

**Women War Correspondents:  
Three Generations on the Frontlines or the Sidelines?**

A content analysis of the newspaper coverage written by leading American women correspondents in Vietnam, the Persian Gulf, and Iraq wars

by  
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## **Abstract**

Using detailed case studies of newspaper articles written during the Vietnam, Persian Gulf, and Iraq wars this study provides a content analysis of the work of three generations of women war correspondents to identify any links, similarities or differences that can be found in their coverage. Specifically, the primary aspect of coverage, news frames and use of sources are examined. The complex relationship between the American military and media and the gendered nature of the journalism profession are also considered in an effort to understand how the professional experiences of these women could have influenced the coverage they produced. Overall, this thesis aims to generate further dialogue, within the field of academic media history, about the contributions and experiences of female war correspondents over the years.

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## ***Introduction***

Today, media consumers have come to expect real-time war coverage, delivered to them as it happens, thanks to extensive advances in print, broadcast and multi-media on the Internet. While the technology that makes it all possible is relatively new, the audiences' desire to know is not. Indeed, they have clamored for updates and information on the wars and conflicts which have raged around the globe. Recognizing this demand for news of the 'theatre of war', and their competition's willingness to meet that demand, journalists have risked their lives to report stories from international battlefields. While the stories that they tell, and the images that they capture, have played a pivotal part in the history of journalism, the work of war correspondents, particularly the women, is seldom adequately acknowledged within that history.

It is because of this obvious gender gap in the history of war reporting that this project centers around research questions focused on women's experiences reporting war. Specifically, this thesis asks how do women war correspondents cover war and what factors could account for, or contribute to, similarities or differences in the print coverage provided by three generations of female correspondents?

In order to answer these questions this project examines the coverage produced by six accomplished American women reporters, each reporting for a large to mid-sized American daily newspaper during the Vietnam, Persian Gulf or 2003 Iraq wars, to assess the kinds of coverage they provided and evaluate the impact their work could have on a larger academic media history of women

war correspondents. The work of Elizabeth Pond of *The Christian Science Monitor*, Gloria Emerson of *The New York Times*, , Molly Moore of *The Washington Post*, Elizabeth Neuffer of *The Boston Globe*, Kirsten Scharnberg of *The Chicago Tribune* and Katherine Skiba of *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, and is examined using qualitative analysis and a coding system that is explained in chapter three.

This thesis argues that during the Vietnam, Persian Gulf and Iraq wars these six correspondents produced a wide variety of coverage, including stories that fell outside of the traditional feminine domain of 'soft' news, cited few female sources, and that the coverage they produced, and their overall experiences of reporting war, was the result of several factors. It was found that these factors could include the restrictions placed on them during the conflict by the government and military, the military's attitude towards women at the time and the political outlook and gendered nature of the newspapers they worked for as well as their adherence to particular kinds of news values. These findings are substantiated by evidence found through a detailed content analysis which is explained in the methodology chapter of this thesis.

In order to assess what factors could account for the similarities, differences, and links in the kinds of coverage produced by three generations of war correspondents this research borrows from several theoretical approaches in mass communication, including critical, sociological, and gender analysis. Members of the critical school of communication recognize the media as " an integral part of the broader social context ....[and] link the development,

production, and use of media to the social, economic, and political considerations in which they evolve" (Martin 46). In the context of this work on women war correspondents critical analysis, such as that done by Stainer & Hudson (1998) and Thrall (2000), is necessary in order to assess the pressures and restrictions placed on the media's coverage of war by the government and military over the years.

In comparison, a sociological approach studies the culture, lifestyles and groups which compose a society and also considers the process of socialization by which the group is maintained and how social roles are allocated and communicated (McQuail, 1987). This is the kind of approach is used by Ferrari & Tobin (2003) and Greenberg & Gantz (1993) and lends itself well to a discussion of the culture of war journalism, leading to an understanding of the role of the journalist and reporting routines in times of war, which is important in this study.

Since this thesis is concerned specifically with the experiences of women correspondents gender analysis is a fundamental part of the theoretical approach substantiating this research. Gender analysis, particularly feminist analysis, ascribes to the notion that gender is " a pervasive category of experience" and that most elements of one's life, such as education, family, work and socialization are experienced in terms of the masculine and the feminine (Littlejohn 222). This approach is especially important when considering the history of women within the news media, as Beasley & Gibbons (1993) and Elwood-Ackers (1988) do, and the symbolic importance of women journalists, as has been addressed by van Zoonen (1998). Given that all of the reporters whose work is examined in this

project are Caucasian, race is not considered in relation to how it shaped their professional experiences. But this thesis will note if, and how, racial issues are included in their articles in order to consider, as Thorson and Rodgers (2003) did, whether or not women correspondents are likely to stereotype their subjects.

This introduction has outlined the general thrust of the research question which guided this work as well as the main findings of this research. Next, a literature review of some of the pertinent academic writings currently available on war correspondents in general and war and media history and analysis is provided. Chapter one, *News Culture, Military Culture, Gendered Culture*, is devoted entirely to women's experiences of reporting in general and of war reporting in particular. Gender is introduced as an analytical category in an effort to understand the gendered nature of the journalism profession. Specifically, this section asks how newsroom culture can be considered a gendered culture and how men and women in the media have 'experienced' their occupations differently, which in turn influenced the sorts of stories that they have produced. Also, it seeks to situate the work of women print correspondents within the larger field of media history. It explores why, as a group, they deserve further study within the expanding field of communication and media studies through a review of the limited literature available which pertains specifically to female war correspondents.

Chapter two, entitled *Media, War, and Women Journalists* takes a historical look at the long and complex relationship between the military and the media during wartime. The Vietnam, Persian Gulf, and 2003 Iraq wars are used

as case studies to explore the sorts of restrictions placed on the media in each conflict and assess how this affected the kinds of information that reporters were able to deliver to their audiences. The role and status of women war correspondents in each of the conflicts is examined to inform a later discussion of their work and wartime experiences when their articles are examined in greater detail. Brief biographical sketches of the six women and the newspapers that they worked for are provided in this chapter in an effort to understand some of the external factors which may have influenced their work. The history and current status of women in the American military is also addressed to assess what connections, if any, can be noted between these two groups of women, reporters and soldiers, and how the military treated them.

The third chapter, *Methodology*, discusses the methodological approach which will be used in this study. Content analysis is presented as a valid research method in communication studies. A brief history of the approach, outlining its defining characteristics, including the steps that are commonly considered the necessary components of a successful analysis are presented. Also, the method's most recent uses are noted in an effort to demonstrate why content analysis, as a methodological approach, is aptly suited to this study. Next, the method is applied to the parameters of this project, explaining how each step of the study was designed, executed and evaluated. The limitations of content analysis, both as a general method and specifically in the context of this study, will also be acknowledged. Finally, news values are introduced in this chapter as

theoretical concepts that inform an understanding of precisely how news discourses come to be shaped and interpreted in particular ways.

Chapter four, *Discussion*, provides a detailed account of the results of the coding analysis of the print newspaper articles written by the three generations of women war correspondents. Results of the content analysis are summarized and assessed in an effort to understand how the correspondents constructed their narratives of war and why they chose the subjects and sources that they did.

Finally, chapter five, the *Conclusion*, wraps up the thesis by summarizing the links, similarities, differences, and changes in the coverage produced by the different generations of correspondents. This section also assesses the strengths and weaknesses of the study and proposes questions that should be probed in future research.

In order to appreciate the contributions that this study can make to the academic media history of women war correspondents it is important to assess what kinds of relevant scholarly literature already exists on this topic, as well as to recognize the gaps within this body of work which require further investigation. First, it should be noted that no other academic study exists which specifically looks at the work of the six correspondents chosen for this research. Most of the relevant academic discourses that have been written can be categorized in one of four categories; biographical narratives of specific war correspondents and general histories of their profession, research on the place of women in journalism history, critical analysis of the media coverage produced about

particular conflicts and finally a small, and extremely focused literature on the work of women war correspondents. Due to the limited materials focused on women in the field, the more general literature on war reporting and the coverage of specific conflicts must be considered in this research project to assess its applicability to the female experience and subsequently, to identify areas that require further research.

One of the earliest scholarly pieces on war correspondents was F. Laurston Bullar's work "Famous War Correspondents", published in 1914, which set a tone that seems to have been followed in later works on the subject. Bullar's account, which is narrative rather than theoretical, is essentially a collection of biographical sketches of specific correspondents. Twelve journalists are profiled and all are male, despite the fact that a few women had covered wars even then (Freeman, 1988; Cappers, 1992). Regardless of this emphasis on the male experience, Bullar's work is helpful in understanding how the profession, and individual correspondents, came to encourage overly romanticized notions of gallant war heroes in the minds of their readers. It is also helpful in understanding how the physical act of war reporting has changed over the years. What is perhaps most valuable about the work is the predictions that the author makes about the evolution of the profession and implications that will have on the future work of the 'male' correspondent. Bullar, writing just before World War I, maintained that,

His presence will be more defined and his sphere of action will be more circumscribed. Times change and he must change with them. The policies of the newspaper and of the war offices will be determined by two fundamental considerations: the right of the public-which pays the bills,

furnishes the soldiers and mourns the dead-to know how well or ill, a war is played and fought and the right of men entrusted with the command of armies and navies to impose such restraints ... as the strategy of the campaign may require (3).

As will be noted later on, Bullar's predictions that the correspondent's 'sphere of action' would be significantly restricted in future conflicts were correct.

Written 43 years after Bullar addressed the topic, Joseph J. Matthew's *Reporting the Wars*, adopted a socio-historical approach as it traced the evolution of war news from the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century to the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, a time period that is especially important. As Matthew notes, the subjects of news reports, the ways of transmitting news and the composition of news audiences were in flux during these years. His discussion informs an understanding of more modern practices of war reporting and the roles and experiences of women journalists. Matthew's explores some of the early practices that seem to be re-emerging in recent coverage of wars and conflicts. For example, he notes that originally war news did not come from reporters in the field. Instead, there was a clear dependence on official narratives, government bulletins and messages delivered by military generals and admirals who acted as unofficial war correspondents themselves (3-8). This was similar to the way in which coverage was provided during the 1991 Persian Gulf war when reporters were limited to pool reports and the messages delivered by General Norman Schwarzkopf in daily news conferences.

While he ignores the histories of women war correspondents Matthew does describe American Ernie Pyle as one of the most influential war correspondents in history. It is not surprising that an author writing during this

time would reserve such a title for a man, what is most interesting is the fact that Pyle took a unique approach to writing about the battles he covered compared to many of his male colleagues. According to Matthew, Pyle “rarely wrote about battles; he wrote about individual participants, about the personal and human aspects of fighting” (3). As Matthews notes, this approach was in direct contradiction to historical accounts of war which were traditionally,

... a methodological description that began with an explanation of how various units of an army were placed with a careful summary of the outcome of the fight. If any participant had personal feelings about the battle it was the commander-in-chief, and the range of his emotions were strictly limited (3).

Nathaniel Lande’s work, *Dispatches from the Front: News Accounts of American Wars 1776-1991* (1995) features biographical information on 85 American journalists who covered major conflicts over a 200 year period. Only four of the 85 journalists profiled were female. Like the vast majority of narratives written about war correspondents, Lande’s overview does not address issues of gender or the kinds of coverage women produced. Instead, unlike most of the scholarly accounts of war reporting, which emphasize the changing relationship between the state and the media, he presents a collection of the original reports filled by the correspondents. These first person accounts not only inform one’s historical understanding of a particular conflict, they show us what kinds of topics male correspondents tended to report on during various wars. A close reading of the reports indicates that male correspondents wrote on things like political negotiation, the military’s use of ‘space- age’ technology, or the precision of military movement. In comparison, the two female correspondents whose

writings are mentioned, Marguerite Higgins, who reported on the Korean war for *The New York Herald Tribune*, and Janny Scott, who covered the 1991 Persian Gulf war for *The Los Angeles Times*, seemed to focus on stories emphasizing civilian suffering and troop morale (Lande 1995).

Even though women journalists have become more numerous at the front in recent years, much of the contemporary literature on war correspondents remains devoted to the male experience. Philip Knightley's work, *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero & Myth Maker from the Crimea to Kosovo*, is often described as the 'mantra of discourses' on war reporting. First published in 1975, it has since been revised with new chapters added to address the Gulf War in 1991 and the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999, 2000, and 2001. In a critical analysis Knightley offers a thorough discussion of the historical significance of war correspondents and the work they produce. Yet, for a book that is described by John Pilger as the "most comprehensive j'accuse of journalism as propaganda in the English language" (Knightley, xi), it offers little discussion of the female correspondent. Indeed, women are all but overlooked in Knightley's work, with the roles of both hero and myth-maker seemingly reserved solely for men. Nevertheless, Knightley's book offers important historical background and addresses a wide cross-section of conflicts to assess the evolution of the military's relationship with the media.

Greg McLaughlin's work, *The War Correspondent* (2002), provides a historical analysis of the role of war correspondents in various conflicts from the Crimea to Korean wars in an effort, the author claims, to understand the

contemporary practice. Using a critical sociological approach, McLaughlin contemplates some issues not considered by earlier writers, such as how journalists self-censor their own reports and what the impact of media technology has been on war reporting. Specifically, he questions how the sheer quantity of competition in the 24/7 news world has affected the quality of the coverage available. Yet, McLaughlin, like his peers writing on the topic, seems to be willing to present the experience of war reporting entirely as a male experience. In discussing its evolution, which he calls “a front row seat in the making of history,” McLaughlin ignores the female experience.

In their 2003 account, *Reporting America at War: An Oral History*, Michelle Ferrari and James Tobin interviewed 14 American correspondents, 11 male and three female, and concluded that war reporting is best understood when one considers the conditions under which the job is carried out (Ferrari & Tobin 3). Here again, gender is not granted much consideration. In their sociological analysis of war reporting the authors are more concerned with the process than with the product. Through first person accounts this work seeks to dispel the idealistic and romanticized notion of war reporters that dominated earlier accounts, like that of F. Laurston Ballur. According to Ferrari and Tobin, heroic notions of reporters relaying dispatches from the trenches are not true reflections of what most of them actually experience. The reality, the authors claim, is that,

War reporters seldom find themselves in the middle of violent clashes...mostly they talk to guys who were in the battle after its over, or to military officials or public information officers who do not go into the

battles at all. If they need to write something they go back to the press camps or the hotel where they can send the story to their editors (3).

The real difficulty for war journalists, Ferrari and Tobin contend, lies not in dodging bullets on the battlefield but in finding a story that their editors are interested in, accumulating enough resources to create a coherent account, and overcoming logistical problems in order to get the story written and transmitted on deadline. While these are common concerns encountered by all correspondents, they are, as the authors note, compounded for war reporters who work under “greater time pressures and in a ferment of disorganization, even desperation” (3). Again, the process of war reporting is well documented in a historical context in this work, but it does not offer anything to a discussion of how the process ultimately influenced the stories that were told and the female journalist’s experience of reporting the war.

In order to accurately situate the work done by women war correspondents, it is important to understand what has already been written about the coverage of war and conflict in general. Three dominant themes seem to reappear in most of the narratives circulating on the media’s coverage of war and conflict. The first theme is a general concern with the type of media system used in a particular conflict, how and why the system came to be used and how it helped or hindered the relationship between the media and the military . Secondly, the role of media technologies, such as satellite equipment, in delivering news of war in today’s 24/7 news world is often scrutinized. Finally, specific correspondents, almost unanimously male correspondents, are praised

as leaders in their field and their work is often examined in relation to the two earlier themes, military / media relations and its use of media technologies.

Most of the academic work that has been done on the Western media's coverage of war adopts specific conflicts as historical models to assess how the relationship between the American military and the media has changed over the years, what may have caused the changes and their ramifications on the ability of reporters to cover future conflicts. Such works (Stainer & Hudson, 1998; Smith, 1999; Thrall, 2000) adopt a critical approach to trace the evolution of media systems in wartime, yet they offer very little discussion about the nature of the coverage that was produced as a result of these systems. Close readings and in-depth analysis of the coverage is often sacrificed in favour of overarching or generalized assessments of the impact of a particular media system.

Technological advancement is another subject that dominates much of the academic discourse on the media's coverage of war (Morrison, 1992; Denton, 1993; Carruthers, 2000). In these cases, emphasis is placed on how media technologies, such as computer systems and satellites, or the medium itself, like television, may affect reporting styles used in today's 24/7 news environments. For example, Denton notes, that television has become an important weapon for the U.S. military because "it is an instrument of power and control. To control TV content is to control public perception and attitudes" (28). The impact of television coverage is a reoccurring theme in discussions of Vietnam, the Persian Gulf and Iraq wars because television is said to have

played an important albeit slightly different role in the coverage of each conflict (Denton 29).

Most of the studies on the media's role in Vietnam focus on the relative freedom that the U.S. military gave correspondents who covered the war (Small, 1994, 2002; Thussu & Freedman, 2003). Their experience is often discussed in relation to earlier conflicts, such as World War I and World War II, which serve to further emphasize the unique nature of the media's position in Vietnam. The lax requirements for media credentials coupled with the fact that there was no specific frontline to the fighting had seldom been encountered by war correspondents and facilitated the production of an unique kind of coverage unseen in earlier conflicts.

In comparison, much of the literature on the reporting of the Persian Gulf war critically evaluates the much stricter limits on the media during that conflict (Taylor, 1992; Schiller et al, 1992; Rabinovitz & Jeffords, 1994). The military assigned a limited number of journalists to media pools, groups that were taken to the frontlines by military escort, exposed to carefully orchestrated scenes and permitted to interview only those sources provided by the military. In return, the reporters were expected to share the information they accumulated with their colleagues, who were not part of the media pool system. Once again, academic writings on the subject devote relatively little attention to the impact of the pool system on the actual coverage that was produced. A pro-media, anti-military tone is evident throughout much of the literature on the pool system. Several authors (Taylor, 1992; Schiller, Mowlana & Gerbner, 1992; Rabinovitz & Jeffords, 1994)

discuss the factors that resulted in its implementation and emphasize how its restrictive nature impeded the newsgathering work of correspondents assigned to the Gulf. Like the vast majority of literature on war coverage in general, the discussion focuses solely on the work of journalists working within the dominant media systems of the time, such as major American media outlets like *The New York Times* or *CNN*, this is likely because they are the ones who tended to be allowed in the media pools.

Specific correspondents are profiled and their professional and personal experiences are discussed in detail. Here, as was the case in the material pertaining to the Vietnam war, a few select male correspondents are presented as the stars of the show. It is extremely difficult to locate any scholarly material that addresses the female experience of reporting from the Gulf.

The majority of articles or publications written about the media's coverage of the 2003 Iraq war address the development and implementation of the embedding process (Schechter, 2003; Pfau et al, 2004; Miller, D. 2004). In the embedding system, correspondents were assigned to live and travel with specific military units. Much of the scholarly literature on the system adopts a critical lens to assess the potentially dangerous ramifications it could have on the kinds of coverage produced. The embedding system is consistently criticized for fostering a dangerous relationship between the military and the media that resulted in coverage that was biased in favour of the American military.

After reviewing the literature discussed above several gaps in the research become evident which demand further inquiry. Firstly, the literature

predominately addresses the male experience of war reporting, with emphasis on biographical sketches of specific correspondents and historical assessments of the media systems used in particular conflicts. Also, most of the literature is concerned only with the process of reporting war and does not adequately address the kinds of coverage produced. As will be explained in chapter two, the female experience and the kinds of coverage produced by women are consistently overlooked. What is written about the work of female correspondents tends to focus on their presence within a single conflict without adequately addressing how the female experience of reporting on war may have changed over the years or differ from one conflict to another. Also, television coverage is disproportionately presented as seemingly the only form of war coverage worthy of analysis. This thesis aims to address several of these gaps by focusing exclusively on the female experience of war reporting across multiple conflicts while giving careful consideration to the kinds of coverage produced by correspondents working for newspapers.

## ***Chapter One: News Culture, Military Culture, Gendered Culture***

This chapter embraces elements of critical, sociological, and gender analysis in order to better understand the obstacles encountered by the war correspondents whose work is studied in this thesis. In undertaking such a task, it is important to first consider the implications that a journalist's gender may have on her professional experiences in general, both historically and recently, and then apply them to the limited academic studies of female war correspondents. Subsequently, a general introduction to the history of women within American journalism as well as the gendered nature of the journalism profession during the years leading up to each of the conflicts is necessary in order to understand the many obstacles that have existed for women trying to establish themselves within the traditionally masculine domain of war reporting since the 1960's.

*Taking Their Pace: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism*, by Maurine H. Beasley and Sheila J. Gibbons, offers a concise overview of women's participation within the journalism field which is generally missing from the histories that have been compiled about the profession in the last century (Beasley & Gibbons, xi-8). In colonial times journalistic endeavors were undertaken within the private sphere before being publicly disseminated. As such, women frequently helped their husbands in the printing or publishing shops that were often attached to private homes during this time (8). As Beasley and Gibbons note, the practice changed dramatically with the rise of urbanization during the 19<sup>th</sup> century which resulted in the creation of mass produced dailies

which required that the production process be shifted from the home to the public sphere. Metropolitan offices and printing presses were considered off limits to women who were expected to "...conform to the prevailing ideal of 'the lady', a genteel creature who remained at home" (Beasley & Gibbons 8).

Despite being confined to the private sphere many pioneering female journalists were still able to hone their skills because writing, as Beasley and Gibbons note, could be carried out in one's parlor and was considered an acceptable practice for women provided they wrote on 'sentimental topics' (8). During this time many 'literary ladies' as they came to be known, sold their work, usually human interest stories or poetry, to newspapers but they seldom ventured into the newspaper's office.

Beasley and Gibbons' work cites U.S. census data which indicated that 288 women were listed as journalists out of a total of the 12, 308 Americans working in the profession in 1880 (10). With the rise of the newspaper industry in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century this number exceeded 2000 while more than 30, 000 men were involved in the field by the early 1900s.

When the first American journalism schools opened early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century the few women allowed to enroll were relegated to secondary standing, given less prestigious assignments, fewer mentors and weaker advising than their peers. Perhaps not surprisingly,

in line with societal forces that expected women to leave the career world for marriage journalism schools did not encourage women to compete directly with men...Male students edited school newspapers and wrote 'hard news' of politics and public affairs [while] women were expected to excel only at 'soft news' features (Beasley & Gibbons 12).

As this statement by Beasley and Gibbons demonstrates, the discrimination and subordination of most women reporters began even before they entered the workforce. Many were literally taught that their work was inferior to that of their male colleagues. Academic textbooks even served to reinforce these ideas (Steiner, 1989). The patriarchal attitudes of journalism administrators trickled down to the highest levels of many American newsrooms. Female graduates found it difficult to find gainful employment among male peers.

The American suffrage campaign is often credited with providing many women with their first opportunity to mold their journalistic skills professionally (Beasley & Gibbons 11). After the emergence of suffrage newspapers, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, which were operated almost entirely by women, many mainstream newspapers began to hire more women, at first to simply cover the suffrage campaign and later assigned them to a variety of other issues deemed to be pertinent to their female readers (Beasley & Gibbons 11). For most female journalists this usually meant a job working in the women's pages. During this time, the women's section was the only department within a mainstream newspaper where a woman could demonstrate her reporting styles, producing the 'fluid' and 'romantic' stories usually related to food or fashion, which dominated the women's pages of the time. Also, the popularity of the women's pages coincided with the move to commercialism and advances in the advertising in the newspaper business (Schudson, 1978). Advertisers and female readers preferred women to write of the domestic sphere and not about war (Freeman, 1989).

Even as more and more women acquired the opportunity to express themselves journalistically very few were given the opportunity to report on 'big' stories. Ishbel Ross was a respected reporter in 1936 when she wrote *Ladies of the Press*, commonly considered the first history of women journalists. According to Ross, only a select few female correspondents qualified for the coveted nickname 'front page girl', a moniker accorded to those deemed capable of handling the most important assignments. Those who did had to negotiate identities of both masculine ruthlessness and feminine gentility to establish a place for themselves within the industry (Ross in Beasley and Gibbons 13).

The economic depression of the 1930s further slowed the admission of American women into the journalism profession. When newspapers hit rough economic times and were forced to lay off staff, female employees were routinely considered more disposable than men (Beasley and Gibbons 13). It was around this time that Eleanor Roosevelt, began to hold White House press conferences exclusively for women correspondents. By providing information to female correspondents that would not be made available to their male colleagues, Roosevelt hoped news outlets would be compelled to hire more women (Beasley and Gibbons 13). This initiative proved relatively successful, as it encouraged many women to consider entering the field and provided some opportunity for those who did.

Only a select few women correspondents had been reporting from the frontlines before the mid 1940s. It was not until WWII that their work, in the newsroom and on the battlefield, began to attract some of the recognition it

deserved. Overall, World War II brought about many improvements in the media's ability to cover conflict. It was during this time that American government and military officials began to recognize the important role publicity played in shaping public opinion of the war and they decided it was in their best interest to take a proactive approach to dealing with the news media. Methods for press regulation in times of war included formal accreditation, and the enforcement of a requirement that all correspondents sign affidavits, agreeing to all military regulations, including subjecting their copy to review by censors (Thomson 150).

More pertinent to the efforts of female war correspondents during this time was the fact that World War II provided an important opportunity for professional advancement for those seeking to etch out a place for themselves in the male dominated world of war reporting. Roughly 127 American women received media accreditation during the war (Wagner, 1989) and hundreds more assumed positions at hometown newspapers left vacant by men sent off to fight in the conflict. For the first time in history a significant number of American women had the opportunity to pursue stories they deemed to be newsworthy. For many female correspondents this was a chance to escape the confines of the women's pages and investigate the types of stories previously reserved only for their male colleagues. Articles about sports, politics, crime and business were now commonly considered part of many female reporters' portfolios. While an element in the long term advancement of the gender within the profession, the mass female presence in American newsrooms proved to be relatively short -

lived. As men returned from the war they reclaimed their positions and prominence within the field and women found themselves relegated to the sidelines again (Wagner, 1989).

By the Vietnam era, idyllic representations of women journalists had long dominated popular culture. Beginning in the 1930s the dominant cultural representation of women journalists implied that intrepid female reporters were readily given the respect and opportunity they deserved. If one were to look to the newsroom experiences of a fictional character like Lois Lane it would seem that journalism was immune to the sort of sex discrimination and stereotyping rampant in other fields. The reality was much different for most women. Indeed, “[r]eal – life Lois Lanes [were] treated like second class Jimmy Olsen’s” (Borman 247). Discrimination and unequal employment opportunities were a persistent reality for women in the profession.

In the early 1970s the Newspaper Guild, an American journalists union, commissioned a survey of its members in preparation for its first Women’s Conference. Based on the survey results, members of the Guild opted to open the conference report by declaring that “[d]iscrimination is an inherent and all-pervasive reality in the journalistic profession” ( Borman 248). The survey found that newspaper employers, the vast majority of whom were male, tended to categorize some tasks as male, such as most news reporting jobs and all positions related to the sports department, while they considered other jobs more appropriate for women. Duties related to the women’s pages and clerical or research positions were amongst the tasks deemed to be feminine in nature.

The deep roots of these sexist distinctions between what constitutes the male and female domains within the journalism profession continued to make it difficult for female reporters to infiltrate traditionally masculine beats like war reporting, (Sebba, 1994).

A 1988 study by the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) offers some interesting insight into the gendered distinctions that still existed a decade later between how media workers perceived themselves and their professional obligations and aspirations. In its survey ASNE questioned roughly 55,000 employees at 1,600 news dailies in the United States. Women represented approximately 36% of the survey's respondents. Interestingly, more women than men expressed a willingness to stay in lower status positions, such as reporters or copy editors, instead of seeking higher prestige managerial roles which many felt would be too difficult to juggle in addition to their other obligations at home. Similarly, women were significantly more likely to cite their gender as an obstacle to professional advancement than men did (Beasley & Gibbons 29).

Much of the academic work addressing gender issues in journalism scholarship has focused on the lived experiences of female journalists, and draws on interviews and surveys to identify some of the barriers they have encountered within the field. A major burden that women journalists reported more often than their male colleagues was the personal and social pressures that many felt compelled them to choose between personal and professional aspirations. Family obligations were amongst the most commonly reported

obstacles to career development reported by women in 1987. As Nelly de Camargo noted in her work *Women in Media Management and Decision Making*,

pregnancy and maternity affect the output of the female worker...women's minds and hearts become divided; they worry because of having to feed and look after their children . Generally it works against the interest of the organization (37).

As de Camargo further noted, “[t]o reconcile the professional and domestic life is a major challenge for any woman worker” (57-58). Yet, women war correspondents face many job related considerations that most other workers, both male and female, would seldom have to consider. For example, childcare, a common concern of most working parents, becomes an even more pertinent issue when a mother's work takes her to a dangerous war zone for extended periods of time. Female journalists who have children are forced to choose between their roles as mothers and that of war correspondents. Such decisions can have profound sociological and psychological implications, including profound feelings of guilt or inadequacy, while male correspondents would rarely experience any such ramifications for making a similar decision. Indeed, a man with children would more likely be criticized for not taking a job reporting from the war zone because he would be seen as failing to pursue an opportunity for professional advancement, which would ensure he was able to adequately provide for his family (Ricchiardi, 1994).

Given the presence of women reporting in the Persian Gulf, the salience of gender in the lives of working women journalists and the often negative ramifications it can have on the newsroom dynamic must also be considered. By the early 1990s female journalists were just as well educated as their male

colleagues but remained separated by other significant divisions, many of which persist today. Demographically, when compared with their male peers, women journalists in the 1990s had worked three years or less in the profession, had somewhat lower incomes, were slightly younger, less likely to be married and more likely to self identify as a supporter of the Democratic party (Wilhoit & Weaver 178). When questioned about their professional values in a series of studies between the early 1980s and the early 1990s, female respondents were more likely than males to rate avoiding stories with unverified content as extremely important. But they were also far more likely than men to rate providing entertainment and relaxation to their audiences as an extremely important part of their job.

During the 1990s, journalists as a group also differed dramatically in their demographic composition from both those whom they were assigned to cover and also those who consumed their work. Weaver and Wilhoit's (1996) sketch of a typical American journalist conjures up images of someone who is male, Protestant, liberal-minded, college-educated and middle-class, a portrait that is in stark contrast to the average citizen reading their articles or watching their broadcasts (Craft & Wanta, 2004).

In 2003, U.S census data indicated that a little more than half of the 80,000 Americans believed to be working as news reporters, correspondents or analysts in newspapers, radio or television across the country were women (Statistical Abstract of the United States 2004-2005). Despite the presence of upwards of 44,400 American women in the field in recent years, research

indicates that they continue to feel the effects of discriminatory practices within the work world and societal pressures at home. Ross' study *Sex at Work : Gender, Politics and Newsroom Culture* (2001) surveyed women employed by mainstream media outlets to determine the impact of gender on the organization and functioning of the newsroom environment. Perhaps not too surprisingly, female respondents in Ross' study indicated difficulty achieving a balance between home life and career. Many cited the 'long hours' culture that dominates the profession as especially taxing on their social, physical, and psychological well-being (Ross 145). As Ross notes, many newsrooms appear to favour 'a neutral professional ethos but are actually organized around a male as the norm and women as the other substructure'(Ross 147).

Additional research exists which implies that male and female journalists operate by different sets of news beliefs and values that may have an impact on their access to particular stories. van Zoonen (1998) contended that female journalists share a 'womanview' that is unique when contrasted with the dominant perspectives disseminated by their male colleagues. Specifically, her research noted that women are more likely than men to express interest in the news consumer, story context and background and are also more likely to seek out female sources (van Zoonen in Ross 151).

van Zoonen also maintained that many female journalists may become resent the detached and insensitive nature of many of their male colleagues whom they believe hide behind objectivity claims in order to exclude compassion

and humanity from their stories (van Zoonen 1998, 36). Such sentiment can lead to animosity and only increases the gender divide within the newsroom.

The idea that female reporters have a news agenda that is distinct from their male colleagues has been explored before (Craft & Wanta, 2004) but it is worthy of further elaboration within this project. It is commonly believed that it is the gender of newsroom decision makers, such as owners and editors, which ultimately dictates the news agenda (Craft & Wanta 124). It follows then, that newspapers with a high percentage of male editors appear to significantly differentiate between male and female reporters when assigning stories, a tactic which seems to be less frequent in newsrooms where women are in managerial positions (Craft & Wanta 124).

Many female journalists also seem to believe that having women in greater decision making positions will have a positive influence on establishing a female-friendly news agenda (Ross 531). Craft and Wanta noted that newspapers with a significant percentage of women news managers tended to frame news in a more positive light when compared to male dominated newsrooms which tended to favour traditional news values, focusing on conflict or news with a predominately negative focus. Women and men tended to cover similar issues only when employed by publications with a majority of women in positions of power and influence (Craft & Wanta 135).

In order to better understand the experiences of women war correspondents it is necessary to turn to the literature on the history of women in

journalism in order to first assess the general experiences of women within the profession before looking at them within the specific field of war reporting.

Anne Sebba's work, *Battling for News: The Rise of the Woman Reporter* (1994) provides an interesting history on the professional advancement of women within the journalism profession leading up to and including the years immediately following the Persian Gulf war. Sebba's work primarily focuses on the work of British journalists but its most valuable contribution to this study is its concern with the gender debate about the coverage provided by male and female reporters. Early in the piece, Sebba questions whether female reporters are more emotionally biased than their male colleagues and whether or not such a distinction is necessarily negative. Specifically, Sebba's work seems to be motivated by the question of whether or not "...women report, especially in times war-time, so-called soft news stories oriented towards people rather than statistical facts" (4). Despite posing this question Sebba does very little to probe the hypothesize in detail or provide evidence to either support or dismiss such a claim. What this work does offer is a discussion on the history of women's involvement in journalism using first person accounts and anecdotal evidence from generations of female correspondents, including Elizabeth Pond, whose coverage of the Vietnam war for *The Christian Science Monitor* is analyzed in this thesis.

Besides the gendered history of the profession, why and how gender influences reporting styles must also be considered. Here, the approach used in this research project is particularly influenced by two academic studies, that of

Thorson and Rodgers (2003), and Armstrong (2004). Thorson and Rodgers' work, "A Socialization Perspective on Male and Female Reporting", studied the content of articles produced by male and female reporters at three U.S. daily newspapers. Their findings indicated that female reporters were more likely to draw on a diverse sampling of sources, used fewer stereotypes, and were more likely to write more positive stories. This is a similar observation to that made by Cory L. Armstrong in "The Influence of Reporter Gender on Source Selection in Newspaper Stories," which used an extensive content analysis to analyze the frequency and placement of male and female sources and the impact of the reporter's gender on the coverage produced. Ultimately, based on research and interviews, the authors attribute these discrepancies to gender socialization. Yet, it is likely, especially in the context of women war reporters, that reporting differences are the result of several factors beyond socialization, such as limited access or opportunity. Thus, these studies, while somewhat limited in scope, help provide a solid understanding of how and why women reporters choose and frame stories in a particular way .

There has been an abundance of biographies written on the more prominent women war correspondents, such as Martha Gellhorn (Rollyson, 2001; Moorehead, 2003) in recent years. And while such publications provide interesting insight into the life histories of specific correspondents, they tend to avoid any in-depth consideration of the kinds of coverage produced and they seldom adequately acknowledge the position of the women in question within a larger framework of media history. The academic work available on women war

correspondents, while extremely limited in scope is beneficial in providing some insight into the obstacles many have faced and overcome within the profession.

Lilya Wagner's work, *Women War Correspondents of World War II* (1989), is one of the first publications written which focuses exclusively on women's experiences in the profession. From Wagner's assessment it becomes apparent that WWII was a historically significant time for women journalists in hometown newsrooms and on the battlefield. In interviews with 18 women who reported on the war, mostly for newspapers and wire-services, Wagner explores the conditions under which they wrote, the types of stories they covered and the obstacles and biases they faced.

Virginia Elwood-Akers work, *Famous Correspondents in the Vietnam War 1961-1975* (1988), is critical to understanding the role of women reporters in Vietnam and is quite remarkable because, as Elwood-Akers notes, the official lists of journalists who covered the Vietnam war were lost after being shipped from Saigon to Honolulu (Elwood-Akers 1). Yet, for this publication the author was able to track down 76 women correspondents who reported over a 14 year period. This work provides a solid overview of the experiences of women reporters in this conflict, examining why the Vietnam war provided unheard of access and mobility for journalists and how women were able to capitalize on these conditions to get the story they wanted.

While Elwood-Akers does probe the experiences of specific reporters, such as Dickey Chappelle and Marguerite Higgins, in depth, the work does not center around their experiences alone. Instead, attention is devoted to a general

overview which emphasizes the varying ways women were received by the military, with some contending they were welcomed and others maintaining they were seen as pests to be expelled from the war zone. Also, unlike most of the other authors, Elwood-Akers probes the post-war careers of these female journalists asking why and how their experiences of covering Vietnam shaped the rest of their careers, personal lives, and their public image. Neither Gloria Emerson or Elizabeth Pond is profiled in detail.

Sherry Ricchiardi's article, "Women on War" (1994) provides one of the few academic studies on the dichotomy between gender and war reporting. Drawing on interviews with contemporary women war reporters, this article probes the existence of sexism within their ranks. Yet, this is perhaps not the most important contribution Ricchiardi's work offers to the broader narrative. Indeed, her notion, that gender need not always be a problem for women war correspondents, but can, at times, be advantageous, must be explored in more detail. Ricchiardi notes that many of the respondents in her study saw their gender as being helpful in gaining access and information (Ricchiardi 22). Ricchiardi also notes that many of the respondents felt that as women acquire an increased presence in newsrooms, and subsequently gain more input into determining the news agenda, war coverage has taken a more humanistic approach. Ricchiardi cites interviews with women reporters in the Balkans, who believed their coverage emphasized the human side of the conflict far more than that produced by their male colleagues. Yet, to her credit, Ricchiardi investigates this idea further citing professionals from both sides of the debate. This is

significant because most earlier writers seem to readily adopt the assumption that men and women simply report conflict differently. However, Ricchardi draws on oppositional claims to probe this assumption in greater depth .

Mark Pedelty is of the few male researchers to address the female experience of war reporting in his article, *The Marginal Majority: Women War Correspondents in the Salvadorian Press Corp Association (SPCA)* (1997). Pedelty conducted an ethnographic study during the final years of the Salvadoran war and, based on his findings, evaluates what he describes as the “gender politics” within the field to probe how women ‘encountered, negotiated and occasionally overcame the gendered system’ within the Salvadoran Press Corp. According to Pedelty,

The *woman war correspondent* presents a symbolic, cultural even linguistic challenge to press tradition. The woman war correspondent is a hybrid of liminal form, a blending of categories which continues to threaten and destabilize many male journalists reified concepts of both *women* and *war correspondence*. Women correspondence therefore, present a set of potentially subversive identities and discourses which must be constrained, repressed and remodeled for the basic traditions of war coverage to continue intact (51).

Women have been consistently disproportionately represented in war zones. They have had to overcome discriminatory policies that have sought to bar them from engagement and endured abuse and mistreatment in order to establish a place for themselves, and their gender, within the traditionally masculine domains of the American media. Each group has had a couple of determined pioneering leaders who have fought to improve the working conditions for their peers and while their efforts have been pivotal in raising

awareness of the working conditions experienced by women within their respective domains there is still much that needs to be done.

## **Chapter Two: Media, War, and Women Journalists**

In order to adequately evaluate the coverage of the three wars being discussed in this research it is important to understand the primary causes of each conflict as well as how the changing role of the media in each war may have affected the public perception of it. In the following chapter some historical background on the Vietnam, the Persian Gulf, and Iraq wars is provided as is a brief history of women in the military. Some background on the newspapers, such as perceived political alliances and status of women employees and brief biographies of the six journalists are also included. This information, pertaining to the specific wars, gender roles in the military, the women correspondents and the publications they worked for, can provide insight into some of the external factors which undoubtedly influenced the coverage each reporter was able to offer her readers.

Before beginning such a discussion it is important to note that ideally the research in this chapter would have contained complete information on the politics and circulation of all the newspapers as well as detailed accounts of the personal lives and professional experience of all of the correspondents including age, year of university graduation and why exactly they were assigned to cover the war by their editors. However, acquiring this information proved far more difficult than was initially anticipated. Several of the older publications, such as *The New York Times* (1851), *The Chicago Tribune* (1841), *The Boston Globe* (1872) and *The Washington Post* (1877) and *The Christian Science Monitor*

(1908), are old enough to have been the subjects of institutional histories, but the relatively young, *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* (1995), is not.

Because the work of women correspondents in Vietnam has been given some attention (Sebba, 1994; Elwood Ackers, 1988), it was fairly easy to locate information on Gloria Emerson and Elizabeth Pond. In comparison, it was extremely difficult to locate information on the professional and personal lives of journalists who reported on the most recent conflicts. This may be because these correspondents, specifically Moore, Scharnberg, and Skiba, are all still working journalists and as such have not been included in any of the journalism histories that have been published to date. There is also significantly more information available on Gloria Emerson and Elizabeth Neuffer because they have died, and as a result their professional and personal experiences have frequently been summarized in tributes and memorials.

### *The Vietnam War*

After decades of control by French and Chinese colonial powers, Vietnamese revolutionary forces retaliated in 1954. Shortly thereafter, the country became divided with the Northern portion falling under communist control while the non-communist south fought to maintain its independence (Thomson 38-39). In the next few years the Vietcong grew increasingly militant in their efforts to control the country under a single unified communist regime. Initially, there were very few journalists covering the build-up to the war. The absence of American media during this time may be attributed to three factors. Firstly, south east Asia

was not considered an area where the United States had significant economic or political connections at the time. Therefore, in the eyes of many media decision makers, it simply did not merit their limited time and resources. Secondly, while the U.S. military presence was quickly expanding, as the military drafted all able-bodied young men at the time, limited numbers of American casualties meant that the fighting stayed too far outside most Americans' psyches to warrant intense coverage. And finally, the Kennedy administration attempted to deliberately downplay the extent of the American involvement. By denying access to information and providing disinformation to members of the media, the United States sought to portray the South Vietnamese government as politically and militarily competent even though it was not (Thomson, 1991). Ultimately, the American use of deceit, and their persistent deception of the press was unsuccessful because reporters, suspicious of the limited information they had been given by political and military officials, turned to junior officers and civilians to reveal the reality of the conflict.

The truth, which journalists quickly uncovered, was that American pilots frequently dropped napalm on areas inhabited by civilians, efforts to increase support for the counterinsurgency were relatively unsuccessful and the death toll was climbing. There were few women among the U.S. casualties, as the military had not yet embraced female combat soldiers. As the harsh realities became known to American correspondents the tone of their coverage became increasingly pessimistic.

When considering the experiences of female correspondents on the battlefield it is also important to examine briefly the experiences of women of the U.S. military. Understanding how the military has historically responded to the presence of women within its own ranks can facilitate an appreciation of how it treated women war correspondents. Early research indicates that the status and opportunity afforded American women war reporters often mirrors that of women soldiers at the front.

Historically, American women have occupied noncombatant positions in wartime since the Revolutionary War, yet, just like the contributions of female war correspondents, the efforts of military women in war has gone largely unacknowledged (Skaine 52). Initially, women's involvement was confined to the traditionally feminine domain of nursing, but during WWI the list of 'female appropriate' positions was expanded to enable women to enlist in other noncombatant support jobs such as that of telephone operators, mess hall attendants, and clerical workers. It is likely that military officials saw such a move as a way to release men from the confines of these 'inferior tasks' for service on the frontlines.

In World War II 400,000 American women enlisted in a variety of similar positions. The United States Congress appeared to, somewhat reluctantly, recognize the significant contribution women had made to the war effort over the years and enacted legislation giving women a permanent role in military service during peacetime. Initially, the Armed Services Integration Act, signed in 1948, appeared to be a solid step towards the sort of equality military women had been

seeking for years. However, it ultimately proved ineffective because the legislation contained a provision excluding women from activities involving direct combat. Subsequently, women remained limited to token roles during the Vietnam conflict. The 7,000 women who deployed to Vietnam made up only 2% of the active duty personnel during the entire conflict (Skaine 57-61).

As many observers have noted (Bartimus et al, 2002; Elwood-Akers, 1988; Ricchiardi, 1994) female journalists went to Vietnam as war correspondents in numbers never before seen in major conflict zones. However, military records on the official number of women correspondents in the region during the 1960s and 1970s are unaccounted for, having been lost in the move from Saigon to military archival holdings in Hawaii. The information that is available indicates that upwards of three hundred women were accredited to cover the war between 1965-1975. Over the years *The New York Times*, *Newsweek*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *United Press International*, *The Associated Press*, and other print media outlets, all assigned women correspondent to cover the conflict (Elwood-Akers 2).

This rapid and dramatic increase in the presence of women correspondents on the battlefields of Vietnam may be caused by several factors, the most prevalent being that Vietnam was, at the time, the most 'accessible' war for journalists in history, thus women had little problem accessing the major stories. While not required, the much sought after press identification, distributed by the Military Affairs Command (MACV), entitled journalists access to the army's entire transportation system, both air and ground, and ensured that an

eager journalist would be able to travel throughout the entire country with relative ease. At the time this was considered to be a monumental step forward for military / media relations because only 20 years earlier, during World War II, strict military regulations had prohibited women reporters from seeing any sort of combat (Elwood-Akers 8).

In order to receive accreditation, and the many perks that came with it, journalists were expected to voluntarily consent to a number of rules which were meant to “ensure the maintenance of operational security” (Thrall 22) . Amongst the guidelines reporters agreed to follow were;

- i) journalists were prohibited from identifying units going into battle or the exact nature and size of these units
- ii) the precise number of casualties suffered by a unit in an engagement was not to be revealed
- iii) casualties were only to be reported as light, moderate or heavy

In exchange for adhering to these rules the military agreed to provide accredited journalists with room and board, transportation to remote areas throughout the country, round the clock access to information at the MACV command centre in Saigon, daily briefings and backgrounders and most importantly, the military’s unequivocal promise that their copy would not be censored (Thrall 22). In addition to being one of the least restrictive media/military relationships in history it also marked the first time in the century that the American government had not implemented formal censorship policies on the battlefield (Thrall 36). While

formal censorship programs were not implemented, informal censorship was rampant. General William Westmoreland, the American commander in charge, well known for his derogatory views of the female sex, sought to prevent women from remaining in the field overnight (Sebba 220). The 'Westmoreland Edict' never came to fruition but it did serve to remind female correspondents that their presence was not welcomed by the military brass.

Over the course of almost fifteen years of persistent fighting, journalists were not required to secure accreditation through MACV and there was no specific frontline to the war, which basically meant that if you could get to it you could cover it. Indeed, Vietnam, with its undeclared battlefields and unrestricted borders seemed to be an ideal workplace for freelance journalists. Most women, unable to compete with the old boys' network, which made up the pool of foreign correspondents and war reporters from the major media outlets, went to Vietnam as freelance reporters hoping to establish a name for themselves and a home for their work after they arrived.

The numbers of women reporting from Vietnam, while significant at the time, still encompassed only a small percentage of the thousands of correspondents who covered the war throughout its duration. Their arrival on the battlefield was seldom praised, and often privately scorned by male colleagues, many of whom still perceived war as a man's game. In an adequate summation of the dominate patriarchal feelings of the time, Virginia Elwood-Akers wrote that, "[i]t has been suggested that men consider war a game, a dangerous and brutal game, but a game nevertheless. Like a pack of small boys defending their

clubhouse from girls, men do not want women in the game of war” (Elwood-Akers 3). Despite the hostile sentiments of some, the Vietnam war did prove to be a pivotal opportunity for women hoping to break into the world of war reporting. For a couple of the female journalists who made it there, it proved to be a dangerous and even deadly war as two of the sixteen American correspondents killed were women and at least three other female correspondents were wounded (Elwood-Akers 1).

Many women journalists in Vietnam were much luckier. They were able to successfully carve out a niche for themselves by focusing on the human side of the story, an area that tended to be overlooked in conflict reporting which usually emphasized the death and destruction associated with war. One of the few benefits of the distinctions that existed between the genders was the fact that the calm and warm demeanors commonly attributed to female correspondents actually helped them secure story leads or important interviews. Women were often perceived as less intimidating when interviewing Vietnamese civilians, especially women and children (Elwood-Akers, 1988 ). This ability to interact effectively with subjects from a variety of backgrounds ensured that they were able to provide alternative perspectives to the deluge of stories written by their colleagues, the majority of whom only emphasized the American side of the story. Alternative angles, while not the sole approach provided by women reporting from Vietnam, proved to be critical as people around the world began to question the wisdom of the war .

As scholars and historians (Elwood-Akers, 1988; Thrall, 2000; McLaughlin, 2002) have noted, the Vietnam conflict had several important implications for future wartime press policy in both the Persian Gulf and Iraq wars. According to A. Trevor Thrall (2000), these implications can be synthesized into a single revelation. The Vietnam experience proved to the government that the press had too much power during wartime and the seeming willingness of reporters to challenge official versions of events only served to cast doubt on the administration and created tension between both allied nations and their citizens (14).

These factors combined, coupled with the government and military's contention that the media had lost the war for the American government in the court of public opinion, placed immense strain on relations between the military and the media in the United States. This tension led to increased restrictions being placed on war correspondents, which served to shape and influence the kinds of coverage available during the Persian Gulf and Iraq wars. Other factors, such as the editorial outlooks of their own newspapers to the war and the treatment of women in the newsroom, also shaped the experiences of female journalists.

### *The Christian Science Monitor*

*The Christian Science Monitor* was founded in 1908 by Mary Baker Eddy, who was also the founder of The First Church of Christ Scientist. In describing the initial aims of her publication Eddy once wrote,

...looking over the newspapers of the day, one naturally reflects that it is dangerous to live, so loaded with disease seems the very air. These descriptions carry fears to many minds, to be depicted in some future time upon the body. A periodical of our own will counteract to some extent this public nuisance; for through our paper we shall be able to reach many homes with healing, purifying thought (Ketupa.net, Online).

Today, the newspaper operates as a not-for-profit organization owned by The First Church of Christ Scientist which is based in Boston, Massachusetts. The editors brag that, unlike most American dailies, *The Christian Science Monitor* has been able to maintain 'an independent voice devoid of corporate allegiances' for almost 100 years due to its self-described 'nonideological' approach to news. To proclaim its loyalty to Eddy's commitment to avoid sensationalist stories in favour of meaningful news, the *Monitor* publishes daily her original mission statement, that it intends to "[i]njure no man, but to bless all mankind" (Ketupa.net, Online).

There are a couple of other factors which serve to further differentiate *The Christian Science Monitor* from its mainstream competitors, other than its willingness to send a woman to cover Vietnam. Firstly, in the profit driven world of daily newspaper publishing the paper stands out, because it has not made a profit since 1956. This has been attributed to a couple of factors over the years including decreases in circulation and the fact that the newspaper only reserves 10% of its space for advertisements, clearly being concerned more about the quality of its content than financial profitability. Any losses that are incurred by the paper are covered by the church, which sees the publication as a form of public service through journalism.

*Elizabeth Pond*

Elizabeth Pond's previous experience as a scholar of international relations at Harvard University undoubtedly influenced her writing as a journalist covering the Vietnam war. Assigned to cover the war in August 1967 for *The Christian Science Monitor* she initially reported on political activity in South Vietnam but soon began to devote almost all of her attention to covering corruption within the government and the rapid rise to power of President Nguyen Van Thieu while periodically covering the war front.

In 1970, while reporting on the American invasion of Cambodia, Pond and several other correspondents were briefly taken hostage. Following her release, she documented her experiences in a special series for *The Christian Science Monitor* before going on to cover international politics for the publication throughout Europe and Asia (Roth & Olson 238). While Pond never directly discussed her experiences as a woman covering the war in her articles for *The Christian Science Monitor* she did acknowledge in Anne Sebba's book, *Battling for News : The Rise of the Female Reporter*, that she and her female colleagues often encountered discrimination from the military and male journalists who did not want women covering the war. In summarizing the experiences of many young female journalists Pond noted,

You have to keep working until someone notices your work. This takes an enormous amount of time and energy and it best happen when you are young, exactly the period in your life when most women are starting families and devoting much of their time to that (Sebba 7).

She also contended that the background stories to violent events, focusing on the history and reasons for the conflict as well as the emotional consequences,

are often provided by women. Pond attributed this to the process of socialization which, she argued, encourages women to draw on their feelings and emotions more than men (Sebba 5). According to Pond, "...society does allow women more freedom to operate using their feelings" (Sebba 5). This is an especially interesting observation coming from Pond, because as it will be noted later, she did not usually cover stories in this manner.

### *The New York Times*

*The New York Times* was first published on September 18, 1851 under the direction of owners Henry J. Raymond and George Jones. Gloria Emerson has often been quoted as saying that it was not easy for her to convince her editors to send a woman to report the war. It is perhaps then not too surprising that the *Times* was highly criticized for its treatment of female employees in the years immediately after she reported from Vietnam.

The most severe allegations, spawned by revelations that only men at the paper were being promoted to high ranking editorial positions, and that women earned on average \$59 a week less than men, even when they had more seniority and higher ranking positions, culminated in a class-action suit being filed against the paper by four female employees in the 1970's (Greenwald, 124-125). According to Greenwald,

Many women on the newspaper saw the irony in the situation: the *Times*, which often took a liberal editorial stance had over the years been a strong proponent of civil rights and frequently editorialized in favour of equal rights for minorities (125).

The discrimination suit was ultimately settled out of court with the *Times* agreeing to ensure that women were proportionately represented in the top news and editorial jobs by the end of 1982. The paper was also required to pay \$233, 500 in back pay to the 550 plaintiffs who joined the lawsuit before its completion (Greenwald 127).

### *Gloria Emerson*

In her obituary, which she wrote shortly before taking her own life in August 2004, Gloria Emerson described herself as “ an award-winning journalist and author who wrote about the war in Vietnam and who wanted to be remembered with respect and affection but without flowers” (Whitney A.21).

Born in New York City in 1929 she began her career as a self-taught journalist at *The New York Times* in the women’s news department, an experience which she would later describe as “ a gift from heaven”, although she claimed she “hated writing about shoes and clothes” (Whitney A.21).

Emerson joined the *Times* London bureau in 1968 where she covered the conflict in Northern Ireland before being sent to Vietnam in 1970, at the age of 41. She later described her late deployment to the war as a strategic decision by her bosses because “the war was supposed to be over so it didn’t matter if a female was sent” (Whitney A.21).

Whether or not upper management wanted to send her, it is difficult to dispute that Emerson excelled at reporting from the field. It was based on her war time reports that Emerson garnered the George Polk Award for excellence in

international journalism. Her articles from Vietnam emphasized the civilian experience of war. Indeed, so struck was she by the unfathomable civilian suffering she witnessed during the war that she made provisions in her will to ensure the continued support of a home for paraplegic Vietnamese children in Saigon, a venture initially begun during her time as a correspondent in the area. Emerson's compassion and concern for the Vietnamese people is also evident throughout her book *Winners & Losers*. The publication, which examines the war and the American response to the conflict, received the National Book Award in 1978. In the years leading up to her death Emerson experienced the devastating effects of Parkinson's disease. For a longtime journalist and author, fiercely devoted to her craft, the fear of being left unable to write as the illness destroyed her body likely proved to be too much.

### *The Persian Gulf War*

The Persian Gulf War, also known as Operation Desert Storm, or more simply the Gulf War, began when Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 2<sup>nd</sup> 1990 and ended seven months later on March 3<sup>rd</sup> 1991 when Iraq accepted a cease fire invitation. The conflict, which pitted Kuwait and the United Nations member countries against Iraq, is loosely attributed to three causes (Mottale, 2001). The first such cause is that Iraq considered Kuwait to be an Iraqi territory. This contention had lead to continuing hostility and several smaller conflicts over the years. Secondly, the poorly defined border between Kuwait and Iraq contained a plethora of oil deposits and Iraq routinely complained that Kuwait was tapping

into Iraq's oil fields. Finally, the fallout of the war between Iraq and Iran had strained relations between Kuwait and Baghdad and some argued that Saddam Hussein may have considered his southern neighbors to be an easier target. All of these factors created tensions which culminated in the outbreak of the 1991 conflict (Mottale, 2001).

Slowly, during the 1970's to the 1990's, due in large part to persistent public pressure and a few highly publicized lawsuits, all three levels of the American military began to reconsider their policies concerning the admission of women. By 1991 women in the U.S. Army were permitted to serve in forward support areas of the battlefield, but remained prohibited from direct combat positions while women in the Marine Corps continued to be restricted to administrative tasks. During this time, despite unequal and inconsistent opportunities, women continued to join all levels of the American military in significant numbers.

The beginning of the Persian Gulf conflict sparked the largest ever single deployment of military women in American history as 35, 000 enlisted women were sent to the Gulf. Women deployed to the Gulf assumed a variety of positions from aircraft pilots, to logistical support workers, military medics and members of supply units. Women in the Gulf were prohibited from officially engaging in combat operations but this became impossible to enforce as the distinction between noncombatant and combatant roles became virtually indistinguishable due to advances in technical weaponry and surface to surface

missiles which made to those in support roles just as susceptible to attack as soldiers on the frontlines (Skaine 64).

The American government and military had been criticized for being lax in their restrictions and censorship of journalists during the Vietnam war so they set out to ensure history would not repeat itself two decades later. In addition to this concern, they also had to deal with the fact that technological advances in satellite communication in recent years had made it possible for the media to report news from the battlefield, enemy territory or the home front virtually instantaneously to a global audience (Thrall 64). Previous experiences coupled with the anticipation that the media would have an unprecedented physical and technological presence during this war prompted the government to consider other options for handling the media that assembled in the Persian Gulf. As more than two thousand journalists gathered to cover the war it was quickly decided that a three strand system, controlled by the coalition forces, would be the most effective way to both organize the chaos associated with competing news outlets and disseminate the official government perspective. The triple prong system was comprised of;

- i) The Joint Information Bureau in Dhahran
- ii) Daily briefings held in Riyadh
- iii) A news pool system for journalists attached to forces at the front

In the news pool system a select number of journalists were assigned to one of a dozen pools, comprised of members from each of the major media industries, on a rotating basis and were expected to share their reports with other

members of the media. Once a 'security review' of their copy had been carried out by military officials it would be transmitted, by the Pentagon, to the rest of the news media (Philip 2). Despite its previous use, in Panama in 1989, the press pool system was not immediately welcomed by the military or the media. The system was only accepted by the military in the Gulf because officials reasoned that it would be better than having reporters roam freely as they had, with disastrous public relations implications, during the Vietnam war. It was grudgingly accepted by the media because it was better than the alternative of being completely prohibited from covering the conflict, as they had been in Grenada (Taylor 36).

Securing an initial spot in a pool did not necessarily mean that a reporter got to stay. Permanent spots were available only to larger news organizations, while smaller outlets were expected to rotate staff through the remaining slots. This rule meant that many journalists, especially those from the smaller or independent media outlets, never received a pool position.

The American military, which led the UN forces in entering the conflict, contended that unilateral coverage would not be possible and they announced that independent journalists, those who chose to work outside of the press pool system, would be detained and returned to Dhahran if found within 100 miles of the frontlines (Taylor 186). Only a handful of reporters chose to work as unilaterals in the Persian Gulf because the dangerous conditions, expense and general lack of physical resources made it too difficult for journalists, most of whom had little to no experience with the military or covering war (Thrall 203).

Given the rigid confines imposed by the military, and the strict implementation of the three prong media system, most journalists found it virtually impossible to provide alternative perspectives, and the official government line consistently dominated most news reports.

Almost two weeks before the combat portion of the war formally began the Pentagon introduced a series of restrictions on what the media could cover (Thrall 163). Amongst the areas deemed off limits by the military were:

- i) spontaneous interviews with soldiers and military officials
- ii) off the record interviews with troops in the field
- iii) filming or photography of soldiers in 'agony or severe shock' and 'imagery of patients suffering from severe disfigurement'

During the Persian Gulf War women correspondents accounted for approximately 200 of the 2000 journalists officially registered with the American military, although it still remains unclear exactly how many of these women were assigned to the media pools. The obvious isolation and loneliness many undoubtedly felt amongst a sea of male colleagues was compounded by the fact that they were working in a country where gender discrimination was not only condoned but it was encouraged. In the Persian Gulf women are prevented from operating motor vehicles or baring their flesh in public because of their gender (Beasley & Gibbons 281). American women correspondents assigned to cover the war in the Gulf were also expected to adhere to these cultural practices. These gender distinctions served as restrictions which at times impaired and limited their ability to cover the story far more than any limitations their male

colleagues may have experienced. For example, as women are prohibited from being alone with a man who is not her husband, female correspondents would be unable to meet male sources privately which could greatly affect their ability to cover various stories.

Besides being relatively absent from the press system during the war women were seldom the subject of the media coverage produced about the conflict. A *Women, Men, and Media* study conducted as the war intensified in 1991 noted that most, roughly 80%, of the newspaper articles pertaining to the war focused on the male experience. Stories which focused on American and Iranian men, their jobs, their weaponry and their opinions dominated the coverage while stories about women, both American and Iranian, were uncommon and when they did occur they tended to focus on their family histories (Beasley & Gibbons 286).

### *The Washington Post*

*The Washington Post* occupies a distinguished place within American media history and in recent decades it has come to be recognized as a progressive workplace for female journalists. *The Washington Post* was started by Stilson (Hutch) Hutchins in 1877, hired its first female reporter, Calista Halsey, in 1878 and quickly earned a reputation as the one of the first left leaning newspapers in the United States (Roberts 1-6 ). From its early days the publication's concern with political activities and government happenings was

clear. As Charles M. Roberts wrote in his informative work, *The Washington Post: The First 100 Years*,

Hutchins set up shop in the capital because he knew, as did so many before and after, that a Washington newspaper could command the daily attention of men in power in all branches of national government (6).

Early editions of the paper contained a substantial amount of local and foreign news, and indeed, this focus on government and military involvement at home and abroad continues throughout the publication today. When America increased its involvement in Vietnam the *Post* was extensively criticized, by its competitor and readers, for its delay in covering the conflict. Like many other media outlets of the time the *Post* seemed rather oblivious to the international significance of the conflict going on in Vietnam. For reasons that still remain somewhat unclear, the paper did not open a bureau in Saigon until 1964, several years after *The New York Times* had. When the *Post* finally established a presence in south east Asia it chose to assign a male correspondent, Canadian John Maffre (Roberts 73).

Just a year earlier Katharine Graham had assumed her position as the first female president in *The Washington Post's* history. This was a historically significant occurrence not only for the paper but also for the field of American journalism itself, which had until this point seen relatively few women assume top managerial positions. Katharine Graham soon promised to "... as fast as possible [make] consistent with quality and opportunity the role of women newsroom employees particularly in top and middle management positions" (Roberts 429). Subsequently, a 'Newsroom Equal Employment Opportunity Committee' (EEOC)

was established at the *Post* to monitor gender issues within the corporation. The committee's first report encouraged management to "...break out of its normal pattern of recruitment ...now badly lopsided in favour of white males" (Roberts, 429).

In 1972 the EEOC claimed female *Post* employees were being unfairly denied promotional opportunities and were disproportionately confined to working in areas traditional considered part of the female domain, such as the 'Style' section. Katharine Graham and her management team took the allegations seriously and soon thereafter the gender division in the 'Style' section reached a fairly equal male to female ratio after many women were promoted to higher status positions within the newsroom operations (Roberts 429). As Roberts noted, Katharine Graham appeared to be "...acutely aware of her responsibility to advance women at her paper" (429). Subsequently, by 1976 46% of all new employees hired by *The Washington Post* were women (429). It is just such a commitment to gender equality, as demonstrated by *The Washington Post*, and too often missing from most other mainstream newsrooms, which insures that skilled women correspondents, such as Molly Moore, are given the opportunity to cover major stories of war and conflict firsthand.

### *Molly Moore*

As a senior foreign correspondent with *The Washington Post* Molly Moore covered the Persian Gulf war in 1991, and, like many of her colleagues, went on to write a book about her experiences entitled, *A Woman at War: Storming*

*Kuwait with the U.S. Marines.* Moore's career as a war correspondent did not end after her time in the Gulf. She went on to cover conflict around the world, including Somalia, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq.

Together with her husband, *Post* reporter John Ward Anderson, Molly Moore served three years as the paper's Jerusalem correspondent before assuming her current position heading up the Paris bureau as the most senior correspondent on the *Post's* foreign staff (*The Washingtonian*, Online). In recent years Molly Moore has publicly spoken out in support of the growing presence of female correspondents in war zones. According to Moore,

[S]ince the Gulf War, I've seen a steady increase in the number of women war correspondents, both from American and European news organizations. Whereas women were somewhat of a novelty in the first Gulf War, we're now solidly represented in almost every conflict. The truth of the matter is that the news organizations are so overextended in their coverage of war zones the world over, that women willing to serve in danger zones are being given the opportunity as never before...After the last decade of wars, many women war correspondents have far more experience on the battlefields than some U.S. soldiers serving on the front lines; as a result there certainly has been a decline in the kind of prejudice some women felt from some troops or officers-or editors... (*The Washingtonian*, Online).

### *The Boston Globe*

*The Boston Globe* was started by Maturin Ballou in March, 1872. As Lyons' work, *A Newspaper Story: One Hundred Years of The Boston Globe*, notes, the *Globe* was a publication that from its earliest days sought to foster and encourage the advancement of its female employees. One of the first employees hired by the paper was a woman, "...a rarity of that period when women had not even gotten into offices as stenographers" (Lyons 10). Georgia

Hamilton was originally hired as a 'girl Friday' doing the miscellaneous assignments deemed appropriate for women of the time. Her skill and determination quickly earned her the respect of her colleagues and she was soon given the responsibility of reporting more serious stories (Lyons 10). *The Boston Globe* remained a private company for a century following its founding but shortly after Elizabeth Neuffer filed her last report from the Persian Gulf war, the *Globe* merged with the New York Times Company in the largest ever newspaper acquisition in American history. In recent years the *Globe* has often been accused of liberal bias despite the fact that it has hosted a variety of different viewpoints within its pages and has even provided an editorial home for several conservative commentators.

### *Elizabeth Neuffer*

During her lifetime *Boston Globe* correspondent Elizabeth Neuffer excelled at virtually everything she did. After graduating with a history degree from Cornell University Neuffer, who spoke four languages, went on to earn a Master's degree in political philosophy from the London School of Economics. By the time she covered the Persian Gulf war for *The Boston Globe* in 1991 she was no stranger to covering major stories or the inner workings of the American government as the *Globe's* European correspondent. Over the course of her career she covered important international stories such as the demise of the Soviet Union and the subsequent fall of its leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. As both a

roving reporter and the United Nations correspondent she traveled to places like Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq.

Before embarking on her career in journalism, Neuffer worked for the same government she would later report on when she served as deputy press secretary to U.S. senator Christopher Dodd. Prior to joining the *Globe's* staff in 1988 she was a freelancer for such prestigious publications as *The New York Times* and *Time* magazine. In 1991, at the age of 34 Neuffer was sent to the Persian Gulf to cover the war for the *Globe*.

In 1997 she received the SAIS Novartis Prize for excellence in International Journalism for "Buried Truth", a 10-part series on the atrocities of war crimes in Rwanda and Bosnia. The following year Neuffer's work was again recognized when the International Women's Media Foundation awarded her the Courage in Journalism award. In 2001 she published a book, *The Key to My Neighbors' House: Seeking Justice in Bosnia and Rwanda*, based on her research.

Tragically, while covering the aftermath of 'Operation Iraqi Freedom' on May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2003 Elizabeth Neuffer was killed in a car accident in the city of Samarra, just outside of Baghdad. She was survived by her longtime partner, Peter Canellos, the *Globe's* Washington Bureau Chief. In responding to news of her death *Globe* publisher Richard Gilman summarized the feelings of her colleagues when he said,

Elizabeth Neuffer was among that cadre of reporters who are at their best when the danger is greatest. With virtually no regard for their personal safety, they feel compelled to be wherever in the world that news may be occurring. The *Globe* is fortunate to have people with that bravery. We

were fortunate to have Elizabeth and it is devastating to all of us that she is gone. We will forever remember her for her career of heroic and distinguished reporting, which for many years has given insight to our readers and great distinction to the pages of this newspaper (*The Boston Globe*, Online)

Neuffer did not write about her experiences as a woman covering the Gulf in her articles for the *Globe* and they have not been documented in any of the secondary literature or narratives that exist on women war correspondents. Her sudden death robbed her of any future opportunity to tell that story.

### *The 2003 Iraq War*

Historians will undoubtedly argue over the causes of the 2003 Iraq war for years to come. While the exact reasons for the conflict are debatable, Phillip Knightley aptly summarized the primary factors in an updated edition of his work, *The First Casualty*, when he attributed the American call to war to the fact that the U.S. thought of Iraq as 'unfinished business' (527). The influence that Iraq's wealth of oil reserves had on the decision to go to war is a contested issue. What is undeniable is the American belief that they were fighting a noble and justified battle against a ruthless tyrant. According to Knightley, in the eyes of the American government,

Saddam Hussein is an evil dictator; he is aggressive and repressive; he organized the invasion and annexation of a member state of the U.N. (Kuwait) and ruthlessly suppresses his own people; he is working hard to acquire weapons of mass destruction and when he does, he will be prepared to use them; he has ignored all efforts by the international community to restrain him; the only method he understands is force so we (the American and Allied forces) are justified in a pre-emptive strike (528).

During the early part of the 21<sup>st</sup> century many American women were advancing within different branches of the U.S. military, including Martha McSally, who made history when she became the first woman to command a fighter squadron in the U.S. air force. By the time the Iraq war began more than 200,000 women were enlisted in the U.S. military in all areas of service including the Air Force, Army Navy, Marines and Coast Guard but they continued to be prohibited from taking part in direct combat. Despite being prevented from engaging in direct fighting on the frontline women were present in other capacities, involving supplies and logistics which meant, that like in the Persian Gulf war, they were in just as much danger as the male soldiers directly involved in the fighting. Subsequently, more than 40 women in the American military died during the Iraq war (Watson, 2005).

After their efforts to implement the pool system during the Persian Gulf war the United States military realized that it would have to devise a new plan for working with the media as it prepared to go to war with Iraq early in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Mainstream media outlets demanded greater access, many argued that the herding of a select group of correspondents into a press pool as had been done in the past was simply inadequate in today's 24 hour news environment. Rapid technological advances that had occurred in recent years meant that war correspondents had access to the most advanced satellite technologies and state of the art equipment which made it possible to transmit reports from the battlefield to Americans with greater speed and ease than ever before.

Pentagon officials recognized that the media's capabilities and the general public's demand for news and information could either help them win the public relations battle or completely destroy their chance for victory in the eyes of the American public, as many believed the media coverage had done during the Vietnam war. The answer, senior Pentagon officials decided, was to embed journalists with military units. By assigning a reporter to live, eat, sleep, travel and even shower beside the soldiers they would be writing about, the military claimed there would be a greater opportunity for Americans to understand the inner workings of war and precisely what was happening on the front (Schechter 20).

The practice of embedding is not new. It had been used by in previous conflicts, including the First World War when the British Army made arrangements for six correspondents to be embedded with British troops stationed in France (Knightley 531). The journalists, who lived and traveled exclusively with the troops to whom they had been assigned, were given the honorary rank of captain, wore a military uniform and were shown only what the British military felt they should see before having their work submitted to censors for final approval. At the end of the war all six correspondents were given Knighthoods (Knightley 531-532).

Despite such earlier uses, the embedding system had never been orchestrated to the same degree that it was in Iraq when American and foreign reporters were embedded with U.S. and British forces. The program involved over 900 journalists, a little fewer than 10% of whom were women (Pfau et al 72).

Government and military officials deny that the gender of potential embeds was ever considered by the military during the allocation of assignments, implying that responsibility for any sort of gender imbalance lies with the media outlets responsible for assigning specific reporters (Huffman & Sylvester, 2005).

One important advantage of the embedding system is that it does allow for rich and extensive coverage of a particular military unit (Pfau et al, 2004). The very nature of the program ensures that most coverage would focus on the experiences of the particular unit and profiles of individual personnel. This can work well as an appeal to the local hometown readers who are able to follow the experiences of their local heroes. However, this can also be dangerous because such personalization of news can lead to the decontextualization of the story, excluding the larger context and in-depth analysis (Pfau et al 78).

The embedding system is advantageous for journalists because it provides essentially limitless access to a particular unit in addition to the use of military transport and accommodation and physical protection from harm. Similar facilities and opportunities for access to combat units were not afforded to unilateral reporters in Iraq.

Without question, the embedded system provided the sort of up-close and personal perspective on combat unavailable to unilateral or pool reporters. Yet, regardless of such advantages, there is a major drawback to the program that can profoundly affect the coverage which is generated that must be acknowledged. This obvious danger is that journalists may become too close to the military units they have been assigned to cover and will then be unable to

objectively report on what they are witnessing. Some critics have gone so far as to caution that the embedding system has the potential to produce effects similar to that of the 'Stockholm Syndrome'. If that were the case journalists may lose their objectivity as they become dependent on their subjects to ensure their survival (Pfau et al 76).

Of the 903 reporters embedded during the war, 136 were with British forces and the remainder were assigned to American units. None of the smaller military units from the other allied nations had reporters assigned to them. The vast majority of embedded reporters were working for American media outlets with only a little more than 20% of all embeds holding a citizenship other than American. Even allied countries such as Australia, which had a direct role in combat, had very little access to the embedded system. Only two Australian journalists were selected to embed and even then they were assigned to American rather than Australian units. Indeed, as Danny Schechter wrote in *Embedded: Weapons of Mass Deception*, "the Anglo-American dominance of reporters is no accident, it is a key part of the strategy" (84).

Embeds were required to sign a contract agreeing to abide by the terms and conditions set out by the Pentagon. Journalists were expected to self-censor their reports in order to ensure that any information, deemed by the military to be critical to ongoing military activities, would not be released by the media, thereby endangering both military operations and personnel safety. The military also made it clear to reporters that close-up images of dead or wounded soldiers or graphically vivid print accounts were taboo ( Rutherford 71). In return for their

cooperation the military assured members of the media that their reports would be transmitted back to the United States as quickly as possible.

### *The Chicago Tribune*

*The Chicago Tribune* was founded on June 10, 1847. Its first issue declared “The Chicago Tribune will be neutral in nothing; it will be independent in everything” (Roberts, 1997). In 1918 the *Tribune* established the first foreign news service staffed exclusively by Americans when Fredrick Smith became the first American correspondent to arrive in Berlin following the Armistice (Roberts 430-431).

In 1911 Robert R. McCormick, a staunch Republican actively involved in politics in Chicago became the president of *The Chicago Tribune*. Always a military buff McCormick traveled to Russia in 1915 to observe how WWI was going on the Eastern front. This trip fostered his deep interest in military affairs and was reflected in the content of his newspaper. Thanks to McCormick’s early influences the Tribune’s commitment to war coverage has persevered long after his tenure ended (Roberts, 1997). Today, it is commonly believed *The Chicago Tribune* maintains a Republican slant in its coverage like that begun under McCormick’s leadership.

### *Kirsten Scharnberg*

After graduating from the University of Iowa’s journalism program in 1998 Kirsten Scharnberg soon found herself employed by *The Chicago Tribune*. It was

a job that would eventually lead her to cover the 2003 Iraq war embedded with the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne division in Kuwait.

If being a female embedded reporter, or a 'fembed' as they were commonly called, was not enough of a novelty Scharnberg was the only woman in an entire camp of 700 men because women were not allowed in the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne division. This sort of isolation meant the Scharnberg would have to rise at 4 am daily to hike to a neighbouring base camp to shower in the quarters provided for the female soldiers assigned to that unit.

Unlike other female correspondents who went before her Scharnberg did not have to plead with her editors to assign her to the story. Rather, as Scharnberg explained in an interview with her college newspaper, one of her editors simply called her at home, during her family's Thanksgiving celebration, to tell her she had been assigned to the story. Scharnberg's experience is a reflection of two factors that have changed the way journalism is done in recent years. Firstly, that newspaper editors are now more willing to consider women journalists for such assignment which had previously been reserved exclusively for men. Secondly, the long hours culture, which has always been a part of job, requires that female as well as male journalists be available and accessible any time and anywhere, including during Thanksgiving dinner. As Braser notes, in a profile of Scharnberg for the *Iowa Journalist*, being an embedded journalist provided her with unparalleled access to U.S. troops but it also challenged her ability to remain objectively removed from them. According to Braser,

The challenges of covering a war objectively while living, eating and sleeping with those fighting for their country have proven a valid concern

for Scharnberg. She spends her days talking to the men about their families at home, their children and wives. She watches them do training and listens to their commanders worry over how well their men will perform against the bevy of unknown challenges that lie ahead. She jokes with them in the long meal lines. She knows who writes to their wives every day. She knows which guys pray before bed, and which lie awake and worry. To the folks reading her work at home, the men are part of the collective military forces, their daily battles reported impartially. To Kirsten Scharnberg, they are a collection of individuals whose personal battles are familiar. Like them, she sets aside her own emotions and fears every day and does her job. (*Iowa Journalist*, Online) .

As will be noted later, Kirsten Scharnberg briefly documents her own experiences of reporting the war in her coverage for *The Chicago Tribune*. Unlike Gloria Emerson or Molly Moore, Scharnberg has not yet explicitly addressed the impact that her gender had on her ability to do her assignment. Yet, based on Braser's assessment, it seems that Scharnberg tended to related to her subjects as a female journalist is expected to do (Sebba, 1994), focusing on their families, personal lives and experiences of war.

### *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*

*The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* is a relatively young publication with its first edition published in 1995. The paper was the result of a merger between two older and distinguished publications, *The Milwaukee Journal* (1882) and *The Milwaukee Sentinel* (1887), which were both owned by the same parent company, Journal Communication. The paper's circulation has hovered around 250, 000 and while the publication has traditionally been considered conservative it has, in recent years openly demonstrated some liberal tendencies, including

openly endorsing Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry in 2004 (*Journal Sentinel Online*, Online).

### *Katherine Skiba*

During her time as a reporter and photographer with *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, Katherine Skiba has covered a variety of different stories from presidential elections, to the Oklahoma bombing to the funeral of Diana, Princess of Wales. An award winning reporter and teacher and a former Neiman Fellow at Harvard University, Katherine Skiba now travels throughout the United States discussing her experiences as an embedded journalist in Iraq.

Skiba grew up in suburban Chicago and graduated from the journalism program at Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin where she was named "Outstanding Graduate in Journalism" by Sigma Delta Chi, the society of Professional Journalists. She was appointed Washington correspondent for the *Journal Sentinel* in 2003. It was this appointment that would take the reporter, who was married, in her mid-forties and had more than 20 years of experience, to the war in Iraq where she was the sole female civilian among the 2,300 soldiers in the 159<sup>th</sup> Aviation Brigade. Skiba chronicled her experiences in a book entitled *Sister in a Band of Brothers: Embedded with the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division*. When questioned as to whether or not being a female gave her any special insight or perspective Skiba noted,

A lot of [male journalists] I know immersed themselves in war books and movies in their youth, while my interest in the military developed only during the course of my professional work. Perhaps I saw things less through the prism of all wars past, and more simply from the heart. That

said, I knew I'd earned my stripes, when, after an Iraqi missile threatened the brigade, a commander sergeant major announced: "You've got balls" (*Sister in the Band of Brothers*, Online).

Skiba also acknowledges that within the predominately male sphere of the 159<sup>th</sup> Airborne she was an outsider on two levels. She was a civilian and a woman. While some of the troops did not receive her well at first Skiba felt that many were sorry to see her go when her term as an embed ended. Her reports gave their families, friends, and the public a sense of their role in the conflict (*Sister in the Band of Brothers*, Online).

Several interesting connections can be noted based on the discussion of the wars, newspapers and correspondents found in this chapter. Vietnam, the Persian Gulf and Iraq wars were all American led conflicts that attracted a lot of media attention. In each war reporters were treated slightly differently by the American military which affected how they were able to do their jobs. From the lax regulations and nonexistent frontlines in Vietnam, to the implementation of a limited number of media pools in the Persian Gulf to the embedding process in Iraq, each situation either helped or hindered the journalists in unique ways.

Also, the role of women journalists and soldiers had been, consistently over the course of the three conflicts, extremely restricted. Despite small advances in recent years the presence of women in both groups is still not reality.

All of the newspapers profiled in the chapter are fairly prestigious American dailies with medium to large size circulations. At one time or another all of the papers have had specific or obvious political allegiances which must be

acknowledged because they will undoubtedly influence the paper's coverage of war. The varying degree to which the publications accepted women journalists must also be acknowledged. Some papers, like *The Boston Globe*, welcomed women reporters early on while others, like *The New York Times*, have not always provided a friendly work environment for them.

Some of the publications, like *The Washington Post* and *The Christian Science Monitor* have had female owners or managers over the years, which Craft and Wanta (2003) have argued likely helped the advancement of women within these publications. Amongst those papers that appear to have been predominately controlled by male editors there seems to be, in recent years, an increased willingness to assign women to cover war. This is seen in a comparison of Gloria Emerson's experience, in which she had to fight for her assignment to Vietnam, to Kirsten Scharnberg's experience over 30 years later, in which her male editor approached her about covering the war. Scharnberg's experience, while it may be an isolated case, seems to support Ricchiardi's claim that, "...editors are beginning to give women equal consideration for top notch, tough assignments" (3). The more positive receptions on the battlefield were experienced by the correspondents who covered the most recent conflict. Indeed, the opportunities afforded to Scharnberg and Skiba to cover the war in Iraq must be, at least partially, attributed to the work of earlier correspondents, like Emerson and Pond, who were able to open doors for their successors and establish a limited presence for women war correspondents on the frontlines of major conflicts.

In recent years higher education seems to be a necessary qualification for most female war correspondents. With the exception of Gloria Emerson, who was a self-taught journalist and Molly Moore, whose education is unknown, all of the other correspondents have post-secondary educations. It is important to note that only one of the journalists, Kirsten Scharnberg has a journalism degree. All of the others have degrees in the humanities and social sciences in areas such as international relations or political philosophy, areas that would have undoubtedly helped them in contextualizing the wars that they reported on.

While it was difficult to determine the exact ages of all the correspondents profiled in this study it should be noted that several were around 40 years old. This is not surprising because most of the correspondents were well into their journalism careers before they were assigned duties in the war zone. This is likely a reflection of the fact that many of the correspondents, especially those assigned to the earlier conflicts, had to prove themselves capable and worthy of such assignments to their editors. The exception to this rule is Kirsten Scharnberg, who was assigned to Iraq 5 years after graduating from journalism school. This could be, as Ricchiardi noted, a reflection of the willingness of editors in recent years to give women more consideration for such assignments (Ricchiardi, 2).

Similarities can also be noted amongst the personal lives of the correspondents. Through this research it became apparent that half the correspondents were married, with two of the three being married to other journalists who worked for the same publication that they did. This may be a

result of the 'long-hour culture' (Ross, 2001) of the field, which seems to encourage journalists to pursue relationships with those inside their professional circle. None of the female correspondents had children, which supports findings of earlier studies on women in journalism that concluded that they find it virtually impossible to combine career and family aspirations (Ross, 2001; van Zoonen, 1988; Ricchiardi, 1994).

As, Craft and Wanta have noted (2004), the life experiences of a journalist may naturally influence how they construct the stories that they report. If a journalist's work is, to some degree, a reflection of their lived experiences, it is important to have some understanding of their personal history. While they covered different conflicts, at different stages in their personal and professional lives, the lived experiences of the six correspondents profiled in this research can help to facilitate an understanding of the kinds of coverage they created and how their lives were both an influence on, and influenced by, their experiences as a war correspondents.

### **Chapter Three : Methodology**

Content analysis is a research technique which identifies and examines messages by extracting specified characteristics from a text in a systematic and replicable fashion. The unobtrusive nature of content analysis, in that it studies texts that already exist, makes it an ideal method for studying mass mediated messages in context, as this project does. The first use of content analysis as a method can be traced back to an 18<sup>th</sup> century Swedish study, which examined the content of ninety religious hymns, commonly considered to be the earliest study of its kind (Krippendorf, 1980;Newbold et al, 1998).

Developed further in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the approach, which can involve both quantitative and qualitative elements, was meant to lend some of the “rigor and authority of the natural sciences to the study of social phenomena” (Pickering et al 115). As a formal social science method the approach gained popularity, and public attention, between the World Wars when an intense concern about the potential influence of mass media emerged within the public sphere. Many private citizens and groups began expressing concern over what they perceived as the ability of mass mediated messages to manipulate members of the general public. Subsequently, content analysis came to be seen, and embraced, as a tool which would enable those most concerned, primarily academics and politicians, to detect the presences of propaganda filled messages ( Pickering et al 116).

Today, content analysis is frequently used in most disciplines within the social sciences but communication and cultural studies remain amongst its most appropriate domains. It is within these two fields that the method has been most widely used to study a multitude of diverse topics. Most recently content analysis has been called upon to investigate such unique areas as children's cartoons, music videos, the Internet, and sports reporting ( Pickering et al 116).

Content analysis as a research method is not without weaknesses which must be acknowledged when assessing the validity or appropriateness of a methodological approach. Firstly, it is often criticized for falsely masking itself as an objective research approach while simultaneously ignoring complex levels of meaning embedded within texts. As a method it strives to offer 'a big picture' from a large aggregate of texts in order to identify trends, patterns, and absences in coverage. Yet, as critics contend, this perspective can come at a cost because it 'skates over' complex multi-levels of meaning, focusing on the latent to the exclusion of manifest levels of meaning (Pickering et al 116).

As such, it is obvious that content analysis methodology can not make a claim of complete objectivity. The approach can not be considered value free because it does not analyze everything there is to evaluate in a given text. Instead, a clearly defined content analysis identifies certain aspects of the text to be examined, thereby making subjective decisions pertaining to the analysis (Newbold et al 94-95). Also, it must be noted that the results of a content analysis are not universal. Every study is unique and as such findings can not be

generalized and applied to other studies because the framework of categories and definition of terms and parameters will vary from project to project.

The approach can also be hindered by a lack of available texts relevant to the area of study. A researcher interested in studying an area that has generated relatively few media texts may find it virtually impossible to locate a sufficient quantity of material from which to draw their sample for analysis (Wimmer, Dominick 115) This, coupled with the fact that content analysis is tedious, extremely time consuming and can be expensive, depending on the nature of the material being examined, often discourages its use.

Such weaknesses must be acknowledged when assessing the appropriateness and effectiveness of the method but they do not overshadow the fact that content analysis' major strength as a communication research method lies in its ability to facilitate the identification, calculation, and interpretation of specific characteristics through which researchers can evaluate the messages and representations embedded within texts and in an effort to better understand their wider social significance.

The most unique and original contribution which this thesis can offer is an ongoing dialogue on the work of women war correspondents which can be seen in the following chapters. Indeed, it is through the unique design of the methodological approach and the analysis of results that new, and hopefully interesting, findings emerge for debate. The design and implementation of the method used in this research proved to be the most creative and exhilarating part of this project .

Several researchers (Wimmer & Dominick, 1987; Pickering et al, 1999; Newbold et al, 1998) have identified imperative steps that must be followed to ensure the integrity of the content analysis process. The first, and perhaps most critical step, is formulating a research question which clearly articulates the ultimate goal of the analysis. In the case of this project the main research questions being asked are how do women war correspondents cover war and what factors could account for, or contribute to, similarities or differences in the print coverage provided by multiple generations of female correspondents?

When performing a content analysis researchers are often tempted to 'count-for-the-sake-of-counting'. This should be avoided in an effort to provide more focused research results which could potentially impact mass media theory or policy (Wimmer & Dominick 116). Without a doubt, a well-formulated research question ensures the use of more accurate content categories which will generate more useful data collection (Wimmer & Dominick 116).

The next step is defining the universe or population from which the study will draw its material for analysis. Defining the universe necessitates the narrowing down of the type of coverage that will be analyzed. As Wimmer and Dominik note, the two elements which most often determine the parameters of the investigation are the topic area and the time period which is naturally defined by the event concerned. Once a universe or entire population has been identified a smaller sample is usually extracted for analysis because the entire population is usually too large to assess in a timely and accurate manner. By narrowing the

focus to manageable sample size researchers are also able to better ensure the consistency and reliability of their results. Sampling usually occurs in two stages. The first stage is the selection of a smaller unit of analysis from the entire population and then the second stage involves the further fragmentation of the sample in an effort to identify the unit of analysis to be investigated. In a content analysis of written texts this unit of analysis may vary from a single word to an entire article (Wimmer & Dominick 117) .

In the case of this study, there were two universal populations from which sample populations had to be derived. The first was the war and conflict population. Ultimately, the Vietnam war , the 1991 Persian Gulf war, and the 2003 war in Iraq were chosen as case studies because they all happened relatively recently, thus there are lots of primary and secondary source materials available and also because each war was predominately an American led conflict against their enemies of the time.

Also, these three wars offer an interesting continuum pertaining to the way that each conflict was covered by journalists. For example, during the Vietnam war reporters were not embedded with military units and faced very few press controls, while the Persian Gulf war saw reporters confined to media pools which directly limited their access to the frontlines. These controls were intensified further during the Iraq conflict through the rigid confines of the formal embedded program. Each of these situations presented unique challenges and opportunities for female correspondents, which, undoubtedly, affected their coverage in particular ways. Also, it should be stated that because of the

immense influence of the American government and military and the persistent presence of their media in each of these wars, it was decided that solely the work of American correspondents would be studied.

The second universe from which a smaller sample needed to be extracted was the entire population of women war correspondents. Given the time and space restrictions of the project it was decided that the work of two correspondents per conflict would be chosen. Initially, narrowing the universal population seemed to be a daunting task but it quickly became apparent that several factors would facilitate the exclusion of many potential candidates.

The first major obstacles in this stage resulted from the difficulties associated with identifying correspondents and securing copies of actual print newspaper articles written by women during the Vietnam war. While the Vietnam war may have been the most media covered war in history when it happened it became apparent in the course of this research that this was a recognition based primarily on the extensive broadcast, both radio and television, coverage that the war received. This is not to say that print reporters did not have a significant presence in Vietnam, but only a very few women served as print correspondents with the vast majority of accredited female journalists working for broadcast media outlets. As the result the universal sample size of Vietnam correspondents was already substantially limited by this project's exclusive focus on the work of print correspondents.

The next difficulty was actually identify the female print correspondents who reported from Vietnam and determining when, where, and for whom they

reported. A lot of biographies and collections about women correspondents in Vietnam have been written over the years. However, these works, which tend to emphasize the personal lives and private turmoil of the correspondents, such as failed relationships and battles with depression and illness, tend to skim over the professional accomplishments of the women in question. Such publications, while rich in anecdotal and biographical information, do relatively little to assist in determining specifics, such as the date range and publications titles for which correspondents were assigned to cover the war.

This dilemma was further complicated by the fact that the vast majority of searchable newspaper databases do not contain complete issues dating back to the time of the war, therefore it was impossible to locate articles by simply searching an author's name in one of the databases like Lexus Nexus or Factiva. This problem was compounded by the fact that many of the most prominent correspondents of the time, including Tad Bartimus, Martha Gellhorn, and Francis Fitzgerald worked as freelance reporters or for wire services making it difficult to identify the dates and publications in which their work would have been published. Furthermore, many publications did not give credit to freelancers in the byline of articles they authored. Instead, a story was simply attributed to the wire service or an anonymous correspondent identified solely by the region from which they were reporting.

Another factor which greatly reduced the population size from which a sample could be drawn was the fact that articles would only be considered if they had been single authored. It quickly became apparent that articles compiled

by foreign correspondents are often the product of a collaborative effort amongst several journalists in the field, often resulting in co-collaboration between male and female journalists, or between the reporter in the field and one or more editors in the newsroom. It was important to exclude any articles that had been co-authored or that listed anyone other than one of the preselected journalist in the by-line in an effort to ensure the copy being analyzed was in fact the sole work of the chosen correspondent. While every effort was made to ensure that the articles being studied were the original works of one of the six correspondents there is no way to determine what changes, both additions and omissions, were made by editors before publication and without input from the reporter.

Another factor that affected which journalists would be selected for use in the case study portion of this study was the size of the sample required. An adequate sample size was needed to ensure that the findings would be significant enough in quantity to enable researchers to draw some conclusions. Too small of a sample size could hinder the impact of the work or leave the study's conclusions vulnerable to criticism. Originally, a total sample size of 150 articles, twenty-five from each of the six chosen journalists, was decided upon. However, based on the criteria outlined above for identifying and selecting correspondents, it proved virtually impossible to acquire twenty-five articles written by each author. Subsequently, the total sample size was reduced slightly to 120 articles, twenty articles written by each of the six authors. Every effort was

made to ensure that the articles that were chosen were in relatively chronological order in an effort to ensure consistency.

Ideally, correspondents who had covered all three of the wars would have been selected. However, while it was possible to find journalists who had covered two of the three (Elizabeth Neuffer and Katherine Skiba each covered the Persian Gulf and Iraq wars) it was not possible to identify a single female print journalist who had consistently covered each of the conflicts and whose articles were accessible via electronic databases or archival records. In order to maintain consistency it was decided that the work of different journalists would be looked at for each war rather than examining the work of a few journalists covering multiple conflicts coupled with the work of other journalists covering a single conflict .

*The Historical Dictionary of War Journalism* (1997) was an important resource in identifying the dates and publications of specific correspondents from the Vietnam and Persian Gulf wars. Based on information found in the directory it was determined Gloria Emerson's coverage of the Vietnamese conflict was published in *The New York Times*. A search of the Lexis Nexus database indicated that, at the time of this research, articles dating back to the time frame in question were not accessible in electronic format. However, the database did provide the title, publication date, and page number as well as a brief abstract for each article. The first 20 articles which met the study's criteria for selection were then located on microfilm records. Rather than printing actual paper copies of each article, which proved awkward given the large typeface used by the paper

at this time, Emerson's articles were scanned electronically, converted to PDF format and burned onto compact discs for analysis later on.

Next, drawing once again on information found in *The Historical Dictionary of War Journalism* Elizabeth Pond's work was selected for inclusion as a Vietnam War case study. Microfilm containing editions of *The Christian Science Monitor* beginning in August 1967 was searched to find articles written by Pond. The first 20 articles were selected for further analysis.

The most recent conflicts proved to be significantly easier. In writings on the media's role in the Persian Gulf war Molly Moore and Elizabeth Neuffer were repeatedly mentioned as two of the leading female correspondents of the war. Moore and Neuffer both worked for successful newspapers, *The Washington Post* and *The Boston Globe* respectively, which ensured that copies of their articles were easily accessible through Lexus Nexus. While compiling these articles it became clear that the ones to which other journalists also contributed must be excluded from this study. For both Moore and Neuffer this meant the automatic exclusion of many of the byline articles they had co-written with others, whether in the war zone or at home.

Moore and Neuffer were also frequently published in other newspapers besides their 'home' publications. Such articles were also excluded from consideration in an effort to maintain the consistency and integrity of the sample.

These two factors, multiple authors and cross publication of articles, are likely the result of the use of the media pool system during the Persian Gulf war. Limited space in the media pools meant those reporters not assigned to a pool

were forced to rely on copy from those who were, so that journalists became increasingly dependent on each other. Access to limited amounts of information meant that reporters would often have to combine their notes in order to create any semblance of a comprehensible report. The first twenty articles by Moore and Neuffer that met the necessary criteria were selected.

Kirsten Scharnberg's articles on the 2003 Iraq war for *The Chicago Tribune* were the only pieces acquired using the Factiva database because the Tribune is not available through Lexus Nexus. Once again articles that did not feature Scharnberg as the sole author had to be excluded and the first 20 acceptable articles were chosen for analysis.

Katherine M. Skiba's writings for *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* were easily obtained through Lexis Nexus by entering her name, the publication and the approximate dates of the war into the database's search engine. The first twenty articles that met the necessary criteria were selected.

After securing all the articles to be analyzed it was necessary to design a coding sheet to record the results of each analysis on. In the case of this study the coding sheet (Appendix A) is a standard form, comprised of four parts, which enables the researcher to record a variety of pertinent information pertaining to each article. The first section, entitled *Incidentals*, provided an area to record information such as title of article, author, publication, date and page number to enable the easy identification of results later on. Also included in this section is a word count which was recorded in an effort to determine whether or not changes in story length between the conflicts could be noted.

The second part of the coding sheet, *Primary Topic/Aspect of Coverage* uses categories commonly considered to be amongst the most popular kinds of war and conflict coverage. The categories chosen include technical weaponry; which refers to coverage primarily concerned with the weapons or technologies used in war time. Dissent refers to those stories that devoted the bulk of their discussion to anti-war sentiment or activities. Stories that focus on civilian suffering are considered to be those that look specifically at the negative affects the war has on the civilian population that is directly affected by the fighting. In comparison, stories that emphasize troop morale look specifically at how the experience of war is affecting the soldiers who are fighting it. Strategy/military progress describes coverage that is primarily concerned with military planning or movement while political negotiation is a term used to refer to stories that appear to be primarily concerned with actions of political or government officials which can have a direct affect on the outcome of a war. All other stories that fell outside of these categories were classified as 'Other'. Stories about a reporter's personal experience of war, or civilian experiences that do not involve suffering, while rare, may be classified in this category.

Drawing upon a deductive approach this research requires a clear understanding of the kinds of media frames most commonly found in the news. This is an ideal approach because it is able to deal with large sample sizes, can easily be replicated and ensures that differences in framing within media can easily be detected (Semetko et al 95). Pan and Kosicki (1993) defined frame analysis as,

... a constructivist approach which examines news discourses with the primary focus on conceptualizing news texts into empirically operationalized dimensions; syntactical, script, thematic and rhetorical structures so that evidence of the news media's framing of issues in news texts may be gathered" (55).

The third section of the coding sheet, *News Frames*, looks to the frames identified by Neuman, Just, and Crigler (1992) as the most common frames used by the American media to report on a variety of issues. The frames which Neuman, Just, and Crigler identified, and which this study adopts, are conflict, human interest, responsibility, morality, and economic consequences.

Perhaps not surprisingly, Neuman, Just and Crigler identified the conflict frame as the most commonly used frame in U.S. news coverage of various issues. The conflict frame is most often used to polarize forces, emphasizing tensions or divisions amongst individuals, groups or institutions. This frame is perpetuated by the journalistic tradition of telling both sides of a story. It also serves as an effective approach for capturing the public's interest through narratives which work to differentiate the 'good' from the 'bad' or 'us' from 'them' (Neuman et al 66).

The human interest, or human impact, frame offers a more personalized perspective on an issue by describing specific individuals or groups who are personally affected by a story. This approach is often effective in lending an emotional angle to a story, thereby enabling journalists to attract and maintain public interest in a topic (Semetko & Valkenburg 95; Neuman et al 69).

Journalists strive to adhere to notions of objectivity which requires that they stay emotionally removed from the stories they are covering; thus, it has been argued

that reporters are likely to seek out news sources who openly express feelings of care, worry or compassion thereby enabling the reporter to avoid overt expressions of emotion while still incorporating them into a story where appropriate (Neuman et al 70-71).

In the morality frame an issue or event is situated within the context of moral prescription or religious doctrine (Semetko & Valkenburg 96). Journalists may seek to avoid direct reference to notions of morality by using quotations or inferences from their sources to raise an issue in a moral context (Neuman et al 72). The responsibility frame situates an issue or event in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its occurrence or outcome to a specific group or individual. This may be done in such a way as to provide praise or criticism.

In comparison, the economic frame looks at the consequences an event or issue will have economically on individuals, groups, institutions, a region or country (Semetko et al 96).

The fourth and final part of the coding sheet is the section entitled *Sources*. In this section the sources used in an article are recorded based on the occupation or credentials, numerical placement in the story (first, second, third) and whether they are quoted directly or indirectly.

On the first draft of the coding sheet the following occupations or credentials were included; academic, soldier, civilian, military official, government official, journalist/media work and 'other'. These occupational categories were used because preliminary reading suggested these types of sources were the

most frequently used in media reports of war. There was only enough space left on the chart to record the relevant information for up to six sources.

In all of the sections; the 'Primary Topics', 'News Frames' and 'Sources' the presence of a particular topic, media frame, or source was indicated on the coding sheet by the placement of an X in the appropriate spot.

In order to ensure the accuracy and completeness of the coding sheet a pilot study was conducted using 5, or 1%, of the articles collected from each author. These articles were coded in order to determine if there were any weaknesses or errors with the format. The pilot code also provided the coder with some practice in an effort to ensure consistency and accuracy throughout the process. Upon the completion of the pilot code it was noted that some minor changes needed to be made to the coding sheet before continuing with the codification process.

It was advised that 'Racial Issues' were added to the *News Frame* section of the coding sheet. In the *Source* section, spokesperson was included as an occupational/credential category. The number of columns allocated to record source placement was increased from five to seven and an additional column entitled 'Other' was added to record information pertaining to additional sources in articles which used more than the seven already allotted. Also, it was at this point that a space was allocated below the source chart to enable the researcher to compose brief notes about the article.

It was also noted during the pilot coding that many sources were credited anonymously. Without referencing their proper name or using of the proper

pronouns, she or he, it became impossible to classify these sources by gender. So, in order to reference the use of such sources the symbol N/G was adopted in order to indicate the presence of a source of particular occupation/credential but whose gender was unknown to the coder. In a few instances this N/G classification was also used when the source had a unisex name which made gender identification impossible. Otherwise, the letter M was used to represent the presence of a male source while the letter F is used to represent a female source. The appropriate symbol was recorded manually by the coder next to the X which indicated the occupation / credentials and numerical placement of the source.

After each of the 120 articles was coded individually the results were calculated using the coding calculation sheet (Appendix B). The material coded in the pilot study was recoded again during the official coding process to ensure reliability, because as Wimmer & Dominick note, “[r]eliability is present when repeated measurability of the same material results in smaller decisions or conclusions” (116).

A separate coding calculation sheet was used to record the overall results of the analysis of the work of each correspondent. The findings of each coding sheet were counted manually by the researcher. Each X that appeared on the coding sheets in the ‘Primary Topics/Aspect of Coverage’ and ‘News Frames’ sections was tabulated and totals recorded for each category within the section, then each category was ranked overall within its section to determine the frequency of its use.

After the results were tabulated and the categories in each of the three sections, 'Primary Topic / Aspect of Coverage', 'News Frames' and 'Sources', were ranked in order according to the frequency of their use .

When tabulating the results in the 'Source' section the chart used to record the presence of certain kinds of sources was further subdivided on the coding calculation sheet to include a grid on which the gender and kind of quote (M for male F for female and DQ for a direct quote and A for an attribution) could be recorded. In retrospect such a grid probably should have been used on the initial coding sheet rather than having the coder simply write the necessary symbols in the appropriate box.

In most research studies like this a team of multiple coders would be used to code the material. Often a project's primary researcher is not directly involved in the coding procedure but may instead oversee the process in an effort to preserve the integrity of the project. In this project the researcher also served as the sole coder. These dual roles can often make a project susceptible to criticism if it is believed that the researcher may have had preconceived expectations concerning the results which may have, either consciously or unconsciously, influenced the coding process. In an effort to preserve the credibility of this research an external coder, a fellow graduate student, was recruited to verify the coding results. The external coder was asked to code a selection of articles which had previously been coded by the researcher/coder during the pilot and official coding processes. The results obtained by the external and internal coders were then compared to ensure accuracy. Also, the external coder

calculated all the results from the individual coding sheets to determine the accuracy of the calculations recorded by the primary coder/researcher.

Findings were assessed on both the micro, or individual correspondent, level, and the macro level which considered the work of all six correspondents as a whole. When analyzing the results of a single correspondent it was noted which primary topics the reporter covered most frequently and which received little to no attention. The presence or absence of primary topics was also considered within each conflict and across all of the conflicts being studied.

Similarly, the 'News Frames' section was assessed on a wider scale to determine whether or not distinctive patterns were observable. For instance, the researcher questioned whether a correspondent seemed to favour a single frame, or instead varied the frames throughout their coverage.

In the section pertaining to source use it was crucial to assess which sources were given a voice and which were silenced. Here the research paid particular attention to patterns of source use. This was done in an effort to determine if a single gender or occupational category either dominated the coverage or was excluded from it. Amongst the questions considered by the researcher during the analysis portion of the study were what there patterns of particular kinds of source use? Did one gender or occupation dominate as a source? How were sources dispersed throughout the article? Were some kinds of sources more likely than others to have quotes directly attributed to them?

The incidentals recorded on the coding sheets, page number and word count were not considered on the coding calculation sheet but these findings

were not meant to be an integral part of this study. Instead, they were initially coded by the researcher to make it easier to locate specific articles or results. Had a noticeable variance been noted in the story placement or length it would provide an interesting additional point of analysis for the study. It was, however, not an integral part of the research objective.

After coding the articles it becomes important to consider how the articles in question may have been influenced by their relation to one, or several criteria which often determine a stories newsworthiness. In doing so this research is primarily influenced by Galtung and Ruge's influential work, "The Structure of Foreign News: The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crisis in Four Newspapers." In 1965 Johan Galtung and Marie Holmboe Ruge conducted research on the media coverage of international events in an effort to identify a series of specific news values, the criteria of which determines whether or not a story is deemed to be newsworthy in American media. In no way did Galtung or Ruge mean to imply that their findings are the end all and be all determining factors when selecting stories. Rather, the list of twelve points that they created merely indicates the most popular elements which influence most mainstream news agendas. While their research was conducted 40 years ago the values they identified are still pertinent and remain relevant to today's understanding of why some stories are reported while others are simply disregarded, and can contribute to an understanding as to why particular stories receive coverage in times of war. According to Galtung and Ruge (1965), the emphasis on negativity that is rampant in the news, and particularly evident in reports of war, is often

fuelled by the assumption that bad news makes for good news. As such, stories involving death, destruction, or turmoil are far more likely to garner media attention than positive pieces which focus on happiness or success. In the context of war coverage such an emphasis on the negative is easily attainable because stories of success or happiness are few and far between.

Frequency is a term used to describe an event's life span in relation to the medium's production schedule. Accordingly, events of short durations with clear cut beginnings, middles and ends which ensure the story can be bundled and delivered as a neat package are more likely to attract the media's attention. In the case of wars which can last anywhere from a few days, to weeks or in the case Vietnam, several years are difficult to package into clear cut stories, with distinct beginnings, middles and ends. Therefore, journalists are continuously looking for timely episodic stories from within the larger war narrative to document the evolution of the conflict.

Threshold is the third value critical to determining whether or not a story will be reported. The size of an event determines whether or not it will make it into the news. If a story is deemed to be newsworthy its threshold also dictates to what degree it will be covered by local, national or international media. Stories that have a large threshold are more likely to affect a significant number of people and are, therefore, more like to attract widespread coverage. In general war coverage, particular conflicts in which powerful allied nations are involved, have a large enough threshold to garner considerable international coverage

A story's threshold may be directly linked to the fourth news value,

unambiguity. If the meaning of an event can be immediately understood it is more likely to make the news. The less complicated, easier to understand a story is better.

Meaningfulness is critical to determining a story's importance. Journalists always consider if a potential story will have meaning for their intended audience. Hartley coined the term cultural proximity to refer to the notion that happenings outside of one's own culture or geographical location are seldom seen by the audience to be inherently meaningful.

Proximity, whether physical or cultural, is critical. Stories with a local connection, or those that are deemed to be relevant to the target audience, are more often likely to appear in the news than items that do not have such an element of reconcilability or meaningfulness. Subsequently, global news or foreign reports are often made to be more relevant to local audiences by adding a local spin. In the case of war reporting this is usually done by emphasizing the role of local soldiers who are cast as heroes. Even the war correspondents themselves may be cast in such a role because they have a connection to the local audience (Rolston & McLaughlin 193-195). References to military movements or strategy are often made in connection to their impact on 'our boys' and their brave deeds (Rolston & McLaughlin 195). While these reports may be criticized for glossing over the larger issues of political negotiation, suffering or antiwar sentiment, as Rolston and McLaughlin noted, "...stories of local heroes and war correspondents do have good news values because they provide local

drama and colour and a vital connection between readers and the distant conflict..."(199).

Consonance is the news value which refers to the efforts of most journalists to frame a story within the confines of an angle which they have envisioned for the story. Galtung and Ruge surmised that if the media expected something to happen it would, and it would get coverage. If a story is unexpected it is also more likely to get coverage. Unexpected or unambiguous activity is often guaranteed to make it into the news. War is fully of unknowns, as outcomes can be predicted or projected but can never entirely be foreseen.

Another factor that is considered by journalists when they are establishing their news agendas is a story's potential for continuity. Some stories lend themselves well to ongoing coverage because they have a continuing impact and facilitate the development of an ongoing narrative which is often used to get audiences to 'tune in tomorrow'. In the context of war reporting this is especially true. Each new day brings with it a new chapter in the narrative which keeps audiences tuned to the coverage to find out the latest information on military movements, political negotiations or the casualty count .

Composition of the news is a value over which news editors have the most control. Some stories are disregarded simply as a matter of preserving the balance of news. For instance, some foreign news may be excluded to ensure that domestic stories receive the appropriate attention to fulfill the media outlets' mandates. This is seen in the media's coverage of war when some stories about a particular aspect of the war garner a lot of media coverage while other aspects

appear to go unreported, perhaps because they challenge the political allegiances or news mandates of the particular media outlet.

Reference to elite nations also determines the newsworthiness of a story. Stories which focus on powerful, wealthy countries that are culturally similar to our own are most likely to receive coverage. A major contributor to this is the fact that media outlets are far more likely to have correspondents stationed in richer powerful nations which ensures their stories are easily accessible. A similar concern exists for the activities of elite persons. Important people are often perceived as doing important or newsworthy things regardless of how trivial they actually end up being. The United States is a powerful Western nation, and its government and military leaders are powerful individuals, whose actions are commonly perceived as having far reaching and long-lasting global ramifications. Therefore, stories of wars or conflicts in which the U.S. is involved are more likely to garner media attention than those that American forces are not involved in.

Personification of news implies that events may be seen through the action of individuals. Such reports, which emphasize the human side of a subject are commonly considered soft news because, unlike hard or serious reporting, soft stories are oriented more towards people and emotions than statistical facts (Sebba 4). According to Sebba the soft versus hard news debate is further complicated by the fact that female correspondents, especially in wartime, appear to be oriented towards soft news while their male colleagues chose to report the hard news stories (4). Elizabeth Pond, attributed this distinction to the

socialization of the genders. According to Pond, "...society does allow women more freedom to operate using their feelings" (Sebba 5). This process of socialization makes it more acceptable for women to cover emotionally intense stories about orphanages or civilian suffering, which Sebba maintained were the real stories of war, and thus the hardest news of all (5). War stories are often personified by emphasis on the personal experiences of soldiers, military officials or civilians.

Content analysis, while not without its weaknesses, is well suited to a study like this which seeks to encapsulate the 'big picture' from a large aggregate of texts in order to identify patterns or abnormalities in the coverage. The formula for this content analysis was designed specifically for this study and was created by following a series of systematic steps in an effort to ensure the integrity of the sample population, the sampling of articles collected, and the findings that were generated. Also, the twelve news values identified by Galtung and Ruge can inform an understanding of why the six correspondents reported on the stories that they did when applied to the discussion and analysis of coverage which appears in the following chapter

#### ***Chapter Four: Discussion***

In this section the findings of the content analysis will be discussed. Firstly, the work of individual correspondents is examined to assess the topics they covered, how they framed their coverage and the kinds of sources they used. Next, after the findings of each case study have been presented, the results are considered across the conflicts to note what broader observations may be inferred regarding the kinds of coverage provided by the six correspondents. In the overall analysis / discussion section specific attention is paid to the links, similarities, and differences noted in the coverage provided over the years.

The Vietnam War:

*Elizabeth Pond, The Christian Science Monitor*

For the purposes of this research 20 of Elizabeth Pond's articles, published in *The Christian Science Monitor* between August 8, 1967 and October 14, 1967 were analyzed. The majority of Elizabeth Pond's coverage of the war focuses on the effects of the war on the Vietnamese presidential campaign (8 August 1967; 25 August 1967; 26 August 1967; 28 August 1967; 30 August 1967) and election (20 September 1967 ; 3 October 1967). Here the emphasis is on the local Vietnamese experience, of both civilian voters and presidential candidates. Pond's work explored the Vietnamese electoral process (1 September 1967) and sought to probe the corrupt nature of the process (30 August 1967). She is not afraid to write about the frustrations of civilians, the

disorganization of the electoral process or the obvious corruption of candidates and the whole process in general and the ramifications of these events on the ongoing war.

Given that most of Pond's articles from Vietnam focus on both the ongoing fighting and the presidential election campaign it should not be too surprising that the most frequent topics or aspects of her coverage was political negotiation and strategy and military progress which encompassed 30% of her articles. As such, it becomes evident that Pond approached her coverage of the war as it pertained to ramifications on the political process. Stories about dissent appeared in 15% of Pond's articles. Profiles accounted for only 10% of all her reports, but, like Emerson, Pond profiles a diverse cross section of people and communities in her coverage which addresses broader issues, but in which the profiling of individuals, groups, and specific communities are a critical component.

While civilian suffering is considered the primary topic in only 5% of articles this statistic should not be interpreted as a general absence of this theme. It must be noted that civilian suffering is repeatedly addressed, although usually as a secondary topic, often presented as a consequence of the political corruption she sees as being rampant throughout the country. 10% of Pond's stories fell outside the confines of the predetermined categories and were classified as 'Other'. One such story discussed public meeting being held to educate voters about the political process and candidates in Vietnam (26 August 1967). In the second articles classified as 'Other' Elizabeth Pond addressed her

own experiences of living in Vietnam. In doing so she was one of the first correspondents to have written an entire article about her own experiences, “*Can This Wizard of a Lizard Fix Things?*” (2 October 1967). In her discussion of a chaotic week in Vietnam, Pond told her readers,

Jim has come back. At least one of them has. To convey the full import of this I should perhaps mention that my refrigerator gave out on the same day that my lizard vanished. This double tragedy occurred just after the national election here.

Here readers are introduced to Elizabeth Pond the person, they learn about the hectic, yet highly amusing week she had in Vietnam as her refrigerator broke down and her pet lizard escaped within a few days of each other. It is somewhat difficult to image a male war correspondent being able, or perhaps even willing to offer such a lighthearted account of their personal lives to readers.

Three news frames reappear throughout Pond’s coverage to the exclusion of all others. The human interest frame is present 50% of the time, followed closely by the conflict frame used in 45% of all articles and the often overlooked economic frame which was used in 5% of the reports. Morality, responsibility and racial issues are not used by Pond in any of her stories from Vietnam, at least not any of the stories contained in this research sample. It is particularly surprising that the morality frame is not present in any of Pond’s articles. Given the religious underpinnings of *The Christian Science Monitor* it seemed probable that she might have made reference to morals or religious doctrine in her coverage but this was not the case, at least in the sampling of articles that was coded in this study. It should be noted that *The Christian Science Monitor* was often critical of

the American involvement in the Vietnam war and frequently used its editorial pages to voice this concern. In an editorial published just before Elizabeth Pond began reporting from Vietnam the paper argued,

The allied forces are not at present winning the military war...we call upon the White House and the Pentagon to probe much more deeply the possibility of finding new ways of achieving the goal of making South Vietnam political independent and militarily secure (7 July 1967).

The paper's editorial position, which openly challenged the deployment of U.S. troops to the region, is also evident in Pond's coverage as the official American perspective or the use of American sources are infrequent in her reports.

Since she is primarily concerned with the political campaigns in Vietnam she focuses on the ramification that the election and apparent political corruption will have on those who are most closely affected by it, the Vietnamese people. Summarizing the general feelings of many of those opposed to the war and quoting directly from a letter sent by the American civilians in Vietnam urging Lyndon Johnson to pull out of the war, Pond's article maintained that,

...the Vietnamese suffer while the war lasts and this suffering is greatly intensified by today's American presence. We do not accuse anyone of deliberate cruelty... Viet Cong terrorism is real, so are the innocent victims of the United States bombing, strafing and shelling. Just as in the United States, in Vietnam there is no consensus about how the war should be stopped. But there is consensus on one issue: it must be stopped (21 September 1967).

As such, the Vietnamese perspective and the use of Vietnamese sources dominates Pond's coverage. In fact, she rarely quotes any of her sources directly at all. Instead, she uses a narrative style much like that of a storyteller to relay tales of Vietnamese political process and the civilian experience through

the attribution of information to sources. Her work draws upon only a few categories of sources. Again, her source use is reflective of her focus on the presidential election, with government officials having the most consistent presence in 46% of articles. Next, sources classified as 'Other' were present in 19 % of reports, the same percentage as civilians. Sources identified simply as 'unnamed', 'informed' or 'anonymous' were classified as 'Other'. Military officials were cited in 16 % of instances. Pond favoured a relatively exclusive sampling of sources which excluded many other kinds of perspectives from her coverage. Academics, journalists and media workers, soldiers and spokespersons are never cited as sources. Also, because Pond usually attributes quotes to sources rather than directly quoting them the credibility of her sources and indeed her reporting in general is somewhat diminished.

Of the forty-three sources used by Pond 60.4% were men, compared to 32% of cases where the gender of the source was unclear and only one instance in which a woman was recognizably cited as a source. Not surprisingly, given the patriarchal nature of Vietnamese and Cambodian societies and her focus on the political system, the sole female source used by Pond was a civilian. Pond's use of a few kinds of sources is so concentrated and the exclusion of occupational categories so extensive that while her coverage sheds important light on some serious discrepancies in the political system it leaves a lot to be desired as far as exploring the potential future ramifications for the country and its people.

While her coverage of public condemnation of the war was much less frequent and overt than Gloria Emerson's she did not hesitate to address public hostility towards the war in her articles. In describing an open letter written to condemn the war she noted,

A cri de coeur over the Vietnam war has just been issued by some young American civilians in Vietnam. The form is an open letter to President Johnson protesting the war and the American part in it. Those signing a letter of protest recommended that the United States and the South Vietnamese ...turn the Vietnamese war over to an international peace commission and abide by its recommendation (21 September 1967).

Pond's coverage also devotes a significant amount of attention to aspects of war more commonly considered to be part of the masculine reporting domain such as technological advances in weaponry and the logistics associated with mass troop movement.

The emphasis on political negotiation which has been noted in Pond's coverage challenges the analysis of Lande's work which indicated that political coverage tended to be provided by male correspondents in times of war. Stories of political negotiations are usually considered a form of hard news, therefore, the fact that it was an area covered by a female in Vietnam also serves to challenge Sebba (1994) and van Zoonen's (1998) assertion that women journalists tend not to cover hard news.

The exclusive and relatively limited nature of the sources used in Pond's coverage also challenges Thorson and Rodgers' (2003) contentions that women journalists tend to draw on a diverse sampling of sources. Their conclusion that women are more likely to use female sources cannot be substantiated in Pond's

work because she only cites a single female source throughout 20 articles. This finding does, however, further support Armstrong's (2004) claim that women have been predominately excluded as sources in newspaper stories. However, this finding must be considered in the context of the unequal gender relations that existed within Vietnam at the time that Pond was reporting. Women were confined to the private sphere which meant they were excluded from any public positions that might garner media attention.

Galtung and Ruge's notion of continuity is also evident throughout Pond's coverage. In writing stories relating to the presidential campaign and election in Vietnam, Pond was focusing on an area which lends itself well to ongoing coverage and encourages audiences to return to her reports frequently.

#### *Gloria Emerson, The New York Times*

The most common issues Emerson covered related to 'civilian suffering,' the focus of 60% of all her articles. Amongst her most unique stories told by Emerson was a feature about the popularity among troops and civilians in Saigon of postcards depicting the graphic realities of the war (7 March 1970). She also wrote about the boredom and suffering of Vietnamese children in a remote village that had been destroyed. A single television set served as their sole distraction (25 March 1970). This focus on the civilian experience, particularly civilian suffering, is likely the result of several factors including the lax regulations placed on journalists in Vietnam coupled with Emerson's general commitment to telling the 'other' side of the war story. She tended to avoid the

stereotypical war stories about missiles and troop deployment in favor of more original pieces. Profiles ranked second with 25% of the total coverage devoted to profiling civilians or members of the local communities that Emerson visited. This statistic is somewhat misleading and requires a little elaboration. While only five of the twenty articles were identified as predominately profiles, Emerson's articles often drew upon a narrative approach which is heavy on descriptors relating to her subject's physical appearance, lifestyle, or social and cultural background. Sources are described in such a way that readers are able to identify with them and may more likely to sympathize with their plight. Articles in which the primary aspect of coverage was identified as dissent, civilian suffering or those classified as 'Other' all contained elements of profiling in which Emerson made a careful effort to document the physical, and socio-economic characteristics of her subjects for readers. The only story classified as 'Other' was a story that addressed the historical causes of the conflict between Vietnam and Cambodia (19 April 1970).

Somewhat surprisingly, the subject of dissent was basically ignored in Emerson's coverage as was strategy and military progress. Dissent had commonly been ignored in the press in the early 1960's when the Vietnam conflict was still relatively young, tempers and feelings of aggression had not yet intensified but it would increase in the years to come as would the media's willingness to document them. This is why the absence of dissent in Emerson's writing is somewhat difficult to understand given the fact that she was writing in the early 1970's when antiwar sentiments were relatively strong. Although it

could be argued that Emerson's focus on the civilian experience of war was her own personal anti-war protest the only time she actively acknowledges anti-war sentiments is in an article published April 29, 1970. In the article, entitled "Artists in South Vietnam are Still Able to Wield a Critical Brush", Emerson looks at the popularity of Vietnamese paintings which endorse anti-war messages. She wrote,

In South Vietnam, where the Government forbids anti-war demonstrations, limits freedom of speech and censors book before publication, artists have unusual freedom in protesting against the war and the influence of foreigners in their country. To the surprise of the artists, it is the American military and the Government employees who buy the paintings. One anti-war, anti-American painting shows a huge G.I. boot being cleaned by very thin, ghost-like Vietnamese shoeshine boys. It was purchased last year by a young United States Navy commander who before his recent departure prominently displayed it in his office (29 April 1970).

Emerson's lack of emphasis on strategy and military progress, political negotiation, technical weaponry and troop morale, may not be an oversight but rather an implication of her commitment to the coverage of the civilian experience and her general displeasure with the U.S. military. In an interview for the PBS documentary series *Reporting America at War* Emerson summarized her feelings when she said,

I could not abide [high U.S. military officials]. I saw them as very dangerous, treacherous people who would lie at the drop of a hat. And they weren't so crazy to see me either. They didn't like women floating around. They were collaborators in the fraud, the military. They gave the false body counts — although they may not have wanted to — they told the lies, they were not independent agents. There were one or two officers who might have been marvelous, but it was not my good luck to know them (*Reporting America at War*, Online).

Gloria Emerson's primary concern in her coverage of the Vietnam war is clear. She seeks to provide her readers with an understanding of the very real effect that the conflict had on those who were living through it. Analysis of the 20 articles written by Emerson between March and July 1970 for *The New York Times* revealed that three news frames reoccurred continuously throughout her work. The most used frame was the human interest angle which appeared in 55% of her reports. The persistent use of this frame enabled Emerson to document the personal stories of fear, suffering, and loss that she would become known for throughout her journalism career. For example, in her discussion of the destruction she witnessed first hand in the town of Snoul she encapsulated all of these elements when she wrote,

None of the people here understand why it has happened to them. The men standing at the edge of a huge bomb crater were once they had their shops and their homes, did not think they would ever see such a deep hole. The children cannot walk through the wreckage of glass, bricks, metal and burned bicycles without cutting their bare feet. Some of the women, who have no where to live look old even if they are not... Snoul... was bombed by the United States' planes and blasted by American tanks (23 May 1970).

The conflict frame was used in 40% of cases, usually to construct a story in a narrative form of X vs. Y. In her use of the conflict frame, unlike those who would come after her, Emerson did not try to gloss over the often graphic details of the conflict nor did she hesitate to point fingers at those she perceived to be at fault, even if it meant publicly condemning the actions of her own government. In her condemnation of U.S. actions in the town of Snoul Emerson did not pull any punches, publicly chastising American troops for their involvement in the destruction and the looting which followed. According to Emerson,

United States military commanders believe that too much attention has been paid to the damage in Snoul. [When asked to describe the town before the attack an 18-year old American soldier claimed] ...it was a nice place, a clean place...it looked real pleasant. [When pressed about the involvement of U.S. troops in looting an abandoned tavern the same soldier responded] I don't know what kind of scotch it was because the label was in Cambodian...but it wasn't bad at all ( 23 May 1970).

Hand in hand with her commitment to stories which emphasized the conflict frame was Emerson's use of the responsibility frame, as the primary frame, in 5% of her pieces. She, and indeed all of the correspondents featured in this study, used the responsibility frame in either one of two ways. Either responsibility was readily assigned to individuals, groups or nations when they had done something positive or, more often, to ascribe responsibility to an individual group or nation when they were at fault or seen as being responsible for causing harm or destruction. Emerson also provides a forum within her articles for those opposed to the war to voice their opposition. In one article she quoted a Vietnamese civilian, named Mr. Tam, who maintained that,

...if America had not entered the war, it would have been a different kind of war between the Vietnamese, a smaller kind of war and a different one...but if it was a war between the Vietnamese as it should be, it would be so different for we would not feel guilty as [Americans] do, for both sides have their causes (29 April 1970).

Perhaps not surprisingly, based on the discussions above, civilians were the most frequently quoted source group, accounting for 47% of all the sources cited. Civilians were followed by government officials at 12.7 % and than a tie between soldiers and military officials at 10.9% was noted. Sources classified as 'Other' were present in 9% of reports. Academics accounted for 5%, slightly

higher than the 3.6% of sources identified as spokespersons. Journalists or media workers were not cited as sources in Emerson's coverage.

A major discrepancy between the genders is noticeable in Emerson's use of sources. The vast majority, 80%, of her sources were male, 7% were female and 7.2%, were classified as N/G, or gender unknown. However, this inequality should not be too surprising when one considers the gender inequalities that existed in both American and Vietnamese societies during this time. American women were prohibited from serving in the military in any sort of capacity other than the traditionally feminine domain of nursing. Similarly, the Vietnamese forces were comprised entirely of men. Therefore, given their limited role in the direct conflict one of the few capacities in which women could serve as information sources was that of civilian. This is reflected in the fact that all of the seven female sources used by Emerson were civilian.

Slowly, during the coverage of the Vietnamese conflict the official spokesperson began to have an increased presence. Emerson only quoted official spokespeople, whose proper names and genders was unknown in both instances, twice throughout her coverage. The role of the often anonymous spokesperson, usually charged with delivering the government and military's official message, grew more prominent in later coverage of the Persian Gulf and Iraq wars.

Another unique characteristic about the sources selection in Emerson's coverage of Vietnam when compared to the case studies of the other wars in this project is her use of academics as sources. The academics, all male, quoted by

Emerson are used to offer an intellectual approach to understanding the causes and consequences of the conflict. While she only uses three academic sources in the sampling it is far more than any other correspondent in the study. Academics are excluded as sources in all of the coverage analyzed for both the Persian Gulf and Iraq wars. Simple logistics may be the primary cause of the lack of academic sources in later conflicts. As previously noted, the rigid confines of the pool and embedded systems greatly restrict the kinds of sources reporters had access to. Living and traveling throughout deserts in the Middle East it is highly improbable that a reporter would stumble upon a military historian from Cambridge or an expert on Middle East economics from Harvard. This is not to say that the expert knowledge of academics no longer has a place in the coverage of war and conflict, merely that their presence has evolved. Today, academic, or expert, knowledge is perhaps better fodder for the afternoon current affairs programs on cable television than daily print updates from the war zone itself.

The American experience is rarely the primary focus of Gloria Emerson's work. Only the standardized war stories of visiting military generals or the establishment of a military hospital to care for injured troops embraces an American focus. Instead, the vast majority of Emerson's articles are written while she was in Cambodia and focus on the experiences and perspectives of residents of that country (25 March 1970; 1 April 1970; 4 April 1970; 12 April 1970; 15 April 1970; 19 April 1970; 29 April 1970; 10 May 1970; 23 May 1970; 13 June 1970). Emerson immersed herself in the Vietnamese and Cambodian ways

of life making acquaintances, and gaining the trust, of locals who proved willing to share their personal stories with her. In turn she wrote profiles which emphasized the emotions and turmoil of the individual experience (17 July, 1970. 19 July, 1970). In an article entitled, “A South Vietnamese Widow Mourns her only Son” (17 July 1970) Emerson interviews a woman whose son was murdered in Cambodia and documents for the reader the woman’s emotional pain and unwillingness to go on living without him. Here again her graphic description enables readers to visualize the scene she is describing when Emerson writes,

When Mrs. Dro Huan, a widow ...can afford to take the airplane to Saigon it is to see his grave, bring him gifts and talk aloud to him, as thousands of other Vietnamese Buddhist women have done at other graves... Mrs.Huan began to weep, and to speak, hiding her wet face, rocking back and forth. ‘Son, Son, why are you dead too soon?’ (17 July 1970).

Similarly, Emerson’s piece “A Tailor Relives Ordeal at Con Son” (19 July 1970) describes the physical and emotional torture endured by a Cambodian tailor in Con Son. She writes,

A 28 year old tailor ...can no longer walk or stand because he was shackled, beaten and deprived of sufficient food, water and any exercise or fresh air at Con Son Prison (19 July 1970).

In Emerson’s interviews with the widow and the tailor her readership is introduced the realities of war as they are experienced by people to whom the reader may be able to relate. Articles like those entitled “Business as Usual at Cambodian Border” (23 March 1970) and “Village in Delta has one television set and audience is mostly children” (25 March 1970) explore the Cambodian experience at the community level; focusing on the plight of a town with a single

television set or another community whose inhabitants struggle to understand the destruction, both physical and emotional, which surrounds them.

It is necessary to consider these findings in relation to the historical analysis of contained in chapter one. Specifically, one must consider Emerson's work in light of the restrictions placed on the media by the government and military in Vietnam, the political outlook of *The New York Times* at the time, and the gendered nature of the newsroom and battlefield cultures she likely encountered. It is not surprising that Gloria Emerson had a hard time convincing her editors that a female reporter was capable of reporting from Vietnam in the early 1970s. As was noted in an earlier chapter, it was around this time that the Newspaper Guild concluded that gender discrimination was an inherent part of the journalism profession which was often demonstrated in the fact that many newspaper editors still classified some reporting tasks as male and others as female. Emerson's ability to secure the Vietnam assignment is even more significant when one considers the fact that, as was previously noted, *The New York Times* was blatantly discriminating against their female employees during the years that it agreed to allow her to cover the war.

Emerson's emphasis on the civilian experience coupled with her persistent use of the human interest angle supports Sebba's claim (1994) the women in times of war are oriented to stories about people rather than logistics or statistics. Yet, this may also simply be a reflection of a commitment, on the part of either Emerson or her editors, to incorporate personification (Galtung & Ruge, 1965) into the reports from Vietnam or simply a reflection of Elwood-Ackers' (1989)

contention that women were perceived as less intimidating when interviewing Vietnamese civilians, especially women and children during this time. She financial support of the home for injured Vietnamese children, which was mentioned earlier, demonstrates that she was profoundly affected by the civilian suffering she witnessed. Her ability to cover the civilian experience and file reports from Vietnam and Cambodia with relative ease also seems to substantiate Thussu and Freedman's (2003) contention that the lax restrictions on the media in Vietnam provided reporters to unparalleled access to people and places that might otherwise have been off limits.

Emerson's limited use of females, which account for only 7% of all her sources, challenges Thorson and Rodgers' (2003) claim that female reporters are more likely to draw on a diverse sampling of sources and use more women as sources. This limited emphasis on the female experience does, however, serve to support Armstrong's contention (2004) that women are seldom used as sources in newspaper coverage and thus have been symbolically annihilated from coverage within the medium. The limited number of women sources used is especially surprising given that so much of the coverage centers around civilian life but it is most likely a reflection of the patriarchal nature of Vietnamese society at the time and the limited role of women within it. Emerson's critical stance towards the Vietnam war echoes the editorial position of her employer. During the war, *The New York Times* often published editorials that were highly critical of the American involvement in Iraq. One such editorial, "Vietnam and the Home Front," urged the American government to,

...not blindly continue the war, but to negotiate an end to it; to abandon the notion that Vietnam's complex social, economic, and political problems can be solved by military force and to concentrate American manpower and resources on the peaceful solution of such problems at home and abroad (4 March 1968).

A similar distain for the war is evident throughout Emerson's coverage.

### *Vietnam Coverage Overall*

When assessing the primary topics covered by the correspondents covering Vietnam (See: Tables 1, 2) it was noted that civilian suffering was the most common primary topic or aspect of their coverage, accounting for thirteen of the 40 stories. This was followed closely by strategy and military progress and profiles. Each of these categories was the primary topic in seven stories. Political negotiation accounted for six of the 40 stories written by the two correspondents from Vietnam. This is slightly more than the four stories that addressed issues of dissent as their primary topic. Troop moral and technical weaponry were never considered the primary topic or aspect of coverage in either Emerson or Pond's reports. Three stories fell outside the confines of the predetermined categories and were classified as 'Other'.

In Pond and Emerson's coverage of the Vietnam war 21 of the 40 stories coded as part of this research relied predominately on the human interest frame (See: Tables 3, 4). This was followed by the conflict frame, which was most prominent in 17 (42.5%) of the stories about Vietnam. The responsibility and economics frames were each evident in a single story while race and morality were never considered the dominant news frames in Emerson or Pond's coverage.

In their coverage of Vietnam 98 sources were used, seventy were men, eight were women and in the remaining 20 cases the gender of the source could not be determined (See: Tables 5,6,7). Civilians, who accounted for 34 of the sources, slightly outnumbered the government officials who appeared as sources 27 times. Six soldiers appeared throughout Pond and Emerson's coverage. Only two official spokespersons were cited over the course of the 40 articles, and the three academic sources, the only academic sources cited throughout the three conflicts, all appeared in Emerson's coverage of Vietnam. Both Emerson and Pond adopted the anti-war editorial positions favoured by the newspapers that they worked for in their coverage of Vietnam.

*The Persian Gulf :*

*Molly Moore, The Washington Post*

In Molly Moore's articles on the Gulf war, a significant turn towards the sort of pro-American tone that has come to dominate Western mainstream coverage in recent years can be noted. Within the confines of this study the pro-America sentiment is amplified when Moore's coverage is compared with Emerson and Pond's work in Vietnam. In one account of the movement of U.S. troops into Kuwait City, Moore presents the scenario as a total American victory. Moore noted,

The streets of battered Kuwait City exploded in an emotional demonstration by jubilant, flag-waving citizens today as allied forces freed the city after seven months of Iraqi occupation and three days of ground war. ..At midafternoon today, the first American military convoy to rumble into the city was also besieged by hundreds of cheering men, women and children, many in tears, screaming, " Thank you, thank you!" The roads

were lined with gleeful young girls in skirts sewn from Kuwaiti flags, sobbing women in black robes and young men flashing victory signs and shaking clenched fists. Others danced on the rooftops of buildings waving green-white-red and black Kuwaiti flags and banners at the troops below. "It was a once-in-a-lifetime experience", said a three-star general who rode through the city atop an amphibious landing vehicle.... "There are some things worth fighting for. When you see them regain their freedom and their joy at seeing them [the Iraqis] leave, it is quite a feeling. I'm glad we could be a part of returning it back to them" (27 February 1991).

For Moore the primary focus is clear, as strategy and military progress, traditionally considered a more masculine realm of war reporting, dominates 80% of her reports. It was not uncommon for Moore's narratives to sound something like this,

Marine forces encountered sporadic artillery fire after clearing the Iraqi frontlines...As the U.S. forces attempted to cross a second line of minefields deep inside Kuwait, they encountered heavy tank and artillery fire in the fiercest battle of the first day of land combat...Artillery and tank fire from Iraqi troops intensified throughout the day, and allied aircraft attacked several Iraq tank columns that began rumbling from central Kuwait (24 February 1991).

In comparison, profiles counted for a significantly smaller 10% of all articles. This was followed by troop morale and technical weaponry which were each the primary focus in 5% of articles.

In analyzing the news frames most frequently used by Moore it was once again noted that the conflict and human interest frames were present to the exclusion of all other frames. However, in this instance the conflict frame dominated in 75% of articles, noticeably overshadowing the 25% of stories with a human interest angle.

Moore also uses significantly more sources, official and unofficial, than her colleagues who covered Vietnam. One reason for this may be the limited information made available via the media pool system which forced reporters to draw from more sources in order to amass enough material to write their reports. While the number of sources being used rose, one factor that did not change was the gender of these sources. Significantly fewer women were quoted than men. Of the 107 sources mentioned throughout Molly Moore's articles only six were women compared with sixty-four men. The remaining thirty-seven sources were classified as N/G. A small conciliation to the limited female voices provided by Moore's articles is that she does give a voice, albeit a small one, to female soldiers. Five of her female sources are soldiers and one is identified as a military official. In general, both of these occupational categories had relatively significant presences in Moore's sample. Soldiers ranked first at 56%, followed by military officials at 34.5%, spokespersons and those classified as 'Others' tied for third with 3.7% and civilians and government officials were used as sources in 0.9% of all of Moore's articles. Journalists and academics did not appear as sources. The experience being documented throughout Moore's coverage is clearly that of the American military. The stories that she reports on and the sources she cites serve to document one side of the conflict while ignoring differing perspectives.

Molly Moore's coverage of the Persian Gulf war is unanimously focused on an American perspective with the efforts of the Allied forces dominating the story's headline both explicitly (18 January 1991; 24 January 1991; 25 January

1991; 28 January 1991; 30 January 1991; 23 February 1991) and implicitly (26 January 1991; 5 February 1991; 7 February 1991; 12 February 1991). Moore's articles also mark a return to the discussion of technical weaponry and strategy and military progress. She writes of the American use of missiles, suspicions regarding Iraqi scuds and profiles of A-10 jet pilots.

An initial survey of Moore's headlines suggest that the reader is getting a thorough (albeit Americanized) picture of the military movement in the Persian Gulf. Military maneuvers from the air, land and sea are discussed (18 January, 1991; 18 January, 1991; 24 January, 1991; 25 January, 1991; 30 January, 1991; 12 February, 1991; 16 February, 1991). At first this may be interpreted as a committed effort by Molly Moore to document the American war effort in its entirety, but upon reconsideration it is likely the result of the three tier press system that was in place during the war. Daily military briefings and limited access to the press pools meant that the materials reporters were given were meant to complement all levels of military involvement. Thus, it should not be too surprising that it is more likely that the subject matter of such reports is a regurgitation of the message of the day rather than a completely independent account of events from Moore's perspective.

However, on a few occasions Moore does openly challenge the military's account in an effort to document the frustrations and feelings of despair felt by soldiers on the frontlines (23 February, 1991). With clarity and conviction Moore wrote,

...in foxholes and tents across northern Saudi Arabian desert, American troops have become disheartened by diplomatic efforts that have created false hopes and lead to impatience and despair (23 February 1991).

She also addresses the impact that a soldier's deployment can have on his family. In one instance she writes about Gunnery Sgt. Samuel Leatherbury, telling readers of the wife and two young children waiting for him at home in Salisbury Md. Moore is careful to acknowledge the toll that Leatherbury's deployment has had on his children, particularly his eight year old son, whose behavior and grades have deteriorated since his father left because " he is consumed by fear that his father will be killed" (23 February 1991).

It is clear from looking at Molly Moore's work that she goes to great effort to humanize the subjects she is writing about. Seldom are her sources referred to anonymously, instead they are introduced through brief biographical sketches. For instances, when Moore quotes a member of the military communications center in Saudi Arabia she makes sure to tell her readers that Marine Cpl. Steven Page was a twenty-two year old computer programmer who was distressed because his wife, Cpl. Donna Enders, had recently been deployed (23 February 1991). Despite her willingness to address the concerns of soldiers and the skepticism of some observers the primary message of Moore's writings, that the American military is a liberating force in the Persian Gulf and they will ultimately triumph in their efforts, is not lost (25 February 1991; 28 February 1991).

Taylor (1992) and Thrall (2000) argued that the formal censorship program and the pool system made it extremely difficult to deviate from the official American perspective, which may, at least partially, explain the pro-

American tone that dominates Moore's coverage. Moore's focus on stories involving strategy and military progress challenges Sebba (1994) and van Zoonen's (1998) findings about a gender distinction in the coverage of hard and soft news stories which implied that an area like strategy and military progress is likely to be covered by men.

Also, the fact that Moore used significantly more sources than Emerson or Pond did in Vietnam, challenges the arguments put forward by Philip (1992) and Taylor (1992) that claimed that the pool system significantly limited the story ideas and size of the source pool reporters could draw from.

In assessing her use of sources it becomes clear that Moore cites fewer women than men as sources which further serves to further challenge Thorson and Rodgers' (2003) work, yet it is indicative of the findings of *The Women, Men and Media* study (cited in Beasley & Gibbons 286) discussed earlier which found that 80% of newspaper articles pertaining to the Persian Gulf war focused on the men's experiences.

It is also important to note that at the time Molly Moore was reporting from the Persian Gulf region *The Washington Post* was under the leadership of a woman, Kathrine Graham. Craft and Wanta (2003) would argue that Moore's deployment to cover the war was no doubt influenced by the fact that her boss was a woman. Moore's coverage is clearly pro- America and pro-war which is a reflection of the editorial position taken by *The Washington Post* during the Persian Gulf war. Editorials published around the time Moore was writing (11

January 1991; 10 February 1991) endorsed the American initiative and predicted victory for U.S. forces even more explicitly than Molly Moore's coverage did.

*Elizabeth Neuffer, The Boston Globe*

Documenting the American perspective on war in the Middle East was also a formula favored by *Boston Globe* reporter Elizabeth Neuffer. However, she did not always frame it in a positive light. Emphasizing the American strategy and military progress took precedence in 45% of her stories over civilian suffering, which each accounted for 15% of all reports. Political negotiation and technical weaponry were both present in 5% of cases while 10% of stories addressed issues classified either as profiles, troop morale or as 'Other'. Two stories were assigned to the category of 'Other' because they addressed civilian morale and expectations regarding the upcoming election but not civilian suffering. The conflict frame dominated in 60% of articles compared to the human interest frame, which was visible in 35% of stories.

One again, Neuffer relied on more sources than her predecessors. This time 110 sources are quoted either directly or indirectly. Yet, the gender divide amongst sources remains as visible as ever with 69% of sources being male, only 10% female, and in 29% of cases gender was undetermined. However, a new consideration that had not previously been present in other reports is Neuffer's use of female sources from a diverse cross section of backgrounds including two civilians, two government officials, two spokeswomen, four soldiers

and one journalist. The only category in which a female source was not cited by Neuffer was that of the military official.

In general soldiers, at 36.3%, were the most frequently cited sources, followed by those classified as 'Others' at 18.1%. Those sources classified as 'Other' were identified simply as 'anonymous', or 'unnamed' sources or as non-military medical officials. Civilians tied with military officials at 10.9% followed by spokespersons who made up 9% of the source population. Government officials accounted for 8.1% of sources while slightly fewer, 6.3% of those cited were journalists or other media workers. Academic sources were not used by Neuffer in the articles sampled.

Her dispatches for *The Boston Globe* offer a less than rosy picture of the conflict. In one account she vividly describes the charred, mutilated bodies of adults and children after hundreds of civilians were killed when an American bomb was dropped on a building which the Allies believed to be a military command center but the Iraqis claimed was a residential bomb shelter. Close to three hundred people were killed when the building, in which no communications equipment or military presence was ever noted, exploded. In her reporting of this particular incident Neuffer was also quick to identify what she perceived as a 'concerted effort' by the Pentagon, the State Department and the White House implying that 'condemnation should be aimed at the Iraqi leadership'. Neuffer was also selective in her choice of quotes from authorities which sought to endorse an us vs. them, good vs. evil way of understanding the conflict.

In Neuffer's work we see an increased presence of anonymous sources, usually unnamed government and military officials and the frequent reliance upon official spokespersons to deliver the official line (15 February, 1991; 19 February, 1991, 20 February, 1991). Neuffer put less emphasis on providing biographical sketches of her sources than Molly Moore did. While Moore included information on education or occupation, marital status and family background of most of her sources, Neuffer appears content to offer only the most basic background on her subjects. Usually, only name, age, rank and unit were mentioned by Neuffer. While these incidentals do provide some information to which a reader may be able to relate it is not to the same degree which Moore's pieces provided. Nonetheless, Neuffer is still able to offer extremely emotional accounts of the general experience of many of the newly dispatched soldiers. This was especially clear in one account in which Neuffer wrote,

For the soldiers, these are the days and nights of last prayers whispered before sleep...Over the last week they have memorized and rememorized their battle plans, stretched and restretched their muscles. They have lined up their biological warfare vaccines, sat through crash courses on avoiding landmines. They have made wills, called home one last time, bid their buddies goodbye (23 February 1991).

Like her colleagues before her, Elizabeth Neuffer profiled the medical hospital 'Med-Base America' which had been established in Saudi Arabia. The military likely hoped that such articles would convince worried relatives that their loved ones would be well looked after because " a vast network of medical care has been put in place across the Saudi desert; field surgery units, 400-plus bed tent hospitals and huge floating hospitals" (19 February 1991). Yet, in the same

article Neuffer does not mask the realities of war, advising her readers directly that,

....doctors at Medbase said they expect the wounds to be horrific. In addition to burns, artillery and gun wounds, medical authorities worry about the damage from Iraqi land mines hidden in the Kuwait sands, capable of ripping off an arm or a leg or releasing poison gas (19 February, 1991).

Elizabeth Neuffer was also not afraid to explore conflict as it arose amongst the ranks (21 February, 1991). During the Gulf war a 'total force plan'<sup>1</sup> was used. This meant that thousands of reservists were called up for active duty and assigned to work alongside enlisted soldiers. As Neuffer explained reservists felt that they were being treated as second class citizens or 'weekend warriors' while enlisted soldiers told Neuffer they believed reservists simply did not work hard enough. She wrote,

Behind the televised portrait of unified troops marching smartly in step in Saudi Arabia, there is friction between American soldiers. It is one of the longest running conflicts in the US armed forces; the struggle between full-time enlisted soldiers and those in the reserve (21 February, 1991).

In an article in which Neuffer chronicles the feelings of male and female soldiers entering the war the gender discrepancies of emotional expression are clear. She interviews a male soldier who claims to be consumed by images of himself about to "wheel his A-66 Intruder Attack Bomber over the heads of his colleagues on the ground, backing up their battle movements with his air fire".

Neuffer quotes the male pilot as saying,

It's going to be scarier than it is now . But I think I am dealing with it pretty good, I have my war face on- and when I landed, I take it off. I don't write home in letters to my wife all worried over this (23 February 1991).

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<sup>1</sup> Total force plan was initiated in the 1970's and requires members of reserve units to be incorporated into the full-time Army, Air Force and Navy when war breaks out

In comparison Neuffer's description of Kathleen Gonsman's feelings about the eminent start of conflict plays on the stereotypical connotations of women as excessively emotional beings. Gonsman, a cook with the 937<sup>th</sup> Engineering Group, is immediately identified as the mother of two young children. Unlike her male colleague, who eternalized his feelings about the impending conflict, Neuffer documents Gonsman's efforts to 'steel her nerves and dampen her fear' by writing a letter to her children. Gonsman, as quoted by Neuffer wrote,

I heard the bombing last night... It woke me from a sound sleep. I lie on my cot listening and feeling the bombs rage. I lie thinking of a mother under fiery rain trying to save her children. In my mind I can see her. I am confused. My heart goes out to her, though I am not sure if I should feel this way. I am a soldier. I am an American fighting woman. I am here in her country, serving mine, in freedom's name (23 February 1991).

Neuffer also directly addressed issues of gender discrimination as experienced by women in the American military when she interviewed Theresa Treavor, whom Neuffer describes as "...the American female soldier closest to the front lines in the war" (24 February 1991). In summarizing Treavor's experience Neuffer wrote,

Her sex, she says, has hindered her career. Some male soldiers are quick to judge her because she is a woman, mistaking her professionalism for coldness. Sometimes, legitimate anger is confused with emotion (24 February 1991).

The fact that Elizabeth Neuffer's coverage is primarily concerned with strategy and military progress once again challenges those findings (Sebba, 1994; van Zoonen, 1998) that commonly considered these topics part of the masculine domain of reporting. The fact that Neuffer emphasizes the

negative aspects of the war also contradicts Thorson and Rodgers' notion that female correspondents favour positive stories over negative ones. Yet, this emphasis on the negative kind of news story does serve to substantiate Galtung & Ruge's theory that negative stories make for good news and are thus likely to get more media attention. In considering the negative tone of Neuffer's reports it should also be acknowledged that the *Boston Globe* is often seen as having a liberal bias. This perspective, as demonstrated in the editorials that appeared in the *Globe* around the time Neuffer was writing (25 December 1990; 29 December 1990) is evident in the fact that the paper did not support the war which was initiated by the Republican government and the paper's editorial stance undoubtedly influenced Neuffer's critical approach to her coverage of the Persian Gulf war.

#### *Persian Gulf Coverage Overall*

Strategy and military progress was the most popular topic addressed by both Moore and Neuffer with 25 articles (63%) specifically addressing military strategy, planning and advancement. Profiles accounted for only 10 % of all stories. Troop morale was the focus of three stories as was civilian suffering. Technical weaponry only garnered significant acknowledgement in two stories. Political negotiation was the primary topic in a single article and sentiments or activities that expressed feelings of dissent towards the American war effort were not present in the coverage being assessed (See: Tables 1, 2).

Molly Moore and Elizabeth Neuffer's coverage of the 1991 Persian Gulf war exclusively favours two news frames; conflict and human interest (See:

Tables 3, 4). The most popular frame is the conflict frame, which was dominant in 28 (70%) articles. The human interest frame, the only other frame noted in the coding of their articles, was present in the 12 (30%) remaining reports.

There were 219 sources were used in Moore and Neuffer's pieces on the Gulf war, a significantly larger number than that used by Emerson and Pond in Vietnam. 133 were male, 17 were female and in 69 instances the gender of the source was undetermined. Soldiers were, by far, the most frequently cited sources with 102 appearances. Military officials were cited 49 times, followed by those sources categorized as 'Other', which appeared 24 times compared with official spokespersons, who were cited 14 times. Civilian sources appeared on 13 occasions, while government officials appeared ten times and other journalists or media workers were called upon in seven instances (See: Tables 5,6,7). The tone of both Moore and Neuffer's articles reflected the editorial stance of their respective papers towards the Persian Gulf war, with Moore supporting the American effort while Neuffer criticized it.

*The 2003 Iraq War :*

*Kirsten Scharnberg, The Chicago Tribune*

In assessing the coding results of Kirsten Scharnberg's articles it was noted that the primary aspect of her coverage was strategy and military progress which was the dominant theme in 85% of the pieces she wrote. This was followed by profiles, which accounted for 10%, and were primarily of soldiers or military officials which helped to frame the war coverage from a human interest

perspective. Only one story was deemed to belong to the category of 'Other', an article in which Scharnberg documents her experiences as a new embedded reporter.

Since Kirsten Scharnberg was embedded with members of the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne, a military unit that women are prohibited from serving in, it is not surprising that none of the 81 sources quoted throughout her articles were female soldiers. In fact, only two of the sources, or 2.5% of those quoted overall in her reports, were women. A civilian and a journalist. Of the sources 80.2% were male and 17.3 % were classified as N/G because their names and gender were not given in the story.

The majority of sources used, 66.6% , were male soldiers followed by male civilians at 6%. Those parties classified as 'Other' represented 11.1% of all sources including non-military medical officials and 'anonymous' sources whose occupation or credentials were not identified. It is implied, based on the information that these sources provided, that they are American military or government officials who wished to remain unnamed. Military officials ranked fourth in frequency of use at 3.7%. They were followed by journalists/media workers making up 1.2% of the sources, the same frequency of use as spokespersons. Not cited at all in Scharnberg's stories were government officials and academics.

Embedded, as she was, some of Kirsten Scharnberg's stories touch on the common war themes of military hospitals and a visit by the commanding general to troops(16 March, 2003; 8 April, 2003). In profiling the U.S. Army's 86<sup>th</sup>

Combat Support Hospital, Scharnberg attempts to reassure her readers by reminding them that the hospital is the first of its kind to be 'impervious to biological or chemical threats'. Scharnberg was the only correspondent to openly reveal the sort of personal rapport she felt with the soldiers she had been assigned to cover (16 March, 2003). In the same piece she went to great efforts to address the ethical implications of her position.

Scharnberg's article "A War and its Repercussions: A Reporter Hopes Big News Doesn't Come Her Unit's Way" made the journalist the subject and questioned many of the ethical and professional dilemmas that she would likely face to the forefront. She candidly writes,

When I was younger, fresh out of journalism school, I would salivate at big—and therefore, usually bad—news. I wanted the assignment. I wanted to grab the notebook and go. I wanted to record that moment in time, be it a plane crash or a triple homicide or a bank robbery gone wrong. It's not that I liked when the world turned ugly; I hated to see the heartache. But the stories had to be covered and because I was green and willing and mobile, I soon found myself riding what journalists call the disaster circuit...It's immaterial how I feel about the military action in Iraq, whether I think President Bush is advocating the right policy or whether I'm on board with the anti-war nations such as Germany, Russia and France. What it comes down to is simply this: I spend my days with soldiers who might die for this country and it sobers me (16 March 2003).

Several of Scharnberg's pieces address military movement and technological weaponry (26 March, 2003; 27 March, 2003; 29 March 2003; 17 April 2003) but little, if any, attention is devoted to the ramifications of such actions or the destruction caused by these weapons.

Instead, American and allied forces are almost unanimously depicted in a positive light and praised for bringing liberation to the Iraqi people. In an article

which described the fall of a statue of Hussein, Scharnberg described it as a time when “ [w]omen cried. Men shouted. Citizens who lived in nearby homes brought coffee and homemade bread out to the American soldiers”(4 April 2003).

According to Scharnberg, “[t]o be sure the day of celebration and anti-Hussein protest was facilitated in large part by the U.S. Army” (4 April 2003).

In documenting General Tommy Franks’ visit to the 101<sup>st</sup> Infantry she portrays Franks as a strong and capable leader who strongly believes in the war he is fighting (8 April, 2003). Scharnberg quotes Franks as saying,

to drive up and down these streets and look at these Iraqis you can recognize that they feel they can come out from behind the curtain of terror and rape and tyranny that they’ve seen in this century. That’s heartening to a traveler like me (8 April,2003).

In Scharnberg’s work the civilian experience is most often addressed when it positively reflects on the American image. Civilian suffering is ignored and instead the civilians who are quoted, such as a 25 year old university student named Zima, who’s quoted as saying ‘ I love you, America...I love you’, seems to imply that his sentiments are shared by most of his fellow citizens (4 April 2003) .

The descriptive and personal nature of Scharnberg’s reports on the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne substantiate claims (Pfau et al, 2004) that the embedding system allowed for extensive and rich coverage of a particular military unit. The extreme pro-America, pro-military tone that was noted in her work also supports the observations made by Schecter (2003), Pfau et al (2004), and D. Miller (2004) that the process actually encouraged coverage that was blatantly biased towards the American perspective.

Sebba (1994) and van Zoonen's (1998) conclusions are once again challenged by a reading of Scharnberg's articles because her focus on strategy and military progress contradicts their assertion that women cover softer news.

Scharnberg's coverage also seems to encapsulate some of Galtung and Ruge's news values. The embedding process in general appears to lend itself well to coverage based on frequency. That is, embedded reporters are exposed to a lot of episodic narratives, stories with clear cut beginnings and ends, which can be extracted from the larger war narrative. This is seen in Scharnberg's coverage of the fall of Hussein's statue and the coverage of military hospitals. Galtung and Ruge (1965) also argued that stories which reference elite or important people are often seen to be newsworthy because the people are seen as doing important things regardless of how trivial they may be. Scharnberg's coverage of General Franks' visit to the troops exemplifies this. Nothing of significance happens during the visit and if it were anyone else coming to see the troops the story would have likely been seen as unimportant but because the visitor was a high ranking member of the U.S. military it is automatically seen as having more news value. The supportive stance that Scharnberg's coverage takes is a reflection of the editorial position taken by *The Chicago Tribune* during the Iraq war. This perspective is evident in the editorials published around the time Scharnberg was reporting including one entitled, "Building Peace After Saddam" which noted,

...we don't see the war in Iraq as a failure of the Bush administration's diplomatic efforts as critics claim. We see this war as the necessary result of the failure of twelve years of diplomatic efforts to disarm Hussein (24 March 2003).

*Katherine Skiba, The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*

In half of all the articles written by Katherine Skiba, for *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, profiling was considered the primary topic or aspect of coverage. This was followed by articles that discussed strategy and military progress, which accounted for 30 % of her coverage. Another 15% of reports addressed issues relating to troop morale and the remaining 5 % discussed a Skiba's own experiences reporting the war, which fell outside the specific categories and was, therefore, classified as 'Other'.

All of Skiba's stories seem to lend themselves nicely to one of two news frames, the prevalent one being human interest, a category in which 85% of the articles fit or in the conflict frame, in which the remaining 15% articles were classified.

Of the sixty sources which Skiba cites over the course of the twenty articles in question, fifty-three of all the sources are men, only three are women, while the names/gender of four sources are unclear. Soldiers were used as sources in 76.6% of instances followed by military officials which were used in only 5%. Spokespersons and journalists/ media workers tied at 3.3% and civilians made up 1.6% of all sources used. Like Scharnberg, Skiba did not give voices to either government officials or academics.

In her coverage of the 2003 Iraq war Katherine Skiba adopts a unique kind of writing that becomes her trademark of the war. Every few days Skiba wrote an article entitled 'Postcard from Kuwait' in which she profiled a single member of the military. Of the four 'Postcards from Kuwait / Frontline' which were included

in the sample population analyzed during this study, three focused on male soldiers and only one profiled a female member of the military.

The 'Postcards' are considerably shorter than the other articles, approximately 250 words each. The exact format of these pieces also changes but Skiba seems to be extracting the same sort of personal information from each of her subjects; ranks, branch, age, hometown and military duties. These qualifiers are coupled with an appeal to the local which seeks to make a connection between the subject and the audience. For instance, in one of the postcards (12 March, 2003) the reader is introduced to Private First Class Fredrick Jolly who, as Skiba writes, "grew up near N.39<sup>th</sup> and W. Congress and graduated from Milwaukee Lutheran High School in 1999". Such information might seem trivial to most, but to readers of *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* these coordinates help them relate to the soldier. Maybe they live in the same neighborhood or they, or someone they know, went to that high school. Either way, the 'local boy does good' frame is drawn upon in an effort to bring the story home to readers, ultimately helping to make a distant war feel real and encouraging readers to follow their 'neighbours' stories in *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* and also to, seemingly, support the war.

Another appeal to the local connection is seen in the discussion of the subject's family, which seeks to portray them as upstanding members of the community whom Skiba's readers may know, or at least begin to relate to. In case of Fredrick Jolly (12 March, 2003) the reader learns that he has a stepmother, Diane Jolly, a brother, a sister and three stepsiblings. It is the

subject's father who, in this article and indeed most of the 'Postcards,' who receives the greatest amount of attention. In this example one learns that Jolly's father, George, is a pastor at Mount Pilgrim Missionary Baptist Church at N.27<sup>th</sup> and W.Brown streets and had recently run for a seat on the Milwaukee Public Schools board of education.

All of the subjects are asked a series of questions about their experiences and feelings of war. Questions such as: Why did you join the army? How do you and your family feel about the prospect of war? What do you miss most about home / Wisconsin? Interestingly, the responses from male subjects were relatively uniform across the board with a few variances noted between the female and male respondents. All of the men claimed that they had joined the Army because they saw it as an opportunity to start over, 'to just get away and do something different'. All the men expressed feelings of duty and responsibility when asked about their sentiments about fighting a war:

" We're ready. Whatever's going on, I'm ready to do my job"  
(13 March, 2003).

" I mean, it's my job. I don't make no decisions. I support my leaders"  
(12 March, 2003).

" Hey, we're here. Let's just get it done and get home" (7 April, 2003).

It is interesting to note that the sole female featured in the 'Postcards', Sherre Maxson, was not involved in direct combat but rather is described by Skiba as 'a non-commissioned officer in charge of logistics'. Essentially, she is portrayed in a mothering role ensuring the battalion has all the food, water and

supplies that it needs. Unlike her male colleagues, Maxon responds with emotion when asked about being a participant in war;

It's a little more nerve racking than training. When you're traveling out to the logistics areas here, if an enemy is shooting at you, it's for real (19 March 2003).

The 'postcard' profiles do not receive the same sort of prominent placement in the paper that Skiba's other articles, which address military progress or political negotiations, do. Such stories almost unanimously get front page billing while the profiles appeared on pages eight, twelve and sixteen.

Galtung & Ruge's (1965) notion that proximity and personalization influence news content is evident in Skiba's coverage of the Iraq war. Her series of 'Postcards from the Front' embrace these news values by emphasizing the human experience of war, focusing on subjects to whom her readers feel a close emotional and geographical proximity to. Like Scharnberg, Skiba's articles support the contention (Pfau et al. 2004) that embedding facilitated extensive and elaborate coverage of particular American military units as well as their argument that extensive personalization of news, as seen in Skiba's postcards, is dangerous in as much that it can lead to decontextualization of the story. Her focus on profiling of subjects seems to support Sebba's (1994) claim that woman journalists gravitate towards the human experience. And her limited use of female sources also supports Armstrong's findings that women are seldom called upon to act as sources in newspaper coverage. Given that *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* openly endorsed Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry in 2004, it is somewhat surprising that Skiba's reports took such a 'positive' view

of the Republican led war in Iraq. Skiba's approach does not match the general editorial approach of *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* which did not support the war, challenging President Bush's ability to govern and the rationale behind the war. An editorial entitled, "The Shifting Reason's For War", argued that, "[President Bush] has failed to sufficiently air new rationales before America. He does little more than mouth slogans (4 April 2004)." Skiba's ability to deviate from the dominant editorial stance of her employer suggests that she had some agency as a journalist at the front. Yet, the limited number of her articles analyzed in this study makes it difficult to make a conclusive statement on the exact extent to which she differed and precisely why she was able to do so.

#### *Iraq Coverage Overall*

Kirsten Scharnberg and Katherine Skiba's reports from Iraq favoured the human interest news frame in 24 (60%) of their 40 stories sampled. This was followed by reports which focused on the conflict frame, evident in 13 stories, and the responsibility frame which was clearly visible in three stories. Economics, race and morality did not appear as primary frames in their coverage of the Iraq war, at least within the sample population coded for the purposes of this research (See: Tables 1, 2).

As in Moore and Neuffer's coverage of the Persian Gulf conflict, strategy and military progress were the most prominent topics of coverage, directly addressed in 23 (58%) of the stories collected pertaining the conflict in Iraq. Civilian suffering, political negotiation, dissent and technical weaponry were all

excluded from Scharnberg and Skiba's coverage of the 2003 Iraq war. This is likely the result of the embedding process which drastically limited the kinds of stories that all embedded correspondents were able to write (See: Tables 3, 4). The embedding process did facilitate the production of stories involving profiles, of which soldiers were the most frequent subject, which were sighted in 30 % of all of their articles on Iraq. Troop morale was addressed in 8 % of stories. Stories classified as 'Other' accounted for two of the total articles pertaining to Iraq and both documented the reporters' personal experiences of covering the conflict.

Of the 141 sources interviewed by Scharnberg and Skiba 118 were men, only 5 were women and gender was indistinguishable in 18 cases. Soldiers were the most frequently cited sources appearing in 100 of 141 cases. Sources classified as 'Other' appeared 15 times, followed, somewhat surprisingly by civilians, who appeared 14 times as sources. Military officials were identified on six occasions and were followed closely by spokespersons and government officials who each appeared three times (See: Tables 5, 6, 7). Scharnberg and reflected the editorial stance of *The Chicago Tribune* in her coverage of Iraq while Katherine Skiba's pro-American sentiments seem to directly challenge the position of *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* which did not support the war.

### *Overall Analysis / Discussion*

Not surprisingly, the conflict frame was the most used news frame, reappearing consistently throughout the coverage of the three wars

(See: Tables 3, 4). Of the 120 articles which were coded for this study 58, or 48.3%, relied upon the conflict frame to deliver their message. Human interest was the second most frequently used frame, evident in 57, or 47.5%, of all articles. The third most commonly used frame, the responsibility frame, evoked significantly fewer accounts. Only four of the 120 stories emphasized the responsibility frame. It is important to note that in these cases, the responsibility frame was almost unanimously evoked to support a pro-American tone in the coverage. As such, the stories which emphasized the responsibility frame tended to praise American involvement in successful military efforts and readily shifted the responsibility to the enemy 'other' in instances where the results of American involvement was less pristine. In comparison, economics was seldom the primary frame in any of the coverage of Vietnam, the Persian Gulf or Iraq wars, dominating the focus of only a single article of the entire sample of articles coded.

Morality and race were not identified as primary frames in any of the articles. Somewhat surprisingly, racial stereotypes were absent from the coverage that was analyzed. This finding supports a similar claim made by Thorson and Rodgers (2003) that women correspondents in general tend not to use stereotypes in their coverage.

Strategy and military progress are the most commonly addressed topics in the sample of articles (See: Tables 1, 2). In all, 55 of the 120 articles analyzed focus on the American military's strategies and the 'progress' they are making within the specific conflict. Profiles of individuals accounted for 19 % of the

articles coded. In these instances military officials, soldiers or civilians were most frequently the subject of profiles which essentially documented the subject's personal experience of the war. Civilian suffering was evident in 13 % of stories, but was noticeably less apparent in the coverage of the Persian Gulf and Iraq wars than in coverage of Vietnam. Political negotiations was the primary topic in seven articles, which was followed by troop morale, the focus in only six articles. The correspondents in question devoted relatively little attention to stories of dissent, with only four stories over the course of the three conflicts centering on anti-war sentiment or activities. Technical weaponry was another news frame that was almost unilaterally not addressed by the women correspondents in this study, appearing in only two articles.

A total of 458 sources were used throughout the 120 articles (See: Table 5). Of these sources a gender divide is persistent throughout the coverage of each of the three conflicts (See: Tables 6, 7). Male sources dominate the coverage with 320 sources being male while only 31 were female. In 107 cases the gender of the source was indistinguishable.

There were also visible discrepancies between the kind of sources who were given voices and those who were effectively silenced. For example, American soldiers were the most frequently cited sources, appearing 208 times. Military officials were the second most commonly featured sources with 68 documented appearances. Civilian sources were a close third, with 61 appearances throughout the 120 articles. It should be noted that none of the civilians were American. Rather, they were civilians of the countries in which the

wars were being fought. Sources that were classified under the grouping 'Other' were identified 52 times, followed by those identified as an official spokesperson which was cited 19 times. Other journalists or media workers also served as sources in ten instances. They were followed by academics who were only cited in three occasions.

In the final chapter of this thesis these findings will be considered in relation to the literature on media, war, and gender that was discussed in the earlier chapters. Then the similarities, differences, and links in the coverage will be summarized.

## **Chapter Five: Conclusion**

Throughout history American women have had to overcome obstacles to carve out a place for themselves within the journalism profession. Amongst the most difficult areas for women journalists to gain recognition for their contributions was within the traditionally masculine domain of war reporting. Wars, it was commonly believed, was simply too dangerous and bloody for members of the second sex. However, by determined effort, female correspondents persevered to overcome sexist treatment by military, government officials and their colleagues in the media in order to report on international conflicts throughout the last century.

An initial review of the academic literature that pertains to war correspondents and the media's coverage of war and conflict identified several gaps in the body of literature pertaining to this subject and as such greatly influenced the overall composition of this research. Much of the literature focuses on the male experience of reporting war and examines the media system in place during the conflict while overlooking the ramifications of the system on the actual news content that is produced. Given the absence of any sort of similar analysis this study chose to focus exclusively on the female experience of reporting war across multiple conflicts in an effort to understand the types of coverage that was being produced and what factors could account for women's experiences of reporting war.

This project has examined the coverage produced by six American women correspondents, each reporting for influential American publications during the Vietnam, Persian Gulf and 2003 Iraq wars to assess the kinds of coverage they provided and the impact their work can have on a larger academic media history of women war correspondents. The work of Gloria Emerson of *The New York Times*, Elizabeth Pond of *The Christian Science Monitor*, Molly Moore of *The Washington Post*, Elizabeth Neuffer of *The Boston Globe*, Katherine Skiba of *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, and Kirsten Scharnberg of *The Chicago Tribune* has been examined using a coding system and qualitative analysis. These methodological approaches were undertaken in an effort to identify any links, similarities or differences that could be found in their reports. Specifically, the primary aspect of coverage, news frames and the use of different kinds of sources were coded for.

After the parameters of this study were outlined the literature on war and media history and analysis was synthesized. A brief summary of the historical evolution of women's involvement in the journalism profession was followed by a discussion of the gendered nature of the profession, which was included in order to provide an understanding how one's gender may affect how male and female reporters experience their jobs differently.

Next, the primary causes of each conflict, as well as the changing role of the media in each war, and the histories of the correspondents and the publications they worked for, were discussed in an effort to acknowledge the external factors which undoubtedly influenced the kinds of coverage each

reporter generated. The professional experiences of women in the American military was also considered in an effort to determine the impact that gender had on the ability of both female soldiers and reporters to gain access to, and negotiate their way through, war zones in recent years.

Content analysis was chosen as the research method in this study because of its unobtrusive nature and its use of both qualitative and quantitative analysis which makes it ideally suited to probe mass-mediated texts as this research does. At this point the news values identified by Galtung & Ruge (1965) were identified and applied to war reporting in an effort to consider how they may have affected the coverage provided by the six correspondents.

Throughout this study it became apparent that the types of stories that the correspondents were able to cover across the three wars were, consistently, influenced by several factors. First, the media system being enforced by the military during a particular conflict dramatically affected the sorts of stories that were told, depending on the restrictions or liberties given to the correspondents. Second, the political outlook of the publication they worked for, often deeply rooted in the newspaper's history, appears to have at least influenced the approach many correspondents took to their coverage. Third, the general attitude of the media and the military towards having women within their ranks must be considered as it influenced the degree of access women were able to achieve.

In four out of six cases the women correspondents primarily wrote stories about strategy and military progress or political negotiation. This finding directly challenges the popular contention (Sebba, 1994; van Zoonen, 1998) that women

are like to avoid covering such stories, especially, as Sebba noted, in times of war when it was believed they would favour softer stories oriented towards the human experience of war. Amongst the six correspondents, a circular pattern can be noted in their coverage. Gloria Emerson and Katherine Skiba, covering different wars taking place in different countries thirty years apart favoured as the primary aspects of their coverage, civilian suffering and profiling respectively, which are commonly thought to be part of the feminine domain. Their colleagues Molly Moore, Elizabeth Neuffer, and Kirsten Scharnberg all tended to write stories relating to strategy and military progress and Elizabeth Pond covered political negotiations. Women reporting stories on strategy and military progress and political negotiations directly challenges the contention that women are likely to report softer news. That being said, Sebba's claim that women emphasize the human experience should not be completely dismissed. All of the correspondents, regardless of the topic they were covering, relied on the human interest frame to tell their story at least some of the time. In 40% of the articles analyzed in this study, human interest was the dominant news frame.

The general lack of female sources cited throughout the three generations of coverage directly challenges Thorson & Rodgers' (2003) conclusion, which was supported by Armstrong, that "the presence of females in the byline is a significant predictor of females appearing within the news story" (139). The general absence of female sources in the coverage of war provided by these female correspondents does, however substantiate the notion that the symbolic

annihilation of women can commonly be seen in newspaper coverage (van Zoonen (1998) in Armstrong, 141). According to Armstrong,

Despite the growing number of female politicians, business executives and media and legal professionals, news sources are still overwhelmingly male. [It has been (Zoch & VanSlyke Turk)] found that women are rarely used as sources in stories depicting news of national or international importance, which may serve as a signal to readers that women are unimportant for public events and activities and undeserving of leadership roles (140).

This seems to be especially true of war coverage. However, this finding needs to be considered in relation to other factors which may have had an impact on the ability of women correspondents to use female sources. This limited number may not necessarily be a reflection of a concerted decision to use male sources; rather it may be a reflection of the limited existence of, or access to, female sources in times of war. All of the correspondents, except Katherine Skiba, adopted the editorial position favoured by the newspaper they worked for. For Emerson and Pond this was an anti-war approach towards Vietnam like that endorsed by *The New York Times* and *The Christian Science Monitor*, while Moore, Neuffer, and Scharnberg supported American involvement in the Gulf and Iraq as did their respective publications, *The Washington Post*, *The Boston Globe*, and *The Chicago Tribune*. In comparison, Skiba's relatively positive coverage of the Iraq war appeared to contradict the anti-war editorial position of *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*. The fact that Skiba was able to deviate from the editorial position of her employer suggests that she had some agency but because this study looks at a relatively small sample her articles conclusive observations cannot be made.

Over the last several decades the number of women working as news analysts, reporters, and correspondents has risen from approximately 3000 in 1966 to 51,000 in 1992, and then fallen to just over 44,000 in 2003 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1966-1967; 1991-1992; 2004-2005). Given this flux it not too surprising that research conducted for this study indicated that over the three generations of conflict in question the number of women reporting, proportionate to the number of reporters in the war overall, has only increased slightly. This may be understood if, as Ross (2001) suggests, more women are gravitating towards freelance reporting, because it enables them to juggle home and work responsibilities by establishing their own schedules. The military has essentially excluded any reporters not directly affiliated with major media outlets from both the pool system and the embedding process.

This may have directly limited the ability of many women correspondents to gain access to these war zone. It should also be noted that the number of reporters in general admitted into the formal media system decreased dramatically between the Persian Gulf war, where 2000 correspondents were admitted to the pool system and the 2003 Iraq war, where only 903 correspondents were embedded with troops (Thrall, 2000; Pfau et al, 2004). This is further evidence of the American military and government's desire to get as far away from the unlimited access granted in Vietnam as possible.

In assessing the completeness or applicability of these findings, a couple of important factors must be noted. First, the results of a content analysis are not universal. Every study is unique and as such findings cannot be generalized and

applied to other studies because the framework of categories and definition will vary from project to project. Secondly it must be noted that much of the secondary literature, some of which this study supports and some of which it contradicts, is predicated on news coverage and journalism culture outside of war zones so their findings can only be supported or challenged by this research to a certain degree.

Also, it must be acknowledged that this project is concerned with the female experience of reporting war and as such does not offer a comparable analysis of the work of male correspondents to address the similarities and differences in the coverage of conflict provided by each gender. While such a project is much needed, it is simply outside of the time and length restrictions of this research. Similarly, this thesis draws exclusively on the work of women who were sent to the war zones by prestigious American newspapers and as such the research does not consider the female unilateral experience or that of women who reported outside the dominant media system. To ensure consistency this research draws on the work of American correspondents to the exclusion of experiences and coverage provided by women reporters of other nationalities. Other factors, besides gender which result in female reporters reporting from the periphery have not been considered. Women war correspondents may be discriminated against because of their membership in some other marginalized group. As such, skin color, ethnicity, sexual orientation or religious beliefs should be considered in future research in order to determine whether or not these female journalists are given a voice in times of war and conflict.

Women have maintained an important presence in Western journalism since the arrival of the first press on American soil, and for almost as long, women have reported on conflict and war. Yet, despite such a persistent role over the years, women war correspondents have, historically, been dismissed as an annoyance and their coverage often described as frivolous or excessively soft (Sebba 5).

Based on the research conducted for this thesis, it is my belief that within North America academia little work has been done to trace a coherent history of the experiences of female war correspondents and the implications for the news that is produced. This thesis aims to offer a contribution to such a discussion in an effort to encourage the advancement of scholarship in the field. The findings derived from the content analysis portion of this study help us to conceptualize the female experience of reporting war, identify links, similarities and differences in the kinds of coverage provided by three generations of women war correspondents and consider, based on earlier critical, sociological, and gendered analysis of the profession, what specific factors could account for such patterns or differences in coverage. Some of these findings support earlier research, while others appear to challenge or even contradict studies that came before. Overall, the results seem to generate a multitude of other questions which warrant further inquiry in order to generate a more nuanced understanding of the professional experiences and coverage produced specifically by women war correspondents.

Indeed, the time for carefully examination, and recognition of the important contribution made by women war correspondents is now before future generations find themselves relegated to the sidelines rather than reporting from the frontlines.

**TABLE 1 : Primary Topic / Aspect of Coverage**  
(Percentage per 20 Articles / Correspondent)

	Emerson	Pond	Moore	Neuffer	Scharnberg	Skiba
Civilian Suffering	60	5	-	15	-	-
Dissent	5	15	-	-	-	-
Political Negotiation	-	30	-	5	-	-
Profiles	25	10	10	10	10	50
Strategy / Military Progress	5	30	80	45	85	30
Technological Weaponry	-	-	5	5	-	-
Troop Morale	-	-	5	10	-	15
Other	5	10	-	10	5	5

**TABLE 2: Primary Topic / Aspect of Coverage**  
(Percentage per 40 Articles / War and per 120 Articles /Overall)

	Vietnam	Persian Gulf	Iraq	Overall
Civilian Suffering	32.5	7.5	-	13
Dissent	10	-	-	3
Political Negotiation	15	2.5	-	6
Profiles	17.5	10	30	19
Strategy / Military Progress	17.5	62.5	57.5	46
Technological Weaponry	-	5	-	2
Troop Morale	-	7.5	7.5	5
Other	7.5	5	5	6

**TABLE 3 : Primary News Frames**  
(Percentage per 20 Articles / Correspondent)

	Emerson	Pond	Moore	Neuffer	Scharnberg	Skiba
Conflict	40	45	75	65	50	15
Economic Consequences	-	5	-	-	-	-
Human Interest	55	50	25	35	35	85
Racial Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-
Responsibility	5	-	-	-	15	-
Morality	-	-	-	-	-	-

**TABLE 4 : Primary News Frames**  
(Percentage per 40 Articles / War and per 120 Articles/Overall)

	Vietnam	Persian Gulf	Iraq	Overall
Conflict	42.5	70	32.5	48.3
Economic Consequences	2.5	-	-	0.8
Human Interest	52.5	30	60	48
Racial Issues	-	-	-	-
Responsibility	2.5	-	7.5	3.3
Morality	-	-	-	-

**TABLE 5 : Source Occupation/Credentials**  
(Percentage per 40 Articles / War and per 120 Articles/Overall)

	Vietnam	Persian Gulf	Iraq	Overall
Academic	3	-	-	.65
Civilian	34.6	5.9	9.9	13.3
Government Official	27.5	4.5	-	8
Journalist / Media Worker	-	3.1	2.1	2.1
Military Official	13.2	22.3	4.2	14.8
Soldier	6	46.5	70.9	45.4
Spokesperson	2	6.3	2.1	4.1
Other	13.2	10.9	10.6	11.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>21.3</b>	<b>47.8</b>	<b>30.7</b>	<b>-</b>

**TABLE 6 : Source Gender**  
(Percentage per 40 Articles / War and per 120 Articles/Overall)

	Vietnam	Persian Gulf	Iraq	Overall
Female	8.1	7.7	3.5	6.5
Male	71.4	60.7	83.6	70
N/G	20.4	31.5	12.7	23.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>21.3</b>	<b>47.8</b>	<b>30.7</b>	<b>-</b>

**Table 7: Source Occupation/Credentials and Gender**  
(Number per 20 Articles / Correspondent and per 120 Articles/Overall)

Legend: F= female sources M= male sources N/G= gender unknown	Emerson F/M/NG	Pond F/M/NG	Moore F/M/NG	Neuffer F/M/NG	Scharnberg F/M/NG	Skiba F/M/ NG	Overall F/M/ NG
Academic	0/3/0	0/0/0	0/0/0	0/0/0	0/0/0	0/0/0	0/3/0
Civilian	7/18/1	1/3/4	0/0/1	2/8/2	1/10/2	0/1/0	11/40/ 10
Government Official	0/7/0	0/18/2	0/0/1	3/2/4	0/0/0	0/0/0	3/27/7
Journalist / Media Worker	0/0/0	0/0/0	0/0/0	1/4/2	1/0/0	2/0/0	4/4/2
Military Worker	0/6/0	0/2/5	1/15/21	0/8/4	0/3/0	0/2/1	1/36/31
Soldier	0/6/0	0/0/0	5/45/12	4/33/3	0/45/9	1/43/2	10/172/ 26
Spokesperson	0/0/2	0/0/0	0/4/0	2/8/0	0/1/0	0/2/0	2/15/2
Other	0/4/1	0/3/5	0/2/2	0/3/17	0/6/3	0/5/1	0/23/29
<b>Total</b>	<b>7/44/4</b>	<b>1/26/16</b>	<b>6/66/37</b>	<b>12/66/32</b>	<b>2/65/14</b>	<b>3/53/4</b>	<b>31/320/ 107</b>
	<b>55</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>458</b>



**Type of Sources & Source Gender**

Occupation/ Credentials	First Source	Second Source	Third Source	Fourth Source	Fifth Source	Sixth Source	Seventh Source	Other
	M / F	M / F	M / F	M / F	M / F	M / F	M / F	M / F
Academic								
Civilian								
Government Official								
Journalist / Media Worker								
Military Official								
Soldier								
Spokesperson								
Other								

**NOTES :**

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**X = indicates source placement DQ = direct quote A = attributed statement  
M = male source F = female source N/G = name and gender of source unknown**



<b>Type of Sources &amp; Source Gender</b>
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Occupation/ Credentials		First Source		Second Source		Third Source		Fourth Source		Fifth Source		Sixth Source		Seventh Source		Other	
		A / DQ		A / DQ		A / DQ		A / DQ		A / DQ		A / DQ		A / DQ		A / DQ	
<b>Academic</b>	<b>M</b>																
	Total=																
	<b>F</b>																
	Total=																
<b>Civilian</b>	<b>M</b>																
	Total=																
	<b>F</b>																
	Total=																
<b>Government Official</b>	<b>M</b>																
	Total=																
	<b>F</b>																
	Total=																
<b>Journalist / Media</b>	<b>M</b>																
	Total=																
	<b>F</b>																
	Total=																
<b>Military Official</b>	<b>M</b>																
	Total=																
	<b>F</b>																
	Total=																
<b>Soldier</b>	<b>M</b>																
	Total=																
	<b>F</b>																
	Total=																
<b>Spokesperson</b>	<b>M</b>																
	Total=																
	<b>F</b>																
	Total=																
<b>Other</b>	<b>M</b>																
	Total=																
	<b>F</b>																
	Total=																

Total Number of Sources =

Male:

Female:

Ranking of Source :

1/

2/

3/

4/

5/

6/

7/

8/

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