

---

**Esteban Zunino**

estebanzunino@hotmail.com  
Researcher and Professor.  
National University of Quilmes.  
Argentina.

---

**Submitted**

January 28, 2016

**Approved**

May 12, 2016

---

© 2016

**Communication & Society**

ISSN 0214-0039

E ISSN 2386-7876

doi: 10.15581/003.29.4.235-253

www.communication-society.com

---

2016 – Vol. 29(4)

pp. 235-253

---

**How to cite this article:**

Zunino, E. (2016). The assessment of political news in the media agenda: a methodological proposal for more extensive content analysis. *Communication & Society* 29(4), 235-253.

## The assessment of political news in the media agenda: a methodological proposal for more extensive content analysis

**Abstract**

Evaluating the tone of assessment of the news has been a frequent concern for different theoretical perspectives in the field of political communication. Among these perspectives, Agenda Setting theory has emphasized addressing the climate of political news analysis in investigations within and outside of election contexts. However, in most of these studies, they continue to repeat “positive”, “neutral” and “negative” as categories that process an evaluative tone, as if these adjectives were well defined. This investigation proposes a general objective of creating a more useful and expansive Assessment index that is composed of various complementary variables: the assessment of the main event/occasions/activities of the news story, the assessment of the actors and the evaluation of the role of the State referred to in each article. As an example, this study employs a quantitative analysis of the journalistic content published by daily Argentine newspapers *Clarín*, *La Nación*, and *Página/12* on the 2008 conflict between President Cristina Fernández’ government and the major agricultural corporations in the country, following the Executive decision that hoped to raise export taxes on principal raw materials produced by this sector. The application of these methodological tools along with the descriptive corpus results in showing a predominately overall negative tone of assessment. However, a disaggregated analysis of the behavior of each of the index variables allows a glimpse toward how a different evaluation of the events, the actors and the public policies in each newspaper can demonstrate their editorial stances.

**Keywords**

Valence, agenda setting, assessment index, news, politics

### 1. Introduction

Evaluating the tone of assessment exercised within the media on different issues where gaps of information are present has been addressed by various theoretical perspectives from fields of research

concerning political communication. With over 400 empirical investigations completed around the world (Aruguete, 2015), Agenda Setting theory constitutes one of the principle theoretical frameworks that addresses these types of analytical studies.

According to the principles of Agenda Setting, the mass media has the ability to establish the issues that are important for public opinion through two main mechanisms. First, it gives prominence to the news with repetition and disposition of the news story. Second, the inclusion of certain affective components associated with the themes and the participants influences the perception of the audience and enhances the visibility of the situations in the journalistic pieces (Ghanem, 1997; Kioussis, 2004).

The present study aims to develop an Assessment Index that, by combining contributions from Agenda Setting and Assessment theories (Martin & White, 2007; Martin, 2000), creates the possibility of linking multiple variables in order to establish the evaluative tone of the news. This paper utilizes, as an example, the media coverage of the confrontation between the Argentine government and that country's main agricultural corporations in 2008.

The justification for this proposal is that the valence used for these categories is usually positive, neutral and negative; even though, in most cases, these categories are not completely defined. In addition, the assessment of a single general value of the media output, regardless of their different components, complicates the disposition and degrades the analysis because the different values of the same news are not detailed.

## **2. Case study**

Resolution No. 125/08, announced on March 11, 2008 by the Argentine executive branch, set a new schema for tax retentions on the exportation of some raw materials. This policy, whose objective was to decouple the prices of the domestic from those of the international markets, implied an increase in taxes to be paid to the State by the agricultural sector for the sale of soybean and sunflower abroad, the core agricultural trade of Argentina. At the same time, it sought to apply a dynamic scheme where these taxes evolved dependently on the price of the grain on the international market.

This initiative generated an immediate negative reaction from the Argentina Rural Society (SRA), the Argentine Agrarian Federation (FAA), Argentine Rural Confederations (CRA) and the Interco-operative and Co-operative Agricultural Confederation Incorporated (CONINAGRO), which, affecting their profits, converged into a body calling itself the Liaison Committee. From the moment of the announcement, the most powerful agricultural corporations in the country promptly protested the measure by blocking roads, and making cuts in the marketing and storage of grains. The government, then, amended Resolution No. 125/08 after arduous negotiations but could not reach any significant agreement. The pressure exerted by the Liaison Committee was so strong that the rule was brought to the National Congress for consideration. This was followed by the resolution being repealed by the National Senate on July 17, 2008 after an approval was found in a closed session in the Chamber of Deputies. In this way, the agrarian conflict of 2008 which had the country captivated for 128 days became the most important confrontation between agricultural corporations and the national government in the history of Argentina.

## **3. Theoretical framework**

### **3.1. *The media agenda and evaluating the news***

Agenda Setting theory has evolved since the end of the 1960's as part of the field of mass communication research, mainly in the United States and in some European countries. This theory can be seen as having two central tenets. On the one hand, there are causal and

cumulative cognitive effects on the audiences in the medium and long term of the mass media exposure. On the other hand, public opinion is malleable to the effects of media messages (McCombs, 2005).

Based on research by various authors (Cohen, 1993; Lippmann, 1922), McCombs and Shaw (1972) conducted an investigation into the context of the 1968 presidential election in the United States to verify whether there was a correlation between the emphases by the media on a certain topic and those considered the most important by public opinion.

The initial hypothesis of the *Agenda Setting* theory, corroborated in this study, was that the media have the ability to establish which issues are perceived as important by the population by selecting and emphasizing certain topics and ignoring others. In this way, the relevance of the news is determined hierarchically by the frequency of publication on an event since the greater number of reports on a subject as well as within the spatial arrangement that gives them visibility are influential on public perception.

The progress of this type of investigation has led to the exploration of new fields, creating a second level of Agenda Setting. This type of research proposes that the media has the ability to select certain views of the issues or the attributes. With these, they build a representation of reality that further influences the perception of the audience (McCombs, 2006). Thusly, public opinion considers one perspective over others, finding certain factors that are the cause of an issue, rejecting others and leaning toward a preferred solution regarding a question or problem.

This second level of Agenda Setting comprises the tone of assessment or the valence; which is also to say, the deployment of the affective components that contextualize and connect the activities/actors/events within the journalistic pieces (Kioussis, 2004) to either positive or negative emotional weights presented by the news (Muñiz, Ramirez, Murgan, & Castillo, 2009). Therefore, both in the seminal work of Agenda Setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), as well as in first and second level synthesis of analysis (López Escobar, McCombs, & Rey Lennon, 1996), these categories are limited and not usually well defined.

Some other investigations have demonstrated that if news articles do define the categorical systems of valence, they are not done completely, or done ambiguously, or perhaps restricted due to the specific cases analyzed. For example, Nelson, Lechler, Schuck and Vreese (2012) suggest that there are ideas that are widely admired as socially positive values like freedom, equality and humanitarianism. Others like frustration, sadness, hopelessness or threats are indicative of a negative assessment. In addition, conflict is usually valued as negative in media coverage (Auh, 1977). Other authors who have worked with the assessment of the news propose that this type of evaluation depends on whether the events were described favorably or unfavorably to the population (Aruguete, 2011; Kim, Scheufele & Shanahan, 2002).

Studies examining specific issues such as the progress of the economy, define valence according to each *issue* and not in general terms. Sheaffer (2007) considers that the tone is usually negative when the economy is presented as declining and positive when the emphasis is on improvement or growth. Meanwhile, a neutral tone is calculated when ambiguous values were presented in the same piece.

Casermeyro de Pereson (2004) studied political leaders based on previous research (López Escobar et al., 1996; McCombs, López Escobar & Llamas, 2000) and identified values such as honesty, reliability, intelligence and kindness as positive for evaluating the candidates of the 2004 elections in Argentina. Instead, when the media publish associated values such as dishonesty, lack of intelligence, kindness or reliability explicitly, a negative evaluation was found.

Finally, a neutral valence – or undefined – was calculated when affective elements were not sufficiently specific in journalistic reporting when the values were not identified as

either positive or negative and were left balanced within the context of the piece. (Casermeiro de Pereson, 2004).

In this paper, after preserving the systematization and reliability of categorization, the divisions of positive, negative and undefined are laid out and described in detail. The prevalence of scarce and limited definitions within the intellectual frameworks of Agenda Setting and Appraisal theory present a challenge for the theoretical articulation of the news. This paper gives a perspective into how these present values are analyzed in the social discourse in order to put forward more comprehensive and mutually exclusive definitions of the categorical components of the system that assesses news articles.

### **3.2. Appraisal theory**

Appraisal theory is a perspective that can contribute to the creation of categories that deal with the tone of assessment (Martin, 1997; Martin & White, 2007; White, 2000). Developed primarily by James Martin and Peter White, this theoretical perspective is an adaptation of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) studied by Michael Halliday (1994).

Appraisal theory is concerned with analyzing the linguistic resources of the texts that are deployed and used to express, negotiate and naturalize particular ideological positions. This is based on dimensional features of semantic discourse and aims to analyze different types of texts. The main objective of this theory is to establish the way in which languages are articulated in building social roles and influencing beliefs, attitudes and expectations (Oteiza, 2009, 2010). According to Appraisal theory, there are three sub-types or semantic domains that compose channels of assessment within the environment of the semantic discourse.

#### *3.2.1. Attitude Subsystem*

This subsystem shows how attributes concerning the players or processes are assessed in conjunction with emotional responses or within culturally determined values. This, in turn, is divided into three subsystems:

*a) Affect:* This includes three types of emotional responses by which the individual reacts to the phenomena. Dichotomies are grouped into ‘happiness-unhappiness’; ‘security-insecurity’ and ‘satisfaction or dissatisfaction’. The (un)happiness variable includes related emotions of sadness, hatred, happiness and love. The (in)security includes emotions related with wellbeing like anxiety, fear, confidence and justice. Lastly, the (dis)satisfaction variable covers associated sentiments of pleasure, displeasure, curiosity and respect (Martin & White, 2007).

*b) Judgment:* “comprises meanings that evaluate human behavior positively or negatively in relation to a set of institutionalized rules. Thus, judgment is involved when the speaker evaluates a human participant in relation to their acts or dispositions” (White, 2007: 7). At this level, evaluations come into play that take the form of rules and regulations. Therefore, the behaviors of the actors are evaluated in terms of dichotomies like ‘moral-immoral’, ‘legal-illegal’, ‘socially acceptable-unacceptable’, ‘commendable-deplorable’ and ‘normal-abnormal’ (White, 2000).

*c) Appreciation:* “relates to the assessment that we attach to things or natural phenomena” (Oteiza, 2009: 225). The assessment typically evaluates natural objects, goods, text and more abstract constructions like plans and policies (White, 2000). Human beings, if they are considered as entities or things, can also be evaluated by this system.

Appreciation may put a focus on attributes such as harmony, symmetry, balance, or if something seems twisted. Regarding the aesthetic reaction that the object causes, the assessment may fall on aesthetic adjectives like attractive, striking, captivating, boring, monotonous, beautiful, charming and their opposites.

### 3.2.2. Graduation subsystem

The graduation subsystem refers to the featured dimension of attitudes: its graduation. This is to say that if the assessments can be made based on dichotomies whose axis of articulation is represented by a positive-negative duality, a scale of attitudes exists that moves between these two poles (Martin & White, 2007). This type of affirmation allows for a consideration of the pieces that do not function within the positive-negative dichotomy but from intervals and scales.

### 3.2.3. Engagement subsystem

The engagement subsystem analyzes “the linguistic resources which express the intersubjective position of the proposals and the propositions of a text” (White, 2000: 11). It takes into special account the “the source(s) of the attitudes or people who do the evaluation” because “this aspect takes the origin of the evaluation into consideration” (Oteiza, 2009: 225).

**Table 1.** General scheme of the appraisal theory

<b>Appraisal</b>	<b>Attitude</b>	<b>Affect:</b> Un/Happiness, In/Security, Dis/Satisfaction.
		<b>Judgment:</b> Esteem and Social Sanction
		<b>Appreciation:</b> Reaction, Composition and Social Assessment.
	<b>Graduation</b>	<b>Force:</b> High or low.
		<b>Focus:</b> Sharp or precise.
	<b>Engagement</b>	<b>Monoglossia:</b> No alternative positions are recognized.
<b>Heteroglossia:</b> Alternative positions are recognized.		

Source: Oteiza (2009)

Assessment theory shares a concern for determining the emotional charge of a text along with the work of Agenda Setting. Both recognize that although it is relatively simple to establish assessment in those discourses that make it explicitly, there are other contexts where these attributes form the latent part of the content of the message (Krippendorff, 1990; White, 2003).

This study aims to integrate processes that have been used in several Agenda Setting studies with some concepts that are held within Appraisal theory. Specifically, this paper proposes to disaggregate valence from three dimensions that are oriented mainly toward creating the attitude subsystem: 1) the assessment of the main event of the newspaper pieces (affect); 2) the assessment of the key actors in the news (judgment); and 3) the assessment of the role of the State or public authority (identified from their policies and actions) within the framework of the matter presented (appreciation).

In this way, the graduation subsystem hypothesizes about the convenience of establishing a measurement tool from intervals rather than dichotomies, so as to propose an index constituted by a seven-point scale, ranging from very positive to very negative.

#### **4. Objectives and hypothesis**

The general objective of this paper is to build an Assessment Index of political and/or economic printed media that create associations using different affective elements within the journalistic articles.

Established from an exhaustive categorization of valence, this conceptual framework was created from a mix of conceptual contributions from Appraisal theory and *Agenda Setting* theory. These specific terms aim to: 1) establish how main topics were assessed during the coverage of the the conflict with agricultural producers in Argentina in 2008; 2) determine what was assessed in each of the newspapers that wrote about the principal participants in the news; and 3) get a glimpse of how the tone of assessment is created by the media which evaluated the public policies that were proposed by the Executive Power during the 128 days of conflict.

These publications serve as a background for this investigation. It can be seen that the Clarín newspaper contributed a predominantly negative valence throughout the case study. It was found that the players within this story were represented dichotomously: the people associated with the National Government received a negative assessment, and the agricultural sector received a predominantly undefined evaluative character (Zunino & Aruguete, 2012; Zunino, 2010).

It is interesting to note that other studies about this situation have focused on different theoretical perspectives (Cremonte, 2010; Rinesi, 2010) that warn about the existence of oppositional and polarized stances between, on the one hand, Clarín and La Nación, and Página/12, on the other. While the first group of newspapers confronted the National government in their coverage of the events, Página/12 tended to show editorial positions consistent with those of the Executive Branch.

As to sum up the objectives of this research and the findings which have been outlined, this paper develops the following hypotheses:

**RH1:** the central facts of the conflict over the implementation of Resolution No. 125/08 received a predominantly negative valence that varied depending on the editorial stances of the newspapers.

**RH2:** the assessment of the actors in the events was predominantly undefined concerning the participants from the agricultural sector and negative with respect to the government.

**RH3:** The assessment of the public policies fell into a dichotomy, presenting the government measures in a negative manner in Clarín and La Nación and mostly positive in *Página/12*.

Finally, this paper proposes a hypothesis that will demonstrate and validate the formulation of an Assessment Index.

**RH4:** the measurements used in the assessment of the main events, its main actors and the role of the state in a journalistic article are outlined in this investigation and are shown to be susceptible to the articulation as a theoretical-methodological tool consistent with estimating the tone of assessment of the media in relation to political and economic issues.

#### **5. Methodology**

The methodological strategy employed consists of an analysis of all the content published by the Argentine newspapers *Clarín*, *La Nación*, and *Página/12* about Resolution No. 125/08 between March 11, 2008, the day it was announced, until July 17 of the same year, the date where the resolution was repealed by the National Congress.

Following this objective, all newspaper articles were collected and identified as covering the conflict with the agricultural sector in 2008. This concluded with an accumulation of 6,266 newspaper articles. These were from the printed editions of the three newspapers published during the period under study (2322 were published by *La Nación*, 2,157 were published by *Clarín*, and 1,787 by *Página/12*). Due to the large amount of content, a simple random sample from the total population of newspaper articles was decided on. A sample of 363 articles was chosen in order to correlate with a prefixed confidence level of 95% and with a margin of error of 5%, acceptable for this type of investigation (Aruguete, 2011).

These newspapers constitute the contextual units of this investigation. *Clarín* is the largest daily newspaper in the country and one of the two most popular morning newspapers together with *La Nación* (Martini & Lucchesi, 2004). However, it is interesting to note that the group that owns these two newspapers have investments in the Expo Agro (the most important player in the rural sector), so that this sliding tax policy would have affected their interests directly (Becerra & Lopez, 2009).

The position taken by *Página/12* is important at the national level because it takes a different position from *Clarín* and *La Nación*. Even though this daily paper does not have the same impact as the other papers in terms of creating the principal concerns of public opinion, it is considered as having a medium impact on the formation of opinion (Amado, 2007).

### 5.1. *The codebook: definitions of the conceptual categories influenced by Agenda Setting and Assessment theories*

First, the central focus of the article and its tone of assessment are calculated using the following values:

#### *General evaluation of the central actions:*

- *1= Positive:* the news article demonstrates positive values concerning the emotional tone of the central topic within the dichotomies of un/happiness: love and happiness; dis/satisfaction: pleasure and respect and in/security: trust and justice (Martin & White, 2007). In this way, the manner in which the media is analyzed uses these values in reference to the general population or the common good. For example, a piece is considered positive when the actions are presented as just, based on respect for the rule of norm and relate to the wellbeing that is associated with the common good.
- *2= Negative:* the news article demonstrates negative values concerning the emotional tone of the central topic within the dichotomies of un/happiness: sadness, frustration, hatred; dis/satisfaction: displeasure, lack of respect and in/security: distrust, injustice (Martin & White, 2007). In this way, the manner in which the media uses these values is analyzed in reference to the general population and/or the common good.
- *3= Indefinite:* the news article does not demonstrate a predominant value concerning the emotional tone of the central topic. Also, this value is used when there is an ambivalent stance concerning the content, where the positive and negative characteristics are equivalent (Casermeiro de Pereson, 2004: 280).

Next, the top five actors that are mentioned and identified in each piece along with their associated elements are analyzed according to the assessments given under the following definitions:

*Assessment of the actors:*

The behavior of the actors is evaluated as either: moral-immoral, legal-illegal, socially acceptable-inacceptable, admirable-deplorable and normal-abnormal (White, 2000).

In the following ways, the five most important actors are codified in the article:

- *1=Positive assessment:* the behavior of an actor is evaluated positively when their moral traits are highlighted, when their behavior does not infringe upon rules or social norms, when their actions are socially acceptable and when their behavior is framed within the expected or normal; or, inclusive of when their actions are mentioned as laudable. In addition, this category is tabulated when the actor is considered as generating benefits for the population and/or the common good.
- *2= Negative assessment:* the behavior of an actor is evaluated negatively when their immoral traits are highlighted, when the focus is put on the infringement of rules and social norms, when their actions are considered socially unacceptable or conflictive and when their behavior is framed as abnormal or unexpected; or is directly qualified as deplorable. In addition, this category is codified when the actor is found guilty of injury to the population and/or the common good.
- *3= Undefined assessment:* this category is tabulated when the behaviors of the actors are not assessed explicitly or when the positive and negative aspects are balanced.

Finally, the assessment of the public policy that was presented in the news story is analyzed (when it was found).

*Public Policy Assessment*

- *1= Positive:* the policy is assessed in a positive way when its moral conveniences are highlighted, when it does not infringe upon rules and when it abides by social norms, when its effects are socially acceptable and when its consequences are framed within the expected or as convenient for the population and/or the common good.
- *2= Negative:* the policy is assessed in a negative way when its moral inconveniences are highlighted, when it infringes upon previous rules and when it does not abide with social norms, when its effects are not socially acceptable and when its consequences are framed within the unexpected or inconvenient for the population and/or the common good.
- *3= Undefined:* this category is codified when the public policy is not explicitly assessed or when the positive and negative aspects are balanced.

**5.2. Procedure: assessment index**

The assessment index proposed in this study intends to establish the total valence of each news article from the following procedure:

First, the assessment of the principle topic is determined by calculating if a positive point is added, if a negative point is subtracted and if no value is assigned for those found undefined.

Second, an average of the assessment is established from the five principle actors of the story. To do so, one point is added for each positive assessment, one is subtracted for each negative assessment and no unit is assigned if it is undefined. This sum is then divided by five for the five actors. If the result is positive, one point is added. If the result is negative, one point is taken away. If it is equal to zero, no point is given or taken away.

Finally, the value of the political policy assessment is established from the article. One point is given if it is positive, one is taken away if it is negative. Being undefined or having no explicit value, no additional unit is given.



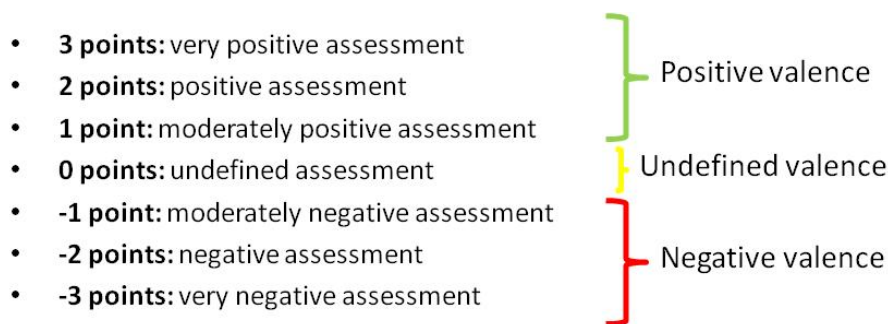
**Table 2.** Assessment index

	Assessment of the actions	Assessment of the actors' behavior	Assessment of the policy
<b>Positive</b>	+ 1 POINT	+ 1 POINT	+ 1 POINT
<b>Undefined</b>	0 POINTS	0 POINTS	0 POINTS
<b>Negative</b>	- 1 POINT	- 1 POINT	- 1 POINT

*Source: author's own table*

This is the way an Assessment index can be established which can fluctuate between +3 and -3 in the resulting values:

**Figure 1.** Assessment Scale



*Source: author's own figure*

This procedure allows the construction of an index that expands the classical categories of valence, -positive and negative- as the only two poles, and makes it possible to find intermediate values by incorporating recommendations from the graduation subsystem as part of the Appraisal theory. This is to say that this index does not recognize if the story is only positive or negative, but identifies the different evaluative components and links them on a scale. This proposal justifies abandoning the aforementioned dichotomy and allows a greater reflection of the deeper tensions that exist within the news coverage and even sometimes within the same story from the differential arrangements of the affective attributes and components.

### 5.3. Reliability

Statistical tests were applied in order to determine the sustainability of the proposed model. The internal consistency test based on Cronbach's alpha<sup>1</sup> estimates the reliability of an instrument through a set of items that are expected to measure the same construct or theoretical dimension. The *test* applied to the three variables<sup>2</sup> yields a coefficient  $\alpha = .799$ .

In addition, reliability tests for the fidelity of the tabulation process were performed. For this, a random sub-sample of 10% of the total sample (37 cases) was taken and a re-

<sup>1</sup> Cronbach's alpha is a model of internal consistency based on the average of the correlations between items. It varies between 0 and 1. A model is considered consistent when the results of the test are above 0.7.

<sup>2</sup> The variables were: "assessment of the events", "assessment of the actors" (applied from first to fifth in order of importance, when this many existed) and "assessment of public policies".

tabulation of all the critical variables was done. The level of average agreement is measured with the Kappa coefficient<sup>3</sup> and was  $K = .781$ .

The results show, first, that the coding process was carried out within the expected acceptable limits for the analysis of the content; and, second, applying reliable data to a sustainable model makes it possible to affirm that the tool proposed is reliable for measuring the proposed theoretical dimension.

## 6. Analysis

### 6.1. Assessment of the situation

Nine main topics attracted the attention of the media in the study. The assessment of each one of these in the three newspapers is shown in table N° 3.

**Table 3.** Tone of Assessment, according to the central event of the story. Media coverage of Resolution N° 125/08. *Clarín*, *La Nación* and *Página/12*. March 11 to July 17, 2008

Topic	Assessment	Newspaper		
		<i>Clarín</i>	<i>La Nación</i>	<i>Página/12</i>
<b>Strike and/or public demonstrations: pro-Agriculturists</b>	Positive	4,2%	12,5%	3,4%
	Negative	20,8%	16,7%	<b>82,8%</b>
	Undefined	<b>75,0%</b>	<b>70,8%</b>	13,8%
<b>Resolution N° 125/08</b>	Positive	,0%	,0%	37,5%
	Negative	<b>73,3%</b>	<b>86,4%</b>	25,0%
	Undefined	26,7%	13,6%	<b>37,5%</b>
<b>Public demonstrations: pro government</b>	Positive	,0%	,0%	12,5%
	Negative	<b>56,3%</b>	<b>66,7%</b>	,0%
	Undefined	43,8%	33,3%	<b>87,5%</b>
<b>Treatment in Congress</b>	Positive	18,8%	,0%	12,5%
	Negative	25,0%	<b>60,0%</b>	<b>62,5%</b>
	Undefined	<b>56,3%</b>	40,0%	25,0%
<b>Obstacles in the negotiation</b>	Positive	,0%	,0%	,0%
	Negative	<b>90,9%</b>	<b>83,3%</b>	<b>100,0%</b>
	Undefined	9,1%	16,7%	,0%
<b>Advances in the negotiation</b>	Positive	<b>62,5%</b>	<b>57,1%</b>	<b>50,0%</b>
	Negative	12,5%	,0%	,0%
	Undefined	25,0%	42,9%	50,0%
<b>Consequences of the Agriculturist strike</b>	Positive	10,0%	,0%	,0%
	Negative	<b>90,0%</b>	<b>80,0%</b>	<b>100,0%</b>
	Undefined	,0%	20,0%	,0%
<b>Consequences of the public policy</b>	Positive	,0%	,0%	33,3%
	Negative	<b>81,8%</b>	<b>88,9%</b>	<b>66,7%</b>
	Undefined	18,2%	11,1%	,0%
<b>The role of the media</b>	Positive	,0%	,0%	<b>33,3%</b>
	Negative	<b>100,0%</b>	<b>66,7%</b>	33,3%
	Undefined	,0%	33,3%	33,3%

Source: Author's own work.

<sup>3</sup>The Kappa coefficient measures the level of agreement between two encoders on the same variable. It is preferable to other methods because it takes the random factor into account for the final result. The indicator marks agreement when the values fluctuate between 0 and 1. An acceptable reliability is a result greater than  $K=0.7$ .

Observing the first topic in the table, “the public manifestations of the Pro-Agriculturists”, *Página/12* evaluated these events as predominantly negative (82.8%), while *Clarín* and *La Nación* avoided publishing explicit adjectives about this. Therefore, the evaluative tone results predominantly undefined in both cases (75% and 70% respectively).

Now, we can ask: what is the real meaning of the undefined assessment about the agricultural protest in the two most popular national newspapers? *Clarín* and *La Nación*, normally opponents of roadblocks, did not expressively comment about the use of strength of the agricultural corporations. However, *Página/12*, a newspaper that has historically built its support from different protest movements openly condemned the methodology used by the Liaison Committee in 2008. This objection was based on the consideration that the actions were contrary to the common good since its editorial line represents the government of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner.

What is interesting in this case is that the assessment parameters of the newspapers concerned with the demonstrations reflected the stance of the agricultural sector. The assessments made by *Clarín* and *La Nación* about the pro-government agenda was mostly negative (56.3% and 66.7%, respectively). Nonetheless, *Página/12* was the newspaper that preferred not to express an opinion and build undefined pieces concerning the agenda of the government (87.5%), and even included some positive assessments of some of the actions (12.5%).

In sum, the methods of assessment of the newspapers about the protests demonstrate an independent variable: the actors that put them into practice. The condemnation of the pro-government demonstrations was written about discursively and were associated with violence in the *Clarín* and *La Nación* newspapers. Furthermore, this de-legitimization is also based on the idea that acting in an unspontaneous manner is of negative value.

On the contrary, *Página/12* associated violence and authoritarianism as attributes associated with the agricultural agents. The conclusion in this regard is that the challenge of methods and modes of protest proved malleable within the arguments made by the newspapers. The method of the struggle was not a parameter for defining the legitimacy or the assessment of the demonstrations. Instead, the actors that put them into practice as well as their interests were decisive for the assessment sense of the determinants.

Now, if one observes the assessments of the topic concerning “Resolution N° 125/08”, the behaviors of the editors fall into contrary positions as well. While the assessment of *Clarín* and *La Nación* of the Resolution was predominately negative (73.3% and 83.4%, respectively), *Página/12* assessed this topic in a positive way, 37.5% of the time, and in an undefined manner at the same rate.

The treatment of Resolution N° 125/08<sup>4</sup> in Congress was assessed in a negative manner by *La Nación* and *Página/12* (60% and 62.5%, respectively). It is interesting to note that while the percentages were similar for how *La Nación* put forward the will of the government as a vote for the resolution without modifications negatively. There is a difference in issue for *Página/12* who qualified the declarations and protests in the different committees of the rural leaders and the opposition legislators to the official policy negatively.

*Clarín*, however, refers to the dramatic features of the events, without explicitly assessing them. This type of sensationalist short-term coverage is consistent with the characteristics of a multi-target media that tries to appeal in accordance with a reading contract (Martini, 2012).

The progress and setbacks in the negotiations led to the first coinciding point of assessment in all three newspapers. In effect, while the setbacks were considered negative in all cases, the advances also held a predominantly positive valence in the three

---

<sup>4</sup> This refers to the discussion of technical issues associated with the regulation.

newspapers. This creates a common vision about the negative assessment of the conflict. Also, the three newspapers and their editorial stances formulated the conflict as disruptive to social peace, and thusly, a situation that should be overcome through negotiations of the actors involved.

However, differences appeared in the assessment of the damages that involved the different reading populations. While all the media considered that the consequences of the agricultural strike were negative, *Página/12* attributed the negative effects of the conflict to the agricultural leaders while *La Nación* and *Clarín* attributed the negative effects to the National government. The complaints from the President over the media coverage<sup>5</sup> were evaluated negatively by *Clarín* (100%) and *La Nación* (66.7%). On the other hand, *Página/12* assessed her announcements in a positive manner (33.3%) or undefined (33.3%).

In summary, this section evaluates how the assessments of the central actions associated with Resolution N° 125/08 were substantially different according to the newspaper taken into account. Although there were higher levels of agreement between *Clarín* and *La Nación*, there was also some level of difference in the assessment of some topics. Meanwhile, the position taken by *Página/12*, in most cases, was contrary to the other two newspapers. These results sustain the precepts given in hypothesis N° 1.

## 6.2. Assessment of the actors

The second variable included within the Assessment Index evaluates the characters of the people in the news story from the standpoint of their actions. This section analyzes the mode in which the main protagonists were evaluated in each of the newspapers.

First, those integrated in the national government are analyzed according to their assessments. Looking at the results from table N° 4, an interesting observation can be made. The newspapers expressed greater and more explicit assessments of the actions and behaviors of the actors in the news coverage of Resolution N° 125/08 rather than on the actors themselves. That being said, the analysis of the differences among the newspapers becomes important when assessing the actors in a definitive way.

Relating to the principal members of the Executive Branch, many times the differences are slight; however, certain editorial positions can be inferred.

*Página/12* habitually used an undefined and positive tone to refer to government officials. For example, Cristina Fernández reached a 34% positive assessment, while her government reached 17.7% of the same. The Ministers of the Economy (Martín Lousteau, first, and Carlos Fernández, after) obtained a positive assessment 20% of the time and the rest of the members of the Executive Branch received 13.5% of the same. Meanwhile, Vice President Julio Cobos not only received no positive assessment, but was mentioned negatively half of the time<sup>6</sup>.

In *La Nación*, there was a greater negative tone of assessment concerning the officials from the Executive branch of Government. Cristina Fernández received a negative assessment 38.2% percent of the time and her government, 34.2%. The Chief of Staff, the rest of the members of the cabinet, and the Ministers of the Economy received negative assessments in 33.3%, 31.6% and 30% of the publications, respectively.

---

<sup>5</sup> On numerous occasions, President Cristina Fernández issued judgments on the media coverage by *Clarín* and *La Nación*. This topic makes reference to the way in which the newspapers assessed her announcements.

<sup>6</sup> The former Vice President and the President of the Senate were the officials who confronted their own government and subsequently pushed Congress in favor of the agricultural corporations and the repeal of Resolution N° 125/08 when the vote was a tie.

**Table 4.** Assessment of the public officials, according to the newspapers. Media coverage of Resolution N° 125/08. *Clarín*, *La Nación*, and *Página/12*. March 11 – July 17, 2008

Public Official	Assessment	Newspaper		
		<i>Clarín</i>	<i>La Nación</i>	<i>Página/12</i>
<b>President Cristina Fernández</b>	Positive	7,8%	5,5%	<b>34,0%</b>
	Negative	<b>29,4%</b>	<b>38,2%</b>	22,0%
	Undefined	60,8%	56,4%	44,0%
<b>National Government</b>	Positive	3,7%	6,9%	<b>17,7%</b>
	Negative	<b>32,1%</b>	<b>34,7%</b>	12,0%
	Undefined	64,2%	58,4%	70,3%
<b>Minister of the Economy</b>	Positive	,0%	10,0%	<b>20,0%</b>
	Negative	<b>37,5%</b>	<b>30,0%</b>	25,0%
	Undefined	62,5%	60,0%	55,0%
<b>Chief of Staff</b>	Positive	,0%	,0%	,0%
	Negative	<b>28,6%</b>	<b>33,3%</b>	<b>33,3%</b>
	Undefined	71,4%	66,7%	66,7%
<b>Vice President</b>	Positive	,0%	<b>14,3%</b>	,0%
	Negative	,0%	28,6%	<b>50,0%</b>
	Undefined	<b>100,0%</b>	<b>57,1%</b>	50,0%
<b>Other members of the National Executive Branch</b>	Positive	4,0%	5,3%	<b>13,5%</b>
	Negative	<b>36,0%</b>	<b>31,6%</b>	29,7%
	Undefined	60,0%	63,2%	56,8%

Source: Author's own work

This is an interesting result, antithetical to *Página/12*, considering that Vice President Cobos received 14.3% of positive assessments at the moment he voted against Resolution N° 125/08. The National Government was negatively assessed 32.1% of the time and the President, 29.4%. Meanwhile, the economy ministers were negatively assessed 37.5% of the time, the other members of the Cabinet, 36%, and the Chief of Staff, Alberto Fernández, 28%. Vice President Julio Cobos received an undefined assessment in 100% of these articles.

This data shows a trend: while *Página/12* demonstrated an increase in the positive assessments referring to the main actors from the national government, the tone of the assessment in *Clarín* and *La Nación* went in the opposite direction.

Now, what happened with the assessments of the agricultural opponents? As happened with the government officials, undefined assessments were also predominant concerning the agricultural stakeholders. Yet, as with the previous case, there are some data that illustrate different editorial positions taken by the newspapers concerning the topic.

The agricultural sector, when it was mentioned as an undefined collective, received more negative criticism in *Página/12* (42,3%) than in *Clarín* and *La Nación*. At the same time, instances of positive assessment were more frequent in the latter two newspapers than in *Página/12*, although it was low in the three newspapers. The Liaison Committee received the worst assessment by *Página/12* (46,7%). This newspaper did not publish any article with a positive assessment. Meanwhile, their activities were mostly assessed as undefined in *La Nación* (68,3%) and *Clarín* (64,3%), which is interesting if one takes into consideration that this was the political body that directed the roadblocks as well as promoted the cessation of the trade of grains.

**Table 5.** Assessment of the Agricultural representatives in the newspapers. Media coverage of Resolution N° 125/08. *Clarín*, *La Nación* and *Página/12*. March 11 to July 17, 2008.

Agricultural Participant	Assessment	Newspaper		
		<i>Clarín</i>	<i>La Nación</i>	<i>Página/12</i>
Agricultural Sector	Positive	5,1%	8,3%	2,6%
	Negative	32,7%	31,0%	<b>42,3%</b>
	Undefined	<b>62,2%</b>	<b>60,7%</b>	55,1%
Liaison Committee	Positive	<b>2,4%</b>	<b>7,3%</b>	0%
	Negative	33,3%	24,4%	<b>46,7%</b>
	Undefined	<b>64,3%</b>	<b>68,3%</b>	53,3%
FAA (Argentine Agrarian Federation)	Positive	,0%	<b>4,8%</b>	5,9%
	Negative	26,3%	19,0%	<b>35,3%</b>
	Undefined	<b>73,7%</b>	<b>76,2%</b>	58,8%
SRA (Argentina Rural Society)	Positive	,0%	<b>14,3%</b>	,0%
	Negative	20,0%	14,3%	<b>44,4%</b>
	Undefined	<b>80,0%</b>	71,4%	55,6%
CRA (Argentine Rural Confederations)	Positive	,0%	,0%	,0%
	Negative	20,0%	16,7%	<b>37,5%</b>
	Undefined	<b>80,0%</b>	<b>83,3%</b>	62,5%
CONINAGRO (Interco-operative and Co-operative Agricultural Confederation Incorporated)	Positive	,0%	,0%	,0%
	Negative	33,3%	,0%	<b>50,0%</b>
	Undefined	<b>66,7%</b>	,0%	50,0%
Independent Protesters	Positive	,0%	<b>10,0%</b>	,0%
	Negative	25,0%	20,0%	<b>50,0%</b>
	Undefined	<b>75,0%</b>	<b>70,0%</b>	50,0%

Source: Author's own work

If the agricultural entities were considered separately, independent protesters<sup>7</sup> received the fiercest negative assessment by *Página/12* (50%), followed by the SRA (44,4%), CRA (37,5%), and FAA (35,3%). However, the levels of disapproval for these entities were smaller in the *Clarín* and *La Nación* newspapers where an undefined tone exceeded 80%.

In summary, there are differences again that can be seen concerning the actors from the agricultural sector. While the agricultural collective, the Liaison Committee and the separate entities reached high levels of negative criticism in *Página/12*, the undefined tone apparently increased and prevailed throughout the rest of the newspapers.

By analyzing the assessments made by the different newspapers concerning the principal governmental officials as well as the opposing agricultural players demonstrates a clear tendency for specific positions regarding Resolution N° 125/08. While *Página/12* exhibited moderate levels of positive assessment in reference to their preferred actors of the government, *Clarín* and *La Nación* expressed a stronger rejection of these players, a

---

<sup>7</sup> Those called "independent protesters" were groups of small producers who protested on the streets although they did not integrally belong to traditional agricultural corporations.

situation creating a polarity in respect to the agricultural representatives and national government. These results are in line with the proposition of hypothesis N° 2.

### 6.3. *The assessment of public policies*

The last component involved in the Assessment Index proposed in this study evaluates the assessments undertaken by the different newspapers outlining the main activities of public policy in this news story.

**Table 6.** Assessment of public policies according to each newspaper. Media coverage on the Resolution N° 125/08. *Clarín*, *La Nación* and *Página/12*. March 11 to July 17, 2008.

Assessment	Newspaper		
	<i>Clarín</i>	<i>La Nación</i>	<i>Página/12</i>
<b>Positive</b>	2,3%	-	<b>41,8%</b>
<b>Negative</b>	<b>67,4%</b>	<b>70,1%</b>	9,0%
<b>Undefined</b>	30,2%	29,9%	49,3%

Source: Author's own work.

Table N° 6 allows a glimpse into how each newspaper assessed the public policies implemented by the national government. While *La Nación* and *Clarín* assessed the initiatives of the national government in a negative way (70,1% and 67,4%, respectively), the tone of assessment was predominantly undefined in *Página/12* (49,3%), with high levels of positive assessment (41,8%).

These results are consistent and complimentary with the issues raised previously and allows for some progression and reinforcement of the characterization of the coverage: while *La Nación* and *Clarín* openly rejected the policies and their implications proposed by the national government, *Página/12* defended them in their editions during the 128 days of conflict. The decision to measure the assessment of the three central components of information –the situation, the main actors and the policies– allows for the promotion of the general objective of this investigation: the creation of an Assessment Index which can establish of a greater comprehensive tone of assessment of a news story through the juxtaposition of several variables.

### 6.4. *Assessment index*

From weighing each of the components of the index, each article can be seen as forming an integral value of the news story. The procedure is as follows: first, the article is established as being positive, negative or undefined towards the relevant situation or main topic. Second, the tone of assessment can be measured from the five key players in each article. Lastly, the assessment of the political policies is done where it was explicitly described.

From these three measurements, points for each article are tallied and calculated in the following way: one point is added if the assessment of the activity is positive. When the average of the assessment is positive, an additional point is added. Finally, another point is added if the assessment of the public policy is regarded as positive. No points are added with the assessment of each of the items is undefined. When the assessments of the situation, actors and policies is negative, one point is subtracted for each item. In this way, a scale is created resulting in 3 points as the most positive assessment and -3 as the most negative.

**The assessment of political news in the media agenda:  
a methodological proposal for more extensive content analysis**

**Table 7.** The complete assessment of the coverage, according to newspaper. Assessment Index. Media coverage of Resolution N° 125/08. *Clarín*, *La Nación* and *Página/12*. March 11 to July 17, 2008.

Assessment	Newspaper			Total
	<i>Clarín</i>	<i>La Nación</i>	<i>Página/12</i>	
Very negative	17,8%	19,8%	3,9%	14,6%
Negative	23,0%	27,8%	33,3%	27,5%
Moderately negative	21,5%	20,6%	20,6%	20,9%
Undefined	30,4%	27,0%	20,6%	26,4%
Moderately positive	4,4%	2,4%	8,8%	5,0%
Positive	3,0%	2,4%	9,8%	4,7%
Very positive			2,9%	,8%

Source: Author's own work.

By applying the Assessment index, it allows for a refreshing view of the situations, the actors and the policies that the newspapers have chosen to negatively evaluate. What is evident is that a negative assessment prevails over the general coverage of Resolution N° 125/08 (27,5%) and this is seen at similar levels in the three newspapers: *Clarín* (23%), *La Nación* (27,8%) and *Página/12* (33,3%). At the same time, the articles with a moderately negative assessment reached values close to 20% in the three newspapers, while the very negative tone was similar in *Clarín* and *La Nación* (17,8% and 19,8%, respectively) and differing to a small extent in *Página/12* (3,9%).

If the negative values are taken together, the newspaper with the greatest amount of this type of article was *La Nación* (68,3%), followed by *Clarín* (62,2%) and *Página/12* (57,8%). Meanwhile, undefined assessments were similar in *Clarín* (30,4%) and *La Nación* (27%), reaching levels somewhat smaller than those in *Página/12* (20,6%).

Importantly, the greatest differences were given concerning the articles that are considered positive. *Página/12* published this type article reflecting their editorial stance (21,6%), while this assessment was lower in *Clarín* (7,4%) and *La Nación* (4,8%). Yet, we can ask, how did the media coverage differ among *La Nación*, *Clarín* and *Página/12* if the overall assessment of the articles written were predominantly negative in the three newspapers?

By analyzing in detail, one can see that the different newspapers took different positions in the assessment of the situation, the players and the policies. However, this does not claim that the levels of drama in the coverage and the ways of presenting the news were similar when tone is taken into account. In terms of bias, the newspapers were divergent. One possible explanation for this behavior falls on the necessity of presenting dramatic activities to the readers as if they were coherent within the framework of newspaper reporting, since this characteristic increases the relevance of the issues in both the agenda of the media and for the public (Kioussis, 2004).

Finally, the ability to measure the separate variables of assessment that refer to the situation, the players and the policies make it possible to establish that the high levels of negativity exhibited by the three newspapers were associated in diverging manners – and even antithetically- concerning each of these variables.

## 7. Discussion and conclusions

This investigation is specially concerned, from the case study, in the type of analysis amply developed within areas of political communication and specifically within the *Agenda Setting* theory, as well as with the tone of assessment of the news.



As was expressed, conventional investigations from the United States usually establish an overall assessment of journalistic articles into “positive”, “negative” and “neutral”, but frequently do not define these categories sufficiently.

The present paper puts forward two important proposals. The first of these, in theoretical order, consists in articulating the different components of valence proposed by *Agenda Setting* theory in conjunction with the theory of Assessment. The objective of this is to demonstrate the problems and limitations of the simple categories of “positive” and “negative”.

By leaving these values as universal and not defining them completely permits a discussion that is relative in nature and subjective in character. This is to say that the valence evident in the news is a complex product of scales of values as well as of the interests of the different players that intervene in the publication process and create a foundation or backdrop in the nature of topics and issues in the news. In this way, it becomes important to put forward a definition of categories of useful assessment in order to analyze political and/or economic news. This constitutes an attempt to analyze and objectify conceptual terms from diverse theoretical sources that, nevertheless, does not end a debate, but presents one as a contribution that is both beneficial and reliable in terms of analysis.

In addition, this investigation questions the legitimacy of classical categories of “positive” and “negative” which creates a dichotomous system that become two extremes within the positions of tension. The idea of the system of measurement presented as a scale succeeds in at least two aspects.

First, a news article represents a complete process of consideration by expressing an appraisal of the topic through a combination of variables: the assessment of the situations, the players and the political policies. A range of graduation from -3 to 3 becomes more accurate for forming and building the characteristics of the evaluation.

Second, this results in not thinking of the news as solely “positive”, “negative”, or “neutral”. An assessment begins to demonstrate its total value as a result of a complex set of tensions that play out within the topic and/or by positions on dissimilar values in direction or intensity, associated with different aspects. In this context, the points of the scale become very interesting in that each article becomes a detailed analysis of each dimension of the index, which makes the diversity of the values clear as well as making the contradictions between them apparent, even within one article. This is to say that the tool proposed makes it possible to measure the overall and total assessment of one article; and, at the same time, deepen the understanding about the type specific components within the article –the situation, players and policies– to be evaluated in a specific way. Therefore, the media coverage can be evaluated globally as well as interpreted for particular data.

In this investigation, the usefulness of this tool is found in two central aspects. First, it confirms that *Clarín*, *La Nación* and *Página/12* made overall negative and moderately negative assessments that dominated the coverage of the conflict with agricultural groups during the tension of 2008. However, secondly, the disparate and disaggregated measurements of analysis of each of the variables makes it possible to put forward a thorough interpretation by detecting substantial differences in the positions taken by the editorials of the newspapers about the situation, the players and the policies.

The decision to design a tool for the measurement of the affective components that the news coverage focuses on demonstrates inherent difficulties in the nature of the theoretical substrate evaluated. However, the efforts in abstraction, objectification and creating procedure that emerges from the conceptual framework taken from the theories of assessment and *Agenda Setting* transcend the boundaries of the perspectives that arise. The tools presented in this paper are useful and adaptable to other approaches that employ a quantitative content analysis; and, this investigation, which quantitatively demonstrates the

differences in specific characteristic of a news story, continues a path towards a deeper discussion that involves different and contrasting perspectives which should be used in future case studies.

## References

- Amado, A. (2007). *Noticias de los medios. La producción de información y los diarios argentinos en el cambio de siglo*. Buenos Aires: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Sede Argentina.
- Aruguete, N. (2011). *Los medios y la privatización de ENTel*. Berlin: Editorial Académica Española. Retrieved from: <https://www.eae-publishing.com/catalog/details/store/gb/book/978-3-8454-8187-6/los-medios-y-la-privatizaci%C3%B3n-de-entel>
- Aruguete, N. (2015). *El poder de la agenda. Política, medios y público*. Buenos Aires: Biblos.
- Auh, T. (1977). Issue Conflict and Mass Media Agenda-Setting during Bayh-Lugar Senatorial Campaign of 1974. In *Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication annual conference* (pp. 1-39). ERIC Clearinghouse.
- Barsky, O., & Gelman, J. (2009). *Historia del agro argentino. Desde la conquista hasta comienzos del siglo XXI*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana.
- Casermeyro de Pereson, A. (2004). *Los medios en las elecciones: la agenda setting en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires*. Buenos Aires: EDUCA.
- Cohen, B. (1993). *The Press and Foreign Policy*. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies / University of California.
- Cremonte, J.P. (2010). Cada cual atiende su juego. La construcción del conflicto entre el Gobierno Nacional y las entidades agropecuarias en *Clarín, La Nación y Página/12*. In R. Aronskind & G. Vommaro (Eds.), *Campos de batalla. Las rutas, los medios y las plazas en el nuevo conflicto agrario* (pp. 227-266). Buenos Aires: Prometeo / Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento.
- Ghanem, S. (1997). El segundo nivel de composición de la agenda: la opinión pública y la cobertura del crimen. *Comunicación y Sociedad* 10(1), 151-167.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1994). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). London: Edward Arnold.
- Kim, S.H., Scheufele, D.a. & Shanahan, J. (2002). Think about it This Way: Attribute Agenda-Setting Function of the Press and the public's Evaluation of a Local Issue. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 79(1), 7-25. doi:10.1177/107769900207900102
- Kiousis, S. (2004). Explicating media salience: A factor analysis of *New York Times* issue coverage during the 2000 U. S. presidential election. *Journal of Communication* 54(1), 71-87. doi:10.1093/joc/54.1.71
- Krippendorff, K. (1990). *Metodología de análisis de contenido. Teoría y práctica*. Buenos Aires: Paidós.
- Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public Opinion*. New York: Harcour, Brace and Company Inc. Retrieved from: <http://www.unz.org/Pub/LippmannWalter-1922>
- López Escobar, E., McCombs, M. & Rey Lennon, F. (1996). La imagen de los candidatos: el segundo nivel de la agenda setting. *Comunicación y Sociedad* 9(1), 39-65.
- Martin, J. (1997). Analysing Genre: Functional Parameters. In F. Christie & J. Martin (Eds.), *Genre and Institutions: Social Processes in the Work Place and School* (pp. 2-39). London: Continuum.

- Martin, J. (2000). Beyond Exchange: Appraisal Systems in English. In S. Houston & G. Thompson (Eds.), *Evaluation in Text* (pp. 142–175). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Martin, J., & White, P.R.R. (Eds.) (2007). *The Language of Evaluation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/9780230511910
- Martini, S. (2012). Opinión pública, medios masivos y control social. ¿Los bárbaros están entre nosotros? In S. Martini & M.E. Contursi (Eds.), *Comunicación pública del crimen y gestión del control social* (pp. 19–46). Buenos Aires: La Crujía.
- McCombs, M. (2005). A Look at Agenda-setting: past, present and future. *Journalism Studies* 6(4), 543–557. doi:10.1080/14616700500250438
- McCombs, M., López Escobar, E. & Llamas, J.P. (2000). Setting the Agenda of Attributes in the 1996 Spanish General Election. *Journal of Communication* 50(2), 77–92.
- McCombs, M. & Shaw, D. (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of the Mass Media. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36, 176–187.
- Muñiz, C., Ramírez, J., Murgan, A. & Castillo, J.M. (2009). Framing investment in Mexico : an exploratory content analysis of the news frames of the main Spanish companies in the Mexican press. *European Journal of International Management* 3(2), 216–231. doi:10.1504/EJIM.2009.024323
- Nelson, T.E., Lecheler, S., Schuck, A.R.T., & de Vreese, C. (2012). Framing Effects on Values, Emotions, and Attitudes. In *2012 meeting of the Western Political Science Association* (p. 34). Portland: Western Political Science Association.
- Oteiza, T. (2009). Solidaridad ideológica en el discurso de la historia: Tensión entre orientaciones monoglólicas y heteroglólicas. *Signos* 42(70), 219–244.
- Oteiza, T. (2010). Patrones valorativos en el discurso oficial de Derechos Humanos en Chile: Dando valor al pasado y construyendo memorias históricas en la sociedad. *Discurso & Sociedad* 4(1), 151–183.
- Rinesi, E. (2010). Política y corporaciones. In R. Aronskind & G. Vommaro (Eds.), *Campos de batalla. Las rutas, los medios y las plazas en el nuevo conflicto agrario* (pp. 33–54). Buenos Aires: Prometeo / Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento.
- Sheafer, T. (2007). How to Evaluate It: The Role of Story-Evaluative Tone in Agenda Setting and Priming. *Journal of Communication* 57(1), 21–39. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00327.x
- Sidicaro, R. (1993). *La política mirada desde arriba*. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana.
- White, P.R.R. (2000). *Un recorrido por la teoría de la valoración*. University of Birmingham.
- White, P.R.R. (2003). Beyond modality and hedging: A dialogic view of the language of intersubjective stance. *Text* 23(2), 259–284. doi:10.1515/text.2003.011
- Zunino, E. (2010). La Representación mediática del conflicto político: un estudio sobre la cobertura informativa del enfrentamiento entre “gobierno y campo” en 2008. *Em Questao* 17(1), 91–107.
- Zunino, E. & Aruguete, N. (2012). La responsabilidad de los actores en las coberturas mediáticas de conflictos. Un estudio de caso de la realidad argentina. *Intersecciones En Comunicación* 6(1), 89–112.