational influences regarding the production of online news. It does not, for example, examine the range of historical news titles that came and went, nor does it establish what inspired their launch or how digitisation may have caused their closure. Additionally, it does not address the most detrimental effects of digitisation on the news titles that did not survive the digital transition, nor does it address the Irish news blogs and how digitisation and material realities of production may hamper their development into professional news organisations. Focusing on editors, this study did not seek to understand the motivations of the owners and their professional or political networks. In these terms, there is more research to be done to complete the picture of the political economy of Ireland's digital diaspora press.

The findings and analysis do not fully explore the influence of news distribution in the process of diaspora news production as it did not examine the presence of diaspora news titles on social media platforms. It is not possible to record much of how the articles were shared on social media, which led to questions over the representativeness of the data and resulting analysis. For example, Facebook is the dominant distribution channel for all of the titles that use social media for distribution, but it does not allow for the automated recording of content posted on pages, and none of the other social media networks was as popular or as engaged with for distribution and so they were unsuitable for focused exploration. To compensate for this, the social media channels used and the level of engagement by audiences were detailed and compared, and interviews conducted with editors about their approach to social media and its effect on their news production processes. It is acknowledged that a more in-depth analysis of the political economy could have yielded more insights into how advertising models and social distribution interact to affect the content that is selected and how it is presented.

A minor limitation that was the outcome of the methodology. This sample covers seven months from February to August, but a collection of articles during a full year's news cycle would have been ideal and facilitated greater understanding of what the annual 'diary' events are in the diaspora news calendar. These are news stories that would be scheduled and to some extent can be anticipated as regular on an annual basis. For example, while the sample features some national annual events such as the St Patrick's Day parade which takes place in March, others that are common in the national news calendar were not, including the launch of Ireland's annual national budget which occurs in October.

There is also a limitation regarding identifying the full range of contextual and cultural differences that play out in newsrooms because of the lack of capacity to spend time in newsrooms and among the journalists. Because of time and engagement limitations, it was not possible to dig into each of the categories, topics and stories and what motivated their selection and prioritisation in the editorial agendas. Had there been a second round of interviews there could have been a deeper engagement with some of the topics and editors' views could have been presented to each other to compare the differences in news organisations and culture.

To understand the news that was prioritised in the diaspora press, only the articles from the homepages of the news websites were analysed because these are the news stories that are presented as most newsworthy by the editors. This study did not record or examine all articles from each of the category pages, and so the total body of news content about Ireland that was produced was not analysed. This was attempted at the beginning of recording the data through the RICC method. However, there was noteworthy overlap with the news that appeared on the homepages, and because the tools used for recording the data were limited in capacity, as well as the aim of the research to focus on the most newsworthy stories, it was considered sufficient to focus on the homepage. It must be acknowledged that had the total articles about Ireland that appeared on the websites been recorded, as opposed to the homepages, the news flow analysis would have likely resulted in different volumes of representation across categories, topics and stories.

Additionally, there are some methodological limitations in terms of using content analysis for frame building. Among the potential drawbacks regarding content

analysis are that whereas the categorisation should be clear and systematic, the absence of reviews could result in its being subject to bias. To overcome this, the categories in NVivo were inspected by research peers to ensure that they were valid. Content analysis is sometimes criticised for relying on word counts and frequencies and losing context in complex texts. However, to abate this limitation, the process was not as simplistic as using word counts; the content analysis that was used for frame building respected the form of news articles and the position of the central organising idea at the top of the text. However, there are no doubt valuable insights into Irish digital diaspora journalism that can be achieved by applying a range of methodologies.

## **10.6 Recommendations for Future Work**

Drawing on the limitations of this study regarding the focus on the homeland flows and representations, as well as the impact of digitisation, this section addresses the recommendations for future research in diaspora journalism and the Irish diaspora press.

As noted above, the news production practices regarding the hostland and the representations of Irish diasporic identity in this body of news could be examined in depth to facilitate comparison. Given the influence of the hostland news agenda on the newsworthiness of stories from Ireland, it would be of value to understand if the Irish news or political agenda has a role to play in the stories selected about the respective hostland and the representations of diasporic identities in these stories. Additionally, there is a potential to inspect the contraflow of news from diasporas to the Irish national press to establish and compare the flows regarding categories, topics and stories about diaspora that are featured in Ireland. Moreover, research could be undertaken to understand the discursive construction of the diasporic identity by Irish national news titles to establish if they are similarly transnational in approach or whether the nativist/migrant dichotomy is present.

Future projects could address remaining gaps in the area of diaspora journalism research to build a complete picture of Irish diaspora journalism in terms of production, distribution and consumption. Several important journalistic perspectives are missing from the body of scholarship in this area, such as perspectives on audiences, agenda-setting and media effects; the relationship between the news

industries of homeland and hostland; critical political economy; as well as critical discourse analysis on a range of important issues such as ethno-nationalism, gender and minority representation.

As noted, because this was the first dedicated research into the Irish diaspora press it recognised the need to introduce the news industry, map its locations, identify the loci of power, before delving into specific contexts of production and the representations that emerge from the transnational news production process. The limitations of this research regarding the hostland production norms, political economy and the distribution of news on social media could be addressed in future research.

Now that some of the resources and material realities of producing news transnationally are established, it is possible and desirable to examine and compare the critical political economies of diaspora news to understand their role in democratic societies. Research into the transnational dimension of newsmaking and how the Irish diaspora press come to mobilise the public or politics in different regions of the world to respond to critical homeland developments would yield many valuable insights into the political role of diaspora journalism on homeland affairs. Some of the interviews alluded to or explicitly described ideological positions and political alliances, for example the support for Democrats in the USA or republicanism in Ireland, as well as the tricky negotiation of the inherently political issue of Northern Ireland. These concerns required focused attention to establish the political positions and power relations that exist in the transnational media network. There would be significant benefits in evaluating the agenda setting and watchdog functions of Irish diaspora news media and establishing the extent to which they support or disrupt hegemonic representations from home and the concerns of the Irish or hostland establishments and elite institutions. An examination of the extent to which the Irish diaspora press can approach topics, investigate and affect the political life of Ireland would offer better insight into the role they play as brokers of Irish culture and society.

While this research establishes how the existing diaspora news media adapted to and incorporated digital media practices, there is potential in examining the news titles that did not successfully transition online to understand what the most acute detrimental factors regarding digitisation were. Regarding the digitisation of diaspora

journalism more generally, there is a need to address the distribution of diaspora news on social media, the extent to which editors feel obliged to tailor content to suit these platforms and the extent to which newsrooms rely on these channels to reach and extend audiences. These aspects all feed directly into the issue of the revenue generated by the news outlets and require detailed analysis. Questions regarding how these issues might shape the content that is selected and how it is presented remain. It is vital to understand how these increasingly powerful distribution channels are shaping diaspora journalism and whether it ends up competing with homeland national journalism in the same space.

In association with this, there are also questions about digital platforms as brokers, and the consumption of the news via digital platforms requires in-depth inspection. Migrant media or any news media is distributed in an algorithmically controlled environment that can often create echo chambers. This is because topics may not be displayed unless a user has already indicated they are interested in them. Do algorithms that tailor social feeds to the assumed interests of users raise barriers to diaspora journalism reaching audiences in other diaspora communities or the homeland and curtail the potential for and the circulation of diverse viewpoints? It is important going forward to understand how and why diaspora news gains traction on social media, who are the actors that elevate news stories on these platforms and how this may contribute to the mobilisation of diasporas to engage in long-distance nationalism, politically and ideologically. Moreover, while there are news blogs and other pages on social media that communicate news about Ireland to globally dispersed diasporas and people in Ireland, they do not have the same weight, prominence or prestige as the formal, professional news institutions. This raises important questions regarding what media institutions come to represent diaspora communities and the extent to which some news titles are regarded as representative of the entire diaspora.

Most of the digital diaspora journalists and news organisations are based in the countries where Irish migrants have settled and centralised, except the *Irish Times* Abroad project, which is based and editorially led in Ireland but with the journalistic network reaching out to a range of different countries. However, it is important to note that the most prominent Irish diaspora news organisations are centralised in the western, English-speaking countries and as such, there is little representation of the

experiences of migration or representations of Irishness in non-western societies. There would be great value in understanding the extent to which these news titles are considered to be representative of the needs of the respective diaspora communities and if any news region dominates over another in terms of visibility in Ireland. Given the capacity of diaspora news media to represent and elevate issues of immediate concern to the communities where they are public institutions, we must question what is omitted because the nodal points in the global network have not yet expanded into non-western areas. In other words, it would be beneficial to establish to what extent Irish communities in China or the UAE can inject their concerns into the transnational discourses of Irish culture and identity by comparison to the professional established organisations that produce content on a daily basis.

To some extent, the *Irish Times* Generation Emigration project overcame this in that there is a range of contacts available in more diverse regions of the world that editors utilise when there is a newsworthy topic in that region. However, the capacity of citizen diaspora journalists to engage in news reporting about the communities or to investigate issues relevant to diaspora communities is not clear. The editorial agenda of Generation Emigration (now Ireland Abroad) regarding selecting news topics and stories was primarily driven by the editors, while the content of the articles was more driven by diasporans.

## **10.7 Recommendations for Public Policy and the Revision of the Diaspora Media Fund**

The Global Irish Media Fund was launched in 2015 as part of the government’s policy on the Global Irish to support “good quality reporting of all aspects of the Irish emigrant experience”. However, since then the fund has not been replenished, there have been no further calls to apply, and it is not clear what the Irish government’s commitment to supporting diaspora media is.

In 2016, 21 applications were assessed by a judging panel with 17 applications awarded either full or partial funding for a project. While a total of €65,003 was awarded, only €49,165 was spent because some projects came in under budget and others did not proceed. The fund was not renewed in 2017, and its future is uncertain.

A recent review of the Irish government's Diaspora Policy (Unit, 2018) recommends that the scheme should not be run in a similar fashion.

Part of the problem was that the terms and conditions for funding required that the primary audience for the diaspora projects should be in Ireland only. The applicants had to have an agreement to publish or broadcast with a native Irish media outlet to secure the financial support. This was highly problematic because it ignored established and experienced diaspora news media across the globe with a combined audience upward of 2.5 million. It also failed to support the establishment of new digital diaspora networks that could be developed across multiple platforms. Indeed the review of the project (Unit, 2018) was highly nativist in its approach, focusing only on what the Irish national audience got from it and ignoring the potential that it could and should benefit diaspora news production that served the diaspora audience.

The Diaspora Media Fund was effectively not a diaspora media fund that included the diaspora media or diaspora audiences; it was ultimately for migrants, or Irish nationals, to explain their experiences to the people in Ireland via native media. Diaspora media have an important role in linking communities and cultures across state borders that was unacknowledged in the formation and delivery of this financial resource. Diaspora media can cut across cultural boundaries and create a bridge between diasporas and national audiences; however, to do that it must 'speak' to both.

Additionally, the fund was to examine traditional subjects: the impact of emigration on Ireland and the opportunities and challenges of migrants. However, diaspora media is dynamic and engaged in many more topics than just 'migration'. One of the most beneficial features of diaspora media is that they can often say about a homeland what it is difficult to say when there. It has an agenda distinct from that of national media and can report stories about Ireland's relationship with other countries that would otherwise go uncovered.

The fund was too limited in its scope and failed to acknowledge the value of diaspora news media, perhaps because there is so little information about this sector in Ireland. In order to be effective in its ambition to support diaspora media, diaspora media must be allowed to apply for the fund and to build connections between Ireland and its migrants; it must include both in the audience. Ireland needs to enhance communication with migrants, not just for economic return but because Irishness is

constructed, represented and occurs outside Ireland. The more we learn about that, the more we understand all the different ways it means to be Irish.

However, interviews with editors highlighted a potential problem regarding the fund. Many of the editors described an aversion to taking funds directly from the government that might come with conditions that would affect their independence and journalistic integrity. These values were prioritised over the availability of financial support, and so any funding that comes from the government must be free from conditions that direct the content of projects that would rely on it. Any future funding must be formulated in such a way that it does not impact on the independence of diaspora journalists and editors. Government funding to the diaspora must be willing to recognise the freedom and independence to publish, and anticipate that journalism produced in different regulatory environments, and different journalism cultures, could be a source of tension.

Another theme from news flows, the case study on Migration and interviews with editors was that of securing voting rights in Ireland. If the ambition is to establish a meaningful connection between the Irish state and the diasporas that incorporates the diaspora news media, then they must be offered a stake in the future of the nation, not just through the mediation of the shared past or current affairs, but by allowing migrants have a say in their shared future. The diaspora voice must be formalised through political mechanisms that can have a real-world impact. The idea of extending the right to vote can only be established through a referendum, and while the decision is ultimately up to the Irish national electorate, the government should prioritise the campaign to incorporate Irish migrants in the electorate. In doing so, the government would be required to provide diaspora voters with necessary information and potentially advertise with diaspora news outlets, which in turn would better support this industry financially without affecting its independence.

Based on some of the challenges to newsgathering and the lack of exposure for diaspora concerns regarding the homeland and their communities, there is a range of provisions that could be implemented at a low cost that could enhance the diaspora news media. Two practical initiatives were identified that could address, firstly, barriers to accessing local stories in Ireland from not having people on the ground, and secondly, the lack of journalists among the diaspora to report on and investigate stories



about Irish diasporas and their role in hostlands. The first is an online repository of local freelance journalists who would be available to cover events for diaspora outlets and the second a collaborative initiative among diaspora and national news outlets.

However, developing a collaborative effort may be challenging to achieve. The lack of partnership between established diaspora news media and Irish national news titles on journalism projects could be highly beneficial for both. The editors described that there are already informal relationships established where content from different organisations is shared with appropriate credit. The journalism of both communities and the transnational news media ecology would be significantly enhanced by the cooperation of organisations inside and outside Ireland. However, intra-media cooperation is not a standard feature in the Irish media landscape, but may develop in time as Irish journalism tends to follow behind the more advanced countries such as the UK and the USA (because they are largest markets with more resources).

However, the problem of local news being inaccessible at critical times for diaspora newsrooms can be more easily addressed. Resources can be developed to help facilitate better connections to Irish news media professionals by building a list of available Irish local freelancers, photographers, videographers and others that can be easily contacted by diaspora editors when they do need people on the ground.

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## **Appendix A: News Flow and Agendas Pilot Testing**

### *Test One - JavaScript*

The first approach was based on web scraping process advocated by Wu (2008) and Kautsky & Wildom (2008). In line with the RICC methods of data collection, a web-scraping script was written in Javascript that ran a search for new content on the homepages of each website listed every 15 minutes and to download an HTML copy of each new article published. Six diaspora websites were indexed on the script for scraping both the entire content of the webpage and the metadata such as the web address, timestamp and the category pages of the website on which the article was published. The HTML documents are searchable in Windows 10 search function which facilitated categorisation and topic and story identification for recording frequencies and volumes of content.

The Javascript was set up to run on a laptop computer located on the Dublin City University campus linked to the university's internet connection for a period of two weeks from November 2, 2015, to November 15, 2015. An HTML copy of each article published on the homepage of each website was saved into a folder onto the hard drive of the laptop, which was integrated with Google Drive allowing for automated data backup.

Reliability test used was adapted from Wu (2008), using the RSS feeds selecting ten articles at random on each day that data was collected and checking the searchable database to confirm the successful collection of the article in the database. During the pilot test, the script successfully collected articles from each digital news title with a reliability test returning 89%.

The script was scheduled to begin scraping the articles that were to become the main dataset for this research project for a six-month period on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016. While the scraping did begin at the scheduled time, on the first reliability test after which was taken after one week, reliability test returned only a 60% reliability rate. A record of the scripts application in Windows Control Centre showed that the script failed to run on multiple occasions because of delays in connecting to the internet that resulted in the script making multiple attempts to connect to the websites to scrape the articles, but ultimately failing. On further inquiry and testing suffered ongoing issues with the application of the Javascript which continued to have problems connecting to the internet to scrape the articles. This method did not work, and a better approach to data collection was required.

### *Test Two: RSS Feeds*

The RSS aggregator Feedly facilitates integrations with other software companies and by allowing the account holder to send information automatically between connected databases. The metadata of RSS Feeds collecting every article in the seven websites.

Every article from the homepages of the seven websites was identified by the RSS feed, collected and recorded. Initially, every single article that was published on each website was recorded. However, problems with collecting all of the articles on each website emerged. Firstly, was the level of overlap on the homepage and category pages, with relevant articles appearing on both. Secondly was the volume of articles, and the capacity to meaningfully code all of them and finally, that this ignored the process of prioritising news by placing on the homepage and less valuable news elsewhere. It was clear that this was not possible within the scope of the research time to address every article on each website and the option to focus on the homepage was preferable for analysing and comparing the most salient content.

Feedly is a highly reliable and advanced RSS Feed aggregator with options for collecting, organising, tagging, saving, filtering and searching information about the articles that are published in specific feeds. Two RSS feeds were set up in the application, one that recorded every article on the homepages of the six diaspora websites and another collecting the articles from Irish Abroad section that appeared on the [irishtimes.com](http://irishtimes.com) homepage.

The RSS collecting the data from the homepages of the seven websites were collected using a spreadsheet and is organised into columns by date, headline, news category, news topic, keywords, ID stamp and summaries of the article where available.

List of metadata: {TimeArticlePublishedAt} (The website title), {ArticleTitle}, {ArticleContent}, {ArticleURL} {ArticlePersonalBoards} {ArticleCategories} {SourceTitle} {SourceURL}

A pilot test to check that the RSS was collecting all of the article was taken over two weeks from January 2 to January 15 2016 returning a 98% accuracy for matching the content, which is a strong result for a pilot validity test and the advanced in software had resulted a closer enough accuracy rate than achieved in previous research (Segev, 2014). Because of this the RSS Feed approach was adopted.

### *Test Three: RSS and IFTTT*

RSS feeds have been used in some news flow studies (Lan and Sie, 2010; Segev, 2015) and new technologies offered by Feedly's enhanced features such as integrations with automated data collection services such as IFTTT and Zapier. By combining RSS feeds with data collection facilities, it is possible to automate the creation spreadsheets with articles recorded in rows with the relevant metadata organised into columns that can be easily analysed to quantify news flows.

An integrated software tool IFTTT that can connect the RSS feed to a spreadsheet was successfully used by several highly credible institutions, and so this was the first option tested. IFTTT stands for If This Then That and "is a free web-based service that people use to create chains of simple conditional statements, called applets. An applet is triggered by changes that occur within other web services such as" social media feeds or RSS feeds like Feedly. An applet that was created that would record the metadata output of the RSS feeds in a Google sheets spreadsheet document with individual columns corresponding to the type of information that was being collected.

The applet began collecting formation from Feedly on January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2016 and ran for one week with a reliability test returning a result of 96% and was let continue to collect the data for analysis. As part of the IFTTT service details about every interaction that the applets engaged in are recorded and are easily checked to ensure that the applet is running correctly. The applet ran successfully for two weeks, but on the third week, the record of the applet's interactions showed multiple failures to record the details of articles in the google spreadsheet. A process of working with IFTTT's technological support team followed, but they were unable to provide a solution to the problem, suggesting the volume of articles could be causing delays in the process of connecting to and updating new information to the Google spreadsheet. The failures to record data persisted, and the reliability of the IFTTT applets was too low to continue to use as a form of data collection for this project, and a similar application Zapier was employed.

## Appendix B Tables of News Flows

### Regional Tables of Total and Category News Flows

Table of total percentage of news about Home and news about Hostland

	Irish-Australian	Irish-British	Irish-American	Total
Community news and world news	47.5	46.17	47.01	46.6
News about Ireland	52.5	53.83	52.99	53.4
Total	100	100	100	100

Country	Category							Total
	Business	Culture	Crime	Life & Style	Politics	Social Affairs	Sport	
Australia	3.17	52.38	1.59	0	4.76	17.46	20.63	100
Britain	5.81	21.18	5.31	9.98	4.58	22.81	30.34	100
America	5.69	35.61	5.07	10.06	13.39	23.53	6.65	100
Total	5.86	28.78	5.1	9.76	8.73	23.01	18.94	100

## Regional Tables of News Flows

### *Irish-American Press News Flows from Ireland*

#### Topic Flow

Topic Flow	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1916 CENTENARY	104	9.11	9.11
ABORTION	4	0.35	9.46
ADVENTURE	2	0.18	9.63
AGE	1	0.09	9.72
AGRI BIZ	2	0.18	9.89
AGRICULTURE	1	0.09	9.98
ALLIANCE	1	0.09	10.07
ANIMALS	19	1.66	11.73
APPLE	1	0.09	11.82
ARCHITECTURE	1	0.09	11.91
ARMY	2	0.18	12.08
ART	8	0.7	12.78
ASSAULT	2	0.18	12.96
ATHLETICS	4	0.35	13.31
BANKING	2	0.18	13.49
BASEBALL	1	0.09	13.57
BEAUTY	3	0.26	13.84
BERKLEY	1	0.09	13.92
BOATS	1	0.09	14.01
BOOKS	28	2.45	16.46
BOXING	4	0.35	16.81
BREXIT	32	2.8	18.01
BULLY	1	0.09	19.7
CARS	1	0.09	19.79
CELEBS	8	0.7	20.49
CENSUS	2	0.18	20.67
CHARITY	3	0.26	20.93
CITYOFCULTURE	2	0.18	21.1



<b>COMEDY</b>	2	0.18	21.28
<b>COMIC</b>	1	0.09	21.37
<b>CYCLING</b>	1	0.09	21.45
<b>DAIL</b>	5	0.44	21.89
<b>DANCE</b>	21	1.84	23.73
<b>DATING</b>	1	0.09	23.82
<b>DEATHS</b>	14	1.23	25.04
<b>DEFAMATION</b>	2	0.18	25.22
<b>DOCUMENTARY</b>	2	0.18	25.39
<b>DRINK</b>	21	1.84	27.23
<b>DRINK DRIVING</b>	1	0.09	27.32
<b>DROWNING</b>	1	0.09	27.41
<b>DRUGS</b>	2	0.18	27.58
<b>ECONOMICS</b>	2	0.18	27.76
<b>ECONOMY</b>	5	0.44	28.2
<b>EDUCATION</b>	15	1.31	29.51
<b>ENVIRON</b>	1	0.09	29.6
<b>FAMINE</b>	8	0.7	30.3
<b>FASHION</b>	1	0.09	30.39
<b>FILM</b>	56	4.9	35.29
<b>FOOD</b>	3	0.26	35.55
<b>GAA</b>	2	0.18	35.73
<b>GANGS</b>	11	0.96	36.69
<b>GARDAI</b>	1	0.09	36.78
<b>GENERAL ELECTION 16</b>	66	5.78	42.56
<b>GERRY ADAMS</b>	2	0.18	42.73
<b>GOLF</b>	4	0.35	43.08
<b>GUNS</b>	3	0.26	43.35
<b>HEALTH</b>	17	1.49	44.83
<b>HERITAGE</b>	1	0.09	44.92
<b>MODERN HISTORY</b>	66	5.78	50.7
<b>HISTORY</b>	2	0.18	50.88
<b>HOMELESSNESS</b>	2	0.18	51.05

<b>IRISH GOVERNMENT</b>	1	0.09	51.14
<b>INVENTION</b>	2	0.18	51.31
<b>INVESTMENT</b>	3	0.26	51.58
<b>IRA</b>	3	0.26	51.84
<b>JOBS</b>	2	0.18	52.01
<b>LANDSCAPE</b>	18	1.58	53.59
<b>LANGUAGE</b>	5	0.44	54.03
<b>LGBT</b>	3	0.26	54.29
<b>#MARREF</b>	2	0.18	54.47
<b>MIGRATION</b>	36	3.15	57.62
<b>MISSING PERSON</b>	4	0.35	57.97
<b>MMA</b>	5	0.44	58.41
<b>M.MCGUINNESS</b>	1	0.09	58.49
<b>MUISC</b>	1	0.09	58.58
<b>MURDER</b>	5	0.44	59.02
<b>MUSEUM</b>	11	0.96	59.98
<b>MUSIC</b>	49	4.29	64.27
<b>NFL</b>	1	0.09	64.36
<b>NI GENERAL ELECTION</b>	6	0.53	64.89
<b>NOVEL</b>	8	0.7	65.59
<b>OBITURARY</b>	3	0.26	65.85
<b>Us PRESIDENTIALS 16</b>	16	1.4	67.25
<b>PEACE TREAT</b>	1	0.09	67.34
<b>PHOTOGRAPHY</b>	2	0.18	67.51
<b>PICS</b>	1	0.09	67.6
<b>PODCAST</b>	1	0.09	67.69
<b>POETRY</b>	4	0.35	68.04
<b>POLL</b>	1	0.09	68.13
<b>PRESIDENT</b>	2	0.18	68.3
<b>PROPERTY</b>	19	1.66	69.96
<b>PROTEST</b>	1	0.09	70.05
<b>RACING</b>	2	0.18	70.23
<b>RAPE</b>	1	0.09	70.32

<b>REBELLION</b>	1	0.09	70.4
<b>RED HAIR</b>	1	0.09	70.49
<b>RELIGION</b>	42	3.68	74.17
<b>RESCUE</b>	2	0.18	74.34
<b>RESEARCH</b>	3	0.26	74.61
<b>RIO16</b>	30	2.63	77.23
<b>ROADS</b>	1	0.09	77.32
<b>ROSE OF TRALEE</b>	9	0.79	78.11
<b>ROYALS</b>	1	0.09	78.2
<b>RUGBY</b>	1	0.09	78.28
<b>RURAL</b>	1	0.09	78.37
<b>SEANAD</b>	5	0.44	78.81
<b>SEANAD ELECTION</b>	1	0.09	78.9
<b>SEASONS</b>	1	0.09	78.98
<b>SINN FEIN</b>	1	0.09	79.07
<b>SOCCOR</b>	19	1.66	80.74
<b>SOCIAL</b>	4	0.35	81.09
<b>ST PATRICKS DAY</b>	17	1.49	82.57
<b>SYRIA</b>	1	0.09	82.66
<b>TAX</b>	1	0.09	82.75
<b>TECH</b>	5	0.44	83.19
<b>TERRORISM</b>	17	1.49	84.68
<b>THEATRE</b>	4	0.35	85.03
<b>THEFT</b>	1	0.09	85.11
<b>TOURISM</b>	2	0.18	85.29
<b>TRADE</b>	1	0.09	85.38
<b>TRAVEL</b>	98	8.58	93.96
<b>TRAVEL DRIVING</b>	1	0.09	94.05
<b>TROUBLES</b>	26	2.28	96.32
<b>TRUMP</b>	1	0.09	96.41
<b>TV</b>	8	0.7	97.11
<b>WEATHER</b>	22	1.93	99.04
<b>WATER CHARGES</b>	1	0.09	99.12

<b>WEDDING</b>	9	0.79	99.91
<b>WOMEN</b>	1	0.09	100
<b>Total</b>	1,142	100	

### Story Flow

<b>Story Flow</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Cum.</b>
<b>ABUSE CLERICAL</b>	3	0.26	0.26
<b>ACCENT</b>	1	0.09	0.35
<b>ADELE</b>	1	0.09	0.44
<b>AER LINGUS</b>	7	0.61	1.05
<b>AGRI BIZ</b>	1	0.09	1.14
<b>AIRBNB</b>	1	0.09	1.23
<b>AIRLINES</b>	3	0.26	1.49
<b>AIRPORT</b>	3	0.26	1.75
<b>ALAMO</b>	1	0.09	1.84
<b>AMERICAN IN DUBLIN</b>	1	0.09	1.93
<b>ANGLO BANK</b>	1	0.09	2.02
<b>ANTI-GOVT</b>	1	0.09	2.1
<b>ANTI ISIS IRAN ARREST</b>	2	0.18	2.28
<b>ANTI SOCIAL</b>	1	0.09	2.37
<b>AMERICAN PRIMARY 16</b>	1	0.09	2.45
<b>APPLE TAX</b>	2	0.18	2.63
<b>A. QUINN</b>	1	0.09	2.72
<b>AQUITAL</b>	1	0.09	2.8
<b>ARCHEOLOGY</b>	4	0.35	3.16
<b>ARSON</b>	1	0.09	3.24
<b>ART</b>	1	0.09	3.33
<b>ATHIESM</b>	1	0.09	3.42
<b>ATHLETICS</b>	2	0.18	3.59
<b>AUCTION</b>	6	0.53	4.12

AUSTERITY	6	0.53	4.65
AUTISM	1	0.09	4.73
AWARD	6	0.53	5.26
AWARDS	5	0.44	5.7
BEACHES	1	0.09	5.78
BERKLEY	2	0.18	5.96
BIO	1	0.09	6.05
BISHOP DALY	1	0.09	6.13
BLOODY SUNDAY	1	0.09	6.22
BOAT	1	0.09	6.31
BOBBY SANDS	1	0.09	6.4
BONO	2	0.18	6.57
BOOKS	4	0.35	6.92
BORDER	17	1.49	8.41
BOSTON COLLEGE	1	0.09	8.5
BOSTON TAPES	2	0.18	8.68
BOXING	2	0.18	8.85
BRITISH PROBLEM	3	0.26	9.11
SOLDIER SHOTS CHILD	1	0.09	9.2
BRUSSELS ATTACK	2	0.18	9.38
BUNCRANA DEATHS	5	0.44	9.82
BURIALS	1	0.09	9.9
BUY	1	0.09	9.99
POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS	6	0.53	10.52
CANNABIS	1	0.09	10.6
CASEMENT	3	0.26	10.87
CASTLE	1	0.09	10.96
CELEBS	1	0.44	11.39
CELTS	2	0.18	11.57
CENSORSHIP	1	0.09	11.66
CFARRELL	3	0.26	11.92
CHARITY	2	0.18	12.09
CHEAP	1	0.09	12.18

CHEESE	1	0.09	12.27
CHICAGO RIVER	1	0.09	12.36
CHILDCARE	1	0.09	12.45
CHINA	1	0.09	12.53
CHOIR	1	0.09	12.62
CHRISTIAN BROS	1	0.09	12.71
CHURCH	3	0.26	12.97
CITIES	1	0.09	13.06
CIVIAL WAR	1	0.09	13.15
CLASSICAL MUSIC	2	0.18	13.32
CLINTON	1	0.09	13.41
COLLEGE	1	0.09	13.5
COLLINS	7	0.61	14.11
COMEDY	1	0.09	14.2
CONCERN	1	0.09	14.29
CONFERENCE	1	0.09	14.37
COST	1	0.09	14.46
COUNCIL	1	0.09	14.55
COUNTRY	2	0.18	14.72
CRIMES	1	0.18	14.9
CRITICISM	1	0.09	14.99
CYCLISTS	1	0.09	15.07
DAILFORM	41	3.5	18.67
DAYLEWIS	1	0.09	18.76
DEAL	1	0.09	18.84
DEATH PENELTY	1	0.09	18.93
DEATHS	1	0.09	19.02
DEBATE	1	0.09	19.11
DERRY NUN	1	0.09	19.19
DESSERT	1	0.09	19.28
DIASPORA	21	1.94	21.21
DOCUMENTARY	1	0.09	21.3
DOMESTIC ABUSE	1	0.09	21.38

<b>DRINK</b>	1	0.09	21.47
<b>DRIVING</b>	1	0.09	21.56
<b>DROWNING</b>	2	0.18	21.74
<b>DRUG MULES</b>	1	0.09	21.82
<b>DRUGS</b>	1	0.09	21.91
<b>DRUG USE</b>	1	0.09	22
<b>DUBLIN</b>	13	1.14	23.14
<b>DUPLANTIER</b>	1	0.09	23.23
<b>EASTER</b>	2	0.18	23.4
<b>EDUCATION</b>	2	0.18	23.58
<b>ENTERPRISE</b>	3	0.26	23.84
<b>ENYA</b>	1	0.09	23.93
<b>EQUEST</b>	1	0.09	24.01
<b>EUROS16</b>	11	0.97	24.98
<b>EUROVISION</b>	1	0.09	25.07
<b>EVENTS</b>	21	1.84	26.91
<b>EXECUTIONS</b>	2	0.18	27.08
<b>FAMINE</b>	1	0.09	27.17
<b>FASHION</b>	1	0.09	27.26
<b>FASSBENDER</b>	4	0.35	27.61
<b>FEIS</b>	4	0.35	27.96
<b>FESTIVAL</b>	10	0.88	28.83
<b>FILM</b>	1	0.09	28.92
<b>FISH</b>	1	0.09	29.01
<b>FLATTELY</b>	1	0.09	29.1
<b>FOLK MUSIC</b>	4	0.35	29.45
<b>FOOD</b>	2	0.18	29.62
<b>FOX</b>	1	0.09	29.71
<b>FRAMPTON</b>	2	0.18	29.89
<b>FRAUD</b>	1	0.09	29.97
<b>FR BERRIGAN</b>	1	0.09	30.06
<b>FUNGIE</b>	1	0.09	30.15
<b>GAA</b>	1	0.09	30.24

<b>GAELIC</b>	4	0.35	30.59
<b>GALOLIPI</b>	1	0.09	30.67
<b>GALWAY</b>	2	0.18	30.85
<b>GANGS</b>	1	0.09	30.94
<b>GARDAI</b>	1	0.09	31.03
<b>G BYRNE</b>	1	0.09	31.11
<b>GILIGUN</b>	1	0.09	31.2
<b>GIN</b>	1	0.09	31.29
<b>GINGERMAN</b>	1	0.09	31.38
<b>GCAMP</b>	1	0.09	31.46
<b>GLASS</b>	1	0.09	31.55
<b>GOAL</b>	1	0.09	31.64
<b>GOAT</b>	1	0.09	31.73
<b>GOOD FRIDAY</b>	5	0.44	32.16
<b>GOSSIP</b>	1	0.09	32.25
<b>GAME OF THRONES</b>	6	0.53	32.78
<b>GRAVES</b>	2	0.18	32.95
<b>GUINNESS</b>	8	0.7	33.65
<b>GUNS</b>	6	0.53	34.18
<b>GYMNASTICS</b>	1	0.09	34.27
<b>HARP</b>	1	0.09	34.36
<b>HAVE MURDER</b>	2	0.18	34.53
<b>HIGGINS</b>	2	0.18	34.71
<b>HIST</b>	80	7.01	41.72
<b>HOLLANDE VISIT</b>	3	0.26	41.98
<b>HOMELESSNESS</b>	1	0.09	42.07
<b>HSE</b>	1	0.09	42.16
<b>IDENTITY</b>	8	0.7	42.86
<b>FANS EUROS 16</b>	4	0.35	43.21
<b>INDEPENDENCE</b>	1	0.09	43.3
<b>INJURY</b>	2	0.18	43.47
<b>INVEST</b>	1	0.09	43.56
<b>INVESTMENT</b>	1	0.09	43.65



<b>IRA</b>	6	0.53	44.17
<b>IREXIT</b>	1	0.09	44.26
<b>IRISH DIRECTOR</b>	1	0.09	44.35
<b>IRISHNESS</b>	4	0.35	44.7
<b>IRISH RESPONSE</b>	1	0.09	44.79
<b>IRISH TV</b>	1	0.09	44.87
<b>IRL TEAM</b>	1	0.09	44.96
<b>JB KEANE</b>	1	0.09	45.05
<b>J DORAN</b>	1	0.09	45.14
<b>JFK</b>	1	0.09	45.22
<b>J O CONNELL</b>	1	0.09	45.31
<b>JOE BIDEN VISIT</b>	10	0.88	46.19
<b>J JOYCE</b>	7	0.61	46.8
<b>LAB – CHEMICAL</b>	2	0.18	46.98
<b>LABOUR</b>	2	0.18	47.15
<b>LANDSCAPE</b>	1	0.09	47.24
<b>LANGUAGE</b>	2	0.18	47.41
<b>LEADER</b>	1	0.09	47.5
<b>LEAP YEAR</b>	1	0.09	47.59
<b>LEAVE</b>	3	0.26	47.85
<b>LEAVING RESULTS</b>	1	0.09	47.94
<b>LEGACY</b>	1	0.09	48.03
<b>LENT</b>	1	0.09	48.12
<b>LEPECO</b>	2	0.18	48.29
<b>LGBT</b>	7	0.61	48.9
<b>LGBT WEDDING</b>	1	0.09	48.99
<b>LIMERICK</b>	1	0.09	49.08
<b>LIST</b>	1	0.09	49.17
<b>L NEESON</b>	9	0.62	49.78
<b>MARCH (MONTH)</b>	1	0.09	49.87
<b>MARCHING SEASON</b>	6	0.53	50.39
<b>MARY BOYLE</b>	1	0.09	50.48
<b>MAXI DUNDALK</b>	1	0.09	50.57

MAYNOOTH	4	0.35	50.92
M BOYLE	2	0.18	51.1
MC ELROY	2	0.18	51.27
MC GREAGOR	4	0.35	51.62
M COLLINS	4	0.35	51.97
MEDIA	8	0.7	52.67
MEMORY	1	0.09	52.76
MENTAL HEALTH	6	0.55	53.29
M H CLARKE	1	0.09	53.37
MIGRATION	9	0.79	54.16
MILENIAL	1	0.09	54.25
MINDFUL	1	0.09	54.34
MNFI	1	0.09	54.43
MNI	1	0.09	54.51
MURDER	2	0.18	54.69
MUSEUM	1	0.09	54.78
MUSIC	5	0.44	55.21
MUSSOLINI	1	0.09	55.3
MYTH	5	0.44	55.74
NAMES (IRISH)	4	0.35	56.09
NATIONAL ATANTHEM	1	0.09	56.18
NATIONALISM	1	0.09	56.27
NEESON	1	0.09	56.35
NEW YORK ROSE	1	0.09	56.44
NORTHERN IRELAND	2	0.18	56.62
NIGHTSKY	4	0.35	56.97
NI AND USA	1	0.09	57.06
NI BIDEN VIVIST	1	0.09	57.14
NOTRE DAME	3	0.26	57.41
NOVEL	14	1.23	58.63
NUDISTS	1	0.09	58.72
NUNS	1	0.09	58.81
NYC	2	0.18	58.98

<b>OBITUARY</b>	6	0.53	59.51
<b>O DONOVAN</b>	8	0.7	60.21
<b>OLYMPICS</b>	1	0.09	60.3
<b>OMAGH</b>	1	0.09	60.39
<b>OSCAR</b>	10	0.88	61.26
<b>PARADE</b>	2	0.18	61.44
<b>PARIS ATTACKS</b>	1	0.09	61.52
<b>PASSPORT</b>	7	0.61	62.14
<b>PATHE</b>	1	0.09	62.23
<b>P CAIRNS</b>	1	0.09	62.31
<b>PEARSE</b>	1	0.09	62.4
<b>PERU2</b>	1	0.09	62.49
<b>PHONEBOX</b>	1	0.09	62.58
<b>PICS</b>	8	0.7	63.28
<b>PIG</b>	2	0.18	63.45
<b>PLANT</b>	1	0.09	63.54
<b>POET</b>	1	0.09	63.63
<b>POETRY</b>	2	0.18	63.8
<b>POLICING</b>	1	0.09	63.89
<b>POLITICIAN FEST</b>	2	0.18	64.07
<b>POLL</b>	1	0.09	64.15
<b>POPE</b>	2	0.18	64.33
<b>POTATOS</b>	1	0.09	64.42
<b>PRAYERS</b>	1	0.09	64.5
<b>PRIESTS</b>	1	0.09	64.59
<b>PRINCE</b>	1	0.09	64.68
<b>PRISONS</b>	2	0.18	64.86
<b>PROTEST</b>	2	0.18	65.03
<b>PSNI</b>	1	0.09	65.12
<b>RACING</b>	1	0.09	65.21
<b>RACISM</b>	5	0.44	65.64
<b>RATS</b>	1	0.09	65.73
<b>RCASEMENT</b>	2	0.18	65.91

<b>REAL ONEILS</b>	1	0.09	65.99
<b>RECORDS</b>	1	0.09	66.08
<b>RECOVERY</b>	2	0.18	66.26
<b>REDHAIR</b>	6	0.53	66.78
<b>REDHEAD</b>	1	0.09	66.87
<b>REFORM</b>	2	0.18	67.05
<b>REFUGE</b>	7	0.61	67.66
<b>RELIGION</b>	2	0.18	67.84
<b>RESEARCH</b>	9	0.79	68.62
<b>RESULT</b>	14	1.23	69.85
<b>RETIRE</b>	3	0.26	70.11
<b>RETIREMENT</b>	1	0.09	70.2
<b>REVIEW</b>	2	0.18	70.38
<b>RIVERDANCE</b>	2	0.18	70.55
<b>ROY KEANE</b>	1	0.09	70.64
<b>ROCK</b>	2	0.18	70.82
<b>ROYALS</b>	1	0.09	70.9
<b>RTE</b>	3	0.26	71.17
<b>RURAL</b>	1	0.09	71.25
<b>SAILING</b>	1	0.09	71.34
<b>SAINTS</b>	1	0.09	71.43
<b>SALE</b>	7	0.61	72.04
<b>SANDS</b>	4	0.35	72.39
<b>SAVED</b>	1	0.09	72.48
<b>S BECKETT</b>	1	0.09	72.57
<b>SCIENTOLOGY</b>	1	0.09	72.66
<b>SEASON</b>	1	0.09	72.74
<b>SECURITY</b>	1	0.09	72.83
<b>SEED SAVERS</b>	1	0.09	72.92
<b>SELF INDUCED</b>	2	0.18	73.09
<b>SEXED</b>	1	0.09	73.18
<b>SHAKESPEARE</b>	2	0.18	73.36
<b>SHANNON</b>	1	0.09	73.44

SHEEP	1	0.09	73.53
SILKROAD	1	0.09	73.62
SINNFEIN	3	0.26	73.88
SMOKING RETURN	1	0.09	73.97
SOCCOR SHIT PROTEST	1	0.09	74.06
SOCIAL	30	2.63	76.69
SPAIN	1	0.09	76.77
SPIKEISLE	1	0.09	76.86
SPRING	3	0.26	77.13
SAOIRSE RONAN	1	0.09	77.21
STANDARD OF LIVING	1	0.09	77.3
STARWARS	8	0.7	78
STONE	1	0.09	78.09
STORM	1	0.09	78.18
STORMONT	1	0.09	78.26
STRIKES	1	0.09	78.35
ST VALENTINES	1	0.09	78.44
SUGDAD	1	0.09	78.53
SUMMER	11	0.96	79.49
SUNDAY	1	0.09	79.58
SWITZERS	1	0.09	79.67
TEAMIRE	2	0.18	79.84
TECHNOLOGY	1	0.09	79.93
TEEN PRISON	1	0.09	80.02
TEXAS	1	0.09	80.11
THATCHER	1	0.09	80.19
THREATS	1	0.09	80.28
TICKET SCANDAL	12	1.05	81.33
TIMECAP	1	0.09	81.42
TITANIC	18	1.58	83
TITANIC2	1	0.09	83.09
TOURISM	87	7.62	90.71
TOUTING	1	0.09	90.8

<b>TRAD MUSIC</b>	17	1.49	92.29
<b>TRAVEL</b>	4	0.35	92.64
<b>TROUBLES</b>	1	0.09	92.73
<b>TROUSERS</b>	1	0.09	92.81
<b>TRUMP</b>	13	1.14	93.95
<b>TUAM GRAVES</b>	1	0.09	94.04
<b>TV</b>	1	0.09	94.13
<b>U2</b>	1	0.09	94.22
<b>UFO</b>	1	0.09	94.3
<b>UNIONIST</b>	2	0.18	94.48
<b>UNI RANKINGS</b>	1	0.09	94.57
<b>UN RULING</b>	1	0.09	94.65
<b>US IRE</b>	1	0.09	94.74
<b>US RESPONSE</b>	2	0.18	94.92
<b>UVF</b>	5	0.44	95.35
<b>V GUERIN</b>	1	0.09	95.44
<b>VIDEO</b>	1	0.09	95.53
<b>VISAS</b>	7	0.62	96.14
<b>VODKA</b>	1	0.09	96.23
<b>VOTE CAMPAIGN</b>	3	0.26	96.49
<b>WAKE</b>	1	0.09	96.58
<b>WALKING</b>	1	0.09	96.67
<b>WEDDING</b>	3	0.23	96.93
<b>WEIGT</b>	1	0	97.02
<b>WHISKEY</b>	3	0.26	97.28
<b>WHISTLEBLOWER</b>	1	0.09	97.37
<b>WILDE</b>	2	0.18	97.55
<b>WINTER</b>	1	0.09	97.63
<b>WOLFE TONE</b>	1	0.09	97.72
<b>WOMEN</b>	11	0.96	98.69
<b>WW1</b>	2	0.18	98.86
<b>WW2</b>	5	0.44	99.3
<b>YEATS</b>	2	0.18	99.47

<b>YOUTH</b>	5	0.44	99.91
<b>ZORRO</b>	1	0.09	100
<b>Total</b>	1,141	100	

## *Irish- British Press News Flows from Ireland*

### Topic Flow

<b>Topic Flow</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Cum.</b>
<b>1916CENT</b>	36	2.94	2.94
<b>ABORTION</b>	11	0.9	3.84
<b>ABUSE</b>	1	0.08	3.92
<b>ADVENTURE</b>	2	0.16	4.09
<b>AGE</b>	1	0.08	4.17
<b>AGRICULTURE</b>	2	0.16	4.33
<b>ANIMALS</b>	31	2.53	6.87
<b>ARMY</b>	2	0.16	7.03
<b>ARSON</b>	1	0.08	7.11
<b>ART</b>	8	0.65	7.77
<b>ASSUALT</b>	3	0.24	8.01
<b>ATHLETICS</b>	5	0.41	8.42
<b>ATTACK</b>	1	0.08	8.5
<b>AUCTION</b>	3	0.25	8.75
<b>AUSTERITY</b>	1	0.08	8.83
<b>BANKING</b>	2	0.16	8.99
<b>BEAUTY</b>	2	0.16	9.16
<b>BIRTHDAY</b>	1	0.08	9.24
<b>BOOKS</b>	10	0.82	
<b>BOXING</b>	29	2.37	12.43
<b>BREXIT</b>	54	4.42	16.84
<b>BULLYING</b>	1	0.08	16.93
<b>CAMOGIE</b>	4	0.33	17.25
<b>CARS</b>	1	0.08	17.33
<b>CELEBS</b>	12	0.98	18.32
<b>CENSUS</b>	6	0.49	18.81
<b>CHARITY</b>	5	0.41	19.22
<b>CITY OF CULTUR E</b>	1	0.08	19.3



<b>CLIMATE CHANGE</b>	4	0.33	19.62
<b>COLONIALISM</b>	1	0.08	19.71
<b>COMEDY</b>	10	0.82	20.52
<b>COMMUNITY</b>	2	0.16	20.69
<b>COURTS</b>	2	0.16	20.85
<b>CRAFT</b>	1	0.08	20.93
<b>CYCLING</b>	3	0.25	21.18
<b>DAIL</b>	1	0.08	21.26
<b>DANCE</b>	20	1.64	22.89
<b>DARTS</b>	1	0.08	22.98
<b>DEATHS</b>	42	3.43	26.41
<b>DEFAMATION</b>	1	0.08	26.49
<b>DOCUMENTARY</b>	1	0.08	26.57
<b>DRINK</b>	10	0.82	27.39
<b>DRUGS</b>	2	0.16	27.56
<b>ECONOMY</b>	6	0.49	28.05
<b>EDUCATION</b>	17	1.39	29.44
<b>ENDA KENNY</b>	2	0.16	29.6
<b>ENTREPNEUR</b>	1	0.08	29.68
<b>ENTS</b>	1	0.08	29.76
<b>EU</b>	1	0.08	29.84
<b>EUROVISION</b>	1	0.08	29.93
<b>FAMINE</b>	1	0.08	30.01
<b>FASHION</b>	1	0.08	30.09
<b>FILM</b>	17	1.39	31.48
<b>FOOD</b>	7	0.57	32.05
<b>FRAUD</b>	1	0.08	32.13
<b>GAA</b>	25	2.04	34.18
<b>GAMES</b>	1	0.08	34.26
<b>GANGS</b>	5	0.41	34.67
<b>GARDAI</b>	1	0.08	34.75
<b>GENERAL ELECTION 16</b>	7	0.57	35.32
<b>GERRY ADAMS</b>	2	0.16	35.49

<b>GOLD</b>	1	0.08	35.57
<b>GOLF</b>	25	2.04	37.61
<b>GUNS</b>	1	0.08	37.69
<b>HAIR</b>	1	0.08	37.78
<b>HEALTH</b>	30	2.45	40.23
<b>HODERN HISTORY</b>	21	1.72	41.95
<b>HOCKEY</b>	1	0.08	42.03
<b>HOMELESSNESS</b>	3	0.25	42.27
<b>HOUSING</b>	1	0.08	42.35
<b>HURLING</b>	6	0.49	42.85
<b>INCOME</b>	1	0.08	42.93
<b>INVENTION</b>	1	0.08	43.01
<b>INVESTMENT</b>	1	0.08	43.25
<b>IRA</b>	2	0.16	
<b>IRELAND</b>	1	0.08	43.34
<b>JOBS</b>	4	0.33	43.66
<b>KIDNAPPING</b>	1	0.08	43.74
<b>LANDSCAPE</b>	17	1.39	46.2
<b>LANGUAGE</b>	13	1.06	
<b>LGBT</b>	4	0.33	46.52
<b>LOTTO</b>	1	0.08	46.61
<b>MARREF</b>	1	0.08	46.69
<b>MARRIAGE</b>	2	0.16	46.85
<b>MAYODAY</b>	1	0.08	46.93
<b>MEDIA</b>	3	0.25	47.18
<b>MIGRATION</b>	22	1.8	48.98
<b>MINISTER</b>	1	0.08	49.06
<b>MISSING</b>	11	0.9	49.96
<b>MMA</b>	13	1.06	51.02
<b>MNC</b>	1	0.08	
<b>MURDER</b>	10	0.82	51.1
<b>MUSIC</b>	62	5.07	56.99
<b>MUSIS</b>	1	0.08	57.07

<b>NEW POLITICS</b>	1	0.08	57.15
<b>NOVEL</b>	13	1.06	58.22
<b>OBITITURARY</b>	2	0.16	58.38
<b>OLD AGE</b>	2	0.16	58.54
<b>OLYMPICS</b>	4	0.33	58.87
<b>OP</b>	1	0.08	58.95
<b>PARALYMPICS</b>	3	0.25	59.2
<b>PAYCUTS</b>	1	0.08	59.28
<b>PRESEDENTIAL ELECTION 16</b>	2	0.16	59.44
<b>PERU2</b>	1	0.08	59.53
<b>PHOTOGRAPHY</b>	2	0.16	59.69
<b>PICS</b>	1	0.08	59.77
<b>POETRY</b>	2	0.16	59.93
<b>PRISON</b>	1	0.08	60.02
<b>PROPERTY</b>	14	1.14	61.16
<b>PUBLICFUNDING</b>	1	0.08	61.24
<b>RACING</b>	11	0.9	62.14
<b>RADIO</b>	1	0.08	62.22
<b>RALLY</b>	1	0.08	62.31
<b>RELIGION</b>	22	1.8	64.1
<b>RESCUE</b>	1	0.08	64.19
<b>RESEARCH</b>	1	0.08	64.27
<b>RICHLIST</b>	1	0.08	64.35
<b>RIO16</b>	54	4.42	68.77
<b>ROADS</b>	2	0.16	68.93
<b>ROSE OF TRALEE</b>	5	0.41	69.34
<b>ROYALS</b>	7	0.57	69.91
<b>RUGBY</b>	33	2.7	72.61
<b>RURAL</b>	1	0.08	72.69
<b>SEANAD</b>	1	0.08	72.77
<b>SEX</b>	1	0.08	72.85
<b>SOCCOR</b>	149	12.18	85.04
<b>SOCIAL</b>	6	0.49	85.53

<b>SOCIAL WELFARE</b>	1	0.08	85.61
<b>ST VALENTINES</b>	1	0.08	85.69
<b>SURF</b>	1	0.08	85.77
<b>TECH</b>	14	1.14	86.92
<b>TENNIS</b>	1	0.08	87
<b>TERRORISM</b>	12	0.98	87.98
<b>THEATRE</b>	6	0.49	88.47
<b>THEFT</b>	5	0.41	88.88
<b>TITANIC</b>	1	0.08	88.96
<b>TOURISM</b>	1	0.08	89.04
<b>TRADE</b>	1	0.08	89.13
<b>TRAVEL</b>	53	4.33	93.46
<b>TRAVELLERS</b>	2	0.16	93.62
<b>TROUBLES</b>	16	1.31	94.93
<b>TV</b>	22	1.8	96.73
<b>VOTE</b>	1	0.08	96.81
<b>WEATHER</b>	16	1.31	98.12
<b>WEDDING</b>	19	1.55	99.67
<b>WOMEN</b>	1	0.08	99.75
<b>WW1</b>	3	0.25	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,223</b>	<b>100</b>	

### Story Flow

<b>Story Flows</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Cum.</b>
<b>90 YEAR-OLD PHD</b>	1	0.08	0.08
<b>ABORTION</b>	1	0.08	0.16
<b>ABUSE</b>	1	0.08	0.25
<b>ACCENTS</b>	2	0.16	0.41
<b>ACCIDENTS</b>	1	0.08	0.49
<b>ADVICE</b>	1	0.08	0.57
<b>AER LINGUS</b>	1	0.08	0.66

<b>AGE</b>	2	0.16	0.82
<b>AGRICULTURAL</b>	1	0.08	0.9
<b>AINTREE</b>	1	0.08	0.98
<b>AIRLINES</b>	4	0.33	1.31
<b>ANGLO IRISH BANK</b>	1	0.08	1.39
<b>ANIMAL CRUELTY</b>	1	0.08	1.48
<b>ANPOST</b>	4	0.33	1.8
<b>AOHAN DEATH</b>	1	0.08	1.89
<b>APPLE TAX</b>	1	0.08	1.97
<b>APPS</b>	1	0.08	2.05
<b>ARAN</b>	1	0.08	2.13
<b>ARCHEOLOGY</b>	2	0.16	2.3
<b>ARMY</b>	1	0.08	2.38
<b>ARTS</b>	3	0.24	2.63
<b>ATHLETICS</b>	4	0.33	2.95
<b>ADAN TURNER</b>	1	0.08	3.04
<b>AUCTION</b>	1	0.08	3.12
<b>AUSTERITY</b>	1	0.08	3.2
<b>AUTISM</b>	1	0.08	3.28
<b>AVIVA</b>	1	0.08	3.36
<b>AWARDS</b>	11	0.90	4.27
<b>BABY NAMES</b>	1	0.08	4.35
<b>BADMONTON</b>	1	0.08	4.43
<b>BAN</b>	1	0.08	4.51
<b>BBC</b>	1	0.08	4.59
<b>BEACHES</b>	1	0.08	4.68
<b>BELFAST</b>	1	0.08	4.76
<b>BIDEN VISIT</b>	1	0.08	4.84
<b>BISHOP DALY</b>	4	0.33	5.17
<b>BLARNEY STONE</b>	1	0.08	5.25
<b>BLOOD DONOR</b>	2	0.16	5.41
<b>BOBBY SANDS</b>	1	0.08	5.5
<b>BONO</b>	3	0.25	5.74

<b>BOOK</b>	1	0.08	5.82
<b>BORDER</b>	14	1.15	6.97
<b>BORDER PATROL</b>	1	0.08	7.05
<b>BORDERS</b>	1	0.08	7.14
<b>BOXING</b>	15	1.23	8.37
<b>BREAST FEEDING</b>	1	0.08	8.45
<b>BRITISH OPEN</b>	1	0.08	8.53
<b>BROADBAND</b>	1	0.08	8.61
<b>BRUCESPRING</b>	1	0.08	8.7
<b>BUDGET</b>	1	0.08	8.78
<b>BUILD</b>	1	0.08	8.86
<b>BULLYING</b>	1	0.08	8.94
<b>BUNCRANA DEATHS</b>	2	0.16	9.11
<b>CAMELS</b>	1	0.08	9.19
<b>CAMOGIE</b>	5	0.41	9.6
<b>CAMPTRAIL</b>	1	0.08	9.68
<b>CAN</b>	1	0.08	9.76
<b>CANADIAN AMBASSADOR</b>	1	0.08	9.84
<b>CANNABIS CHANGE</b>	1	0.08	9.93
<b>CANNES AWARD IRISH</b>	1	0.08	10.01
<b>CASEMENT</b>	2	0.16	10.17
<b>CLLR COX</b>	3	0.25	10.42
<b>CELEBS</b>	6	0.49	10.91
<b>CELTIC</b>	12	0.98	11.89
<b>CELTS</b>	2	0.16	12.06
<b>CENTRE</b>	1	0.08	12.14
<b>CHARITY</b>	14	1.15	13.29
<b>CHELSEEA FLOWER</b>	1	0.08	13.37
<b>CHERNOBYL</b>	1	0.08	13.45
<b>CHICKENS</b>	1	0.08	13.54
<b>CHILD ABUSE</b>	3	0.25	13.78
<b>CHILD BANN</b>	1	0.08	13.86
<b>CHOIR</b>	1	0.08	13.95

<b>CIRCUS BAN</b>	1	0.08	14.03
<b>CLADDAGH</b>	1	0.08	14.11
<b>CLAIMS</b>	1	0.08	14.19
<b>CLASSICAL MUSIC</b>	1	0.08	14.27
<b>CILLIAN MURPHY</b>	1	0.08	14.36
<b>COI</b>	1	0.08	14.44
<b>COLLEQUALISM</b>	1	0.08	14.52
<b>COMMOMORATION</b>	1	0.08	14.6
<b>COMMUNION</b>	1	0.08	14.68
<b>CONCERTS</b>	1	0.08	14.77
<b>CONNACHT</b>	3	0.25	15.01
<b>CONOR MCGREGOR</b>	1	0.08	15.09
<b>CONSOLE</b>	1	0.08	15.18
<b>CORK</b>	1	0.08	15.26
<b>COST</b>	1	0.08	15.34
<b>COUNTRY</b>	4	0.33	15.67
<b>COURTCASE</b>	1	0.08	15.75
<b>COURTS</b>	1	0.08	15.83
<b>CROKE PARK</b>	1	0.08	15.91
<b>CROSSBORDER</b>	1	0.08	16
<b>DAIL FORMATION</b>	8	0.66	16.65
<b>DANCE</b>	1	0.08	16.74
<b>DARTS</b>	1	0.08	16.82
<b>DEATHS</b>	1	0.08	16.9
<b>DEBS</b>	2	0.16	17.06
<b>DERRY</b>	1	0.08	17.15
<b>DERRYNUN</b>	2	0.16	17.31
<b>DEXYS</b>	1	0.08	17.39
<b>DIABETIES</b>	1	0.08	17.47
<b>DIASPORA</b>	7	0.57	18.05
<b>DIVER</b>	1	0.08	18.13
<b>DIVROCE</b>	1	0.08	18.21
<b>DANIAL O'DONNELL</b>	1	0.08	18.29

<b>DOG BREED BAN</b>	1	0.08	18.46
<b>DOGS</b>	2	0.16	18.54
<b>DONATION</b>	1	0.08	18.62
<b>DOPING</b>	1	0.08	18.7
<b>DROWNING</b>	9	0.74	19.44
<b>DRUGS</b>	1	0.08	19.52
<b>DUB BUS WIN</b>	1	0.08	19.61
<b>DUBLIN</b>	5	0.41	20.02
<b>DUBLIN PRIDE</b>	1	0.08	20.1
<b>DUNDALK</b>	4	0.33	20.43
<b>ECIGGS</b>	1	0.08	20.51
<b>ECONOMY</b>	1	0.08	20.59
<b>EDUCATION</b>	2	0.16	20.75
<b>ELDERLY</b>	2	0.16	20.92
<b>ELVIS</b>	1	0.08	21
<b>EMIVOTE</b>	1	0.08	21.08
<b>EMOJI</b>	1	0.08	21.16
<b>EMRIGHT</b>	1	0.08	21.25
<b>ENGAGE</b>	1	0.08	21.33
<b>ENTERPRISE</b>	1	0.08	21.41
<b>ESCAPE</b>	1	0.08	21.49
<b>EU CHAMPS</b>	1	0.08	21.58
<b>EURO16</b>	1	0.08	21.66
<b>EUROPA LEAGUE</b>	2	0.16	21.82
<b>EUROS16 MATCH REPORT</b>	50	4.10	25.84
<b>EUROVISION</b>	1	0.08	25.92
<b>EVENT</b>	2	0.16	26.09
<b>EVENTS</b>	12	1.72	27.65
<b>EXPAND</b>	1	0.08	27.73
<b>EXPORTS</b>	1	0.08	27.81
<b>FALL</b>	1	0.08	27.89
<b>FAMILY</b>	2	0.16	28.06
<b>FARMING</b>	1	0.08	28.14



<b>FASSBENDER</b>	2	0.16	28.3
<b>FEIS</b>	6	0.49	28.79
<b>FESTIVAL</b>	9	0.74	29.53
<b>FIDDLE</b>	1	0.08	29.61
<b>FIND</b>	1	0.08	29.7
<b>FIRST DATES IRELAND</b>	1	0.08	29.78
<b>FITNESS</b>	2	0.16	29.94
<b>FLAGS</b>	1	0.08	30.02
<b>FOLK MUSIC</b>	1	0.08	30.11
<b>FOUND</b>	1	0.08	30.19
<b>FRAMPTON</b>	3	0.25	30.43
<b>FRTED</b>	2	0.16	30.6
<b>FUNDS</b>	2	0.16	30.76
<b>FUNERAL</b>	1	0.08	30.84
<b>FUNGI</b>	1	0.08	30.93
<b>FUNGIE</b>	1	0.08	31.01
<b>FURY</b>	2	0.16	31.17
<b>FUSION</b>	1	0.08	31.26
<b>GAA</b>	7	0.57	31.83
<b>GAELIC</b>	5	0.41	32.24
<b>GAELIC</b>	6	0.49	32.32
<b>GALWAY</b>	3	0.25	32.57
<b>GAMBLING</b>	2	0.16	32.73
<b>GOAT</b>	1	0.08	32.81
<b>GOOD COUNTRY INDEX</b>	1	0.08	32.9
<b>GOOD FRIDAY -THE DAY</b>	1	0.08	32.98
<b>GAME OF THRONES</b>	6	0.49	33.47
<b>GUINNESS</b>	2	0.16	33.72
<b>GUNS</b>	4	0.33	34.04
<b>GYMNASTICS</b>	1	0.08	34.13
<b>HARP</b>	1	0.08	34.21
<b>HAVE DEATHS</b>	2	0.16	34.37
<b>HEALY RAE</b>	1	0.08	34.45

HEARTFORDSHIRE	1	0.08	34.54
HIGGINS	1	0.08	34.62
HISTORY	36	2.95	37.57
HIV	1	0.08	37.65
HOLLANDE VISIT	1	0.08	37.74
HOMELESSNESS	1	0.08	37.82
HORSES	1	0.08	37.9
HOSPITAL INVESTMENT	1	0.08	37.98
IBRIHIM HALAWA	1	0.08	38.06
IDENTTITY CARDS	2	0.16	38.23
FANS AT EUROS 16	36	2.95	41.18
IFTA AWARDS	1	0.08	41.26
IMPORTS	1	0.08	41.35
IMPROVE	1	0.08	41.43
INFOGRAPHIC	2	0.16	41.59
INJURY	4	0.33	41.92
INQUIRY	1	0.08	42
IRA	7	0.57	42.58
IRELAND	2	0.16	42.74
IREXIT	1	0.08	42.82
IRISH ARMY	1	0.08	42.9
IRISH BAR	1	0.08	42.99
IRISH BONDS	1	0.08	43.07
IRISH DANCE	3	0.25	43.31
IRISH FIGHTER	2	0.16	43.48
IRISH MILITARY	1	0.08	43.56
IRISHNESS	4	0.33	43.89
IRISH SEA SWIM	1	0.08	43.97
ISIS	1	0.08	44.05
J B KEANE	1	0.08	44.13
J CARNEY	1	0.08	44.22
JAMIE DORAN	2	0.16	44.38
JOBSBRIDGE	1	0.08	44.46

KAREN BUCKLEY	1	0.08	44.54
KIDS	1	0.08	44.63
KATIE TAYLOR	3	0.25	44.87
LABOUR	1	0.08	44.95
LANDSCAPE	1	0.08	45.04
LANGUAGE	5	0.41	45.45
LAUNCH	2	0.16	45.61
LEAVE	5	0.41	46.02
LEINSTER	1	0.08	46.1
LETTER 1916 CENT	2	0.16	46.27
LGBT	6	0.49	46.76
LIGHTENING	1	0.08	46.84
LISTOWEL WRITES	1	0.08	46.92
LISTOWL	1	0.08	47.01
LITERACY	1	0.08	47.09
LIVINGING STANDARD	2	0.16	47.25
LOCATIONS	4	0.33	47.58
LEAGUE OF IRELAND	21	1.72	49.3
LONDON	1	0.08	49.38
LONDON ROSE	1	0.08	49.47
LONGFORD	1	0.08	49.55
LOVE/HATE	1	0.08	49.63
LOWERY	2	0.16	49.79
LAURA WHITMORE	1	0.08	49.88
MALAISIA	1	0.08	49.96
MARATHON	3	0.25	50.21
MARCHING SEASON	3	0.25	50.45
MARRIAGE	3	0.25	50.7
MAYNOOTH	1	0.08	50.78
MARY BOYLE	2	0.16	50.94
MCCONVILLE	1	0.08	51.03
MCELROY	14	1.15	52.17
MCGREAGOR	11	0.9	53.08

<b>MCLAUGHLAN</b>	1	0.08	53.16
<b>MCONLON</b>	1	0.08	53.24
<b>MEDAL</b>	1	0.08	53.32
<b>MEDIA</b>	6	0.49	53.81
<b>MENTAL HEALTH</b>	9	0.74	54.55
<b>MIGRATION</b>	2	0.16	54.72
<b>MIXMAG</b>	1	0.08	54.8
<b>M MOORE</b>	1	0.08	54.88
<b>MONEY</b>	1	0.08	54.96
<b>MORAL</b>	1	0.08	55.05
<b>MOTHERS</b>	1	0.08	55.13
<b>MRS BROWN BOYS</b>	1	0.08	55.21
<b>MUNSTER</b>	2	0.16	55.37
<b>MURDER</b>	1	0.08	55.46
<b>MUSEUM THEFT</b>	1	0.08	55.54
<b>MUSIC</b>	2	0.16	55.7
<b>MYTH</b>	1	0.08	55.78
<b>NAMES</b>	1	0.08	55.87
<b>NATIONAL ANTHEM</b>	1	0.08	55.95
<b>NATURE</b>	1	0.08	56.03
<b>NATHAN CARTER</b>	3	0.25	56.28
<b>NEWJERSY</b>	1	0.08	56.36
<b>NIALL HORAN</b>	4	0.33	56.69
<b>NORTHERN IRELAND</b>	1	0.08	56.77
<b>NI ECONOMY</b>	1	0.08	56.85
<b>NIGHYSKY</b>	2	0.16	57.01
<b>NI ROYAL VISIT</b>	2	0.16	57.18
<b>NOVEL</b>	26	2.13	59.31
<b>NURSING HOME</b>	1	0.08	59.39
<b>OAKMONT</b>	1	0.08	59.47
<b>OBESITY</b>	1	0.08	59.56
<b>OBITITURARY</b>	20	1.64	61.2
<b>DANIEL OCONNELL</b>	1	0.08	61.28

<b>ODONOVAN</b>	7	0.57	61.85
<b>OFFALY</b>	1	0.08	61.94
<b>OLYMPICS</b>	5	0.41	62.35
<b>ONLINE</b>	1	0.08	62.43
<b>OSCAR</b>	3	0.25	62.67
<b>PAGAN</b>	1	0.08	62.76
<b>PARAOLY</b>	1	0.08	62.84
<b>PASSPORT</b>	11	0.9	63.74
<b>PATHE</b>	1	0.08	63.82
<b>P BARNES</b>	1	0.08	63.9
<b>P BONNER</b>	1	0.08	63.99
<b>PERU2</b>	2	0.16	64.15
<b>PHOTOG</b>	1	0.08	64.23
<b>PICS</b>	7	0.57	64.81
<b>PILGRIMAGE</b>	1	0.08	64.89
<b>POITIN</b>	1	0.08	64.97
<b>POKEMON IRE</b>	1	0.08	65.05
<b>POPE</b>	3	0.25	65.3
<b>PETER OTOOL</b>	1	0.08	65.38
<b>PRANK</b>	1	0.08	65.46
<b>PREMIER LEAGUE</b>	1	0.08	65.55
<b>PREMIERSHIP</b>	4	0.33	65.87
<b>PREVIEW</b>	2	0.16	66.04
<b>PRICES</b>	1	0.08	66.12
<b>PRIEST</b>	2	0.16	66.28
<b>PRIMARK</b>	1	0.08	66.37
<b>PRO12</b>	2	0.16	66.53
<b>PROPOSAL</b>	1	0.08	66.61
<b>PROTEST</b>	2	0.16	66.78
<b>PSNI</b>	2	0.16	66.94
<b>PUNCHSTOWN</b>	1	0.08	67.02
<b>RACISM</b>	15	1.23	68.25
<b>RACISM BRITISH BLOG</b>	1	0.08	68.33

<b>RADIO</b>	2	0.16	68.5
<b>RAIN</b>	1	0.08	68.58
<b>RAK</b>	1	0.08	68.66
<b>RAP</b>	1	0.08	68.74
<b>RAPE</b>	1	0.08	68.83
<b>R CASEMENT</b>	2	0.16	68.99
<b>RECEPIE</b>	1	0.08	69.07
<b>RECESSION</b>	1	0.08	69.16
<b>RECOVERY</b>	2	0.16	69.32
<b>REDHAIR</b>	3	0.25	69.57
<b>REFUGE</b>	3	0.25	69.81
<b>REGGE</b>	1	0.08	69.89
<b>RENTS</b>	1	0.08	69.98
<b>REPEAL</b>	6	0.49	70.47
<b>RESEARCH</b>	5	0.41	70.88
<b>RESULT</b>	12	0.98	71.86
<b>RETIRE</b>	1	0.08	71.94
<b>RETIREMENT</b>	3	0.25	72.19
<b>REUNION</b>	1	0.08	72.27
<b>REVIEW</b>	8	0.66	72.93
<b>RIVERDANCE</b>	1	0.08	73.01
<b>R KEANE</b>	8	0.66	73.67
<b>ROADBOWL</b>	1	0.08	73.75
<b>ROYALS</b>	1	0.08	73.83
<b>RTE</b>	2	0.16	74
<b>RTERADIO</b>	1	0.08	74.08
<b>RURAL</b>	2	0.16	74.24
<b>R WALSH</b>	1	0.08	74.32
<b>RYANAIR</b>	10	0.82	75.14
<b>SABINA PROLIFE</b>	2	0.16	75.31
<b>SAILING</b>	1	0.08	75.39
<b>SAINTS</b>	2	0.16	75.55
<b>SALE</b>	7	0.57	76.13

<b>SANDS</b>	1	0.08	76.21
<b>SATURDAY NIGHT</b>	1	0.08	76.29
<b>SCULPTURE</b>	1	0.08	76.37
<b>SECTARIANISM</b>	1	0.08	76.46
<b>SECURITY</b>	1	0.08	76.54
<b>SEXED</b>	1	0.08	76.62
<b>SHAY GIVEN</b>	1	0.08	76.7
<b>SHARKS</b>	3	0.22	76.95
<b>SKIN</b>	1	0.08	77.03
<b>SCIENCE LAB</b>	1	0.08	77.11
<b>SHANE LOWRY</b>	1	0.08	77.19
<b>SNOW</b>	2	0.16	77.36
<b>SEAN OCASEY</b>	1	0.08	77.44
<b>SOCCOR</b>	1	0.08	77.52
<b>SOCIAL</b>	65	5.33	82.85
<b>SOLVED</b>	1	0.08	82.94
<b>SPAIN</b>	1	0.08	83.02
<b>SPELLINGBEE</b>	1	0.08	83.1
<b>SPIKE ISLAND</b>	1	0.08	83.18
<b>SPRING</b>	1	0.08	83.26
<b>SQUAD</b>	1	0.08	83.35
<b>SAOITSE RONAN</b>	1	0.08	83.43
<b>STARWARS</b>	2	0.16	83.59
<b>STATS</b>	1	0.08	83.68
<b>STICKS</b>	1	0.08	83.76
<b>STORM</b>	1	0.08	83.84
<b>STUDENTS</b>	1	0.08	83.92
<b>ST VALENTINES</b>	1	0.08	84
<b>STYLE</b>	1	0.08	84.09
<b>SUMMER</b>	8	0.66	84.74
<b>SURF</b>	1	0.08	84.82
<b>SWIMMING</b>	3	0.25	85.07
<b>TAYTO</b>	2	0.16	85.23

TEA	1	0.08	85.32
TEAM	1	0.08	85.4
TEAMIRE	6	0.49	85.89
TECH	2	0.16	86.05
TED	1	0.08	86.14
TEMPLEBAR	1	0.08	86.22
TENNIS	1	0.08	86.3
TESTMATCH	3	0.25	86.55
THEATRE	2	0.16	86.71
THREATS	1	0.08	86.79
TICKET SCANDAL	12	0.98	87.78
TINDER	1	0.08	87.86
TIRCHONALL	2	0.16	88.02
TITANIC	1	0.08	88.11
TOPGEAR TOUR	1	0.08	88.19
TOURISM	31	2.54	90.73
TRAD	13	1.07	91.8
TRAIN	1	0.08	91.88
TRUMP	4	0.33	92.21
TRUMP BIGITORY	1	0.08	92.29
TURKEY	2	0.16	92.45
TV	1	0.08	92.53
U2	1	0.08	92.62
UFC	1	0.08	92.7
UK STANCE	1	0.08	92.78
UK VISIT	1	0.08	92.86
ULSTER	2	0.16	93.03
ULSTERBANK	1	0.08	93.11
ULSTER FINAL	1	0.08	93.19
UNIVERSITY FEES	1	0.08	93.27
UNIVERSITY	1	0.08	93.36
UNRULING	1	0.08	93.44
UPTON	2	0.16	93.6



US MASTERS	1	0.08	93.68
US OPEN	1	0.08	93.77
US RESPONSE	1	0.08	93.85
UVF	3	0.25	94.09
VAN MORRISON	1	0.08	94.18
VEGETARIAN	1	0.08	94.26
VERNON	1	0.08	94.34
V GUERIN	2	0.16	94.42
VIDS	4	0.33	94.75
VIKINGS	2	0.16	94.91
VISAS	1	0.08	95
VOTE	1	0.08	95.08
VOTE REMAIN CAMPAIGN	19	1.56	96.64
VR	1	0.08	96.72
WALLS	1	0.08	96.8
WATER CHARGES	1	0.08	96.88
WEATHER	1	0.08	96.96
WESTMEATH	1	0.08	97.05
WHALE	1	0.08	97.13
WHATSAPP MAM	1	0.08	97.21
WHISKEY	1	0.08	97.29
WIGHT	1	0.08	97.37
WIMBILTON	1	0.08	97.46
WOMEN	7	0.57	98.03
WOMEN PRIESTS	1	0.08	98.11
WORRY	1	0.08	98.2
WOLFE TONE	1	0.08	98.28
WOLFETONES	1	0.08	98.36
WW1	4	0.33	98.69
WW1MEDALS	2	0.16	98.85
WW2	1	0.08	98.93
YEATS	1	0.08	99.02
YOUTH	6	0.49	99.51

ZIKA	1	0.08	99.59
ZOO	5	0.41	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,219</b>	<b>100</b>	

*Irish-Australian Press News Flows from Ireland*

Topic Flow

Topic Flow	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1916	16	25.4	25.4
CENENARY			
ART	1	1.59	26.98
BOOKS	6	9.52	36.51
BREXIT	3	4.76	41.27
EDUCATION	1	1.59	42.86
EUROVISION	1	1.59	44.44
GE16	3	4.76	49.21
GOLF	1	1.59	50.79
HIST	1	1.59	52.38
LANGUAGE	5	7.94	60.32
MISSING	1	1.59	61.9
MUSIC	3	4.76	66.67
POETRY	3	4.76	71.43
PROPERTY	2	3.17	74.6
RACING	1	1.59	76.19
RUGBY	3	4.76	80.95
SOCCOR	8	12.7	93.65
THEATRE	2	3.17	96.83
TROUBLES	1	1.59	98.41
TV	1	1.59	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100</b>	

Story Flow

Story Flow	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
ART	1	1.61	1.61

<b>BISHOP DALY</b>	1	1.61	3.23
<b>BORDER</b>	2	3.23	6.45
<b>CELTIC CLUB</b>	1	1.61	8.06
<b>CHILDREN</b>	1	1.61	9.68
<b>DIASPORA</b>	1	1.61	11.29
<b>DUBLIN</b>	1	1.61	12.9
<b>EUROS16</b>	8	12.9	25.81
<b>EUROVISION</b>	3	4.84	30.65
<b>EVENTS</b>	1	1.61	32.26
<b>FILM</b>	1	1.61	33.87
<b>GAELIC</b>	5	8.06	41.94
<b>GRAMMAR</b>	1	1.61	43.55
<b>HISTORY</b>	7	11.29	54.84
<b>JB KEANE</b>	1	1.61	56.45
<b>JOYCE</b>	2	3.23	59.68
<b>LEADERS</b>	1	1.61	61.29
<b>LEAVE</b>	1	1.61	62.9
<b>MIGRATION</b>	2	3.23	66.13
<b>MRS BROWNS BOYS</b>	1	1.61	67.74
<b>PERFORMANCE</b>	1	1.61	69.35
<b>POETRY</b>	2	3.23	72.58
<b>PREVIEW</b>	1	1.61	74.19
<b>R CASEMENT</b>	2	3.23	77.42
<b>RESULT</b>	3	4.84	82.26
<b>REVIEW</b>	1	1.61	83.87
<b>SPORT</b>	1	1.61	85.48
<b>TECH</b>	1	1.61	87.1
<b>TESTMATCH</b>	2	3.23	90.32
<b>THEATRE</b>	1	1.61	91.94
<b>T KENT</b>	1	1.61	93.55
<b>USOPEN</b>	1	1.61	95.16
<b>WOMEN</b>	3	4.84	100
<b>Total</b>	62	100	

## Cross Diaspora News Flow

### Cross Diaspora News Category Flow

Categories	Freq	%
Politics	30	30.61
Social Affairs	24	24.49
Culture	18	18.37
Sport	10	10.2
Crime	7	7.14
Business	5	5.1
Lifestyle	4	4.08

### Cross Diaspora Topic News Flow

Topic Flow	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1916 CENTENARY	5	5.1	5.1
ADAMS	1	1.02	6.12
ASSUALT	1	1.02	7.14
BERKLEY	3	3.06	10.2
BREXIT	14	14.29	24.49
CELEBS	1	1.02	25.51
CYCLING	1	1.02	26.53
DEATHS	3	3.06	29.59
DRINK	1	1.02	30.61
FILM	13	13.27	43.88
GAA	1	1.02	44.9
GOLF	1	1.02	45.92
GUNS	1	1.02	46.94
HEALTH	1	1.02	47.96
HURLING	1	1.02	48.98
IRA	1	1.02	50
LGBT	1	1.02	51.02

<b>MEDIA</b>	1	1.02	52.04
<b>MIGRATION</b>	5	5.1	57.14
<b>MURDER</b>	1	1.02	58.16
<b>MUSIC</b>	2	2.04	60.2
<b>NI ELECTIONS</b>	1	1.02	61.22
<b>PRESEDENTIAL ELECTION 16</b>	12	12.24	73.47
<b>PUBLICFUNDING</b>	1	1.02	74.49
<b>RACING</b>	1	1.02	75.51
<b>RELIGION</b>	1	1.02	76.53
<b>SOCCOR</b>	5	5.1	81.63
<b>STPATS</b>	8	8.16	89.8
<b>TECH</b>	1	1.02	90.82
<b>TERRORISM</b>	2	2.04	92.86
<b>TRAVEL</b>	2	2.04	94.9
<b>TROUBLES</b>	2	2.04	96.94
<b>TV</b>	1	1.02	97.96
<b>WEDDING</b>	1	1.02	98.98
<b>WOMEN</b>	1	1.02	100
<b>Total</b>	98	100	

# Appendix C: Codebook

## 1916 Centenary Codebook

Dominant and Challenging Frames

Sub Frames

Themes

Name	Criteria: Passages of texts that contain descriptions with the following characteristics.
<b>1916 Media</b>	<b>All descriptions of Centenary Media.</b>
Artefacts	Newly found artefacts about 1916, medals, letters.
Digital resources	Online public resources about the Rising and Centenary.
Documentaries TV or radio	New documentaries on TV or radio about 1916 or the centenary.
Images and photo stories	Pictures or Photo stories, Instagram collections.
Literature about 1916	Announcements of New books, Fiction, Non-Fiction, Poetry.
Recovered history	Previously unknown or underrepresented aspects of 1916.
Auctions	Auctions of 1916 artefacts.
<b><u>British Colonialism</u></b>	<b><u>References to British Colonialism.</u></b>
British shot	The British soldiers injured with gunfire during the rising.
British tactics	How the British army missions and treatment of rebels.
Negative views of the Irish	How the British are represented as interpreting the Rising.
<b><u>Coverage of events</u></b>	<b><u>Hard news reportage of the Centenary events in Ireland.</u></b>
Coverage of events in Ireland	All references to a recent Centenary event in Ireland.
Coverage of events outside Ireland	References to a recent Centenary event outside Irelands.
<b><u>Deaths</u></b>	<b><u>Who was killed?</u></b>
British army deaths	British Army, or Security forces that were killed by rebels.
Children	The children that were killed as a result of the rising.
Civilian deaths	Descriptions of civilians killed by either side.

Executions of leaders	Descriptions of the 1916 Leaders trials and executions.
Rebel deaths	Descriptions of the rebels being killed.
<b><u>Description of a Centenary Event</u></b>	<b><u>Primary adjective used to describe was a Centenary event was. How is Ireland remembering, memorializing it?</u></b>
<u>Celebration of 1916</u>	<u>Use of the term celebration to describe an event.</u>
<u>Commemoration of 1916</u>	<u>Use of the term commemoration or a synonym.</u>
<b>Description of rebels</b>	<b>How the rebels were described, adjectives to use them.</b>
British roots	The heritage of rebels were said to be British or having British ancestors.
No Cohesion among rebels	Disharmony, betrayal or miscommunication among rebels.
United band of rebels	The rebel groups working as one.
Military	Descriptions of the rebels as a 'professional army'
<u>Unrepresentative</u>	<u>The rising or the rebels as not representing wider Irish society.</u>
<u>Freedom Fighters</u>	<u>Use of the adjective Freedom Fighter.</u>
Rebels	Use of the adjective rebels or synonyms.
Socialist language	Descriptions of the 1916 leaders, rebels and their vision for Irish as being socialist.
Traitors to England	Descriptions of the rebellion or participants with British heritage as being disloyal to England.
Education of rebels	The rebels and leaders described as educated, literary, political background of families.
<b><u>Destruction of Dublin</u></b>	<b><u>Dublin destroyed, architecture, buildings, streets from bombing on both sides.</u></b>
<b><u>Identity</u></b>	<b><u>Explicit descriptions of how the rising affected Irish identity or culture or how the Irish should interpret it today.</u></b>
<b>Impact overseas</b>	<b>References to the impact 1916 had overseas.</b>
<b><u>Legacy</u></b>	<b><u>Explicit references to the long-term legacy of the Rising on the Irish state, Anglo-Irish relationship.</u></b>
Precursor to liberty	The rising as a milestone to the War for Independence, or overall descriptions of Ireland being free because of it.
<b>Memorial debate</b>	<b>Explicit discussion about how the Rising should be</b>

	interpreted.
<b>Religion</b>	References to the role of either Catholicism or Protestantism or the Church in the Rising.
<b>Response from public</b>	References to how the wider Irish population at the time viewed the Rising.
<b>The Proclamation</b>	All references to the Proclamation, its legacy, the documents, reproductions of it, details of authors and signatories.
<b>Unionists</b>	References to the role and response of Irish Unionists.
<b>Women and the Rising</b>	Where women's role in the rising was described or women were referenced.
<b>WW1</b>	All references to WW1 and Ireland's soldiers as well as the memorials to it taking place at the same time.



## Migration Codebook

Name	Description
<b><u>Institutional Representation</u></b>	<b><u>Any reference to representation in politics, media or other formal institutions an what the impact of being not being represented is.</u></b>
<u>Homeland Representation</u>	<u>References to current or future political representation in the Dail or Seanad.</u>
<u>Media or connections</u>	<u>References to current media connections or arguments for enhanced media. Radio, TV, digital.</u>
<u>Document issues</u>	<u>Any reference to diasporas access to official documents.</u>
Passports	References to delays, problems or new solutions to applying for or getting passports.
Undocumented	References to Irish people living in countries without official hostland permission.
<b><u>Process of migration</u></b>	<b><u>Any reference to any part of the migratory process from the push and pull factors, experiences of travel and return home.</u></b>
Arrival	Descriptions of the specific experience of arrival in a host country, the short period of time after arrival.
Change	Descriptions to getting used to new day to day differences between Ireland and new hostlands.
Colonialism	Any reference to Irish migrating during the period Britain rules Ireland.
Crossing	The immediate experience of moving such as transporting belongings and self, flights, mode of travel.
History	Ancient or old Irish migration, Vikings, Celts, Saxons etc.
Factors	Explicit references to push and pull factors.
Pull factor	Reasons for choosing the specific hostland.
Push factor	Reasons for leaving Ireland.
Rejection factor	Reasons for rejecting the hostland.
Family	Descriptions off retaining links with family at home or in other countries.
Impact	Any references to the impact that migration has on the demographics or life in either home or

	hostlands
Impact on homeland	References to damage Irish migration can have on Ireland (Checked for counter-narratives)
Impact on hostland	References to either damage caused or contribution of Irish migrants in the hostland.
On diaspora	How does migration affect migrants or diaspora communities?
Money	References to the financial cost of migration.
Negative migration	All descriptions of migration as something negative.
Positive migration	All descriptions of migration as something positive.
<b><u>The Irish Diaspora</u></b>	<b><u>Nodes related to the Irish Diaspora.</u></b>
<u>Identity</u>	<u>Explicit discussions about Irish or diasporic identity.</u>
<u>Irish language</u>	<u>References to the Irish language or how Irish people speak.</u>
Irish products for emigrants	New products or services in Ireland for the diaspora.
Negativity to Irish diaspora	References to negative attitudes or behaviour towards Irish immigrants in hostland and from Ireland.
Towards 'Irish'	Subdivision, negativity towards Irish people in hostland.
Disloyal to Ireland	Subdivision, negativity towards Irish from people in Ireland.
<u>Return stories</u>	<u>References to Irish migrants returning to Ireland for any period of time for any reason.</u>
Holiday	Returning for a short visit or holiday.
Returning 'home'	Moving back to Ireland for an extended period.
State visit	References to Joe Biden's state visit.
Roots	Descriptions of the roots, heritage, or shared history of Irish migrants.
Catholic Irish	References to the Catholics.
Mixed	References to multiple religions among Irish people.
Scots Irish	References to the Scots- Irish migration group in the USA.
<u>View of Ireland</u>	<u>Explicit references to how diasporas view modern Ireland, how it has changed or not. Opinion</u>

	<u>statements or overt descriptions of modern Irish life.</u>
<b><u>World Migration</u></b>	<b><u>Anything to do with recent global migration, causes of, impact on countries, on migrants, and discussions about the political and social responsibility of the Irish people or state.</u></b>
Burden on states	References to migrants as a problem or challenge for European states including Irelands.
National Alliances	References to how migration creates alliances or positive relationships between nations.
Racism	References to racism in Ireland towards 'others'.
Anti-racism	Reference to anti-racism movements or events.
By the Irish towards others	References to the Irish being racist towards new migrants in Ireland.
<u>Responsibility to help Refugees</u>	<u>Explicit references to the moral or practical responsibility on Irish people, in Ireland or diasporas, to help refugees.</u>
Demographic information	References to comparing Irish migration to modern migration.
Integration	References to integration or positive resettlement of migrants in Ireland.
Refugee sympathy	Explicit references to a need to show kindness and empathy or descriptions of the hardships suffered by refugees.
Rights and entitlements	References to current rights of migrants in Ireland and arguments for changes/enhancements of rights.

## Irish Fans at Euros Codebook

Name	Criteria: Descriptions of the Irish, Games and Other fans.
<b>Alcohol</b>	<b>The fans drinking or being drunk.</b>
<b>Brexit</b>	<b>References to Brexit or Britain future in the games.</b>
<b><u>Criac</u></b>	<b><u>Use of the adjective 'criac'</u></b>
<u>Friendly</u>	<u>Specific use of the term or synonyms for friendly including descriptions of the Irish making friends with other fans.</u>
<u>Funny or Humorous</u>	<u>Specific use of the term or synonyms for friendly including descriptions of the Irish making friends with other fans.</u>
<b>European</b>	<b>Ireland in the EU or future Euro Championships.</b>
<b>Hooliganism</b>	<b>References to fan violence at the Euros by other teams (England and Russia)</b>
<b>Identity</b>	<b>Passages of text that explicitly discuss Irish identity and how the Irish fans at the Euros as representative of the Irish.</b>
<b>Praise</b>	<b>Coverage of complimentary statements about the Irish Fans.</b>
Appeal to Authority	Where the fans were described as praised by an authority or public figure in quotes or descriptions.
Won Hearts	Use of the term won hearts or descriptions of the Irish as having charmed other fans or nations.
<b>Pride</b>	<b>Where the Irish fans are described as something the Irish in general should be proud of.</b>
Purpose	Text referencing the purpose of the fans being at the including supporting team but also holidays, stags etc
Security	Descriptions of the security at the Euros16 and the level of safety of Irish Fans in reference to footballing violence.
Sportsmanship exemplar	Explicit references to the Irish Fans as

## Appendix D: Lists of Articles in Each Case Study

### 1916 Centenary

COUNTRY	STREAM	DATE	TITLE
AUS	Tinteán	April 5th '16	The Women of 1916 Mural
AUS	Tinteán	June 5th '16	Children of the Rising, an untold story
AUS	Tinteán	June 5th '16	The 1916 Easter Rising: New York and Beyond
AUS	Tinteán	July 13th '16	Australia and the 1916 Rising in Ireland
AUS	Tinteán	August 5th '16	1916 in Dublin 2016.
AUS	Tinteán	April 27th '16	Australasian Irish Studies Conference 2016
AUS	Tinteán	April 21st '16	The 2016 Kathleen Fitzpatrick History Lecture
AUS	Tinteán	April 5th '16	Programme for Easter Rising 1916 Conference at Melbourne University on 7-8 April 2016
AUS	Tinteán	August 5th '16	Central Victorian Irish Association
AUS	Tinteán	August 5th '16	1916 Commemoration Seminar in Perth
AUS	Tinteán	May 5th '16	Commemorations and Protest Poetry
AUS	Tinteán	July 18th '16	Perth Seminar to commemorate 1916
AUS	Tinteán	May 5th '16	'Wishes for my Son' and 'Comrades' – two poems of the Easter Rising 1916
AUS	Tinteán	April 23rd '16	Remembering 24th April 1916
AUS	Tinteán	May 2nd '16	Michael, they've shot them
AUS	Tinteán	May 5th '16	The Darlinghurst Seven
AUS	Tinteán	May 5th '16	Reflections On The Significance Of Easter Week 1916 (Part Two)
AUS	Tinteán	July 5th '16	Voices from the Dublin streets, Easter 1916
AUS	Tinteán	April 5th '16	A Tsunami of Grief – Poets of the Rising and their friends.
AUS	Tinteán	April 5th '16	Lá na mBratach – 7ú Márta 2016.
AUS	Tinteán	April 15th '16	The Easter Rising – another context?
AUS	Tinteán	April 5th '16	Reflections On The Significance Of Easter Week 1916 (Part One)
AUS	Tinteán	April 28th '16	Remembering the Rising
AUS	Tinteán	April 19th '16	An australian in Dublin for Easter 2016
AUS	Tinteán	July 5th '16	The Humanism of 1916
AUS	Tinteán	May 5th '16	Reflections on Poems of the Rising
AUS	Tinteán	August 8th '16	Casements flock to play about their great uncle
AUS	Tinteán	April 5th '16	No Ordinary Women. Book review
AUS	Tinteán	August 5th '16	Rebel Sisters
UK	Irish Post	February 16th '16	Yorkshire family unearth the hidden past of their heroic Easter Rising ancestor

UK	The Irish World	June 21st '16	1920's Irish coins smash sales record
UK	Irish Post	May 26th '16	Canadian Ambassador tackles protester at ceremony in Ireland to remember British soldiers killed in 1916 Easter Rising
UK	The Irish World	April 27th '16	Ireland gives State honours to Casement
UK	The Irish World	April 20th '16	Compensation claims from 1916 Rising
UK	Irish Post	April 28th '16	Irish dancer with 'fastest feet in the world' makes dance tribute video to celebrate 100 years of Irish independence
UK	Irish Post	February 16th '16	Northern Ireland First Minister Arlene Foster to attend Easter Rising event in Dublin this week
UK	Irish Post	February 16th '16	Ireland's Call the musical marks Easter Rising centenary with British tour
UK	Irish Post	February 19th '16	Teenage Easter Rising hitman narrates his own story from beyond the grave
UK	The Irish World	April 1st '16	TCD opens its history vaults
UK	Irish Post	April 4th '16	PHOTOS... Welsh pop singer Cerys Matthews hosts 1916 commemoration in Luton
UK	Irish Post	April 1st '16	Belfast City Council's Easter Rising dinner plans run into problems
UK	The Irish World	August 10th '16	The Week: News Highlights 13th August
UK	Irish Post	April 21st '16	How Ireland's revolutionary women saved Camogie after the Easter Rising
UK	The Irish World	May 6th '16	London GAA county board commemorates 1916
UK	The Irish World	April 12th '16	George Mitchell Honoured
UK	The Irish World	August 23rd '16	'Face the truth about our past'
UK	Irish Post	February 11th '16	Irish in Britain urged to share 1916 memorabilia for online commemorative exhibitions
UK	Irish Post	February 12th '16	Campaigners victory to return Galway train station memorial to Easter Rising hero to original location
UK	Irish Post	February 22nd '16	Century-old original copy of Irish proclamation to go on display
UK	The Irish World	April 1st '16	RAF policeman's mum ran rifles for Michael Collins
UK	The Irish World	April 1st '16	Remembering centenarian parents
UK	The Irish World	April 1st '16	Digitising 1916 Memorabilia
UK	Irish Post	April 11th '16	The historic moment British troops marched out of Ireland in 1922
UK	Irish Post	April 29th '16	100 years of Irish history including rare a chunk of the GPO from 1916 auctioned off in Dublin
UK	Irish Post	April 22nd '16	Prison steward asked to be moved because of singing and dancing Easter Rising prisoners

UK	Irish Post	April 2nd '16	10 facts about the extraordinary lives of the Easter Rising's seven leaders
UK	Irish Post	April 10th '16	How Gaelic football helped stimulate political prisoners in the aftermath of the Easter Rising
UK	Irish Post	May 7th '16	Five things you probably didn't know about Ireland's Easter Rising
UK	Irish Post	April 8th '16	Irish community in Bradford officially recognised after 200 years
UK	Irish Post	April 30th '16	Six things you should know about the North King Street Massacre, a forgotten tragedy of the Easter Rising
UK	The Irish World	May 20th '16	Burton calls for Connolly's vision
UK	Irish Post	April 22nd '16	Irish man's powerful video calling on public to 'live your own revolution' to mark Easter Rising centenary
UK	The Irish World	April 22nd '16	Luton celebrates 1916 as the Poets' Rebellion
UK	Irish Post	April 4th '16	Unfortunate spelling mistake on Easter Rising memorial
UK	Irish Post	July 29th '16	Football fan erects plaque outside Hibernian FC ground to honor Irish republican rebel James Connolly
UK	Irish Post	April 14th '16	Australia issues warning to citizens about travelling to Ireland over Easter Rising dissident tensions
UK	The Irish World	July 5th '16	New 1916 prison play to open in Clapham
UK	The Irish World	June 1st '16	'World's toughest ambassador' tackles protestor in Dublin
UK	Irish Post	April 7th '16	Ambitious all-day play charts the life of James Connolly
UK	The Irish World	August 3rd '16	Casement is honoured in Westminster
UK	Irish Post	August 3rd '16	Roger Casement: Ten facts about the Irish patriot executed a century ago
UK	Irish Post	February 12th '16	Scottish councillors vote in favour of flying Irish flag to mark Easter Rising centenary
UK	Irish Post	February 16th '16	Scottish Labour councillors to block motion to fly Irish flag for Easter Rising centenary
UK	Irish Post	February 26th '16	Scottish council unanimously throws out proposal to fly Irish flag on Easter Rising centenary
UK	Irish Post	April 11th '16	Glasgow pubs warned against sectarian activity ahead of Easter Rising centenary events
UK	The Irish World	August 10th '16	Genius of O'Casey brings us to heart of the Rising
UK	The Irish World	April 1st '16	Signatories' stories re-enacted in Gaol

<b>UK</b>	Irish Post	April 25th '16	Easter Rising rebel Roger Casement was a traitor to Britain, says DUP's Nelson McCausland
<b>UK</b>	Irish Post	April 25th '16	In pictures: Easter Rising centenary marked on both sides of the Irish Sea
<b>UK</b>	Irish Post	April 7th '16	VIDEO: Drone footage captures one of the best 1916 commemorations you're likely to see
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	April 4th '16	A reply to Daily Telegraph which compared 1916 leaders to ISIS
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	March 24th '16	Exclusive: Gerry Adams on 1916 and the counter-revolution that followed
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	April 18th '16	Sketches of Roger Casement in the Tower of London days before his execution
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	March 21st '16	1916 Proclamation sold to mystery US buyer at auction
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	March 19th '16	Documents relating to Roger Casement's trial up for auction
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	April 15th '16	1916 Proclamation and other amazing Rising artifacts to be auctioned in Dublin
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	April 30th '16	Patrick Pearse 1916 surrender letter may sell for as much as \$1.7 million
<b>USA</b>	Irish Echo	March 28th '16	Suffolk Hibernians to salute Clarke legacy
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	March 24th '16	Irish government launches free 1916 Easter Rising e-book
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	April 20th '16	United Irish Counties launches 1916 book
<b>USA</b>	Irish Echo	February 24th '16	Neal, Walsh dare to speak of Easter Week
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	April 4th '16	1916 Rising memorial lists British victims - outrage from IRA hardliners
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	April 6th '16	Easter Rising critics only tell half the story
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	April 9th '16	Open letter to Bob Geldof, who called the 1916 revolutionaries terrorists (VIDEO)
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	April 15th '16	Roger Casement was "mad" claimed British after Irish hero was executed in 1916
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	May 15th '16	Roger Casement's haunting letter eight days before his execution (VIDEO)
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	February 11th '16	Liam Neeson narrated series on Easter Rising a huge hit with Irish critics
<b>USA</b>	Irish Echo	May 13th '16	The bishops' balancing act
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	March 31st '16	Bill Clinton says 1916 proclamation has key message for today's conflicts
<b>USA</b>	Irish Echo	March 31st '16	NUI Galway hosts 1916 conference at Columbia
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	March 29th '16	NY Times cites "expert" who says Rising wasn't justified but Iraq War was
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	May 17th '16	Former attorney general says 1916 leaders "had no legitimacy"



USA	Irish Central	April 25th '16	1916 wasn't just big in Ireland
USA	Irish Central	April 25th '16	Solemnity and celebration as New York marks 100 years since 1916 Rising (PHOTOS)
USA	Irish Central	June 28th '16	My great aunt witnessed the 1916 King Street murder of innocent Irish civilians
USA	Irish Central	February 22nd '16	Dublin's Christ Church Cathedral force to close doors due to Easter Rising parade
USA	Irish Echo	March 28th '16	Easter inside the GPO
USA	Irish Central	March 31st '16	Irish pride shines for 1916 centenary commemorations
USA	Irish Central	March 31st '16	Sights, sounds and reflection of the Easter Rising centenary in Dublin
USA	Irish Central	March 13th '16	Huge Irish celebrations planned for D.C. Easter Rising commemoration
USA	Irish Central	March 28th '16	Largest ever Irish event organized to commemorate Easter Rising 1916 (PHOTOS)
USA	Irish Central	March 26th '16	Ireland's commemorations for the 1916 Easter Rising begin
USA	Irish Central	March 4th '16	Black 47's Larry Kirwan celebrates St. Patrick's Day at BB Kings
USA	Irish Echo	April 11th '16	Words that stand the test of time
USA	Irish Central	April 13th '16	Irish government plans NYC events for the US commemoration of the 1916 Rising
USA	Irish Echo	April 1st '16	Quinnipiac exhibit commemorates 1916
USA	Irish Central	April 12th '16	Historic NYC event will ring in the US celebrations of Ireland's 1916 Rising
USA	Irish Central	April 18th '16	RTÉ's aerial footage of Dublin's 1916 commemorations goes online
USA	Irish Central	April 20th '16	Where Ireland's 1916 Rising is being commemorated around the US
USA	Irish Central	April 20th '16	Irish government launches website detailing 1916 compensations
USA	Irish Central	April 22nd '16	Is anyone else tired of the second coming of the 1916 Rising?
USA	Irish Central	April 22nd '16	Omaha celebrates the Irish who built their city at 1916 commemorations
USA	Irish Central	April 22nd '16	Ireland prepares to commemorate anniversary of 1916 Easter Rising
USA	Irish Central	April 23rd '16	A comprehensive roundup of the 1916 Rising events in NY
USA	Irish Central	April 24th '16	1916 celebration second largest ever event in Ireland after pope's visit
USA	Irish Echo	May 11th '16	Springfield set to honor the 1916 Rising
USA	Irish Echo	May 16th '16	Akron Hibernians mark 1916

USA	Irish Central	June 15th '16	Ireland's children reimagine the future as part of 1916 Centenary
USA	Irish Echo	July 7th '16	Cathal Brugha died on this day. Cathal Brugha, who fought in the 1916 Rising and the War of Independence, and was the first Ceannt Comhairle of Dail Eireann
USA		July 11th '16	Remembering the fallen
USA	Irish Central	March 24th '16	Dublin remembers 1916 Easter Rising with massive program of events
USA	Irish Echo	April 5th '16	Higgins withdraws from Belfast event
USA	Irish Central	February 12th '16	Six amazing facts about Easter Rising 1916 leaders
USA	Irish Central	February 22nd '16	My great-grandfather, Ireland's forgotten Fenian, led secret missions for 1916
USA	Irish Central	February 24th '16	The 485 Irish civilians killed in the 1916 Easter Rising shoot outs
USA	Irish Central	February 26th '16	A "litany of mishaps and disasters" lead up to the 1916 Easter Rising
USA	Irish Central	February 10th '16	The crucial facts about Ireland's 1916 Easter Rising in one easy infographic
USA	Irish Central	March 10th '16	Haunted Dublin - where to find the ghosts of Ireland's 1916 Easter Rising
USA	Irish Central	March 28th '16	Ireland's 1916 Easter Rising as it happened: Day one
USA	Irish Central	March 30th '16	Ten fascinating facts and misconceptions about the 1916 Rising (PHOTOS)
USA	Irish Central	March 23rd '16	Remembering the birth of a nation – Easter Rising 1916
USA	Irish Central	March 28th '16	Freedom's son and daughters recalled at Dublin Easter Rising centenary
USA	Irish Central	April 6th '16	The winners and losers of the 1916 Easter Rising Centenary
USA	Irish Central	April 6th '16	America's role in the Easter Rising
USA	Irish Central	April 7th '16	The forgotten Dublin graves of the British who died in 1916 (PHOTOS)
USA	Irish Central	April 16th '16	During Easter Week 1916, more Irish died in France than in the Rising
USA	Irish Central	April 19th '16	Easter Rising leader executed in 1916: Joseph Mary Plunkett
USA	Irish Central	April 20th '16	Easter Rising leader executed in 1916: Thomas MacDonagh
USA	Irish Central	April 21st '16	Easter Rising leader executed in 1916: Tom Clarke
USA	Irish Central	April 21st '16	Freedom's Son: Patrick Pearse, Easter Rising leader executed in 1916:

USA	Irish Central	April 22nd '16	Easter Rising leader executed in 1916: John MacBride
USA	Irish Central	April 22nd '16	Easter Rising leader executed in 1916: Roger Casement
USA	Irish Central	April 22nd '16	Easter Rising leader executed in 1916: William Pearse
USA	Irish Central	April 26th '16	Easter Rising leader executed in 1916: Seán MacDiarmada
USA	Irish Central	April 27th '16	Easter Rising leader executed in 1916: James Connolly
USA	Irish Central	April 28th '16	Easter Rising leader executed in 1916: Eamon Ceannt
USA	Irish Central	April 28th '16	Easter Rising leader executed in 1916: Michael Mallin
USA	Irish Central	April 29th '16	Easter Rising leader executed in 1916: Thomas Kent
USA	Irish Central	April 29th '16	Easter Rising leader executed in 1916: Micheál O'Hanrahan
USA	Irish Central	April 29th '16	Easter Rising leader executed in 1916: Edward Daly
USA	Irish Central	April 14th '16	How Ireland's leaders of 1916 compare to today
USA	Irish Echo	May 12th '16	Connolly, MacDiarmada, executed
USA	Irish Central	May 3rd '16	100 years ago today, the executions of the 1916 leaders began
USA	Irish Central	May 7th '16	Irish people shocked as four more 1916 Rising heroes executed
USA	Irish Central	May 12th '16	The Easter Rising executions: Seán MacDiarmada and James Connolly
USA	Irish Central	June 28th '16	In 1916, England feared the Irish would take over Australia
USA	Irish Central	June 3rd '16	Remembering the Easter Rising hero James Connolly on his birthday
USA	Irish Central	July 8th '16	Look at books: From rebels to the key objects of the 1916 Rising
USA	Irish Echo	July 11th '16	Remembering the fallen
USA	Irish Central	August 28th '16	Easter Rising's influence on Irish American culture to be examined at UMass
USA	Irish Central	February 15th '16	Should there be a national holiday in Ireland to mark the Easter Rising?
USA	Irish Central	March 4th '16	How Ireland today compares to Ireland in 1916
USA	Irish Central	March 2nd '16	How Irish America alone understood the true impact of the 1916 Rising
USA	Irish Central	March 31st '16	So what have we really learned from the 1916 Rising centenary?

USA	Irish Central	March 26th '16	Young Irish do not believe the 1916 leaders would be proud of Ireland today
USA	Irish Central	August 12th '16	Japanese traditional Irish musicians pay tribute to 1916 Easter Rising centenary (VIDEOS)
USA	Irish Central	March 31st '16	Remembering the Easter Rising but not its Troubling legacy
USA	Irish Central	March 27th '16	Panti Bliss and the Ancient Order of Hibernians celebrate the Easter Rising
USA	Irish Central	March 12th '16	Young Irish gay couple have 1916 themed wedding (VIDEOS)
USA	Irish Central	March 9th '16	Urgent appeal to the Irish in the US to check their attics for 1916 memorabilia
USA	Irish Central	March 3rd '16	A guide to Dublin's rebel museums for the 1916 centennial (PHOTOS)
USA	Irish Central	March 22nd '16	Quinnipiac and Irish Hunger Museum to host 1916 Rising events
USA	Irish Central	February 18th '16	Ten best songs of the 1916 Easter Rising (VIDEOS)
USA	Irish Central	March 11th '16	Michael Flatley has debuted a song about the Easter Rising (AUDIO)
USA	Irish Echo	March 21st '16	O'Connell St. to be massive stage
USA	Irish Echo	July 7th '16	Cathal Brugha died on this day. Cathal Brugha, who fought in the 1916 Rising and the War of Independence, and was the first Ceann Comhairle of Dail Eireann
USA	Irish Central	April 28th '16	The unfathomable mystery of Easter Rising hero Padraig Pearse
USA	Irish Echo	March 16th '16	New look at women of 1916
USA	Irish Echo	March 30th '16	A solemn remembrance
USA	Irish Central	February 19th '16	What's your favorite poem from the 1916 Easter Rising? (POLL)
USA	Irish Central	May 27th '16	Limited protests at 1916 commemoration for British soldiers
USA	Irish Central	May 23rd '16	The ghost of Roger Casement remains
USA	Irish Central	August 3rd '16	Roger Casement, executed 100 years ago today, had an unlikely Fenian supporter
USA	Irish Central	April 28th '16	50,000 military records of Easter Rising and War of Independence released
USA	Irish Central	April 21st '16	International conference explores Irish America's impact on the 1916 Rising
USA	Irish Central	May 1st '16	James Connolly's great-grandson warns New York crowd of Easter Rising revision
USA	Irish Central	March 27th '16	Top British commentator says time for British apology on Easter Rising

USA	Irish Central	April 14th '16	Queen Elizabeth replies to Irish student asking for the 6 Northern Counties back
USA	Irish Central	March 9th '16	Irish national broadcaster launches TV, radio 1916 commemoration program (VIDEO)
USA	Irish Central	March 16th '16	RTÉ Player launches 1916 Hub bring historic Easter Rising TV shows international
USA	Irish Central	March 23rd '16	RTÉ Player streams Easter weekend 1916 Centenary events free worldwide
USA	Irish Central	March 2nd '16	Scottish Council vetoes flying the Irish flag during the 1916 centenary
USA	Irish Central	March 11th '16	Police leave cancelled in Ireland amid Easter Rising commemorations
USA	Irish Central	March 25th '16	Sinn Fein unveils its secret weapon at US 1916 dinner in Dublin
USA	Irish Central	March 26th '16	Anger over Easter Rising tribute on Irish national soccer shirt
USA	Irish Central	March 22nd '16	There's a petition to honor the 1916 centenary with a Google Doodle
USA	Irish Central	April 1st '16	Over a million people attend Ireland 2016 commemorative events
USA	Irish Central	February 15th '16	What the author of TV drama Rebellion learned about the 1916 Easter Rising (PHOTOS & VIDEOS)
USA	Irish Central	March 30th '16	Forgotten Unionist eyewitness account of Easter Rising resurfaces
USA	Irish Central	March 19th '16	New evidence on view of Easter Rising from British perspective revealed
USA	Irish Central	March 8th '16	Irish honor US Civil war hero at first 1916 Easter Rising commemoration event
USA	Irish Central	February 22nd '16	How an ex-Congressman helped end the centuries of war in Ireland
USA	Irish Central	February 16th '16	How Woodrow Wilson deceived Irish America over 1916, ignored Casement's execution
USA	Irish Central	April 22nd '16	Gerry Adams in NYC for Sinn Fein 1916 event
USA	Irish Central	April 22nd '16	All welcome at Irish Government's NYC 1916 commemoration event
USA	Irish Central	March 28th '16	Gunrunners and front-line fighters: The women of the 1916 Rising
USA	Irish Central	March 14th '16	Story of Margaret Kehoe, brave Irish nurse who died during the Rising (VIDEO)
USA	Irish Central	March 9th '16	Irish government honors role of woman in Ireland from Easter Rising to present day
USA	Irish Central	February 19th '16	40 children died in the Rising some with the taste of chocolate in their mouths

USA	Irish Central	March 21st '16	Eyewitness to the Easter Rising from a child's point of view
USA	Irish Central	March 16th '16	For Proclamation Day, Irish schoolchildren wrote their visions for Ireland today
	Irish Echo	August 4th '16	Casement recalled

## Migration

COUNTRY	STREAM	DATA PUBLISHED	TITLE
UK	Irish Post	June 8th '16	'No black people allowed' – alleged racist incident at Dublin venue sparks shock and controversy in Ireland
UK	Irish Post	April 19th '16	A new Belfast company is selling tiny bottles of Irish rainwater for £10
UK	The Irish World	May 6th '16	Ardal O'Hanlon received death threat over move to London
UK	The Irish World	May 6th '16	Black and Green
UK	Irish Post	April 7th '16	Delays in Irish passport applications in London causes outrage as some people claim they've been waiting months
UK	Irish Post	June 1st '16	Fada Fail: Mobile network Three asks woman to change her Irish name to English
UK	The Irish World	June 29th '16	Ireland and Scotland almost blur into one
UK	The Irish World	June 28th '16	Irish and Scots will always be 'bound by history'
UK	Irish Post	May 12th '16	Irish people's classic answers to Turkish man who asked advice about moving to Cork online
UK	Irish Post	May 17th '16	Irishman gives his parents the fright of their lives when he flies home from Israel to surprise them
UK	Irish Post	June 6th '16	No commitment to keep RTÉ longwave service as survey findings revealed
UK	Irish Post	August 22nd '16	Over a thousand redheads gather in Ireland to crown the new 'King and Queen of Gingerdom'
UK	Irish Post	May 16th '16	People who get told 'you aren't really Irish' have their say in frank online clip
UK	The Irish World	June 21st '16	Poignant 'homecoming' for US Vice President
UK	Irish Post	May 25th '16	President Higgins speaks out about Ireland's slow response in taking in refugees
UK	The Irish World	July 13th '16	Referendum on emigrant vote 'early next year', says McHugh
UK	The Irish World	May 6th '16	Retired Irish judge says honour 1916 with asylum seeker amnesty

<b>UK</b>	The Irish World	April 7th '16	Seven week wait to renew passports
<b>UK</b>	Irish Post	April 5th '16	Seven-week wait for Irish passports in Britain following surge in applications
<b>UK</b>	Irish Post	August 24th '16	Time to go home? New migration figures show over 20,000 Irish people returned to Ireland in 2015
<b>UK</b>	The Irish World	August 23rd '16	Today's refugees are like 19th century Irish
<b>UK</b>	Irish Post	April 14th '16	You asked, we got the answers: Irish Embassy in London responds to Irish Post readers about passport problems
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	June 20th '16	300th anniversary of the launch of one of the first ships to bring the Irish to America
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	May 20th '16	86 Syrian refugees to arrive in County Mayo for resettlement
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	April 2nd '16	American retiree forced to leave Ireland does so with heavy heart (PHOTOS)
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	June 28th '16	Historic Joe Biden footage of Newgrange and his ancestor's resting place
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	June 26th '16	Ireland Funds celebrates its 40th year with Vice President Biden
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	May 20th '16	Irish cousin of Joe Biden proud and excited that the Vice President is "coming home"
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	July 13th '16	Irish government vows to work for US immigration reform
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	May 20th '16	Irish students having unusual trouble getting summer visas to the US approved
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	March 8th '16	Irish teen imprisoned due to lack of adult supervision
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	April 14th '16	Is Ireland a racist society? Many immigrants there believe so

## Irish Fans at the Euros 2016

COUNTRY	STREAM	DATA PUBLISHED	TITLE
UK	Irish Post	June 14th '16	Irish football fans pull off perfectly-timed prank on live television at the Euros
UK	Irish Post	June 22nd '16	Irish football fan feels the luck of the Irish after online campaign reunites him with his passport in France
UK	Irish Post	June 16th '16	Footage from Euro 2016 catches sea of Irish football fans in green jerseys having the best time in Paris
UK	Irish Post	June 23rd '16	Irish President jumps for joy as he celebrates Ireland's EURO 2016 win against Italy
UK	Irish Post	June 16th '16	Irish football fan dressed as a leprechaun is the Where's Wally of Euro 2016
UK	Irish Post	June 17th '16	Euro 2016: Ireland fans sing "Our Father" to confused nun
UK	Irish Post	June 20th '16	Irish football fans show their softer side by singing a lullaby to a baby at the Euros
UK	Irish Post	June 21st '16	Irish football fans serenade French woman with rendition of 'I Love You Baby'
UK	Irish Post	June 13th '16	Champion Irish dancers record foot-tapping tribute to spur on the Ireland at the Euros
UK	Irish Post	June 22nd '16	Hilarious comedy sketch reimagines Russian, England and Irish football fans at the Euros as kids
UK	Irish Post	June 27th '16	Eric Cantona praises Irish football fans as he gives his take on Euro 2016 so far
UK	Irish Post	June 22nd '16	Irish football fans hoping win against Italy will improve sex life
UK	Irish Post	June 27th '16	Roy Keane's celebration leap after Ireland's goal against France sparks hilarious social media response
UK	Irish Post	June 15th '16	Irish and Croatian football fans get together for raucous rendition of Olé, Olé, Olé at Euro 2016
UK	Irish Post	June 22nd '16	Irish Euro 2016 fans stuff their own money into car after denting it accidentally
UK	Irish Post	June 23rd '16	Le Parisien TV make a video montage in honour of Ireland and declare Irish football fans the best in the world
UK	Irish Post	June 15th '16	Five of our favourite Ireland football fan moments from Euro 2016 so far



UK	Irish Post	June 20th '16	Irish Euro 2016 fans keep out of trouble by serenading French police
UK	Irish Post	June 14th '16	PHOTOS... Irish fans enjoy Hyundai FanDome experience
UK	Irish Post	June 23rd '16	In Pictures: Robbie Brady's blazing goal against Italy, the fans and the fantastic reaction
UK	Irish Post	June 10th '16	Irish soccer fan's lone Tricolour takes on dozens of England flags on London block of flats
UK	Irish Post	June 28th '16	Frenchman goes oooo la la for the Irish and pens a brilliant letter to Ireland's football fans
UK	Irish Post	June 27th '16	Ryanair pilot's rousing speech to Irish football fans
UK	Irish Post	June 29th '16	Mayor of Paris to award Ireland fans for lighting up Euro 2016
UK	Irish Post	June 22nd '16	Irish fan's incredible trick shot makes him a football hero at Euro 2016
UK	Irish Post	June 17th '16	WATCH: Hilarious video of Coronation Street's Jim McDonald celebrating Northern Ireland's Euro 2016 win
UK	Irish Post	June 30th '16	Northern Ireland fans also to be awarded with medal from the Mayor of Paris
UK	Irish Post	June 17th '16	Irish fans keen to defend their title as they clear up Bordeaux streets
USA	Irish Central	June 22nd '16	The lads of summer - Irish soccer fans are the class act of Europe (VIDEOS)
USA	Irish Central	June 23rd '16	Boys in Green supporters not all they are cracked up to be
USA	Irish Central	June 25th '16	Irish fans at it again with more antics before Ireland-France game (VIDEO)
UK	The Irish World	June 12th '16	We're all part of Martin's army
UK	Irish Post	June 22nd '16	Euro 2016: French hotel staff leave heartening message for departing Irish fans
UK	Irish Post	June 15th '16	Euro 2016: Irish fans in act of generosity for old French couple in Paris
UK	Irish Post	June 20th '16	Five of our favourite Father Ted themed Euro 2016 flags
UK	Irish Post	June 3rd '16	Hairdresser who lost 'lifetime of free haircuts' World Cup bet to Irishman in 1994 hopes he can get even at the Euros
UK	Irish Post	July 1st '16	Ireland and Northern Ireland Euro 2016 football fans' best bits captured in one minute montage video

<b>UK</b>	The Irish World	July 7th '16	Paris mayor to award Irish fans
<b>UK</b>	Irish Post	July 4th '16	Euro 2016: Disabled superfan Jamie Monaghan to collect Mayor's medal for Republic of Ireland supporters
<b>USA</b>	Irish Central	July 9th '16	17-year-old Irish fan accepts prestigious French medal for Boys in Green supporters

# Appendix E: Interviews

## Interview Sample Questions

### **Newsgathering and production norms:**

- Can you tell me about how you go about gather news about Ireland? Where are your main sources?
- To what extent do you rely on social media for finding news?
- Do you use ‘user generated content’, people tweets or Facebook comments in your articles? Some do and some do not so what is the thinking behind this?
- What are the challenges in gathering news about Ireland? Do you run into difficulties?
- What news categories are most attractive you? Politics, Sport, Culture, Lifestyle, Business?
- What news topics were/are of interest to you? Looking to scheduled topics as opposed to breaking news such as national elections important, or national celebrations, and then general topics such as the state of the Irish economy, education system, health services?
- How would you describe your audience? Do you write for the Irish community here or both here and in Ireland or for the global Irish community?
- What do you think about when you are writing about Ireland? What makes you think this will be a good or popular news story? Or what are the attributes of a news story do you think readers will be interested in?
- Do you feel part of the Irish news industry or distinct from it? Which of these is preferable to you?
- In general, what do think about Irish people and culture, both in Ireland and among diasporans? And how do you present it to the world?

### **Challenging stories and topics**

- When writing about Irish history, particularly complex or contested history, what informs how you might present this?
- When writing about Ireland to what extent do you incorporate or differentiate news about Northern Ireland?
- Some aspects of politics linked with Northern Ireland can be difficult to tackle, how do you think about this?

### **Advertising and distribution**

- Google and Facebook gobble up much of national media’s advertising revenue, do diaspora news titles feel the same pressures?
- The Irish government has developed a diaspora media fund, although it is in the early stages, is this something that is attractive to you or would you want to access it?

- There are arguments that national governments should financially support diaspora media – what do you think of this? Would it impact your independence?

Editors that were interviewed:



The Irish Post and The Irish Echo Australia were contacted on multiple occasions over the course of a year and while initial contact was established with receptionists or a colleague of the editors, neither were forthcoming in engaging with the research and did not respond to any requests for interviews.

Because of the low sample and the preference for anonymity from some interviewees some instances, the interviews were largely treated collective as views from Irish Diaspora Editors in the main body of the manuscript. Similarly, here the respondents are not identified and the answers that were given under the question sections from the sample list above are aggregated. The exception is the editor of the Irish Times Ireland abroad project. It was not possible to anonymise this interview as it is clear where it came from as the only news titles based in Ireland and distinctive to the others in many ways.

The interviews did not take a formal question by question approach and there was overlap where some answers addressed multiple questions. That no editor could talk about an issue in isolation to the others, reflects the interactivity of these issues in newsrooms. There are multiple considerations to weigh up in the news production process, and some issues weigh more heavily than others depending on the stage of production. Similarly, on the second section that aimed to address challenging topics and stories, often a range of examples were provided for this under other sections.

Below are some of the responses from editors to the questions under the issues that they address:

### **News Gathering and Production Norms**

**ED1** “We are not solely news about Ireland because we are for Irish people [here], so our news strands would go into original news content of events ranging from GAA organisations, to check how they impact on our primary reader base which is [here]. Then covering Irish news would be, because they have an interest but also because it might impact

on them. So, there would be some that would be Tier 1 news and then there would be Tier 2, things you would aggregate. Stories that might be out of the ordinary or people would have an interest because of their tie to the country or are back and forth all the time.

I would go through all of the primary Irish news sources as well as primary [hostland] news sources ranging from online applied providers such as the Journal or Broadsheet. We have subscriptions to all of the Irish newspapers. RTE would be less important as a news source for us and say things like the Irish Times. Their coverage of here would not really be important to us because we would be getting the same stuff from the same sources they are, and we would have our own contacts.

When I say Tier 1, or Tier 2 I mean Gaelic Sport or GAA and other Irish organisations here. We would provide a lot of coverage that would not be available from other sources.

We would also be providing original coverage of interviews because sports, features, news are our three elements. Say Irish country music is particularly popular or emerging bands or writers. That would be very much generated by us. We also have additional resources so for example, we subscribe to the FT, The Times, The Guardian and we would listen to the World Service. before we would listen to a deep something programmes on Radio 4 because it has at arm's length of selective analysis of events and perspective which is better from our point of view.

So, I would also be on, from my own perspective the news I would subscribe to the New York Times, Washington Post, economist, and a number if the political journals. So, first thing morning you listen to whatever headlines, read the bulletins that come from each of the papers. Scrolling through those. And then the news websites and that is before the day begins.”

**ED1**“It is rare you would get something original even though it is putting a voice and images, an Irish accent for that domestic audience. In Ireland where there are plenty of stories that we know of that are there which is a question of resources. That is there and could be covered, but it is down to them. But it is very rare that we would, well it has never happened.”

**ED2** “Yeah. You know obviously these days it's instantaneous. I go on my laptop here and read the Irish Times or Independent or Irish News. You know we do have a reporter based in Belfast. We've had a couple who sort of cover Ireland from North and South from there, so we have an input of stories every week from Ireland. Usually a couple from the north and a couple from the south. We can also fill in the gaps to a great degree as well. I mean I will do stuff from here that I think is interesting.”

**ED2** “I mean there are countless stories where you can connect here and Ireland, but you know there has to be a certain specifics kicker. And in this case, there are several. It's a business story that story will be featured on a business page could be a dedicated business and economy page. So that's one example. I mean so you know we have people writing from Ireland. We have various columnists and also sports writers in Ireland. So, we do have regular input from the other side of the ocean, and we all work from here. But it's very much a triage because there's so much. I will show you this week's Irish Echo, but there is only some space on the printed paper, so you're sort of knocking things off, and things are long-fingering things all the time. Now it gives you more flexibility to use online.”

**ED2** “Q: And then when it comes to getting there a user-generated content using other means using tweets using Facebook. Do you ever use those? ED2: I try to stay away from that type of content. There is so much you could drown in it. mean we have our contributors and our other writers. I go to a whole list every day of the main news websites and newspapers, including all the main Irish ones and that is enough. I don't have to get into the Twitter wars of course.”

**ED2** “Not formal institutional links but they know we are here. I mean here's another thing.”

**ED2** “We get lots of books in from Ireland, all the time and we do our best.”

**ED3** “Basically, we you know we have a list, we go to the Irish media stories that are of impact that involve an American.”

**ED3** “We don't tend to do much original reporting, to be honest. We have a little bit we write. Say like, the Killarney story. Ideally, I'd like to have sent someone there or use a local freelancer, but I couldn't find one.”

**ED3** “I mean I give you an example of what I'm talking about. That story for instance. I turned on the radio for Kerry news to find out what the names was. And they lead with a story about Trump. But right on the doorstep was this very gripping story of a horse cart going off the road and falling into a ravine and two people stone dead. And that was number three item on the news in radio Kerry. So, there is a lack of sort of the news or lack of understanding of what news is there.”

**ED4** “Some of us subscribe to <https://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/abroad>. We also sometimes use items from [newsletter@enl.irishcentral.com](mailto:newsletter@enl.irishcentral.com) although this website is geared to a USA audience. We also spend time in Ireland ourselves - last year all four of us were in Ireland at one time or another! We have a small but reliable coterie of Irish based contributors and poets. We get regular updates on Irish publishing houses - Merrion Press springs to mind. We could do with an Irish correspondent but on the whole, don't have much trouble attracting content.”

**ED4** “We don't use tweets or FB for generating content so far, mainly because we haven't needed to or we might consider such sources inappropriate for our magazine.”

**ED4** “There is very little interaction between the various Irish diaspora groups in Australia and hardly any exchange of information or material.”

**ED4** “We rarely publish news stories or topics on health, education and only occasionally on the Irish economy. I think we would publish posts on these topics if we had someone on the ground in Ireland!”

**ED4** “We tend to take a fairly low-key approach towards potentially controversial materials. We aim to present facts about an event and considered balanced opinions. We are proud of the fact that we are politically neutral!”

**ED5** “It is do I say we would love to be doing use exactly where in the business of recruiting a new editor at the moment and that one of the things that we hope she will do she's a younger woman, because we're more also worried about generational change you know where we

need to be planning for it. And when the jobs we hope she'll do is scour the newspapers and write her own copy you know.”

**ED5** “We have had a news-hound, and she left, and there has been a gap in the editorial board. And it'd about expertise; I don't feel confident doing it we've all got kind of back of the teeth areas [of expertise]. We have an Irish language person and tell the others also speak Irish now. So that's well covered.”

**ED5** “And you know some topics a little bit controversial even within our editorial group you know. You know the upcoming referendum is a little bit. And we will be wanting to cover that in as fair and even-handed way as we can. In the past, we've had good hard new stuff we've had some terrific articles at the time of the Ryan commission and Cloin we had someone here legal expert who was pretty passionate about following that. We got her to write a couple of articles so um yeah, but I mean we'd love to have a news service, but we don't really, and we got to be realistic about what our resources actually are and would rather do well what we do rather than spread ourselves thinly. Or Be ridiculous really.”

**ED5** “You know we got easy access to that because of that academic community that exists and because we're as I said we're getting a lot of solids through Melbourne that we're able to capitalise on. But the news harder to predict are we don't want to go crashing into a culture that we think we understand but we may not.”

**ED5** “We had somebody extremely well informed on Eurovision and passionate about it, so we used their expertise basically. And she kept us a well posted. There was an Australian contest that year, and that raised the stakes a bit too. There has always been a big interest in Eurovision here and even though it is not my scene, anything where there is energy and drive we are happy to get behind.”

**ED5** “I don't so I'm going to send you to Liz for that one. But what we had with them is a working understanding that we can use that stuff with attribution, and they can use our stuff with attributions, but that's all. But you might even know the forum.”

**ED5** “We frequently ask The Irish Times if we may use their images and we have a blanket agreement with them that we will use their images with attribution, you know, that kind of arrangement. But it's not it's not it's not formalised, and you know we would be very careful not to break breach copyright.”

## **News Culture**

**ED1** “We are a small title with limited resources, but we do take it [ethics] seriously.”

**ED3** “I think in fairness there is no First Amendment which is ‘God-given’ to us here.”

**ED3** “Well we have done so that the newspapers in arms couldn't publish. OK, one huge story. And which in many ways made a profound difference. Which paper in Ireland couldn't publish but we did. So, it is possible. There is a little bit of that.”

**ED2** “I don't consider ourselves to be ethnic media at all. [REDACTED] is too broad based and too big. Ethnic implies you are off in a corner somewhere, but we are far more mainstream than that. The reason is that they publish in English.”

**ED2** “I mean you know my view is that an editor in today's journalism has to have an idea, that yes, of course, there are certain stories that get in automatically because they have to.”

**ED5** “I am choosing my words carefully, but we would want to avoid paddywhackery. We really hate paddywhackery in a sentimental Irishy. We want to do real stuff, um, you know stuff with a slightly harder edge. Some members of our collective would worry about alienating people by going too far down the edgier line. You know there will be some ton of debates about you know what the what the limits are.”

**ED5** “We would see our main brief as being, you know, disseminating cultural stuff. Because it's a bit of it is a bit of a gap here I mean there's a lot of cultural stuff going on.”

## **News Values**

**ED2** “We got a book in, it was a slow read about the state of the ecology and environment and government mismanagement of it. He described Ireland as an ecological wreck due to bottom trawling. So, I reached back to Collins, and he and I have been talking. And I am big into opinion, and he is going to write an op-ed.”

**ED2** “Doing something that would be normal in Ireland. But we also covered the Presidential election 2016 in some detail; we had features and op-eds and all sorts of stuff.”

**ED2** “He issued a statement as well. You know we don't veer into a Catholic stuff, we're not Catholic newspaper. Our readers would tend to be, so they have an interest. And again, you can look at the paper and see. So, there is any amount of stuff. There is reaction back. So, this story here, this is a reaction from Relatives for justice in Northern Ireland to an initiative over here.”

**ED1** “We also have to prioritise, to keep faith with the readership of the ultra-local. So that might be somebody having something on his birthday or a 'go fund me' for somebody's family going to difficulties or a tragedy. And so that will be on the front of the paper. We go for the big stories.”

**ED1** “Actually, we have covered that and covered everything. We would not be hostile. We would recognise as an editorial policy the Sinn Fein has an electoral mandate and democratic mandate data, and we respect that.”

**ED1** “We have covered Northern Ireland, and we've been prepared with our position which is always to never support anybody who uses murder as a means advancing their political agenda. And we would be full-throated in our endorsement of the original Good Friday Agreement.”

**ED2** “You know there are certain things that you know it's almost on the seat of your pants sort of an editorial judgment, that this would be of more interest to our readers. Or sometimes I'll just make sure country name will be in a headline because that will eye catch as well, things like that.”

**ED2** “So that (connections) might be our emphasis. And then those are just people who are neither Irish or Irish America who are just interested. So, we have people who look after the arts coverage, and that is a very broad base interest in terms of Irish Arts and stuff like that.”



You don't need to be Irish to take an interest in that. So, we try to reach out to anybody who has an interest.”

**ED3** “We see ourselves unashamedly democratic, unashamedly nationalistic, in the Irish sense, unashamedly outspoken on a host of issues. Like we would recommend people to vote down the amendment. We take positions. Yeah, I think that's the difference between a successful paper. I actually think a lot of the older newspapers are not run by professional journalists they are people who love the community and who care for the community and covered a community in a very caring way. Whereas we were going in into tear strips off.”

**ED3** “Both in terms of what our priorities are, more and more of my priorities are the Irish [REDACTED] milieu rather than Ireland. But that doesn't say like if Michael D Higgins is here we won't cover it. He gave a wonderful speech to [REDACTED] and you know what that needs to be reported to.

**ED3** “Depending on what kind of story it is. I mean we were late to the story but the pap smears, but if it has a human quality that everybody can relate to, which obviously it's on a television show very, powerful. So, we are very interested in human interest stories from Ireland. They're very good. We love stories about [REDACTED] going back, trying to live there, what they find, what to expect. And tend to be quite positive. But you know you see that sort of human interest level through the Internet. I think it's incredibly important where everyone's just re-reporting the last ten minutes of what Trump said you know you try to reach in and just do a lifestyle piece say 'you got married and you moved here. How did you find the first two years.”

**ED3** “Just did a piece for peace from about when her grandmother died. The decision was to go home or to stay. It's a dilemma that faces every you know. So, she argued the case very strongly that she was right to go and described what happened when she went home. Connectedness around that death that she'd never get. Saw stuff like that, you know human interest. Brought not necessarily, grinding an axe or anything. Just talking about cities, these are two fascinating countries.”

**ED3** “You are an obvious target for politicians to raise money. Were known as a community that is politically active and were known as a community that's way above the norm in terms of wealth. How our lifestyles are.”

**ED3** “And there's a natural tendency. I mean if you look at the things that Ireland is good at, journalism, nursing, teaching writing and politics. Politics is huge. We invented politics in this country.”

**ED3** “I don't get the sense that the Irish community in Britain is as united on issues. So many Irish there. I don't think there is any obvious touch point there.”

**ED3** “Treat them normally, very straightforward, just say what we think. We have to let it stand on its own merits or fall. We don't not engage. On the 8th amendment. We were writing editorials supporting its decisions.”

**ED4** “Culture, History, Politics, Lifestyle. Anything of historical interest about the Australian - Irish experience.”

**ED4** “There seems to be almost an insatiable appetite to explore and investigate the Irish migration experience - any article about convicts or refugees from the Famine is sure to be a hit.”

**ED4** “We tread very carefully with NI material! We are happy to publish book reviews about both modern and historical events as well as tourist promotions and other reviews. We have a small group of writers (including one or two from the North) who specialise in NI affairs, but we steer clear of overly political statements or opinions. “

**ED5** “Yeah there was huge energy around that. As you know the Irish government was supporting a lot of events and I am involved with Bloomsday and we don and on it goes out of a blue day we did you have to be, so we do theatrical events, we have 3 1916 events which were extraordinarily well attended. Not our usual set, Joyce as a name is a niche activity, but 1916 certainly wasn't. Basically, we floated in really on that wave of enthusiasm, sort of reporting on it, and I think we reviewed most of the books in the 1916 series. We didn't do this one key once that was missing because the story and we have to do it is still pondering over the book”

## **Advertising and Distribution**

**ED1** “Oh good, Facebook and Google gobbling up revenue.”

**ED1** “You could actually end up putting all your resources into online, it is a bottomless pit with no with no immediate revenues. Certainly not from digital advertising. “

**ED1** “We have, say, three tiers of readership as well. We would have the people buy the paper which is £1.50, and they would buy through their newsagents or supermarket. We have many of those people and then their cohort, so the other people associated with paper Facebook. Our Facebook readership for want of a better word. Which, in Any Given week would be three or 4 times better than our print sales, and then can spike or have a domino effect on particular events in the community like the funeral of a well-known or well-liked person in the community. On Twitter with leopard have another leadership as well, slightly younger than the Facebook readership. and for the most part younger than the print readership. Probably the print readership is of the generation still have the habit of buying and paying for a newspaper. They would tend to be older. So, on twitter, you would probably get the median, a meeting point between Facebook and paper. And Twitter we try to engage with things, the bread and butter of ultra-local stuff.”

**ED1** “Our distribution remains a bit of a problem. A bit of a problem one of these people confuse us with another title. People can ring us, and people get muddled because they just see an Irish title, we have struggled to make any inroads into Ireland. What has helped has been things like putting front pages of the sections on Broadsheet.ie. Usually on a Tuesday so it appears with the editions of the Irish newspapers. “

**ED1** “They [Google and Facebook] are hammering us, absolutely hammering us. So, we are a small weekly paper. But when our advertising department gets onto the clients they are saying, "ah sure look we are using Facebook." Some of them will try and get in on the pretext of having an event or fundraiser. But they would be told it is unpassable. They are devouring

the ad revenue and to a large extent and they are consuming, passing on the content for free as well. “

**ED2** “I mean you know my view is that an editor in today's journalism has to have an idea, that yes, of course, there are certain stories that get in automatically because they have to. But there are other considerations coming in. You have to sell the product; you have to market the product. So, what are the quality triggers what are the eye catchers.”

**ED2** “Our audience, I mean technically if you think about it the audience is anywhere. With online, Google and Facebook and Twitter, you can get it anywhere. And we get stuff all the time from Ireland, calls, pitches you know, stuff comes in. On a continuous basis from those. “

**ED1** “You have to be careful about how you engage in that because you can end up as part of a mob to some extent.”

**ED2** “Facebook and Google are putting similar pressure on diaspora press.”

**ED2** “I don't think that affects us as much because we are in a niche market in that respect.”

**ED3** “The only advantage to Diaspora is that you have core clients, like Aer Lingus and Guinness and that, which really have to use you to reach their core community. So, we've done OK. But you're right. I mean it's something I often say to people, if Rupert Murdoch or New York Times dies, nobody seems to be able to solve this issue. So what hope do we have in terms of monetizing content. It's difficult.”

**ED4** “We have rarely used social media in the past, but that may change as we have just opened a Facebook page/Twitter account. We haven't had a policy of using social media platforms as such, but of course, we are all attached to various apps and blogs etc. as individuals.”

**ED4** “We operate on the smell of an oil rag and have no income whatsoever!”

**ED5** “We come up quite often in searches which is how some people find it. But we're excited about the idea of using Facebook for the drop, you know to advertise our, at the moment we will just move from monthly drop to a two monthly one, and it was partly response to Liz needing no need to step back. Have you seen it? It looks like a magazine page. But it has been vastly better for us to be online.” NK: “And does that help with getting more advertising and support with that? As in is it part of the way you fund it?” ED5: “Look when we've had notices up. Maybe it's because we're not very good at doing this, but we would like advertisers. But we tend to do a fair bit of advertising for things informally anyway by putting up notices and stuff. At this point we don't charge for it but we probably should. But it kind of organisations that are advertising with us are struggling ones anyway, so we feel a bit awkward about doing that. we had someone employed to go in and hussell up advertising but it a lot of it was pretty shaky, not getting you a lot of revenue. It is pretty shaky the sense.”

**ED5** “And it didn't stop the magazine from having to find other forms of dissemination. So, the answer is that possibly we're incompetent in doing that kind of the stuff. We're confident writing articles that we don't necessarily so confident doing the all the managerial stuff. But maybe the younger generation will have better street savvy and be able to go out and do that.”

## **Government Funding**

**ED1** “Responding to a question regarding whether they would use this fund “No, even remotely. Especially given the quality and calibre of some of the diaspora ministers. And the fact you'd have to be beholden. And given the experience of some of the media in Ireland with the government Communications unit, to actually just stick advertorial in, it would take away. We are small, but we are independent. And we can tell the Irish government what to do with themselves, similarly, we can be supportive. But the idea of a fund for diaspora media is just an eye-catching gimmick.”

**ED1** “If they really wanted to address idea of the diaspora they should look that they have done nothing about the extension of the right to overseas. they have done nothing about that. You could address that. It is not even that it is very complicated.”

**ED2** “Oh yeah. So, you know we write an editorial, on that. But there is this is an issue for us. People don't have a vote in this referendum or have any votes in Ireland. That has been a for a big story for us. If you can imagine the profound, significant change for us if all of a sudden ourselves, or if the Irish could vote here, even limited voting rights. Something like the presidential election which you know you would be significant, there would be campaign meetings and arguments going on and the government would have to take out ads. Telling people how you go about casting your vote here. So, it might seem cold-blooded, but it would be terrific for us. And there is a proposal for a referendum on voting rights, of course, the sticking point was always the North because you are giving voting right to people in Northern Ireland.”

**ED2** “NK: So, I've got one question left which is about the Irish diaspora media fund? ED2: “Yes, I remember it. It was never properly explained. I give out to the Irish diplomats. Saying -Jesus if we were a Swedish newspaper you'd be giving us money because you know that we perform a function and are valuable, just simply by our existence. NK: “The rules were limited to applicants in Ireland, and only Irish publication in Ireland” ED2: “Well that's not very diaspora.”

**ED3** “As for getting money from the Irish government the way we would get that. Let's say we do a conference on Brexit. The Irish Government come in behind, bring speakers, or pay for a hotel. It wouldn't be like here's your money.”

**ED4** “The Irish Government seems to be developing a policy of inclusion for the Irish diaspora so yes I do think the national government should financially support the diaspora media and also offer support in other areas - integrated information about other Australian-Irish sources for example. Such support would have assure independence of course!”

**ED5** “No support whatever. We value that independence, but I am just saying that this has been a change of policy or a change of Direction and we don't know what it means for us

into the future, will just see But for us that's a bit of an opportunity because we don't take money from anybody it means that we were free to go our sweet way., We really only worry about the law, you know, whether we are doing things within the defamation and slander laws. It's good because nobody knows where we are coming from, we can do protest stuff or anti-church stuff, we can be critical of the government is another woman.”

## **Digitisation**

**ED1** “And we haven't chucked all our resources at the website. But you have to do that because of Google and Facebook are there. But from experience as well, things like Facebook - if they see what they perceive you to be advertising they will start to throttle you down in terms of...it is loaded that they are to a large extent killing local media.”

**ED2** “We can also just load up the story online and just leave it there on the web anyway. So that gives us extra leeway in terms of if there's an overflow. People are saying you didn't your story. But we say hey, it's online. Because we're doing both.”

**ED2** “Usually that means you have Tracy down the end of the office here. We have Facebook and Twitter and all that stuff, but we leave that up to her. Look at me. I'm old school in that sense. I started in the press. Have you seen the movie The Post?”

**ED2** “We were much smaller, the smaller the organisation the easier the transition. We went through started in the 1990s I think it started in the late 1990s. So, you know I mean we're we're up to speed on this. The reason so few people working here. There were as many as 23 people going back. Are in the company. My daughter down there and this whole thing, ■■■ is here. People come and go. But it's changed. Technology has both caused it and allowed it to function.”

**ED5** “Because it's online...we are way too slow.”

**ED5** “By finding content through Google searches and subscribing for the drop. And we get an extraordinary hit rate, you know we were print publication, quite a nice publication actually, very handsome, and went very to let it go. But I reach has improved a lot, I don't pay a lot of attention to the states, but I think somebody said that we get 800 clicks a day, which is vastly more than a circulation of maybe 300 when we're in print.”

## **Other Discussions**

**ED2** “This is one of the big changes that has taking place in a sense that you have to reach out and pull people back in. We are not just the purveyor of news and opinion anymore of we are active in acknowledging the community and the efforts of people and what do.

**ED3** “Because there needs to be a huge pressing issue. For Israel it's their survival. With Ireland despite what people say there is a folk memory of the Famine here. History started as famine here. Yeah. So, it's a radical history and people keep radicalized. And so, you know comparing the different ethnic groups in America.”

**ED3** “So, the whole country was suffused with Irish. And you knew you knew what they were thinking. They thinking we got fuck out of our own country by the British and so it was a very deep and they passed it on. That still fractured Irish America come up with that.”

**ED3** “This is a one big day and all they wanted them to do was pay homage to the cardinal and their Catholic heritage. It's a Catholic thing wasn't an Irish thing. And there's a difference a profound difference. And people in Ireland miss that completely. It was about Catholicism, no everybody in the Irish market liked it.”

**ED2** “NK: And you host and organise them [awards]? ED2: Yes, and they are here. with some support from the parent company, as well. But we host several events.”

**ED1** “We have brought our pagination down for summer because a lot of our readers go away for 2 weeks, 3 weeks. So, can go back up in pagination in September.”

**ED1** “We are a small title with limited resources, but we do take it [ethics] seriously”

**ED3** “I think in fairness there is no First Amendment which is ‘God-given’ to us here.”

**ED3** “Well we have done so that the Newspapers in arms couldn't publish. OK one huge story. And which in many ways made a profound difference. Which paper in Ireland couldn't publish but we did. So, it is possible. There is a little bit of that.

## **Generation Emigration**

### **News gathering**

“We have built up a network over the past year of close to 35,000 people living overseas who have offered to contribute. So that database it's broken down to provide information for us. And when they join up to join the network, they tick box if they're interested in contributing if something happens in your area. And they provide some very basic information about themselves such as their occupation, where they are living, when they moved and the year of birth. So, we have that basic information about themselves or something happens if tougher is a natural disaster in Texas and we can say 'tell us being on the ground right'. It is a really good resource for tracing in breaking news situations.”

“We are really guided by the readers, so if they are contacting us, they see themselves as Irish abroad. Because the publication they are proposing to write for is about the Irish abroad.”

“Other than that, we are guided by events that might be happening in Epic for example. We've done a couple of pieces in collaboration with them recently. They've had people like a historian in talking about music.”

“I think that was kind of guided by whatever you are interested to see. So, if you would publish an article that kind of had that homesick, quite stereotypical view of missing Ireland and the viewpoints that would come out on social media. It started to shift about three years

ago and ... that's an interesting question I have not thought about it before or conscious of. I'll come back to you.”

“Consciously, I suppose because we are guided so much by our reader interest in that, as I was saying is it's 90% for content will be written by the readers themselves, and they set the agenda when it comes to what they want to write about. And we are guided by that. In terms of how Irish identity is represented, I have never thought about it from a distance before. It is not something that we would constantly tried to control. “

“The biggest challenge is not having that commissioning budget and so not having the ability to go to people on the ground we can go to in terms of professional journalists.”

### **Distribution**

“Facebook a lot more so than Twitter actually. We have a much larger following on Facebook. Probably because of the demographics and the tools. So, Facebook allow you to geo-target your posts as well. So, we use that. So, if there is a story that we think will be of particular interest if it is about the Irish in Australia or whatever then we can geo-target that. Also, when we are doing call outs to our readers, we would use geo-targeting a lot of that on Facebook. You can see the spike instantly when you put it on Facebook, instantly. It is a really significant traffic driver for us.”

“It is vital I think. Probably even more so before we had built up that strong database ourselves, and that we could communicate with our readers. When the Irish went overseas, even since 2011 things have changed so much since then. Facebook was always a strong traffic driver for us or was a way to reach out to a community that might necessarily be traditional Irish Times readers.”

### **Topics**

“We have been working with EPIC recently, but we don't have anything formal, as yet. St Patricks festival is the media partner of the Irish Times overall, so we have done with a lot of work on the international dimension to the St Patricks festival, other than that no.”

“Our main target audience is those people living overseas. We have a lot of traffic from overseas than we would domestically, I am not sure what the latest figures are, but I think it's 60:40 for the section. And it is the reverse for the website, about or 65:35 for the website overall. That's 65[%] domestic compared to 35[%] overseas, but it's 45% and 65% of the audience. As I was saying, the return stories are popular among the domestic audiences.”

“The tone of the articles was different, and the topics were different. But as I was saying, things have changed. a lot for people who are living overseas. They are they are staying... if not long term they are happy overseas, they have better opportunities to come back and made the decision to made to stay.”

“A lot of people looking towards home, so any articles we put up about a return to Ireland over the last 18 months just shot up in terms of traffic. There is huge interest in anything about, moving home, anything that anybody who had done it already is interested to read about other people's experiences.”

## **Resources**

“That we submitted an application to the Google News Initiative and we got funding to expand the project under that. So, up to that I had been I have been working on it part-time by myself, and there weren't any other resources for marketing or editorial or anything. It was just me. So we got funding for two years under that project, we have a part-time marketing person now and a small marketing budget. We had a tech element, so money was allocated to expand the network or the database that I was talking about it. we are also working on a voting project, which will be able to give the Irish overseas a virtual vote in elections, so we are going to be using that for the first time in May.”

“We do have a marketing budget.”

“So, we are almost 18 months into the Google DNI funding, and for the last six months, we're focusing on driving subscriptions using the network we have built up and the community we have built around the section.”

“The idea is now that we have a very strong relationship with our readers, they're feeding, and we're providing them with quite an exclusive serve in that we are the only Irish media organisation based in Ireland that has a section for the Irish overseas. So, we think we have a strong proposition to offer people who might be willing to pay for subscriptions.”

## **Government Funding**

“We can't commission, and we don't have the money to send journalists overseas from here. because each one of these trips was 3-5 grand.”

“You get a lot more confident and generally get positive stories or something to gripe about, you are not getting them on the ground everyday Irish people doing things, or those in difficult situations doing interesting things or getting those stories unless you can send a journalist to dig them out.

So that is why I think another similar fund with a better information campaign or whatever is needed. Because I am sure that if other papers were more aware of it, journalists would be hopping up and down to apply. The Simon Caruthers Media fund, it was modelled on that but that just seemed to be much better. “